Being and Becoming Hausa

Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Hausa society in West Africa has attracted researchers' attention for decades, and has featured in the historical record for at least 500 years. Yet, no clear picture is available of the historical trajectories that underpin Hausa ethnogenesis. This book addresses this gap, deploying interdisciplinary approaches to revisit questions to which single disciplines have given only partial answers, often due to the paucity of written sources for early periods of Hausa history. Contributors draw from the disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, and social and economic history to enquire into how a 'Hausa' identity took shape and what have been its changing material and cultural manifestations. The result is a compelling overview of one of the most iconic groups of modern West Africa.

Anne Haour
is a Lecturer in the Arts & Archaeology of Africa at the University of East Anglia, United Kingdom. An archaeologist, she has written on the West African past and developed theoretical questions in several publications, including *Rulers, warriors, traders, clerics: the central Sahel and the North Sea, AD 800-1500* (Oxford, 2007).

Benedetta Rossi
is RCUK Fellow at the School of History of the University of Liverpool. Her work focuses on the historical anthropology of Hausa and Tuareg societies in Niger and Northern Nigeria. She has published on development, migration, and slavery, and is the editor of *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories* (Liverpool, 2009).

ISBN: 978-90-04-18542-5
9 789004 185425

ISSN: 1568-1203
brill.nl/afss

Anne Haour & Benedetta Rossi *(eds.)*
Being and Becoming Hausa
AFRICAN SOCIAL STUDIES SERIES
BRILL

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AFRICAN SOCIAL STUDIES SERIES
BRILL

African Social Studies Series

VOLUME 23

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Edited by

Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

Cover: Photograph by David Heathcote.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Being and becoming Hausa : interdisciplinary perspectives / edited by
Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi.
p. cm. — (African social studies series ; v. 23)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-18542-5 (pbk. : acid-free paper)
1. Hausa (African people)—Ethnic identity. I. Haour, Anne. II. Rossi, Benedetta.
III. Title. IV. Series.

DT515.45.H38B44 2010
305.89'37—dc22

2010013403

ISSN 1568-1203
ISBN 978 90 04 18542 5

PRINTED BY DRUKKERIJ WILCO B.V. - AMERSFOORT, THE NETHERLANDS

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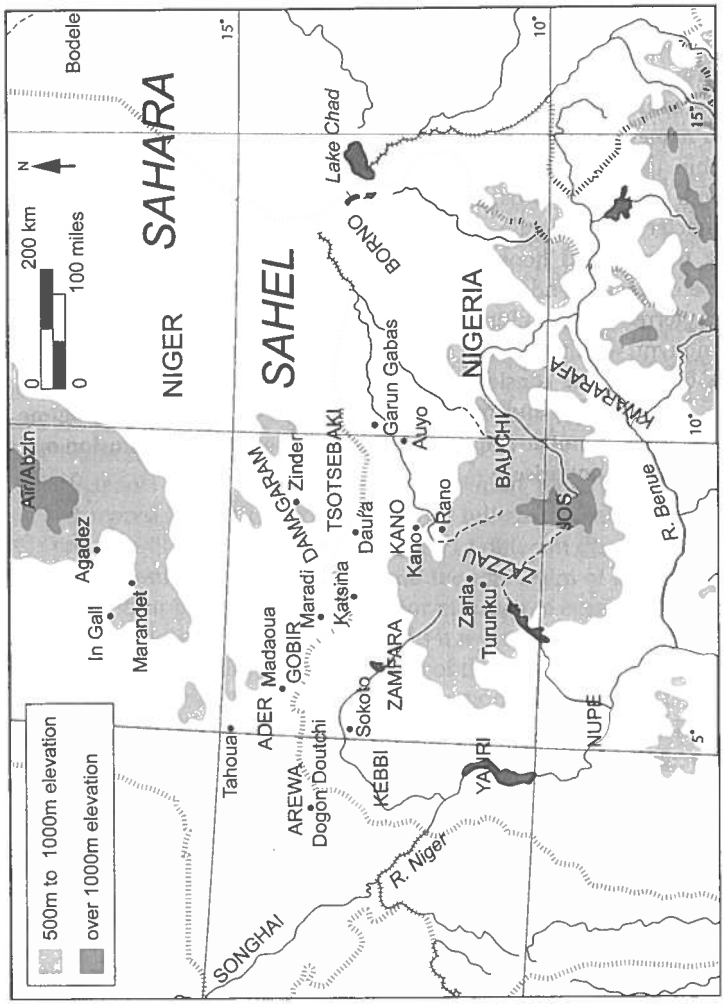

Map 1.1. The Hausa area.

CHAPTER ONE

HAUSA IDENTITY: LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND RELIGION[1]

Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi

1. *Introduction*

Today, perhaps 25 million Hausa-speakers live in northern Nigeria and southern Niger (Map 1.1.), while a further 15 million people throughout West Africa speak Hausa as a second language.[2] For at least five hundred years, observers have marvelled at the wide-ranging trade networks, links to the Islamic world, and imposing walled towns of the society we now know as Hausa. In spite of this prominence, Hausa history remains disputed. In particular, there is little agreement on the mechanisms by which developed complex social and settlement hierarchies, Islamic institutions, and links with the wider world, which have come to characterise 'Hausa' in the eye of outsiders.

The evolution of a Hausa socio-political organisation has generated considerable scholarly discussion for at least two hundred years.[3] Generally speaking, early debates are now censured for their uncritical acceptance of oral and written records, while the 1970s and 1980s saw a shift in scholarly focus towards a more sceptical approach, integrating what data were becoming available from historical linguistics and

[1] We are grateful to William Clarence-Smith (School of Oriental and African Studies, London), Ibrahim Hamza (University of York, Canada), Dierk Lange (University of Bayreuth), Murray Last (University College London), Robin Law (University of Stirling), Paul Lovejoy (University of York, Canada), and John Sutton (University of Oxford) for comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

[2] Source: SIL International; http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=hau (link checked 8 December 2009). Jaggar, this volume, places the number of speakers of Hausa as a first language even higher, perhaps as many as 40 million.

[3] Taking the writings of Mohammed Bello (reproduced in Denham *et al.* [1828: II: Appendix, no. XII] and Arnett [1922]) and Cooley (1841) as a starting point.

archaeology.[4] On the whole, demands for greater exegetic rigour have been paralleled by a generalised call for reflexivity in the social sciences and the humanities; indeed, the historiography of Hausa studies reflects wider developments in African studies. Nowhere has this been clearer than in the long-standing debate regarding the relative influence of external versus internal processes. Africanist researchers have now rejected the racist ideological underpinnings of the so-called 'Hamitic hypothesis' which, as Sanders (1969: 521) succinctly put it, held that 'everything of value ever found in Africa was brought there by the Hamites, allegedly a branch of the Caucasian race'. This belief was often paralleled in oral traditions involving the coming of strangers from afar and bringing a new form of political or social organisation.[5] In the Hausa case, the two main sources dealing with early history, the *Daura Chronicle* (also known as the 'Bayajidda legend') and the *Kano Chronicle*, involve the arrival of immigrants and their assimilation, through war or marriage, of the local peoples. Thus early, reconstructions of Hausa history were informed to varying degrees by the idea that both the 'Hausa' group and its political organisation resulted from the intermarriage of Hausa women with incoming Berbers.[6] Indeed, Heinrich Barth, one of the first European visitors to meet the new Fulani rulers of the Hausa area after the *jihad* of the mid-nineteenth century, was surprised to find that the ruling class was in fact not physically distinct from the subject population (Usman 1982–1985).

Approaches more critical to the written evidence, as well as archaeological documentation of African innovation independent of outside stimuli, have challenged such interpretations relying wholly on external influences. As models based on migration theories have correspondingly been revised, greater emphasis has been placed on endogenous

[4] Authors whose approach has been regarded most critically include Palmer (1928) and Westermann (1949). We would cite Sutton (1979), M.G. Smith (1983), and Last (1980, 1985) as examples of the new analytical impetus characterised by careful interpretation of oral sources and written tradition. The following pages of this introduction provide a more detailed canvas of recent approaches in the field of Hausa studies.

[5] West African examples include the Yoruba, Nupe, and the rulers of Borno and Songhai (Es-Sa'di 1964 [1656]: 6; Barth 1857–9: II: 25; Abadie 1927; Fage 1965; H. Johnston 1967; A. Smith 1970). The intellectual origins and shortcomings of the Hamitic hypothesis are discussed broadly and cogently in Sanders (1969) and Law (2009).

[6] See, for example, Palmer (1928: III), Urvoy (1936: 223, 243, 260, 321; 1949), M. G. Smith (1964), Hallam (1966ab), Johnston (1967), Hama (1967), and as late as 1993, Hogben and Kirk-Greene in the unmodified reprint of their 1966 book.

dynamics and sources of data. The integration of localised phenomena into geographically and culturally broader dynamics is foregrounded in all contributions to this volume, whatever their disciplinary background. Historians explore endogenous versus allogenous factors in Hausa 'state formation' (Last, Sutton), and the shifting patterns of political and economic relations with neighbouring societies (Candotti, Rossi); anthropologists advocate multi-sited ethnographic methods aimed at revealing the global ramifications of local phenomena (Cooper, Masquelier); archaeologists balance a narrow focus on single-site excavations with the need to place sites within their wider geographical context (Haour, Sule); linguists explore the diverse influences to which testify place-names, particular linguistic formations and borrowings from other languages (Jaggar, Last, McIntyre); and museum curators seek to situate their collections within the wider framework of West African material culture (Worden). This volume thus attempts to steer a middle course, building upon tensions between global and local processes; allogenous and endogenous factors; large-scale reconstructions and in-depth local studies.

While this book considers the integration of the Hausa world into regional—indeed global—economic and cultural contexts, it remains critical of models that interpret such integration as the interaction between bounded 'races', 'tribes', or 'ethnic groups'. Contributions emphasise the nature of ethnicity as a social construction, a label denoting 'who one is' at any one moment in time; but also a performative category resulting in peculiar ways of living ('what one does'). Archaeological, economic and linguistic contributions are particularly sensitive to the performative dimensions of identity, while anthropology and history often foreground social and cultural representations. In addition, representations of ethnic identity change in the course of history, and at any one time there are competing views about what constitutes 'Hausa proper'. Some views provide official visions of the social world, whilst other exist as hidden transcripts (Scott 1990), barely visible over a long time-depth; some representations of Hausa identity remained relevant only within Africa, other spread to the global ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1991) of museum collections. These considerations have pushed us to explore the implications of being and becoming 'Hausa' by adopting a multidisciplinary and diachronic perspective. This introduction will explore further the central structuring themes of the book, then move on to an overview of the main threads emerging in the different chapters.

2. *Themes*

Problematising Hausa identity

Hausa-speaking society is characterised by important differences across regions, and it includes groups with separate lifestyles and traditions. This internal heterogeneity, well attested through history, has led to descriptions of 'Hausaness' as a phenomenon looser than ethnicity. Moreover, the notion of ethnicity itself has recently been subjected to considerable debate in African studies.[7]

This volume explores how 'being Hausa' has manifested itself through time, what were the cultural and material outcomes of this process, and which groups were involved. We suppose that ethnicity does not reflect in any direct or simple way the historical origins and evolution of groups (cf. Fardon 1996a: 157). Following Cooper and Brubaker (2000: 62ff.), we see ethnicity as a 'category of practice', employed by individuals to make sense of themselves and of the society in which they live. As do other types of identity classification (such as gender or age), ethnicity defines access to, and exclusion from, symbolic and material resources; thus, struggles over ethnic classification are often at the root of historical change in the redistribution of power across social groups. For instance, Salamone (1975) has argued that in the Yauri Emirate becoming Hausa, and simultaneously Muslim, constituted a strategy of political and economic mobility. The enormous death toll resulting from the mobilisation of ethnic identity in the 2008 electoral campaigns in Jos State shows that ethnicity remains a key idiom in articulating conflicting interests (Egwu 2009). In spite of what these examples may suggest, ethnicity should not be seen as merely the consequence of immediate and circumstantial political expediency. The conscious acts involved in joining and maintaining particular ethnic identities have historical causes (Peel 1989: 199–200), and reference to the ethnic idiom varies across time as a strategy of inclusion/exclusion. Thus, colonial invasion resulted in a heightened sense of ethnic exclusiveness. However, this was not an unprecedented consequence of colonisation. Similar dynamics occurred earlier in West African history (cf. Nugent 2008: 922), as different groups sought to establish

[7] For summaries of the main positions see Fardon (1987, 1995, 1996ab), Amselle (1998), Nugent (2008).

their monopoly over particular axes of trade, or their superiority in the religious or political field.

The study of Hausa history offers a stimulating platform for the investigation of notions of identity. Hausa has been described as merely a language (Temple 1919: 405; Hill 1972: 3; Hiskett 1973: 3); a 'factor' in West African history (Adamu 1978); and a cultural 'formation' within 'Sudanic civilisation' (Nicolas 1975b: 400, 422). Beyond the currently unsolved question of the etymology of the name 'Hausa' itself (Jaggar, this volume, especially note 3 page 37), it has also proven difficult to identify a unified Hausa social and political structure. Anthropological studies have made clear that various categories have existed in modern times for the classification of individuals within Hausa society. M. G. Smith (1959, 1961) illustrated different criteria of social stratification for Muslim and non-Muslim Hausa society; men and women; adults and children; and free and slave categories. Guy Nicolas (1975a) showed that non-Muslim and Muslim Hausa were structured according to different cosmological and hierarchical principles. Paden (1970, 1973) used Kano as an example to remark that a range of criteria existed for the classification of groups, ranging from very small-scale to very large-scale. He suggested that individuals could be identified by layered categories of identity, including religion (*addini*), ancestral home (*asali*), family, urban place of residence, or shade of skin.

A recurring dichotomy is that between 'Azna' society, often described as non-Muslim, and Muslim Hausa, sometimes called 'dynastic' Hausa. While Azna society was organised primarily around the lineage and the household, in dynastic Hausa polities rulers (*masu sarauta*) and ruled (*talakawa*) were internally stratified according to multiple criteria (M. G. Smith 1959: 247–249; Nicolas 1975a: 175–179). The Hausa *sarauta* comprised a complex set of specialised political, military, and economic roles, in which non-Muslim Hausa constituencies were usually represented (Mahamane 2008). Furthermore, both Azna and 'dynastic' Muslim Hausa placed an emphasis on occupational specialisation (be it inherited or individually chosen), not fitting clearly with notions of rank or class. This internal differentiation is well captured in William Miles' definition of Hausa ethnicity as 'fluid, multilayered, and evolutionary' (1994: 46).

The internal diversity of the Hausa world has been accentuated by its inclusivist nature; integration into Hausa has been easier than into

some of its more exclusivist[8] neighbours. A number of groups have been assimilated within the 'Hausa' ethnic category throughout history, and up to the present day; partly as a symptom of this, the numbers of speakers of the Hausa language are growing fast (Sommer 1992). It is known that at least in the past 150 years, and probably before, migrants and traders have identified themselves as Hausa when in fact they were immigrants from other parts of Africa who had absorbed Hausa culture or claimed Hausa descent (Lovejoy 1973, 1974; Schildkrout 1978). Various migrant Muslim traders who exhibited an Islamic attire and attended the mosque on Fridays have been superficially assimilated to 'Hausa' by host societies who did not know their actual origin (for instance in Ghana, see Piault 1970: 14). Another example is offered by the assimilation of slaves into free members of Hausa society.[9] Hausa society has been peculiar, in the Central Sudan, for the potential social mobility it offered to slave groups.[10] It appears that, since the nineteenth century, emancipation encouraged by Muslim religious codes, and the particularities of Hausa production, inheritance, and succession, resulted in a high turnover of slave constituencies (Lovejoy 1978b: 361; M. F. Smith 1981 [1954]; Hill 1977: 219–20). In Hausa societies stigma is attached to slave descent as everywhere else, and the capacity to renegotiate such stigma depends on the period considered and on the particular trajectory of emancipation: ransom, redemption, or flight tended to yield different outcomes at different periods (Hamza 2001; Lofkrantz 2008: 136–138). Yet in the second half of the twentieth century, assimilation of slaves through integration into their masters' families (Greenberg 1947: 204; Adamu 1979: 170) or migration out of the site of original enslavement (Hill 1976: 403; 1977: 206) accounted for greater social and economic mobility of Hausa slave descendents than amongst their Fulani and Tuareg neighbours. This is one reason why, in recent times, Hausaisation has been a frequent strategy for

[8] We borrow the distinction between 'inclusivist' and 'exclusivist' societies from Burnham (1996).

[9] A proportion of those enslaved into Hausa society may have been free Hausa-speakers before the events that caused their enslavement, so that assimilation into the society of the free would not always have coincided with the Hausaisation of non-Hausa people. However, especially under the Sokoto Caliphate, the ban on the enslavement of freeborn Muslim encompassed other criteria for enslavement, at least in the official mind.

[10] M. G. Smith's (1960: 269–60) evidence of limited social mobility for slaves in Zaria seems to be due to the influence of Fulani customs in this region (cf. Hill 1976: 404; 1977: 211–12).

slave descendents from other societies, for whom changing ethnicity was easier than changing status (Nicolas 1975b: 422; Rossi 2009a: 4).

Despite its internal diversity, Hausa society retains distinctive traits. Studies of Hausa diasporas have tended to demonstrate the resilience of 'Hausaness' outside the confines of Hausaland. For instance, in 1835, enslaved 'Hausa' figured prominently amongst leaders of a major slave revolt in Bahia, Brazil (Reis 1993: 43). Many of these so-called 'Hausa' insurgents had been captured and enslaved during wars related to the *jihad* movement in Sokoto.[11] Turning to the Hausa diaspora within Africa, Rouch (1956) in his study of Hausa migrants to Accra (Ghana), Adamu (1978) in his general survey of Hausa migration, and Tremearne (1914, 1915) in his observations on Hausa religion in Tunis and Tripoli, commented that Hausa abroad tend to form separate networks and preserve their customs. Nicolas (1975b: 425, note 23, our translation) remarked that 'many Hausa take on behaviours which we shall describe as « standard hausa » when they go abroad or into a city, because such behaviour is considered by members of other local ethnic groups as « typically hausa », but they do not follow such behaviours at home'. The best-known study in this regard remains A. Cohen's work (1969, 1971) on mechanisms of integration (or perhaps more exactly non-integration) of Hausa migrants in the Sabo 'Hausa' quarter of Ibadan. While asserting the visibility of Hausa ethnicity, Cohen qualified it as a primarily political and opportunistic occurrence, whereby the Hausa diaspora 'developed, consolidated, and maintained their distinctiveness by a variety of socio-cultural mechanisms' (Cohen 1971: 271). These examples show that in many instances ethnicity is best seen as the product of participation in a dynamic regional economy, where distinctiveness (expressed in ethnic and religious terms) was expedient to long-distance trade and to 'doing business abroad'.[12]

Hausa history therefore offers an example of a 'fluid' label for identification and self-identification, fitting well with current understandings of identity not as a static, fixed phenomenon but rather as a negotiated one. Within this vein, one central aim of this book is to

[11] As these groups classified as 'Hausa' formed networks of resistance in the New World, they benefited not only from a shared language, but also from shared religious ideologies, a proselytising attitude, and willingness to fight for their ideals (Monteil 1967; Reichert 1967; Lovejoy 1994).

[12] On this point, see Lovejoy (1973, 1980) and Schildkrout (1978). Lovejoy (1978a) is especially valuable in applying Cohen's notion of the ethnically-structured trading diaspora to the precolonial period.

explore the time-depth of the notion of Hausa identity. At some point in West African history, Hausa became a recognisable identity, albeit one featuring internal diversity and a high turnover in membership. However, reconstructing the history of social and political formations poses specific problems in West Africa; this is due to the nature of the sources, and it is to these that the following section turns.

'Hausa' in historical sources

The Near Eastern and North African sources relating to West Africa (e.g. Cuoq 1975; Levtzion and Hopkins 2000) give us a vivid image of life some five to ten centuries ago. They demonstrate that there existed a level of political and economic organisation important enough to impress foreign observers, albeit at times grudgingly so.[13] However, the earliest sources deal almost exclusively with the Western Sudan and, to a lesser extent, with the Lake Chad area. Their possible references to the areas between these two poles, including the regions and people now known as Hausa, are disputed.[14] Indeed, mentions of the name 'Hausa' are rare until the seventeenth century,[15] references to 'Aoussa' becoming more common in eighteenth-century records of slave cargoes and plantations in the Americas (see Geggus 1989). Hence, historical reconstructions of earlier periods of 'Hausa' history always run the risk of being anachronistic, projecting in the past a label that may not have been in use or may have carried other associations.

[13] For a critique of biases inherent to these records, see e.g. Insoll (1994).

[14] Haour (2003, Appendix B) provides an overview in tabular form of points of agreement and disagreement regarding mentions of the Hausa, ninth to nineteenth centuries.

[15] At this time, the term 'Hausa' is often used as a geographical term. This is the usage made by the Songhai-Zarma author of the *Tarikh es-Sudan*, in the mid-seventeenth century (see translation by Houdas 1964: 41, 152, 232, 432, 459) and by the anonymous writer of the *Tedzkiret-en-Nisiân*, in the mid-eighteenth century (translation by Houdas 1901: 116, 120, 175, 186, 213–214, 229). In Muhammed Bello's *Infaq al-Maisur* (Arnett 1922), 'Hausa' is used primarily to indicate a region, alongside places like 'Ahir' (Aïr) or 'Adar' (Ader). Barth (1857–1859: I: 471) tells us that the word was used to denote the country on the northern side of the Niger (in opposition to Gurma, the southern side). Lavers (1980) has suggested that in Songhai 'Hausa' meant 'east bank' or 'left bank' (cf. Skinner 1968); in Ader it also means 'south' (Rossi, this volume); while finally Jaggar (this volume) cites sources that give the meaning as 'north (bank of the Niger River)'.

The earliest generally accepted mention of Hausa society is by the early fifteenth-century Egyptian historian al-Maqrizi (Last 1985: 194; Lange 1987a: 22–23, n. 52); he writes of 'Afnu, whose king is named Mastur and very jealous of his womenfolk' (in Levtzion and Hopkins 2000: 354); in modern Kanuri, Afuno means the Hausa people. We owe the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi a longer description of 'the people of Afnu', which mentions 'seven tribes, one of which professes Islamic religion' and notes that 'other peoples enslave through wars the ones who are not circumcised amongst them and sell them in Awgila'.[16] Prior to these sources (and bearing in mind the suggestion that al-Maqrizi may have been paraphrasing the earlier writer Ibn Sa'id [†1286]), Hausa areas and people are only tentatively recognised in the written texts.[17] However, specific Hausa towns do seem to be mentioned; al-Idrisi (mid-twelfth century) speaks of Kugha, which Last (1985: 207) and Lange (1987a) identify as old Kebbi. Ibn Battuta, who travelled to the river Niger in the fourteenth century, is another important source, and Kubar, to which he tells us copper was brought, has been identified as potentially the Hausa area of Gobir.[18] Kubar serves as a good example of the issues raised

[16] Our translation from the French, reported in Ciecierska-Chlapowa (1965: 243) alongside the original text. In spite of Çelebi's statement, in the same passage, that he had reached the lands of the 'Afnu', it is debated whether these comments are based on first-hand observations or on reports of informants met in the course of Çelebi's travels in Africa, which seem to have taken place in 1673 (Bombaci 1943). Last's suggestion that Çelebi heard of the 'Hausa seven' (Last 1980: 164) may have to be revised: could he have heard of the 'Afnu Seven'? The name Hausa does not appear to figure in Çelebi's text.

[17] Various attempts have been made to identify the Hausa in the writings of al-Yaqubi in the ninth century in particular, while Last (this volume, page 67) has discussed a derivation of 'Hausa' from the word 'Habasha' at some point after the thirteenth century. Last's in-depth study of the *Kano Chronicle* identifies three mentions of the term 'Hausa' as such in the later sections of the text (and not, against Palmer, in the earlier ones, cf. Last 1980: 164). The implications of these occurrences, however, are not clear, not only because the date of the composition of the *Kano Chronicle* (or better, *Chronicles*) is debated (see M.G. Smith 1981), but also because later copyists introduced anachronisms, and this would be one of the most likely.

[18] This identification is agreed on by a number of scholars—Westermann (1949); Trimingham (1962: 130); Levtzion (1968: 15); Cuoq (1975: 319, n. 1); Beckingham and Gibb (1994: 974, n. 94); Lovejoy (1978a: 181); Fuglestad (1978: 331); Levtzion and Hopkins (2000: 450); Lange (1987a: 15, 28). However, it is not clear where Kubar/Gobir was actually situated at this time; according to conventional wisdom Gobir would then have been in Aïr (Trimingham 1962: 130, n. 2). In this case the allusion to copper imports makes little sense, since Aïr was a well-known producer of the metal. No general consensus exists on the other places referred to by Ibn Battuta, such as Zaghai—though see Last (1985: 208, 216; and this volume, footnote on page 61).

by using historical records to trace past Hausa society and religion; as Marquart (1913), Sutton (1979), Last (1985), and Lange (1987a) have pointed out, a problem in identifying it as Gobir is the fact that Ibn Battuta calls Kubar the 'land of the infidel', and describes royal burials involving human sacrifice (Levtzion and Hopkins 2000: 281). This unease results perhaps from preconceived notions of what is, and is not, 'proper' Hausa behaviour. In fact, Islamisation occurred at different paces in different areas. Human sacrifice was reported as late as the nineteenth century among various Hausa groups (Tremearne 1915: 23; Greenberg 1946: 30; Leroux 1948: 627), and conversion to Islam is still an ongoing process in some regions of Hausaland (see Last 1979). It is possible that 'Kubar' in Ibn Battuta's text refers to a pre-Islamic Hausa state—or to communities later assimilated by the Hausa (Lange 1987a). Similarly difficult is the case of Maranda, which ties in directly with the question of Hausa origins, and the matter of Gobir. The Gobirawa have long[19] held traditions of migration from Aïr, and Maranda is cited as one of their former places of settlement.[20]

After the fifteenth century, references to places and people now known as 'Hausa' become more clearly recognisable and relatively frequent. Leo Africanus described the towns of Kano, Zaria and Katsina, telling of their population of skilled craftspeople and affluent merchants both local and foreign.[21] Anania, a slightly later Italian traveller to the West African coast, added some original information. He wrote of Kano, with its large stone walls, as one of the three cities of Africa (together with Fez and Cairo) where one could purchase any item (Anania 1972 [1573–82]: 338–339). He spoke also of the cowrie currency of Katsina and the Animists of Zaria (Anania 1972 [1573–82]: 335). By the nineteenth century, the fame of the Hausa cities—especially as regarded their extensive manufacturing and trade (Baier 1980:

[19] This tradition seems to have been first reported in writing in 1825, when Denham and Clapperton brought back from the Sudan texts by Mohammed Bello (in Arnett 1922: 9)

[20] For a discussion of the significance of Maranda for Gobir history, see Hama (1967); Lhote in Gado (1980: 85); Hamani (1975, 1989: 121–122); Haour (2003: 29–31); Magnavita *et al.* (2007).

[21] See Leo Africanus (1956 [1550]: 472ff.). Some other places described by Leo Africanus—such as the shadowy Guber and Guangara—have been less convincingly identified with areas in which Hausa polities are known to have developed at a later date: Gobir, Tessaoua, Kebbi or Katsina (Pageard 1962; Fuglestad 1978; Fisher 1978; Last 1985; Last this volume [page 61], Lange 1987a; Rauchenberger 1999; see also Sutton, this volume, page 292).

52–55, 150–167)—had spread widely, and the first European explorers made them a particular goal of their travels.[22] Barth made detailed notes on the historical traditions, trade and manufacture of places such as Kano, Katsina and Zinder. The long-standing organisation of trade and extensive links of the Hausa cities emerge through many European reports. A well-cited example is that of Hugh Clapperton who, upon making his entry into Kano in January 1824, was disappointed to find that his foreign appearance was not a novelty, and that items of European trade had preceded him.[23]

To the external sources relating to West Africa,[24] one should add sources written in the Hausa area itself. The most vivid and best known is the *Kano Chronicle*; containing religious, social and technological information, going far beyond a bare enumeration of kings and feats of arms, it has benefited from a perhaps unfair supremacy in historical studies of the Hausa. It runs from the rule of the immigrant king Bagauda[25] up to the nineteenth century. Further sources include the *Bayajidda legend* and the *Wakar Bagauda* (Hiskett 1964, 1965ab), both of which address the origins of the Hausa people and their political organisation. Local 'Hausa' kinglists, lacking a significant accompanying text, are provided in several other publications.[26] These

[22] Heinrich Barth, for instance, on the approach to Kano in January 1851, is jubilant (1857–9: I: 488): 'Kano had been sounding in my ears now for more than a year; it had been one of the great objects of our journey as the central point of commerce, as a great store-house of information, and as the point whence more distant regions might be most successfully attempted. At length, after nearly a year's exertions, I had reached it'.

[23] See Clapperton's narrative in Denham *et al.* (1828: II: 266). Later, still in Kano, Clapperton comments: 'I bought, for three Spanish dollars, an English cotton umbrella, an article I little expected meet with, yet by no means uncommon' (Denham *et al.* (1828: II: 289).

[24] Among other important authors on the Hausa area are Lander (1967 [1830]), Richardson (1970 [1853]), Staudinger (1990 [1889]), Monteil (1895) and Robinson (1900). Robinson (1900: 112–113) famously wrote that 'It would be well within the mark to say that Kano clothes more than half the population of the Central Soudan'.

[25] An event which supposedly took place in the late tenth century, although this was worked out by H. R. Palmer (1928) by adding up possibly inaccurate reign lengths; it refers to the 'legendary period' of Hausa historical tradition (see M. G. Smith 1981: 41; Last 1980: section on 'Birni Legends').

[26] Many major Hausa regions possessed dynastic lists, reproduced in Baikie (1867), Landeroin (1910–1911), Palmer (1910a, 1912), Saley (1982, Appendix 1), and Lange (2009). These mainly consist of brief segments detailing the length of reign of each ruler. The Bayajidda legend or Daura Chronicle has been reported, with slight variations, by a number of researchers: among these Arnett (1910), Walwyn in Palmer (1928: III: 132–135), Hallam (1966b), H. Johnston (1966), and Bioud in Salifou (1971:

sources offer important entry points to the question of the evolution of what now characterises 'Hausaness'. Plainly, they must be treated as the positioned documents that they are; the versions extant today may have been 'updated' under successive rulers, altered mistakenly or willingly by copyists, and corrupted with anachronisms and censures (see M. G. Smith 1983; Last 1980, 1983).

The bias of the sources towards issues of manufacture and trade has already been mentioned. However, perhaps most crucially, it should be recalled that many writers (or their rulers) were animated by religious concerns and that historical records, usually kept by literate Muslims, are often judgmental of non-Islamic aspects of the past. Furthermore, although today a key feature of 'being Hausa' involves 'being Muslim', this should not be assumed to have always been the case. The continuous renegotiation of the role of religion in the representation and self-representation of groups belongs to the *longue durée* of Hausa history, as different ways of being Hausa found expression in different articulations of identity and religion. Accordingly, the final theme to be addressed in this introduction is that of religious belief and practice throughout Hausa history.

Hausa religion

Very little or nothing is known of the Hausa area in the period preceding contact with Islam. At any rate, oral traditions seem to indicate that political arrangements in early Hausa polities were informed by a high degree of syncretism, involving power-sharing between Animist and Muslim groups. One can cite here the example of traditions in Ader and Arewa, two areas where non-Islamic beliefs and practices have been particularly enduring. Here, an initial 'pact' is believed to have established the political primacy of immigrants (who were credited with the introduction of more sophisticated lifestyles and technologies of production), while groups seen as autochthonous retained primacy in relations with the supernatural. The immigrants tolerated and partly embraced this local religion.[27] Such ambiguous power-sharing is also

232–236). See also most recently Lange (2004) discussing, inter alia, different versions of the Bayajidda legend.

[27] This pact is often evoked in oral traditions by formulas such as '*muna da iko, kuna da kasa*', 'we have the power (over people), you have the land (and its spirits)' (Echard 1972: 94ff.; Hamani 1975: 34–39; Nicolas 1975b: 407; Rossi, this volume).

reflected in written sources such as the *Kano Chronicle*, which attest to the continued influence of the portion of the population which did not follow Islamic religion, or did so in a syncretic way.[28] It seems that an uneasy relationship involved groups not converted to Islam recognising their dependence on the ruler, yet retaining their traditional beliefs and powers. These power-sharing configurations are known in the literature as 'contrapuntal paramountcy' (Fuglestad 1978: 324, borrowing the term from Goody 1966: 5). In any case, classifications of different groups as 'Muslim' or 'pagan' must have been increasingly contested as Islam became established as the official religion of government, and as the ban on the enslavement of 'Muslims' was progressively enforced at the expense of 'pagans'.[29] These circumstances would have led to debates on, for example, what degree of syncretism was acceptable for one to be considered a Muslim, with various perspectives supported by different rulers and scholars at the same time.

Partly as a result of this complex picture, there exists little consensus about the time-depth and direction of the penetration of Islam. For example, the *Kano Chronicle* states that the Mande Wangara brought Islam to Kano in the late fourteenth century. Due to their influence, it is said, every town in Kano country observed the times of prayer, Muslim officials were appointed, and long-standing enemies at Santolo were beaten and their place of sacrifice dismantled (Palmer 1928: III: 104–106). To be sure, this account presents a suspiciously neat picture of Islam's battle against 'paganism'.[30] An eastern origin for the first Islamic influences to Kano is, indeed, just as likely, considering that some of the peoples in the Chad Basin had been in contact with Tripoli since perhaps the eleventh century (Insoll 2003) and that

[28] For instance, the *Kano Chronicle* tells us that the ruler of Kano *ca.* AD 1400 returned to the ancestral cult of Barbushe when told that it would help him vanquish the people of rival Zaria (Palmer 1928: III: 107–108). And as late as the seventeenth century, the ruler of Kano could appeal to the Animists of the town—who do not ever seem to have disappeared, but rather cohabited with the established Islamic court—for a charm to protect his throne (Palmer 1928: III: 121). In short, one guesses through these examples at a 'political' use of religion.

[29] In her doctoral thesis (2008), Jennifer Lofkrantz provides an interesting perspective on the articulations between religion and enslavement by focusing on ransoming policies and practices in the Western and Central Sudan.

[30] Its reliability in inferring the timescale for the conversion of the Hausa has been hotly debated, see Al-Hajj (1968), Hiskett (1973: 5–9), Sanneh (1976), A. Smith (1976), Lovejoy (1978c), Sa'ad (1979), Adamu (1984), Lange (1987a), Meunier (1997), Haour (2007).

word-borrowings from Kanuri point to an important role for Kanuri speakers in the introduction of Islamic cultural features to Hausa society (Greenberg 1960; Jaggar, this volume). The advance of Islam in Hausa areas was most probably related to the proselytising activities of single individuals, gaining converts at very different times in different places—a factor further contributing to some of the contradictions relating to the Islamisation of the *kasar hausa*.[31]

Certainly Islam has been influential in all spheres of social and political life in some of the major Hausa centres since at least the fifteenth century. At the end of the fifteenth / beginning of the sixteenth century, Shaikh Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, of Tlemcen in modern Algeria, was teaching in Kano, and the century witnessed the expansion of Islamic intellectual activity and the growth of Islamic literature in classical Arabic written by Hausa *ulama* [scholars].[32] The proselytising role of the Wangara, famed as traders, has just been mentioned. It is also probably no coincidence that in the *Kano Chronicle* the reign of Yakubu (mid-fifteenth century?) is remembered not only for the arrival of Fulani clerics, but also for the settling in Kano of salt traders, of people from modern Ghana and Borno, and of a group of 'Turawa' (variously translated as Arabs or 'white people', see e.g. Meunier 1997) (Palmer 1928: III: 111). As has been pointed out by a number of authors (Fuglestad 1983; Last 1985; Insoll 2003), the acceptance of Islam is thus made to coincide with the opening up of trading contacts between Kano and other regions.

That Islamisation was marked by accommodation and syncretism, and shaped by the agency of individuals, makes good sense in view of studies of contemporary practice—but is easily lost sight of in the historical literature. A point of note is that on a society-wide scale conversion, whatever its timing, was rarely irreversible. But perhaps the largest obstacle to an understanding of the spread of Islam through the *kasar hausa* is the fact that, as indicated above, we have little knowledge of what the new religion was replacing. We dispose of few in-depth studies of the non-Islamic elements of Hausa religion, and they cannot be easily disentangled from centuries of interaction with

[31] See also note 18 on Gobir, above.

[32] See Al-Hajj (1968) and Hiskett (1984: 80–85). The interaction between proselytising activities and trade is well known. As Fuglestad (1978: 328) has noted, 'wandering clerics who did not engage in trading activities might have found it difficult simply to stay alive'.

Islam. Pre-Islamic Hausa religion is believed to have survived in some beliefs and practices among groups usually referred to as *azna* (also *Azna, asna, arna, anna*) in Niger, and as *Maguzawa* in Nigeria. The distinction between these two groups appears primarily geographic, the name 'Azna' being in use further north than 'Maguzawa', and possibly indicating a different history of contact with Muslim traders and rulers. As poorly-understood alternatives to Islam, these merit some detailed consideration here.

The significance of the different names Azna and Maguzawa poses problems.[33] Last (this volume, p. 63) suggests that "the label *Maguzawa* was applied to non-Muslims living within the *karkara* zone [lands surrounding the main cities], whereas generic terms such as *Gwarawa* or *arna* were used for non-Muslims living in what was categorised as 'bush'" (see also Last 1980). Somewhat similarly, Lange (2008) also considers Maguzawa/Azna to refer to rural (as opposed to urban) Hausa. His analysis however differs from Last's in one crucial regard; for Lange, the Azna/Hausa distinction relates to long-established corporative differences, predating the arrival of Islam—a long time-depth that is lost if the dichotomy is reduced to one of Islamic/non-Islamic. The meaning of these terms must have evolved through time, but it

[33] One of the earlier mentions of 'Azna' appears in the notes taken by Richardson whilst visiting Zinder in 1850; here 'Hazna' is simply equated with 'pagans' (e.g. 1970 [1853]: 245). Similarly, Landeroin (1910–1911: 482, our translation) noted it was not a racial term, but a 'Hausa term meaning pagan, idolatre, fetishist'; and Trimingham (1959: 39), writing of the Maguzawa of Nigeria, noted that the pagans of Gobir and Maradi were not known by this term but by the Hausa word for 'pagan', arne (anne, asne). Similarly, in his study of the Zinder area, Vieillard (1939: 174) reported that in the Hausa countries 'pagans' were known as Azna/Arna/Anna or Maguzawa. On the other hand, some authors seem to have understood the label not just as a generic term for 'pagan', but also as an ethnonym: Séré de Rivières states that 'it is both an ethnic expression and a religious designation' (1965: 47), a double meaning also accepted by Nicolas (1975: 59). The term has no doubt seen semantic extension over time. Urvoy has, for example, hypothesised that the term azna 'probably referred to the people of the Ader, and has been gradually extended to all pagans (païens)' (1936: 252, our translation; cf. Echard 1975:11). Confusion also surrounds the etymology of the word 'Maguzawa'. Temple (1919: 263) described the Maguzawa as a tribe of Hausa, descendents of Maguji, miner and smelter and one of the eleven pagan chiefs who originally led the clans of Kano, as described in the Kano Chronicle. On the other hand, Vieillard (1939: 174) derives the term Maguzawa from the Arabic for 'idolâtre', while Trimingham (1959: 39) is in broad agreement, deriving Maguzawa from the Arabic majus (Qur'an xxii, 17); he suggests that its application was an attempt by jurists in Nigeria to find an acceptable designation for Animists liable for tax payments. Greenberg (1946: 11) translates 'maguzanci' and 'musulmunci' as, respectively, 'the pagan way' and 'the Moslem way'.

remains clear that at least in the recent past these two identities have been defined primarily by religion. Anecdotal evidence suggests that at least to some Azna, their name implied beliefs different from Islam: Nicolas (1975b: 430)'s Azna informants in Maradi, observing a group of Gwari behaving in a clearly un-Islamic way, commented that they were 'the real Anna (sic)'. Moreover, Greenberg (1946: 41) recorded that some Maguzawa in Nigeria qualified the *iska* Kure, or hyena, as 'peculiarly their own', and in drumming they said '*kure, borin arna*', 'Kure, bori of the pagans'. Thus, admittedly scattered sources suggest that association with non-Islamic beliefs has been a defining characteristic of Azna identity in recent times, and that groups known as Maguzawa would sometimes establish a connection between themselves and '*arna*'.

Modern studies indicate that relationships with deities within the Azna pantheon are negotiated by clan-based groups through divination, sacrifice, ritual offerings to particular plants or animals, possession (*bori*), and magic, in attempts to influence human affairs and natural processes (Piault 1970: 46–47; Nicolas 1975a, 1986). In the early twentieth century, students of Hausa suggested that religious taboos might be interpreted as vestiges of totemism (Palmer 1910b; Tremearne 1914: 30–53, 1915), but these observations were not followed up, possibly because of the loss of popularity of certain terminologies in the anthropology of religion. Azna and Maguzawa also used to be characterised by particular types of facial and abdominal markings called *zani* (Tremearne 1911: 163), *tsaga* (Barkow 1973: 66; Greenberg 1947: 197), or *aska* (Rossi, 2008 fieldnotes); by the habit of living in rural areas rather than in walled villages (Greenberg 1947: 195; Barkow 1973: 65; Nicolas 1975b: 428; Last, this volume); and by a different moral ethos and standards of feminine modesty (Barkow 1973: 72ff.). Today these names have acquired derogatory connotations; Hausa speakers rarely self-identify as 'Azna', and non-Islamic religious practices and beliefs have been increasingly considered incompatible with Islam. While they have not yet died out entirely, they are practised discreetly (Garçon 1998: 13; Hamani 1975: 51; Masquelier 2001).

The establishment of an overarching Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate, following the *jihad* (1804–1808) led by the Shaikh Uthman dan Fodio contributed to the radicalisation of Islam in the heart of Hausaland, resulting in its closer observance amongst some Hausa rulers, and conflict with those refusing to abandon non-Muslim practices. Resistance against Sokoto authority, known as *tawaye*, never led to a

restoration of the previous order within the Caliphate territory. While the establishment of the Caliphate at the beginning of the nineteenth century induced important changes, as hinted at above, it would be erroneous to think of it as an abrupt rupture with the past. At this time, in spite of attempts at promoting political orthodoxy manifest in works such as the *Kitab al-farq* (Hiskett 1960), the assimilation of Islam occurred gradually amongst Animist constituencies (Trimingham 1959: 30ff.). Alongside gradations of religious syncretism in different sections of the population, different Islamic traditions co-existed. Regrettably, this is another area that has not yet received sufficient scholarly attention. Just as we do not dispose of comparative studies of Azna and Maguzawa groups, so we lack studies of how the Islamic movement expressed by the Caliphate compared to pre-existing forms of Islam, such as those of the Wangara and of maraboutic fractions of Tuareg society.[34] Studies of the religious factor in Hausaland should pay attention to the differences *within* both Islam and Animism, as well as to the interactions and differences *between* various religious constituencies.

Colonial occupation at the end of the nineteenth century strengthened the presence of Christianity in the Hausa world, which had, until then, had hardly any contacts with missionary activity (Cooper, this volume). Through the twentieth century, Islamic identity in northern Nigeria confronted the religion of the colonial occupiers, religious integration apparently preceding both social and political integration in Kano (Paden 1973: 53ff.). In the 1930s Islamic religious brotherhoods provided avenues of incorporation for different migrant groups into the urban economy, especially in the Kano area (Paden 1970: 242). More recent scholars have tended to criticise Paden's emphasis on the relation between ethnicity and religion, and religious movements in northern Nigeria and southern Niger have been seen as lacking a clear ethnic base (Kane 2003; Alidou 2005). Cooper's study of Hausa evangelical Christians (2006), and Masquelier's of Azna confronted with

[34] For instance, in nineteenth-century Ader, Islam remained solidly anchored within Tuareg maraboutic and scholarly groups (Tamasheq: *ineslemen*), but did not become a criterion of political rule, as it was in Sokoto (Nicolas 1975b: 419, note 21). The good relations between Sokoto religious leaders and some Islamic scholars in Ader nuanced Sokoto's intervention in this region (Last 1967: 111–112; Leroux 1948: 596), where Animist practices had, by and large, not been repressed by the ruling Tuareg warrior elites (*imajeghen*). This, as elsewhere in the *kasar hausa*, resulted in the northwards migrations of some Animist chieftaincies who lost out against Sokoto's power.

recent Islamic radicalisation (2001), illustrate the continuous reshaping of religious affiliation and belief. Generally speaking, the trend seems to be the decreasing acceptability of syncretism which had seemingly informed political arrangements in early Hausa polities.

3. *Contents and aims*

The contributions presented here are structured around the three themes of identity, history and religion which we have just discussed. We now give an outline of their content and of the overall structure of the volume.

Over the last thirty years, Hausa historiography has relied heavily on linguistics to shed light on the early history of the society we have come to know as Hausa. Hence, it seems appropriate to start our discussion on the changing implications of being and becoming Hausa with a reassessment of what is known about the history of the language, and the continuing potential of linguistics to offer insights into some of the dimmest aspects of Hausa historical trajectories. In Chapter 2, Philip Jaggar provides a critical summary of the current state of knowledge about the evolution of Hausa, from the westwards spread of Chadic languages across the Sahara between five and three millennia ago to the 'rapid and recent' expansion of Hausa in its current homeland. He shows that a reconstruction of linguistic borrowings (in this case from Fulani, Kanuri, and Berber [Tuareg] languages) can provide important insights into social and cultural histories. A parallel argument is advanced in Chapter 3 by Murray Last, who analyses a list of 250 place-names drawn from Kano Province maps to seek Hausa and borrowed toponyms and to suggest a history of settlement and contacts. Exploring cultural, economic, and geo-political dimensions of the transition from proto-Hausa to Hausa, he suggests that a key point was the contrast between the main cities' surroundings (Hausa: *karkara*) and the 'deep bush'. Here, Hausaisation appears as a centripetal force, strongest in the urban poles where Islamic codes of conduct and worldviews are dominant, and weaker further away from the city. Still relevant to contemporary sociological distinctions, the urban/rural interplay, with its religious implications, is central to Hausa culture and social structures, and seems to have left traces in relatively old language formations. In Chapter 4, Joseph McIntyre suggests that proverbs and verbal compounds constitute valuable sources of information on pre-Islamic beliefs and institutions that have remained 'fossilised' in language, while the practices they refer to were transformed by social and religious change. Working on a list of 500 proverbs and almost 1000 verbal compounds, McIntyre notes that these constructs comment upon a world that is predominantly rural and agrarian, and reflects the sacralisation of nature characteristic of pre-Islamic Hausa religion. Functioning as moral commentaries in today's Muslim Hausa world, they contribute to the resilience of non-Islamic imagery and beliefs, as indeed, McIntyre goes on to show, do some non-teaching practices of Hausa Muslim clerics. Further elaborating on the rural/urban and Islamic/non-Islamic tensions, Chapter 5 by Benedetta Rossi sheds light on ethnic dynamics at the 'deep rural' end of Hausaland. A detailed case study from the Ader region (in today's southern Niger) illustrates the changing articulations of 'Hausa' and 'Azna', and the progressive Hausaisation of low-status Tuareg throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It examines why and how, historically, particular social groups 'became Hausa' and what this process of Hausaisation implied in practice.

While maintaining the focus on ways of life and their transformations, Chapter 6 by Anne Haour shifts the discussion to archaeology's potential for the interpretation of the early dynamics of what is known today as Hausaland. Taking the example of Kufan Kanawa (Niger), reputed through oral and written history to be the former location of Kano, Haour contrasts archaeological results and historical data relating to the site, setting them within the wider context of the archaeology of the Hausa area. Questioning the usefulness of archaeological attempts to identify the ethnicity of past peoples, she suggests that investigations should instead document the spread of, and interrelations across, different ways of life (e.g. particular systems of production and trade, or the custom of living within walls). These themes are developed further in Chapter 7 by Abubakar Sule Sani in relation to recent archaeological research in Kirfi, near Bauchi (Nigeria). Sule Sani relies on ethnographic research in interpreting past specialised technologies, such as iron-working and dyeing, and past religious beliefs. Identifying within the survey zone remains which he attributes to different periods on the basis of comparison with neighbouring areas, Sule Sani suggests factors of change which impacted on settlement patterns, technologies of production, trade, and religious beliefs. *Inter alia*, he suggests that the move from inselbergs such as Kirfi to valley areas may have formed part of the historical development of the *sarauta* system.

The relation between trade, technology, and particular political systems is also central to Chapter 8 by Marisa Candotti, who examines the evolution of trade relations within and between Hausa areas, and with regions beyond Hausaland. Candotti focuses primarily on the nineteenth century, when consolidation into the Sokoto Caliphate erased political and economic barriers between the Hausa polities and entailed major demographic and commercial changes. Using the example of textile manufacture, Candotti illustrates changing patterns of trade and production in the Hausa area, where cloth was an important symbol of status. In the three following papers, the focus moves closer to the present, enquiring into the significance of cloth—its production, trade, and uses—as one of the central markers of Hausa identity. Moving on from production and circulation, Sarah Worden (Chapter 9) examines clothing as an indicator of social, political and religious affiliation. Drawing examples of high-prestige robes from museum collections, Worden addresses the role of clothing style in the construction of Hausa identity, and considers the potential of museum textile collections in approaching ethnicity. She notes that museum collections must aim to decipher implicit and explicit references to cultural meanings and moral values.

These same values are also at stake in the intergenerational negotiations taking place in contemporary Hausa societies. In Chapter 10 Adeline Masquelier discusses the processes of individual self-fashioning and generational affirmation through which young Muslims in Dogondoutchi (Niger) negotiate clothing styles and musical affiliations with elders. Masquelier shows that, to these young Muslims, the idea of 'Hausaness' is secondary in their efforts to develop identities integrating them into global movements rooted in shared Islamic consciousness and hip-hop culture. Both of these often contrasting transnational discourses offer young Nigériens, faced with poverty and unemployment, an escape from their own marginalisation in international politics and youth movements. They negotiate their identities through bodily performance and a critical engagement with some of the major problems afflicting their generation, such as HIV-AIDS. The theme of identity negotiation is further developed, with an explicit religious focus, in Chapter 11 by Barbara Cooper. Bringing right up to the present the discussion of religion in defining and reshaping Hausaness made in preceding chapters, Cooper unravels the epistemological bargaining occurring in the process of 'becoming Christian' in contexts where 'being Hausa' is synonymous with 'being Muslim'.

Based on fieldwork in Maradi (Niger), Cooper notes that evangelical religious culture in Maradi has been shaped by the consciousness that Christianity must prove itself in terms legible to Muslims, but also, if less explicitly, to what remains of non-Islamic Hausa religious beliefs. The negotiations ensuing from these 'unconventional' conversions are primarily performative, and are set in the syncretic religious landscape already highlighted by other contributors. Cooper concludes that 'Hausaness is not a fixed set of practices, but rather an ongoing *process* of conversation, mimicry, struggle, rejection, reform, and renewal'. The focus on Hausa as a *process* presented in both Masquelier's and Cooper's rich ethnographies reiterates the importance of learning from the present to interpret the past. It aptly leads to John Sutton's emphasis on process as a defining feature of the *longue durée* of Hausa history. Concluding a wide-ranging exploration of historical manifestations of being and becoming Hausa, in Chapter 12 John Sutton brings up to date his 1979 overview of the question of 'Hausa origins' and rethinks the assimilative processes which played a role in the making of a 'Hausa' society. He synthesises current ideas on the timescale and mechanisms of the emergence of a distinct Hausa group, and reiterates the importance of historical linguistics in gaining insights into the earliest—and most obscure—phases of Hausa history. Together, chapters suggest that the Hausaisation process involved progressive adoption of the Hausa language; negotiation with Islam, partly as a charter for economic opportunity; and the growing centripetal force of major urban poles, exerting political and economic influence over surrounding regions, and manifest in the organisation of production, trade, migration, and efforts to make rural identities compatible with urban expectations.

4. *Conclusion*

The papers in this volume discuss, from different angles and disciplinary perspectives, the *process* of becoming Hausa—the progressive definition of individuals or societies as Hausa ('Being Hausa'), and the incorporation of different groups into Hausa ('Becoming Hausa'). They offer a broad coverage, from the traditional 'Hausa cores', such as Kano, to 'peripheries' such as Bauchi and Ader. Together, contributors highlight a series of dichotomies which appear to characterise this process: *Azna*/Hausa, rural/urban, external/internal. Many of these have been, and continue to be, articulated through religion.

An explicit goal of this book has been the exploration of different, often conflicting, interpretations, as well as of points of agreement. A particular area of shadow concerns early mentions of Hausa in the historical records. As was seen above, considerable debate surrounds (a) the rarity of occurrences of the term Hausa, in a clearly identifiable form, until the seventeenth century and indeed its possible absence before this time; (b) the interpretation of the derivation of the name 'Hausa' from earlier words mentioned in Arabic sources; and (c) the attribution of a set of different terms (geographical locations, ethnonyms, etc.) to early stages of 'Hausa' history, before this society came to be identified as 'Hausa'. This volume does not attempt to iron out disagreements, which would give a false sense of certainty detrimental to future research. However, the intersection of areas of shadow and the shared focus on Hausa ethnogenesis not just as an ideal construct, but also as a material and performative phenomenon, together allow us to identify directions for future research and the contributions that the Hausa case can make to questions of religion and identity in general.

Firstly, and thinking back to the still considerable problems in interpreting the early sources referred to just now, we suggest that particular care should be paid to the world-view of the authors, and to the *scale* on which any events or developments are described. Traditions of migration are very prevalent but, as Bonte and Echard (1976: 246ff.) pointed out in their work among Hausa communities in Ader, oral tradition may use migration as a metaphor for the creation of new centres of settlement within one same cultural sphere, and that migration may occur within a same region and over small distances. Similar clues can be found in the written and oral historical records. The environmental context presented by the colourful *Wakar Bagauda* is that of a farming society with deep ties to the land (Hiskett 1964, 1965ab). Last (1985: 192, 199 and n. 91) detects in the *Wakar Bagauda* references to an immigration of craftsmen from the northwest, attracted by the economic opportunities for trade in the Kano area, notably gold and slaves. In foregrounding the importance of regional mobility and migration for interpreting Hausa historical trajectories, we find helpful a focus on *internal processes* and on 'way of life', both of which offer valuable clues to the experience of being and becoming Hausa across time. Theories hypothesising migration over very long distances (e.g. Lange 2004, 2009) must seek to explain how lifestyles were preserved, or altered, during the transition.

Tying into these questions is the issue of the nature of life in rural Hausaland. There remains a dearth of synthetic, diachronically-applicable studies of social and economic organisation in the countryside.[35] This neglect mirrors that of the earliest written records, which typically disregarded the more mundane aspects of Hausa life—crops, farmers, and subsistence goods—to instead describe exotic trade goods and urban lifestyles. Yet, it is plain that such urban landscapes, and the scale of trade and manufacture evident in the towns, could not exist without supply from a rural hinterland and buoyant systems of trading, not confined to high-value or specialist commodities (cf. Shea 1983). The marked seasonality of the climatic regime, where a short rainy season concentrates the bulk of agricultural work into a few months between June and October, will no doubt have encouraged farmers to undertake other occupations during the dry season.[36] If we surmise the wide-scale involvement of rural populations in the precolonial Hausa economy, then a distinction between a 'progressive' hierarchised, trade-oriented, *sarauta*-structured urban Hausa, and an 'ancient' egalitarian, rural world (Riedel *et al.* 1990; Fuglestad 1983) is mistaken: it conceals the integration of these realities into a single regional system. Historically speaking, it is only within the wider framework of the rural landscape (in particular, thanks to its productive capacity) that the walled, Islamic, widely renowned Hausa towns (*birni, birane*) could come into existence.

These observations are still pertinent to the unequal development of urban and rural parts of the *kasar hausa* throughout the twentieth century (Charlick 1991: 124–127). In recent times, the Sahelian fringes have faced increasing environmental degradation, with consequences for the organisation of farmers and herders in the hinterland

[35] Notable exceptions include the narrative of Baba of Karo (M. F. Smith 1981[1954]); the work of Polly Hill (1970: chapters 6 and 7, 1972, 1977, 1982); and several contributions to the volumes edited by Bawuro Barkindo in 1983 and 1989.

[36] Such points have been raised, for instance by Raynaut (1972: 42–47), M. G. Smith (1981), Adams and Mortimore (1999: 133ff.), and Haour (2003). However, their full import remains to be grasped, even though the involvement of rural communities in production and trade has been indicated by a number of specific case studies. Among those, we can cite the observation by Hill (1977) that much of the cloth produced in Kano must have been woven and dyed in the countryside, as well as the complex network of trade contacts—extending to even the smallest villages—which have been documented by authors such as Shea (1980), Baier (1980), Grégoire (1992), Haour (2003), Candotti (this volume) and Rossi (this volume). Much documentary material remains available, too, in local institutions and archives (Murray Last, *pers. comm.*).

(Bernus 1974; Raynaut 1975; Faulkingham and Thorban 1975; Baier 1976; Watts 1983). Rural producers have reacted to the progressive monetisation of the economy and to recurrent production deficits by unfolding new migration strategies along past long-distance trade routes (*fatauci*). Previous generations of long-distance traders have formed diasporic platforms of support for younger migrants from their region, and mobile traders have been joined by seasonal labour migrants attempting to meet farming deficits at home with earnings derived from migrant labour (Prothero 1957; Swindell 1984; Guillas 1984; Main 1989; Rain 1999; Rossi 2009b). Old commercial relationships are transmuted as they become integrated into modern international economic structures (Grégoire 1992: especially chapter 5). If in the nineteenth century Hausa identity functioned as a business charter across a vast subregional economy, today it seems to enter international financial institutions only through the 'backdoor' (Meagher 2003), and many Hausa-speakers try to escape poverty by making do in the so-called informal sector. On the other hand, as was the case in earlier periods, religion appears to remain central to modern subjectivities, by giving Hausa youths access to global Islamic movements (Kane 2003; Charlick 2007; Masquelier, this volume). Thus, studies of contemporary Hausa society point to the continuing relevance of tensions between rural and urban, external and internal, and different forms of religious identity.

In terms of the mediation of identity and religious belief through material culture, a third promising axis of future research emerges: clothing and textiles more generally. Clothing, a vital aspect of self-expression, is a fundamental part of the definition of both Hausaness and Islam. A particular attractiveness of this data source is that, as shown by a number of chapters in this book (e.g. Candotti, Masquelier, Sule, Worden), it is amenable to approach by very different disciplines: museology, economic history, history, anthropology, and archaeology (indirectly, through evidence of increased textile production and evidence for dyeing). As such, it can be expected to reward future interdisciplinary academic enquiry.

At the conclusion of our study, it is clear that 'Hausaness' involved considerable negotiated and situational aspects. Also, syncretism is, and has been, part of Hausa Islamic culture for centuries; evidence of this survives in historical records and in language. Therefore, instead of seeking to identify a monolithic 'Hausa people' in the past, a more fruitful way of approaching identity is to focus on process.

In the chapters to follow, the various contributors show us that the process of becoming Hausa has involved a long-standing interplay between different constituencies; one in which religion has seemingly functioned as a central aspect in the definition of individuals and groups, yet has proven at times surprisingly adaptive or syncretic. The continuities underlying change form the core theme of the chapters to follow. As we hope to have shown above, our volume aims both to take stock of the progress made so far in Hausa studies, and to identify future routes for research. More generally, we hope that this volume will help advance thinking on the nature of identity and religion, and its mediation through the performative and material aspects of life.

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CHAPTER FIVE

BEING AND BECOMING HAUSA IN ADER[1]

Benedetta Rossi

1. *Introduction*

This paper focuses on Hausa identity in Ader: how it is represented in local ethnic discourse; how it is performed in distinctive ways of living; and how it can be acquired in the process of becoming Hausa. The changing social implications of ethnicity are illustrated here with reference to the recent history (approximately 1860-present) of the village of Agouloum in the district of Tamaske (north-eastern Ader). While in today's social map of Ader, Agouloum is defined as a 'Hausa' village, a closer look at the history of its population in the last one hundred and fifty years reveals the presence of multiple ethnicities, which followed separate historical trajectories. Perhaps I should anticipate that this detailed historical example is hard to follow for anyone unfamiliar with Ader society. Yet, the cultural and practical meanings of 'Hausaness' in this region can only be grasped by delving in the maze of local representations of identity and following the rationales and practices adopted by individuals and groups as they live up to categorisations, or fail to do so. Socially and historically, settlements like Agouloum occupy a particular place in the 'Hausaisation process' (Sutton, this volume): they are situated in the *bakin daji*, or 'deep bush' of mainland Hausaland (Last, this volume); and they have been characterised, until recently, by low population densities, symbiosis with pastoralists, and greater freedom to reject dominant models of identity than in politically centralised urban centres. The relevance of such places to Hausa studies is twofold. First, from the beginning of the nineteenth century the political and ideological reach of Sokoto has been weakest in places like Ader, allowing for the endurance of

[1] I wish to thank Bruce Hall, Anne Haour, Murray Last, Michael Mortimore and the anonymous reviewer for their insightful comments on different versions of this paper. I owe Figure 5.2. to Ezio Martelli's help.

aspects of Hausa identity that were transformed sooner elsewhere. Second, the rural world played a constitutive, if scarcely studied, role in the historical development of the better-known urban Hausa society, and arguably deserves closer attention than it has thus far received (Haour and Rossi, this volume).

2. *The place of Ader in Hausa history*

Ader's place in Hausa history is summed up by a paradox: while the few Arabic sources available exclusively illustrate the history of its Tuareg components, oral traditions collected amongst both Hausa and Tuareg informants from the beginning of the twentieth century emphasise the presumed 'autochthony' of certain sections of its Hausa-speaking population. Ader lies at the north-western edge of Hausaland. It is not mentioned—at least not as 'Ader' or 'Adăr'—in the corpus of early Arabic sources edited by Levtzion and Hopkins (2000). It figures neither in the Kano Chronicles (Palmer 1967), nor in the *Hausa bakwai—Hausa banza* legendary division (Hallam 1966; Sutton 1970: 195–199). In a manuscript of which we know only that it was written by a 'learned Fulbe of Sokoto' and published by Palmer as 'Sokoto Arabic Document II', Ader is placed outside the confines of nineteenth century Hausaland: 'And as to an explanation and meaning of 'Hausa', there is understood by it a district to the west of Borno, to the east of the River Niger, *to the south of Ader*, and to the north of the land of Zak Zak: that is what is meant by the land of Hausa, but it does not include places far from those mentioned' (Palmer 1967: 14, my emphasis). This view is confirmed by the fact that older people in Ader commonly use the word 'hausa' generically meaning 'south' and refer to the town of Madaoua (at the southern edge of Ader) as '*bakin Hausa*', or the Hausa border.

Sultan Muhammed Bello's *Infaq al-Maisur* (ed. Arnett 1922)[2] suggests that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Ader political leadership was in the hands of different Tuareg groups. In his narration of the *jihad*, Bello distinguishes between Ader-based Tuareg allies

[2] E. J. Arnett published a 'paragraph and in some parts a translation' of Bello's *Infaq al-Maisur* in *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani* (1922). While Arnett's text is probably unreliable for points of detail (see Last 1967: xxxi), it is used here as a general source of information on Sokoto's relations with Ader.

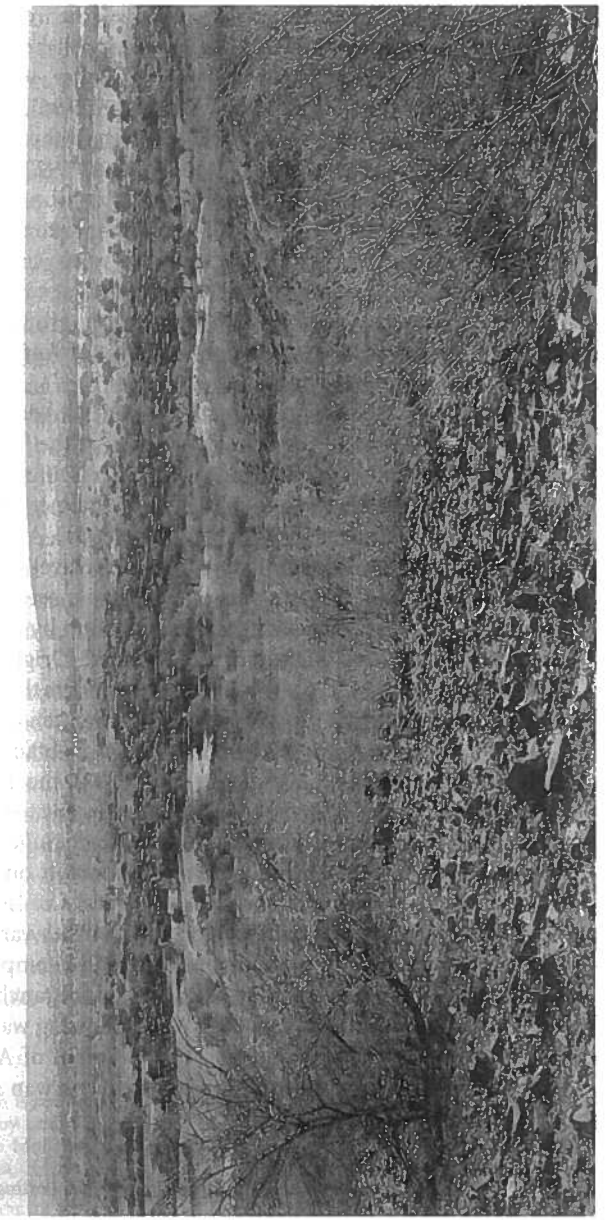

Figure 5.1. Ader landscape with village, April 2005.

and enemies of Shehu Ousman dan Fodiyo. The former include jihadists at the following of Mallam Agale, a close collaborator of the Shehu; and the Sultan of Agadez Muhammad al Bakiri, who is portrayed in visit to 'his towns of Adar' (e.g. Arnett 1922: 96). The latter include the Kel Gress (Arnett 1922: 51, 89–90), and other 'Tuareg of Adar', such as the Tawantakat and the Itesen (Arnett 1922: 96). 'Sarkin Adar' is mentioned alongside other *sarakuna* with whom Sokoto attempts to negotiate (Arnett 1922: 69, 105). This important source by an eyewitness of many of the events discussed, who was in direct relation with the political leaders of the time, shows that early nineteenth century Ader was governed by different Tuareg groups, with the north falling at least partially in the political orbit of Agadez, and the south controlled by the Kel Gress.

The main written sources directly relevant to Ader are a set of manuscripts that illustrate the history of some of the Tuareg groups that inhabit the region between Agadez and Ader. Different versions of the Agadez chronicles have been published by Palmer (1910; 1967[1928]: 46–50, vol. 3), Tardivet (1928), and Urvoy (1934). Ader appears in all of these documents, although Palmer's and Tardivet's versions mention it only marginally. Urvoy's version contains a set of documents that Sultan Oumarou of Agadez had copied for him by clerics at his court. The third section of 'Manuscript B', is titled 'Origine du Sultanat de l'Ader' (Urvoy 1934: 156). While Urvoy considers the first section 'very ancient', he states that the third section was written in 1907 (Ibid: 146). This is the same date when Lieutenant Peignol obtained the 'Y Tarichi' on the history of the Lissawan (Peignol 1907), the Tuareg group that in 1900 was placed at the head of the newly created district of Tamaske in north-eastern Ader. Urvoy's *Origine du Sultanat de l'Ader* and Peignol's *Y Tarichi* provide similar information on the conquest of Ader by the son of the Sultan of Agadez and five 'supporting tribes'. While the number and composition of the tribes vary across sources, the sources focusing specifically on Ader tend to emphasise the role of the Lissawan.[3] These texts narrate that a junior branch of the Sultanate of Agadez established its rule over Ader following wars led by Agabba ibn Mohammed al Mobarek, son of the Sultan of Agadez, and confided the country's administration to three Lissawan sections (Peignol

[3] For a comparison of different combinations of 'supporting tribes' in different sources, see Norris (1975: 51–57).

1907; Landeroin 1911: 483–491; Urvoy 1936: 156). Different sources situate Agabba's conquest of Ader toward the end of the seventeenth century, which corresponds roughly with Muhammad Bello's reference to Agabba's defeat of Kebbi in 1674 (Arnett 1922: 15).

This version of Ader history has been accepted rather uncritically and widely reproduced in the historiography of Niger (Urvoy 1936: 254–258; Nicolas 1950: 51–52; Séré de Rivières 1965: 163–164; A. Smith 1970: 343; Echard 1975: 85–87; Hamani 1975: 91–107). However, the written sources from which it is derived have not, to my knowledge, been subjected to critical scrutiny. These often quoted documents on Ader history are the testimonies of Islamic clerics alive at the time when the manuscripts were collected and should be considered with caution: commenting on Urvoy's *Chroniques*, Hunwick noted that 'in no case has a fac-simile of the Arabic versions of any of the above documents been published; nor yet have I been able to lay my hands on one' (1973: 36); H. T. Norris stated that the information given in the *Chroniques* disagrees with other, more 'independent', sources, such as the *Infaq al-Maisur* of Muhammad Bello (1975: 51–52); and Djibo Hamani argued that the Y-Tarichi 'while inspired by the information contained in earlier sources, relies heavily on the Lisawan's oral traditions, sometimes in spite of historical truth' (Hamani 1975: 16, my translation).

Keeping these provisos in mind, perhaps the earliest mention of Ader is to be found in Manuscript J of Urvoy's *Chroniques corpus*, the biography of 'Abou-Bakr fils de Attaher-Tachi', born in 1657 AD, which does not mention the role of the 'supporting tribes', but suggests that during the author's lifetime Ader was conquered by the sons of the sultan of Agadez; that on its soil wars were fought between Tuareg and Gobirawa;[4] and that Agadez had diplomatic and perhaps commercial relations with Ader, as the author's profession made him 'travel in Ader' (Urvoy 1934: 174). This text is interesting because, as the autobiography of an otherwise unknown person, it does not name groups which could have used the manuscript as a tool to legitimate

[4] This information is seemingly in accordance with *Raudat al-afkar*, which reports a sack of Adar led by *sarkin Gobir* Soba (ed. Palmer 1916: 267; Palmer incorrectly attributes the text to Muhammed Bello, while Last and others ascribe it to Abd Al-Qadir bin Al-Mustafa, cf. Last 1967: xxxiii). Soba's reign is usually placed in the early eighteenth century. For a discussion of the dating of Soba's reign in different sources, see Rigo (1985: 21–37).

their chiefly credentials in the eyes of colonial occupants. If its authenticity were verified, it would be the earliest written source confirming the southwards expansion of Agadez control over Ader, following wars with Gobir in the late seventeenth / early eighteenth century.

As we move closer to the twentieth century, the picture becomes clearer, because from 1900 onwards we dispose of copious colonial documentation. In the nineteenth century, Agadez appears to have lost control over northern Ader to the Iwellemmedăn Kel Denneg (Nicolas 1950: 56ff.; Alojali 1975: 36ff.). The Kel Denneg (northern Ader) and Kel Gress (southern Ader) remained in power in Ader until they were defeated by the French colonial army. The region discussed in the following sections of this paper fell within the area dominated by Kel Denneg warrior elites (*imajeghăn*), who extracted resources and labour from local Tuareg and Hausa populations through tributes and raiding. The Kel Denneg acted more like warlords than like rulers. They led a nomadic existence mostly dwelling outside villages, and moving camps within a region falling in their sphere of influence. Alongside Tuareg dependent sections, Hausa groups became encapsulated in an interethnic hierarchy at the top of which were the *imajeghăn*. This hierarchy was a loose structure of government, lacking complex bureaucracies and ruling apparata. Hausa villages experienced *imajeghăn* power directly through the levying of tributes and the threat of violence (Joly 1901; Brescon 1901; Urvoy 1933; Nicolas 1939; Pietri 1945; Nicolas 1950).

The Arabic sources discussed above focus primarily on conquest and political rule, and contain hardly any information on Ader's Hausa past. In spite of this, Ader comprises a large Hausa-speaking population whose oral traditions suggest early presence in Ader, where successive waves of Tuareg-speaking immigrants supposedly found them. The Hausa spoken in Ader belongs to the northwestern variety of Hausa, characterised by the greatest dialectical diversity, and hence possibly signalling earlier installation of Hausa speakers than in eastern and southeastern Hausaland (Jaggar, this volume; Caron 1991). The most detailed colonial ethno-historical studies available to us insist that the first inhabitants of Ader were Hausa-speaking Asna (Landeroin 1911: 484; Abadie 1927: 120; Nicolas 1950: 45–46, 48–49), a view confirmed by a rich and detailed corpus of oral testimonies collected in the 1960s by Nicole Echard, and more recently by myself, amongst both Hausa and Tuareg informants. Discussing the 'Aznas',

Urvoy states that '*les animistes, qui ont conservé chez les Haoussas français les croyances les plus pures, sont ceux de l'Ader*' (Urvoy 1936: 252). 'Purity' aside, this comment suggests the existence of well-established religious practices, which may reflect antiquity. The name 'Asna' in Ader has both religious and ethnic connotations (see Haour and Rossi, this volume). Generically, it refers to followers of non-Islamic Hausa religion, which is being gradually abandoned as Islam becomes less tolerant of syncretism (Nicolas 1981). The term 'Asna' is also used as an ethnonym to designate Hausa-speaking groups who practiced this religion and are considered autochthones (Urvoy 1936: 252; Echard 1975: 11). However, following the recent revival of Islamic reformism, 'Asna' has acquired derogatory connotations and is usually replaced by 'Hausa' or by ethnonyms highlighting residence.

The emphasis of written sources on Tuareg warrior leaders is partly explained by the bias of a historical tradition focused on political elites and produced by a class of Islamic clerics, which is absent in Asna society. The sources' silence about Asna society in Ader leaves many questions open: how, historically, have these groups come to be seen as the 'original Hausa' of Ader?[5] What language did they speak in the past? And why, if they originated from the same set of Chadic speakers who came to be known as 'Hausa', do their political, social, and religious institutions differ so markedly from those of the 'dynastic', or Muslim, Hausa? The division of Hausa society as we know it into two identities, whose main distinction is religious, is well known (see, for example, Smith 1959: 240; Nicolas 1975). This division is one of the main *explananda* of Hausa history. Regrettably, however, it has fallen off the research agenda, as references to 'ethnicity' and non-Muslim (or 'Animist') belief have become increasingly unfashionable in African Studies.[6] Another problem is the scarce evidence available for tracing early references to this distinction. The earliest clearly identifiable mention of the name 'Asna' that I have been able to locate is in Richardson's travel notes. Richardson stated that, when visiting Zinder in 1850 he could not obtain information about the 'Hazna' easily. His questions were frustrated by evasive answers:

[5] In Northern Nigeria, the Maguzawa have also been seen, possibly erroneously, as the 'original Hausa' (Last 1993: 269).

[6] This is partly a reaction against the particular use of these notions in the French colonial *politique musulmane* and *politique de races* (Soares 2005: 53).

> I only learnt what I knew before, that the Hazna make their offerings, which consist of milk and ghaseb, under trees. These Hazna are mostly peasants—little farmers; and like Cain, they offer their deity the fruits of the earth. The Imam said their deity was Eblis, or the Devil (...). He informed me also that there are a good number of Hazna in both Zinder and the other towns and villages of the province. He despaired of their ever becoming Muslims, but added, "The great men amongst them must become Muslims by order of the Sheikh, whilst the poor people are left to do as they please, and so furnish a constant supply for the home and foreign slave-mart. It is not in the interest of the Sarkee or the foreign merchants that they should become Muslims."
> (Richardson 1970 [1853]: 245).

It appears from this passage that in the first half of the nineteenth century Asna people were stigmatised on religious grounds and turned into primary targets of enslavement. This contributed to their auto-marginalisation (cf. Mortimore 1970: 103). Some Asna communities settled in the 'deep bush' and minimised their interactions with reformist Islamic society, whilst relying on alliance with other local groups and building on economic and military complementarities. The story told here is set in this type of context. It focuses on the period going from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present in the village of Agouloum. The choice of this village is not random, as the history of Agouloum illustrates the different meanings of 'Hausa', 'Asna', and various subdivisions of these two ethnic categories. It also highlights how and why certain non-Hausa speaking groups engaged in the process of becoming 'Hausa'. Economically and politically marginal today, Agouloum played an important role at the beginning of the 1900s in the restructuring of northern Ader politics. It is often qualified as '*cibiya*' (Hausa, 'origin', lit. 'navel') of many groups now settled in more important villages, and therefore *cibiya* of the villages themselves and of their political power. The old Agouloum (*Agouloum Kofai*), now abandoned, was a multi-ethnic settlement containing representatives of several Asna groups, Tuareg elites, and lower status Tuareg groups which 'became Hausa' as a strategy of status mobility. The history of Agouloum sheds light on the changing relation between models of ethnic identity and ways of living. The main transformations in this process can be summarised as follows:

- The polarisation of 'Hausa' and 'Tuareg' identities, partly driven by the formation of colonial administrative districts along ethnic criteria.

- A tendency toward increasing ethnic uniformity of settlements, as opposed to multi-ethnic villages.
- The adoption of sedentary lifestyles by progressively more people, primarily as a result of higher population densities.
- The hausaisation of originally Tamasheq-speaking slaves and liberated slaves, as a consequence of the long process of emancipation of slave constituencies.
- The increasingly rare use of 'Asna' as a form of identification, following from growing intolerance of religious syncretism.

It is impossible, on the basis of the available evidence, to speculate on when the terms 'Asna' and 'Hausa' were introduced in Ader and what they may have meant originally. It is equally difficult to advance conjectures on when the populations that are thus named today first reached this region, what names they have been called, and what languages they have spoken, if they did not always speak Hausa. Given these limitations, the rest of this paper documents how certain Hausaphone groups lived, and how their identities were represented, in nineteenth century Ader. The following section examines changing interactions between different components of Agouloum's population. The identifications relevant to these interactions are not 'Hausa' and 'Tuareg', but a variety of subgroups distinguished by particular traditions, statuses, and roles within these two broader categories.

3. *Ader*, 'carrefour de races':[7] *ethnic labels and their transformations in Agouloum*

Today, Agouloum comprises three administrative villages in the Canton of Tamaske of the Department of Keita: Agouloum Tudu (2100 inhabitants), Agouloum Karama (835 inhabitants), and Sabon Gari Kaora (989 inhabitants).[8] Its population is Hausaphone. Many people in Agouloum self-identify as 'Asna', and this is how they are characterised by other Asna groups in the region. At first sight, then, it would appear that Agouloum is one of the Hausa villages in the

[7] Souchet (1948: 33); Nicolas (1950: 56).

[8] *Recensement General de la Population et de l'Habitat 2001, Ministère des Finances et de l'Economie.* In 1901 the (single) village of Agouloum counted about 400 inhabitants (Joly 1901: 2).

mixed Hausa—Tuareg population of Ader. However, a closer look to the nature of the historical relations between the social components of Agouloum complicates this picture. At the beginning of the 1900s, Agouloum contained both Hausa and Tamasheq speakers. The Hausaphone population comprised two main groups: Bageyawa and Djibalawa. The Tamasheq speaking section comprised Lissawan, Gawalley, and Izanazzafan seasonal migrants (on Izanazzafan migrations, see Rossi 2009: 198–199). Today, Lissawan and Gawalley have adopted Hausa as first language. Before colonial conquest, Agouloum fell within the area of Kel Denneg political supremacy. Kel Denneg chiefs visited Agouloum few times per year, and sent their representatives to collect tributes in cereals. To summarise (and see also Figure 5.2.), these were the social components of Agouloum until the beginning of the 1900s, classified according to language:

ASNA / HAUSA-SPEAKERS*	
Bageyawa	Gazurawa and Tarimawa from Bagey, via Mashidi.
Djibalawa	Immigrants from Djibale, roughly 1870s. Mostly moved out again in the first decades of the 1900s.
TAMASHEQ SPEAKERS	
Lissawan*	From Ghat and Agadez, via Mashidi.
Gawalley*	Originally Lissawan dependents.
Izanazzafan	Former slaves of the Tellemédés *imajeghen* of the Iwellemmedăn Kel Denneg. Seasonal migrants to Agouloum.
[Kel Denneg *imajeghăn*]	Sporadic visits

* the asterisk indicates groups whose first language today is Hausa.

During repeated fieldwork visits since 1997, I collected two different oral traditions concerning initial settlement in Agouloum from informants who identify as Bageyawa. One version states that the Bageyawa (Gazurawa and Tarimawa) were the first to settle in Agouloum, and were found there by groups of Djibalawa and Lissawan (FN 02/03/2005). Another version states that the Bageyawa first reached Agouloum from Mashidi together with the Lissawan (FN 03/03/2005). In either case, the first group of Bageyawa immigrants reached Agouloum including representatives of the two original groups, which according to local traditions composed the population of Bagey. These are the Gazurawa and Tarimawa. The latter are considered autochthones and are defined as *'yan kasa* and *Asnan ramu* (i.e. Asna of the caves, where they are

thought to have dwelt before their initial contact with the Gazurawa). Reportedly, the Tarimawa were found in the area of Bagey by the first wave of immigrant Gazurawa, who taught them to wear clothes and live in villages, following an agreement summarised by the expression: 'you have the land, we have the power' (*kuna da kasa, muna da iko*). This expression refers to the sharing of power between these two constituencies, the immigrants gaining political power over the society of men (*iko*), and the autochthones retaining their power over the divinities of the land (*kasa*, territory, comprising visible and invisible features of the environment).[9]

The first encounter of Gazurawa and Tarimawa in Bagey is characterised in stylised terms, which recall the traditions of other similar encounters between village-dwelling immigrant Asna groups and cave-dwelling,[10] non-fully-human indigenes (see also Hamani 1975: 34–35, 40–41; Echard 1963: 12). Today, the village chief of one of the villages of Agouloum descends from both Gazurawa and Tarimawa, and his lineage has 'inherited the sacrifices' characteristic of Agouloum (thus, they are characterised as 'heir' or *gadadde*, cf. Nicolas 1969: 213). The oral traditions of Agouloum state that only one Batarimata from Bagey (hence, only one individual from the *Asnan ramu* constituency) joined the original group of migrants to Agouloum. She was called 'Giwa',[11] and she is also known as 'the one in the jar' (*ta karfi*), from the large water-jar where her body was buried, once she had become so old that, reportedly, she only ate ash and had ceased to exist as a living human. She is remembered as having had great power over the elements, particularly the rain (FN 02/12/2008). The significance of these identities should not escape us, as they attest to increasingly rare, or rarely voiced, religious beliefs. The religious status of the Tarimawa, 'children of the earth and Asna of the caves', was the defining characteristic of their identity in relation to the Gazurawa. While every person and lineage (*dangi*) engaged with specific spirits for their particular good, the

[9] The tradition of the Gazurawa and Tarimawa of Bagey is well documented by Echard (1972: 105–112; 1975: 118–124) and Hamani (1975: 28, 36, 40–41). The Gazurawa are mentioned in the Kano Chronicle (Palmer 1967, vol. 3: 98, 105). Last suggested that in the Kano Chronicle the name Gazurawa (or 'Gazarawa') was a historical metaphor assimilating groups living in northern Hausaland to the Khazars (1980: 171, 173).

[10] Echard provides a map of the caves she located during her doctoral fieldwork (1972: 117).

[11] 'Giwa', literally 'elephant', emphasises the greatness of her magic powers, as the elephant's dominance in the bush: '*giwa ta daji*'.

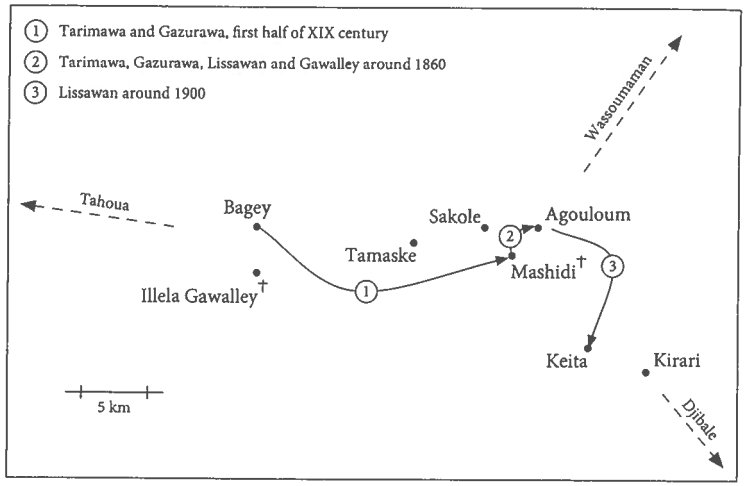

Figure 5.2. Movements of groups discussed in text during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

inheritors (*gadadde*) of the main local cult were responsible for rituals that benefited the entire village and which were carried out in particular sites. All rituals involved sacrifice (*tsafi*). The Asna of the sacrifices, or *Asna matsafa*, entertained privileged relations with the most powerful spirits (*iskoki*) of the area, and these relations gave them a power different from, but not unrelated to, political power.

The Tarimawa and Gazurawa (and other groups settled in Bagey), can also be referred to as 'Bageyawa' when their separate histories and specific roles need not be emphasised. In the first half of the nineteenth century, a group of Bageyawa left Bagey 'looking for farmlands'. Before moving to Agouloum, Bagey migrants spent some time in the interethnic village of Mashidi, where they met a family of Tuareg Lissawan and a dependent group, the Gawalley. The Bageyawa (Gazurawa and Tarimawa), Lissawan and Gawalley then left Mashidi and founded Agouloum (see Figure 5.2.).

> They left Mashidi with the Lissawan, looking for farmlands. The Lissawan did not farm, but they (the Gazurawa) were farmers. They were together, but they were independent. They did not intermarry. The Lissawan chief was more powerful than their leaders. [...] The leader of the Lissawan who led them here from Mashidi was Zangi.[12] [...] The Gawalley were together with the Lissawan and used to elect the Lissawan chief.[13] (FN 19/09/2005)

The Bageyawa's residence in Mashidi appears to have been short enough to be accomplished within a lifetime, as some of the founders of Agouloum seem to have lived in both Bagey and Mashidi, before moving to Agouloum. Mashidi, which does not exist anymore, was a multiethnic settlement abandoned after a war that occurred around 1860 (de Loppinot 1950; Assadeck, notes;[14] my fieldnotes).[15] The earlier residence of the Gazurawa and Tarimawa of Bagey in Mashidi is supported by some of today's elders, whose grandfathers lived in Mashidi as youths, and by marriage ties with other Mashidawa who are now settled in other villages of northern Ader. Mashidi is also the name of an important Asna spirit, whose shrine is still visible as a circle of stones at the top of an inselberg next to the homonymous, now abandoned, village (Figure 5.3.). Many villages in today's districts of Tamaske and Keita contain people whose ancestors resided in Mashidi, and who consequently define themselves as 'Mashidawa', when appropriate. Contemporary residence in Mashidi created ties across groups that settled in different places after Mashidi's dispersal. Asna leaders of Agouloum and Tamaske became related through marriage at the time of their common residence in Mashidi, and this tie would play a role in shaping political alliances that led to the creation of the Canton of Tamaske in 1908 (see below).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Asna groups in northern Ader formed a loose network, which included the Bageyawa (Gazurawa and Tarimawa of Bagey), Mashidawa, and a large number of similar groups, such as the Keitawa and Kirarawa settled next to the

[12] Zangi, son of Mouhamadine and Aghaishata, see Lissawan genealogy in Aghali Assaleck's 'Histoire Vivante de Keita' (the author is a member of the Lissawan ruling family). Zangi's power resulted in some local groups using his name as a chiefly title (FN 02/03/2005).

[13] This testimony is confirmed by Francis Nicolas: *'(Les) Gawalley (sont) venus avec les Illissawan en Ader (depuis 1696); ces Illissawan ont formé une caste plus ou moins suzeraine des Noirs Asenawa (animistes) et des Aderawa (musulmans)'* (Nicolas 1950: 47).

[14] Cf. sections titled 'Machidi: de l'installation à l'abandon (1862)'; 'Occupation des Machidawa'; 'Agouloum: installation et abandon 1862–1904'.

[15] In particular 12/02/2005; 13/02/2005; 19/02/2005; 02/03/2005; 27/05/2005; 16/06/2005; 15/09/2005; 19/09/2005; 22/09/2005; 26/10/2005.

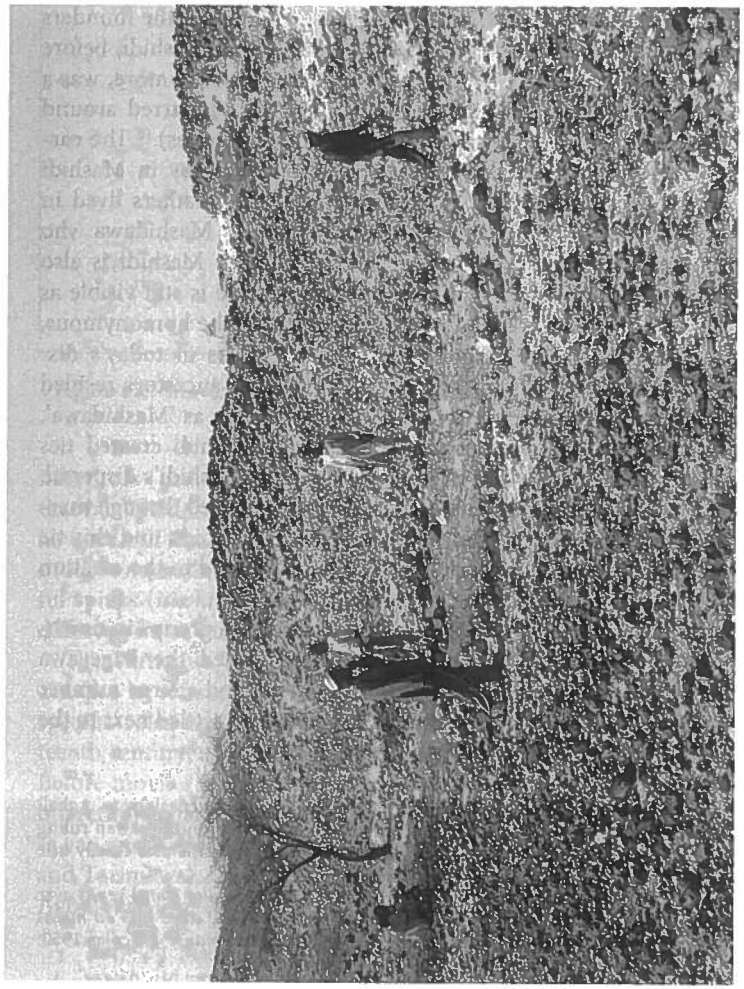

Figure 5.3. Shrine of Mashidi, December 2008.

Keita lake (in the zone of Kel Gress supremacy). Bagey, Agouloum, and Mashidi were integrated, politically, in an interethnic hierarchy headed by the *imajeghăn* of the Kel Denneg Iwellemmedăn. The small *imajeghăn* constituency of the Lissawan of Agouloum had a higher status than Asna leaders (*zarummai*).[16] It was subject to Kel Denneg authority even though it did not belong to the Iwellemmedăn confederation. The first group to settle in Agouloum Kofai from Mashidi was ethnically composite, and this multi-ethnic character was preserved in the division of the area into separate, named parcels, each of which is remembered as belonging to a particular group.

> The first settlers identified the place where they would establish a village because a bull (*sa*) that carried the luggage stopped there. They would settle where this bull stopped. When they reached Agouloum, they named various areas for cultivation, as follows: Fadama; Gaggabo; Chabako; Mullela; Erub; Akala; Izanna. These were the areas where the first Gazurawa elders had their fields. Today, they have been divided in smaller fields and redistributed, and the original boundaries do not exist anymore. Tesey and Abbagi, also called Tudun Issou and Tudun Ichamat were lands of the Lissawan. They did not cultivate them, but used them for herding. There were also some Buzaye, Izanazzafan, who were the slaves of Ichezi and Ataman [of the Tellemédés section of the Iwellemmedăn Kel Denneg]. They came here as seasonal migrants (*cin rani*) and built their huts on the farms of Ikanna, Chabako, and Mullela. They did little works for the Bageyawa, such as making ropes. (...) After they settled in Agouloum, Mahama Tambari[17] gave chiefship (*hakimtaka*) over Agouloum and power over a larger area to the Lissawan. (FN 19/09/2005)

How does this picture fit in the broader regional political history? As mentioned in the first section of this paper, Lissawan trajectories in Ader appear to be tied to the establishement of Agadez power in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. According to Lissawan tradition (Peignol 1907), Sarkin Ader, who descended from the Sultan of Agadez, entrusted the administration of Ader to three Lissawan chiefs. Agadez control and Lissawan power were replaced in the nineteenth century by Kel Denneg and Kel Gress rule (Hamani 1975). Integration in Kel Denneg rule restructured Ader hierarchies: free Tuareg

[16] The term *zarumi*, pl. *zarummai*, originally referred to elite archers in Asna society (Noma 2002: 116).

[17] Makhămmăd ăgg Elkumati was paramount chief (Hausa: *tambari*; Tamasheq: *amenokal*) of the Iwellemmedăn Kel Denneg in the period 1875–1905 (Alojali 1975).

and Hausa constituencies had to pay tributes to the Kel Denneg to avoid being attacked, pillaged, and enslaved. Large constituencies of slaves of the Kel Denneg were settled in villages characterised by collective slave status. These slaves did not pay tributes, but served as reservoirs of resources and labour, and could be sold in times of hardship (for a reconstruction of this system, see Lovejoy and Baier 1975). Free Tuareg elites could either confront the Kel Denneg militarily or ally with them. The small Lissawan group of Agouloum took the latter option, and it seems that they were charged with collecting tributes in some villages of the Agouloum-Tamaske area by the Kel Denneg paramountcy, a role which signified greater authority than that of other free village chiefs (Joly 1901: 4; Pietri 1945: 4; FN 02/03/2005; FN23/05/2005).

This political system was characterised by gradations of dependence arranged in separate hierarchies that followed, at once, their own internal rules and the rules of overarching hierarchies in which they were encapsulated. Hence, the 'ruling hierarchy' established by the Kel Denneg encompassed distinct hierarchies, for example, of the Lissawan and their dependents (such as the Gawalley); of Hausa society; or of particular political combinations of Tuareg and Hausa subgroups (as exemplified by the history of Mashidi and Agouloum). 'Skewed alliances' could cut across separate hierarchies, thereby establishing new hierarchical relations. The free Asna of Agouloum had their own representatives (*zarummai*); they maintained an alliance with the more powerful Lissawan; they paid tribute to the Kel Denneg via their own representative or the Lissawan chief; and hosted on their lands the Izanazzafan, slaves of the Iwellemmedăn, when groups of Izanazzafan came to Agouloum as seasonal migrants.

4. *Asna ways of living, ways to become Asna*

In nineteenth century Ader, Asna groups appear to have moved frequently in patterns of small-scale local migrations, and the remains of subsequent settlements are buried under thin layers of soil. Village sites abandoned in the last century lie not distant from what appear to be much older archaeological finds (see La Rumeur 1933: 299–318). The movements of the Bageyawa to Mashidi, and then of Bageyawa, Lissawan and Gawalley to Agouloum, took place in a scarcely populated hinterland area at the border between Hausaland to the south

and the Sahara to the north. Northern Ader is characterised by low rainfall levels, thin soils, and rocky slopes surrounding narrow fertile valleys. Farmers like the Gazurawa were highly mobile: they moved to look for new lands, while their old fields remained in the hands of family members who stayed in the original village. Short-range dispersion ensured that ties were maintained between 'mother villages' and newly founded settlements. As people moved from one village to the other, they acquired new ethnonyms and added them to old ones, thereby maximising potential claims to resources and alliance. Farmers lived in symbiosis with pastoralists and specialised long-distance traders (both Tuareg and Hausa, who followed separate trajectories). High mobility resulted in low investment in permanent buildings and defence structures. Abandoned villages left few traces. The only visible remains on the sites of the abandoned villages of Mashidi and Agouloum Kofai are the remains of iron production, and the skeletons buried in graves orientated north-south.[18]

Mud-brick houses and granaries were (and still are) built with locally available materials that did not stand out in the landscape, lowering the risk of raids and attacks. Alliance with sections of different groups contributed to increasing security: multi-ethnic villages were spared by warriors in good relations with at least one group of villagers; and different ethnicities had complementary economic and military skills (the Asna were primarily farmers and archers; the Tuareg were herders, fought with swords, and wealthier warriors mounted camels or horses). Preferred village locations coincided with spaces surrounded by a range of low hills, which 'hid' villages like curtains and contained sacred areas, often located closer to the hill-tops (for the importance of hills in rural Hausa society, see Mortimore 1970: 103–108; Sutton 1979: 184; Haour, this volume). Mashidi and Agouloum Kofai were set in this type of environment. Their primary defense strategy was avoidance. Oral testimonies abound with tales of villages whose magic was powerful enough to make them invisible to enemies. In the rocky and hilly landscape of the Ader Doutchi, one cannot see settlements surrounded by hills. Indeed, the lack of any substantial construction and the likeness of mud-plastered houses and granaries to Ader soil

[18] Corpses are buried lying on the left side of their body, with their head toward south and their feet toward north, so that when they awake in the other world, they face the east. This burial form is characteristic of late nineteenth century sites.

makes these villages undetectable from any distance greater than a few hundred meters, even when their location is in open sight.

In spite of their avoidance strategies, Asna groups were in contact with transhumant Tuareg and Mbororo pastoralists, with whom they exchanged the products of complementary economic activities. Ader lies at the crossroads of trade routes linking North Africa (for example, Ghat in the Lybian Fezzan and Agadez) to Hausaland (Sokoto, Katsina, Kano). It is not surprising, thus, that some of the main Tuareg groups settled in Ader (such as the Lissawan and Gawalley) are said to have come from Ghat in the Lybian Fezzan (Souchet 1948; on the Ilemteyen ['Ilemtin'] Lissawan section in Ghat, see Duveyrier 1864: 367). Their history is tied to the history of Agadez, In Gall, and Tegidda-n-Tesemt. Groups of Isawaghen traders used to camp in Agouloum Kofai, where they exchanged different types of salt for millet and beans (FN 01/12/2008).[19] Some Ader villages hosted important markets and communities of Hausa long-distance traders (*fatake*). These are the groups most often characterised as 'Hausawa' as opposed to 'Asna'. Hausa *fatake* brought ostrich feathers, livestock, slaves, and locally produced white cotton cloths (*tsawaye*) to markets in Hausaland, especially Kano, and obtained cowrie shells (*dîyan wuri* or *'yan kudî*), and dyed cotton (they had unsold *tsawaye* dyed with indigo and brought back for sale to Tuareg customers on Ader markets, FN 04/12/2008). Some of these traders formed satellite communities in Hausaland, with whom their descendants still have close commercial and social relations. Farming utensils, arrow-heads, chains, and other iron instruments were produced by Asna ironmongers, the *makeran karfi baki*, with iron derived from local ores (iron, *karfi*, was extracted from indurated laterite, Hausa: *tama*). Abundant remains of tuyères and large slag (*kankari*) fragments are visible on the plateau between Agouloum and Keita (Figure 5.4.), where slag-pit furnaces were used following the techniques documented by Nicole Echard in *Noces de Feu* until as recently as the 1960s (Echard 1965, 1968; cf. Darling 2008; Jaggar 1973). The men of these Asna communities were

[19] The Isawaghen are salt traders in the Tegidda/In Gall region, cf. Bernus and Gouletquer (1976). Bernus and Bernus state that the main caravan traders of the In Gall market are 'Hausa de l'Ader' (1972: 85, correction in *errata*). The oral testimony of Yakoub Madayé on the origins of Tegidda links the traditions of the Isawaghen with those of the Lissawan: '*Les fractions de nos ancêtres étaient celles des Inoussoufan, Imiskikian, Iwantakam, Ilissawan, Itéssen, Kel Owi*' (Bernus and Bernus 1972: 107).

farmers, hunters, archers, and ironmongers. Different specialisations required the protection of particular spirits.

The identities described so far had porous boundaries, and interaction across ethnic divides facilitated ethnic permutation. Good relations with neighbours were crucial, and sometimes led to co-residence in multi-ethnic villages. The Bageyawa (Gazurawa and Tarimawa) probably encountered the Gawalley before common residence in Mashidi, when the Gawalley resided in Illela Gawalley, a village abandoned around 1935, which used to be located few kilometres to the south of Bagey (see Figure 5.2; cf. Echard 1972: 73). The Gawalley are reported in a number of sources to have originally been dependents of the Lissawan, to whom they paid yearly tributes of millet and cows, and with whom they descended into Ader from their previous emplacement in Air and, before then, Ghat in the Lybian Fezzan (Peignol 1908: 33; de Loppinot 1948: 9, who spells 'Ighawallei'; Nicolas 1950: 49; Echard 1972: 72–73). Once they reached Ader, the Gawalley started a process of social mobility, which implied their progressive Hausaisation. Hausaisation occurred frequently amongst Tuareg slave descendants as slaves in Tuareg society could become 'liberated slaves', but at least in theory, could not attain free status.[20] In contrast, Hausa society offered greater potential mobility to slaves (see discussion in Haour and Rossi, this volume).

The name 'Gawalley' is a transliteration into Hausa of the Tamasheq 'Ighăwélăn', denoting 'liberated slaves' and sometimes still used by Tamasheq-speakers in Ader with reference to the Gawalley.[21] Just as the 'Imeghad' category is today called 'Magaddey' in Hausa, so the 'Ighăwélăn' became 'Gawalley' as this group Hausa-ised. Yet, the term 'Gawalley', in Hausa, does not have the connotations of dependence of Ighăwélăn in Tamasheq. Some families of Gawalley 'became Hausa' by being gradually integrated into the Gazurawa of Bagey, then Mashidi and Agouloum, accounting for differences in the oral traditions collected from today's 'Gazurawa' elders. These differences suggest varying degrees of dependence from the Lissawan, and traditions that

[20] See Rossi (2009); on the limited mobility available to slave constituencies in Tuareg society, see Bernus (1976: 91) and Nicolas (1975: 422). Assimilation of Tuareg people into Hausa society was not limited to slave groups; a well studied example is that of the Agalawa traders studied by Dan Asabe (1987). However also in this case, changing ethnicity arguably gave the Agalawa tangible business advantages.

[21] In Tuareg society, freed slaves fit in two generic categories: the Ighăwélăn, whose free status has ancient origins, and the more recently freed Iderfan (Bernus 1974).

Figure 5.4. Remains of furnace and tuyères on the plateau SE of Agouloum, December 2008 (the scale shown is 1 metre long). Photo courtesy of Joël le Corre.

overlap or resonate, alternatively, with those of the Asna of Bagey, or of the Lissawan. The incorporation of a group of Gawalley into the Gazurawa explains why some testimonies in Agouloum argue that the Gazurawa (read Gawalley passing as Gazurawa) and the Lissawan came together from Ghat, while others don't (Gazurawa from Bagey). It also explains why some Agouloumawa use exactly the same metaphors found in the *Y tarichi* of the Lissawan, where the metaphor in the Lissawan's request for political power to Agabba is the same as the one of the 'Gazurawa's' (read Gawalley passing as Gazurawa) request for land to the Lissawan chief.[22]

For the Gawalley, becoming Hausa was a long-term strategy of social mobility. Slowly severing ties of dependence from their former masters, some Ighăwélăn started calling themselves 'Gawalley' and acquiring a Hausa identity through intermarriage and shared residence with the Hausa Gazurawa. Today some 'Gazurawa' of Agouloum are of Gawalley/Ighăwélăn descent, and have been actively erasing the memory of their forebears' identity and original enslavement for generations. Separation from the Lissawan and progressive integration into the Bageyawa/Mashidawa/Agouloumawa started with the establishment of relations between Bagey and Illela Gawalley (Figure 5.2.) in the early nineteenth century. It was strengthened in Mashidi before 1860, and later in Agouloum. In 1900 the Lissawan families of Agouloum moved to Keita, and many Gawalley stayed in Agouloum. Here, only some of them may have been able to claim 'Gazurawa' identity, but they could all confidently assert to be 'Agouloumawa'—an identity that includes all Hausaphone residents.

5. *Mobilising ethnicity: the strategic functions of overlapping identities*

If residence with a Tuareg *imajeghăn* fraction may have benefited the Bageyawa of Agouloum under Iwellemmedăn domination, this situation changed in the first years of French occupation. The Kel Denneg chiefs refused to collaborate with the French administration, and relations grew increasingly hostile. The Lissawan looked like the

[22] The Lissawan asked for a 'bubu that does not wear out' to Agabba in *Y Tarichi*, Peignol (1907: 32); the 'Gazurawa' requested to the Lissawan chief: 'a bubu that noone else shall wear' in Agouloum (FN 02/03/2005). While the metaphor is the same, the latter formulation implies a request for autonomy that is absent in the former.

Kel Denneg in somatic traits, skin colour, clothing and attire. The Gazurawa of Agouloum claim that they defended the Lissawan *vis à vis* French diffidence, and supported Lissawan appointment as administrative chiefs over a large region of northern Ader.

> When the French arrived, they were hostile to all the Abzinawa, whom they called '*bourgamé*'.[23] They were at war with the Iwellemmedăn, who lost their power definitively. But people feared meeting the French. Because of the Lissawan's appearance, the French thought initially that they were Abzinawa. But the Agouloumawa defended the Lissawan and told the French that they were not '*bourgamé*', they were Lissawan, living with them and *speaking no other language but Hausa*. The French introduced the institution of the 'Canton' and were looking for chiefs to head the newly established Cantons. The 'big men' (*zarummai*) of the Asna constituencies discussed and decided to support the candidature of the Lissawan as *Chef de Canton*. (FN 02/03/2005)

Comparison with colonial sources suggests that this testimony aggrandises the role of Asna groups in the initial establishment of relations between Lissawan chiefs and colonial officers (Gouraud 1944: 42, 69–70). However, it illustrates how Asna constituencies manipulated different types of ethnic categories. The emphasis on language as the main criterion for defining ethnicity shows that the people of Agouloum understood that French administrators ignored the multiplicity of ethnic subdivisions within both Tamasheq-speaking and Hausa-speaking constituencies. The colonial officers' limited insight into local identities triggered an instrumental emphasis on the Tuareg-Hausa opposition along primarily linguistic lines. If this criterion was perhaps used, as suggested in the last quote, to initially 'include' the Lissawan within the 'Hausa' and shield them from hostility directed primarily against Tuareg dissidents, a few years later a diplomatic accident involving Lissawan, Gawalley and Gazurawa underpinned a reverse maneuvre.

[23] 'Bourgamé' is how people in Ader transliterated '*brigands*', epiteth given to some Tuareg by the French. Literally, 'Abzinawa' is a Hausa term indicating Air (Hausa: *Abzin*) provenance, and should, therefore, include the Lissawan and exclude the Iwellemmedăn (who are correctly represented as *non-Airawa*, or characterised as *Abzinawan daji* in contrast to the *Airawa imajeghăn*). The term Abzinawa has lost its geographic connotation and is now simply used as a translation of '*imajeghăn*' and political elite, as in the expression '(after colonial conquest) the French became our Abzinawa'.

> One day, while Amattaza[24] was in Keita, the word spread in Agouloum that the Lissawan had called the Agouloumawa their slaves. After this, the Agouloumawa did not want to be under the Lissawan's power anymore. They sent two youths who spoke French to Madaoua, to complain with the French about the Lissawan's administration and to ask to be granted independence from the Lissawan. In these circumstances, some leaders (*zarummai*) of the Mashidawa of Tamaske decided to collaborate with the *zarummai* of the Agouloumawa (who were also Mashidawa), to ask for the creation of a separate Hausa canton of Tamaske.' (FN 19/09/2005; cf. 02/03/2005; 02/12/2008)

While this accident is widely known in the area of Agouloum and Keita, it is unclear how far (if at all) it actually contributed to the creation of the Tamaske district. Colonial records do not provide a detailed explanation for the reasons of this separation. In any case, *if* the Lissawan or their political clients at some point referred to the 'Agouloumawa' as former dependents or slaves, this may not have been too far from the truth in relation to the Gawalley. But such a claim would have constituted a serious *faux pas* vis à vis the Asna constituencies (Gazurawa and Tarimawa), enraged at such point that the episode contributed, at least in their retrospective reasoning, to the creation of the new 'Hausa' Canton of Tamaske headed by someone of Asna descent and separate from the Canton of Keita, headed by the Lissawan. On this occasion, in contrast to their initial position in support of the Lissawan's candidature, they argued that they were *Hausa* and different from the *Tuareg* Lissawan. In 1912, Tamaske became capital of the newly created '*canton*' headed by Aga, cousin of Mousa chief of the Agouloumawa, who supported Aga's candidature. Aga was a wealthy farmer in Tamaske, and his kinship tie to Mousa derived from their parents' contemporary residence in Mashidi. On this occasion, the shared 'Mashidawa' identity of Agouloum's and Tamaske's leaders was mobilised, out of many sets of identities that made people in Agouloum and Tamaske distinct, to support a particular political strategy.

Like 'Agouloumawa', 'Mashidawa' is one of a set of identities that are not mutually exclusive. Hence, some Agouloumawa can self-identify as 'Mashidawa' (previous residence in Mashidi), 'Bageyawa' (initial emplacement in Bagey), 'Gazurawa' or 'Tarimawa' (original ethnonyms in Bagey). They can also be defined as 'Hausa' and 'Asna'. Which identity

[24] 'Amattaza' is the chiefly title of the Tirizei Lissawan ruling lineage.

is chosen depends on the context, circumstance, and interlocutors. Agouloum, it is said, 'comes from' Mashidi and, before then, Bagey. Each stop in the subsequent displacements of a population occasions either the founding of an altogether new settlement, or the integration of newcomers in a pre-existing society (see also Echard 1975: 167–192). The incorporation of immigrants establishes different degrees of proximity, from mere neigbourhood (sometimes in separate village districts) to intermarriage. This settlement pattern emphasises the firstcomer—immigrant distinction and is matched by a particular ethnonymic structure (Kopytoff 1987: 16–17). Any population settlement has a collective name, which includes original and subsequently incorporated sections. Often this collective name simply means 'people who live in village x' (e.g. residents of Agouloum would all be called 'Agouloumawa'). But its components also have separate names. *Being Hausa* in Ader implies owning a set of overlapping Hausa identities, which individuals inherit from their parents, or acquire through residence and marriage. This ethnic rationale puts a premium on 'wealth in people' (Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 9–11; Guyer 1994), as owning overlapping identities entails the ability to mobilise multiple relations in different circumstances. It reflects an incorporative, rather than exclusivist, ethos (Burnham 1996), which one would expect to find in contexts where risk is high, land abundant, and labor scarce. On the other hand, lacking multiple Hausa identities can be seen as an indication of slave origins and recent integration into one or the other Hausa group. Ethnic passing involves a loss in potential identifications that lasts several generations, until a varied portfolio of identities can be reconstituted. Hence, voluntary ethnic permutation is usually opted for when benefits outweigh losses, for example by granting access to increased status mobility.

6. *In conclusion: Hausaisation observed*

In Ader, and possibly elsewhere, differences across groups are neither exclusive nor stable. Inclusive identities are maintained so as to maximise opportunities of alliance and collaboration, whilst exclusive ethnic criteria support political strategies in particular circumstances, such as the formation of administrative districts under colonial rule. These observations do not justify a purely functionalist argument. Identity fissions and fusions, as well as the alignments formed behind particular ethnic labels, are rooted in historical experience (Peel 1989; Burnham 1996: 155). Hence, the Asna defense of the Lissawan *vis à vis* the French, the Asna/Lissawan opposition to the Iwellemmedăn, the Gazurawa and Gawalley fusion, the Asna refusal to remain under Lissawan power, and the alliance between the 'Mashidawa' of Agouloum and Tamaske, reflect historical choices to align with allies, and split from foes. These choices may result from constraint or free will—either way, they are not historically random.

'Hausa' in Ader is a language, a region to the south, and a model of identity. When commonalities between Asna and Hausa are emphasised, by virtue of some shared characteristics, primarily language, a Baasne can claim Hausa ethnicity, whilst retaining his other identifications. But this situation has been changing. As many of the characteristics peculiar to Asna identity are becoming obsolete, 'Asna' is progressively replaced by 'Hausa'. In this context, and possibly more generally in the region we now call Hausaland, Hausaisation reflects the adoption of Islam, inclusion in the *sarauta* system of governance recognised as 'traditional' under colonial rule, disappearance of certain occupations (hunting, smelting), lifestyle changes dictated by increasing population density, and the adoption of unilateral kinship. Should this process ever be complete, all Ader 'Asna' may one day become exclusively 'Hausa'... including the ones who were originally 'Tuareg' (such as the Gawalley). By an irony of history, those 'Asna' who managed, in the nineteenth century, to escape forced Hausaisation by enslavement, may thus be categorically joined with those Tuareg who 'became Hausa' in order to erase their slave origins.

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Abbreviations

ANN: *Archives Nationales du Niger, Niamey*
FN: Author's fieldnotes

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