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).

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Edited by

Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi

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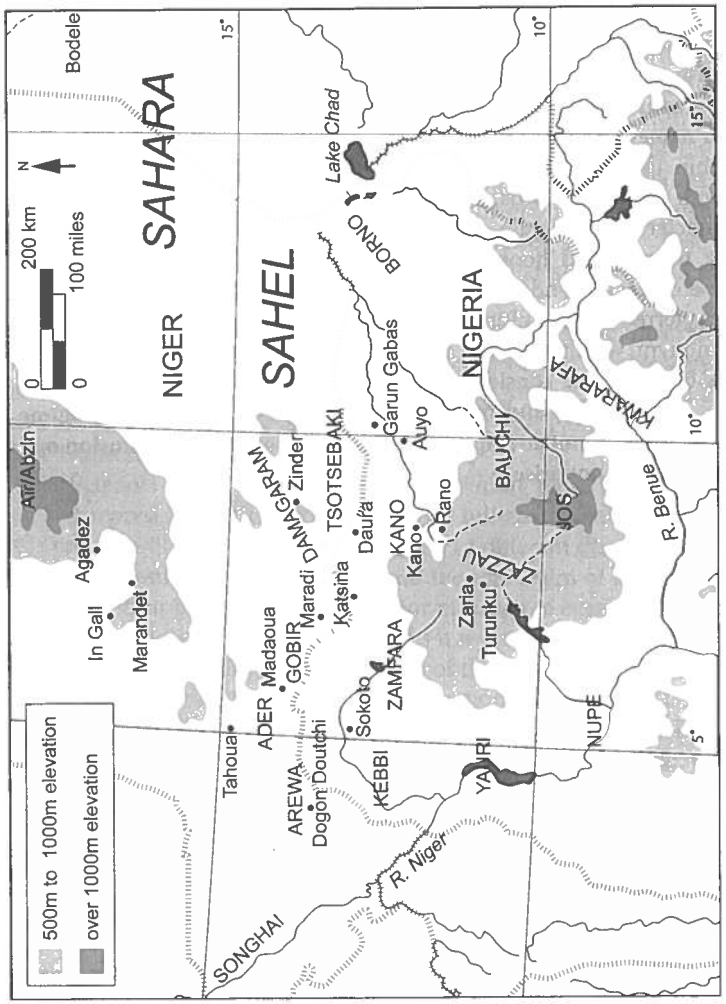

Map 1.1. The Hausa area.

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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