

AN APPRAISAL OF THE BAYAJIDDA LEGEND IN THE HISTORICAL TRADITION OF DAURA TO 1750

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the Legend of Bayajidda, a foreign hero from the Middle East, as the acclaimed founder of the Daura Kingdom. The paper adopted a corroborative method of historical research, such as primary and secondary sources. The paper discusses the origins of the kingdom of Daura, drawing on various versions of its history and the nature of the government or political system it developed after its establishment. Using archaeological and oral evidence to assess the validity of the Bayajidda legend, the paper argues that, in the Daura Kingdom, a state-like system had developed long before Bayajidda's arrival. The paper concludes that the legend of Bayajidda, despite its limitations, is significant for tracing the history of the kingdom of Daura.

Keywords: *Daura, Bayajidda, Hausaland,*

Introduction

The paper examines the legend of Bayajidda and the historical tradition of Daura from its founding at Tsohon Birni (old settlement) to 1750. It also discusses the nature of the political system, including the machinery of government and their functions as they existed in Daura. The paper further assesses the significance or otherwise of the legend of the origin of the Daura Kingdom. This is done with a view to clearly bringing out the nature and processes involved in the establishment of a political community that later came to be known as the Daura Kingdom before the nineteenth century. The paper is structured into parts. The first is the introduction. The second deals with the historical traditions of the Daura Kingdom, followed by the assessment of the legend of Bayajidda. The fourth is the political system the kingdom developed, the significance of the legend, and, lastly, the conclusion.

Traditions of Origin of Daura

Daura, in the Hausa tradition, was one of the seven Hausa States, which included Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Gobir, Rano, and Birom. The people of Daura commonly regarded it as the

earliest State to emerge in Hausaland.¹ There are two different versions regarding the origin of the Daura tradition.²

The first version traces the origin of the people to a man named Najib, who came from Canaan in Palestine and moved southward to settle in Libya, then under Egyptian control. In Egypt, he had a son named Abdurdar. Later, Najib left Libya, while Abdurdar, his son, migrated farther south until he reached Hadhar-Iblis, where he settled. In Hadhar-Iblis, Abdurdar attempted to secure the town's leadership but lost and was therefore expelled. Abdurdar moved farther south with large followers and crossed the Sahara via Agades, where he settled permanently near the banks of the River Gigido, which came to be known as *Tsohon Birni*, the earliest capital. At *Tsohon Birni*, Abdurdar united the already settled indigenous people of the Daura area, who were hunters and blacksmiths, with his followers to establish a kingdom.³ In this place, he gave birth to seventeen daughters, out of which nine of them ruled the kingdom variously, as *magajiya* or queens. These daughters included: Kufuru, Gino, Yakumo, Yakunya, Walzamu, Gizir Gizir, Innagari and Daura.⁴ The name Daura is eponymous with the ninth queen, Daura, who moved the capital from *Tsohon Birni*, the old capital, to *Sabon Birni*, the new capital, just 10 kilometers south of the former capital.⁵ According to the version, about eight more queens ruled after Daura at *Sabon Birni*, the new capital. These queens included: Gamata, Shata, Batatuma, Sandamata, Jamata, Hamata, Zama and Shamata.⁶

The second version is about the coming of a man called Abuyazid, popularly known as

¹ For details of this view see H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. I, Frank Cass, London, 1965, pp. 610-611; S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1967, p. 73; M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura*, University of California, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1978, p. 52.

² These two versions have been the most popular legends of origin among the historians of the area. The first legend discusses about the origin of the kingdom from its foundation at *Tsohon Birni*, old capital. The second traces the history of the kingdom to the coming of Bayajidda, whose son founded the seven Hausa States. See NAK/KATPROF/HIS/42 "History of Daura."

³ Anonymous, *Takaitaccen Tarihin Daura*, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1991, p. 8; M.G. Smith, pp. 52-54.

⁴ W.F. Gowers, *Gazetteers of Kano Province*, Frank Cass, London, 1972, p. 29, M.G. Smith, *The Affairs...*, p. 52

⁵ H.R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, Vol. 3 Frank Cass, London, 1928, p. 133; NAK/MSS/KATPROF/HIS 14 "Littafin Girgam: There are many divergent reasons given for the transfer of the capital from my informants. Some said "it was because of the desert encroachment." Other said, "it was as a result of prolonged and periodic famine." Whatever the case, it must have been transferred for strategic and administrative convenience.

⁶ There have been some inconsistencies in the lists of these queens recorded in different literature. See Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 142; S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, p. 154.

Bayajida, son of Abdullahi, the king of Bagdad.⁷ Following a quarrel with his father and the people of the city. Bayajida and his group left Bagdad in forty companies. Bayajidda and one of the companies moved westward until they came to Borno. The *Mai* of Borno gave Bayajida his daughter, Magara, in marriage. Bayajida always assisted his father-in-law with horses and warriors among his men, in any of his battles. The *Mai* of Borno saw that Bayajida was stronger and dreaded and if care was not taken he might take over the throne after the *Mai*'s.⁸ In order to wipe out this fear, the *Mai*, planned to kill Bayajida. Rumours of this plan reached Bayajida through his wife, Magara. Consequently, he left Borno with his wife and moved westward until he came to a town called Garun Gabas (Gabas ta Buram) in present day Hadejia Emirate. Bayajida settled there for sometime with his wife who got pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy, called Buram, who was named after the town where he was born.⁹

Bayajida left Garun Gabas because of fear that the *Mai* of Borno might pursue him there. He further moved westward until he came to Gaya, in present day Kano Emirate. At Gaya the blacksmiths of the town offered him a knife as gift.¹⁰ Later he set northward until he reached the present-day Daura. When he came to Daura, he met one woman called Ayana who accommodated him. He requested for water for himself and his horse, whereupon she informed him that they could only fetch water once in a week on Fridays because of a snake called "Sarki" inside the well of the town known as "Kusugu" who prevented them from doing so except on such days: Thereupon he asked for a bucket and went to the well. As he was drawing water from the well a huge serpent entwined the bucket with its fangs fiercely drawn ready to strike whereupon Bayajida cut its head with his sword and went back to his lodge.¹¹

The following day after getting the full information the queen invited Bayajida to her house and offered him half of her kingdom for his prowess which saved them from the danger of the evil snake. Bayajida declined the offer and asked for her hand in marriage instead,¹² and she agreed and added to him a female slave as concubine. Bayajida thus became a *de facto* ruler of Daura and eventually came to be referred to as "Sarki" and all those who succeeded

⁷ According to one of my informants, Bayajidda was not from Bagdad but came from Syria. Interview with Alhaji Lawal Haruna, Fada Baba, Title Holder and Member of Council to the Emirate of Daura, 74 Years, 18-12-2017.

⁸ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura Emirate 1806 – 1903," Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2023, p. 66.

⁹ H.R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs...*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁰ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura..." p. 66.

¹¹ H.A.S. Jonston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, Oxford University Press, London, 1967, pp. 2-8

¹² F.W. Gowers, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Palmer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 133.

him assumed the title.¹³ Explanation on how the name Sarki emerged was that as people were going to the palace, which is still used as the Emir's palace, they stopped saying, "we are going to the queen's house, but we are going to the house of the man that killed the snake called ki (*zamu gidan mai sare-ki*), eventually shortened to *zamu gidan sarki*, hence the present title of "Sarki".¹⁴

In the course of time, Bayajida's concubine gave birth to a male child, named "*mun karbi gari*," that is, we take the town, shortened to "*karabgari*". Later, the queen also gave birth to a boy, who was named "*Bawo mu garinmu*," that is, "give us back our town", which was shortened to Bawo. After Bayajida's death, his son, with queen Daura, succeeded him and is said to have been the first man to be installed as ruler of Daura. Karabgari was appointed chief magician, in addition to being head of all the *Maguzawa* with headquarters at Yamadawa.¹⁵ Over time, Bawo had six children who became the founders and rulers of six of the seven Hausa States. These were: Bagauda, who became the king of Kano; Kazura (Kazaura), who became the king of Daura; Gunguma, who became the king of Zazzau; Duma, who became the ruler of Gobir; Kumayo, who became the ruler of Katsina; and the last one, Zamagari, otherwise called Zamadugi, who became the king of Rano.¹⁶

An Assessment of the Bayajidda Legend of Origin

It is common knowledge that scholars trace the origin of Daura, and indeed the Hausa states, to Bayajida. The proponents of this view were mostly colonialist historians whose interpretations were anchored in the "Hamitic hypothesis" or "conquest theory," with the foreign hero Bayajida, otherwise called Abu Yazid, as the founder of the state in Daura. These scholars, including H.A.S. Jonston, M.G. Smith, G. Saligman, and H.R. Palmer, among others, believe that Africans were not capable of forming states and that the states in Africa were founded by foreign heroes with ancestral origins in Arabia and the Middle East in particular.¹⁷ This notorious and denigrating view followed a wrong interpretation of the Bayajida legend as expressed by H.R. Palmer.¹⁸ In fact, their general conviction is that:
States in Africa have emerged as a result of the migrations of Berbers and the conquest of

¹³ M.M. Gwadabe, (et al), *Turaki Nuhu: A Biography of a Merchant Scholar*, Amana Printers, Kaduna, 2006, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ NAK/MSS/KATPROF/HIS14 "Littafin Girgani" p. 10

¹⁵ M.M. Gwadabe, *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹⁶ S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History...*, p. 74.

¹⁷ G. Saligman, *Races in Africa*, p. 19 and 30.

¹⁸ W.K.R. Hallam, "The Bayajidda Legend in Hausa Folklore," *Journal of African History*, Vol. II, No. I, 1966, p. 47.

aboriginal Negroe people, which is reflected in the legend of Bayajida in Daura as folk memory.¹⁹

This view, however, suffers from some limitations due to the absence of archaeological and linguistic evidence from the area. The legend, in its present form, should be used with caution as it has been criticized by scholars such as Abdullahi Smith,²⁰ J.E.G. Sutton,²¹ Mahdi Adamu,²² among others. These scholars assert that the legend of Bayajida does not hold water, as it did not take into account factors such as internal processes in the formation of states, like internal migrations, the environment, culture, and security, among others. This view, no doubt, denigrates Africans and their human capabilities in the formation of states and the transformation of society. Thus, Africans were assumed to be incapable of initiating revolutionary change in their own societies. This belief was not unconnected with the desire to justify their superiority, colonialism and imperialism with all its attendant evils on African societies. Scholars such as Sutton, for example, criticized this view in his "Mega Chad Thesis" that the Hausa people were indigenous to the area and the state that was formed was not a product of any foreign intervention²³ in Daura. He concludes that:

The original homeland of the Hausa people must have been the Hadejia – Daura – Kano axis. The period of emergence also as a distinct group must have been in the 15th Century.... The Hausa people were sedentarised population in the mershers of the Mega Lake Chad, as hunters, fishers and agricultural inhabitants. Following the shrunk of the Lake Chad, they moved northwards, and westwards and continued to develop a kingdom.²⁴

The view of Sutton is, however, supported by Mahdi Adamu in his autonomous thesis, "that the Hausa people were indigenous to the area"²⁵ They inhabited. The state established in Daura was not a result of the coming of Bayajida or any external influence, but a product of migrations of several people from within rather than from without.

¹⁹ A. Smith, "Some Consideration Relating to...", p. 333.

²⁰ A. Smith, "Some Considerations...", pp. 329-347.

²¹ J.E. Sutton, "Towards a Less Orthodoxy History of Hausaland," *Journal of African History*, Vol. xx, 1979.

²² A. Mahadi, "The Hausa and Other People of Northern Nigeria, 1200 – 1600 A.D.: Studies in the Nigerian Culture," *Occasional Papers of the Centre for Nigeria Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982.

²³ J.E. Sutton, "Towards a Less Orthodoxy...", p. 179.

²⁴ Sutton, Towards a Less Orthodoxy..., pp. 179-201.

²⁵ A. Mahadi, "The Hausa and Other People...", p. 53.

On his part, Abdullahi Smith also vehemently discredited the Hamitic hypothesis and argued that a state must have existed in Daura long before Bayajida's arrival. He states that this view only believes in the prominence given to the stories of the foreign hero who comes from afar, with his magical sword and supernatural power, otherwise derived, imposes himself and his progeny on a previously unorganized people, creating new allegiances among them and mustering them into new communities in the form of states.²⁶

Abdullahi Smith further continues that

The legend may be interpreted (and its precise meaning is far from clear) it can hardly be thought that it refers to the creation of a new people. If it means anything at all, it must refer to the political changes wrought (perhaps in the eleventh century A.D.) among a people already possessing an ancient historical identity, demonstrated by the alleged existence of a pre-Bayajida dynasty of female rulers at Tsohon Birni. Bayajida and Bawo, the legendary founders of the Hausa Bakwai, figure only as the seventeenth rulers of this group.²⁷

The legend of Bayajida, as it is, is mythical and “nothing but magical and of doubtful authenticity. The legend has nothing to do with Berber migrations and the formation of a state or a dynasty. Rather, it only gives descriptions and not real explanations of the process of state formation.”²⁸ In his conclusion, Abdullahi Smith admits that:

Daura has enjoyed state - like government previously. There were in any case kings in these countries before the son of Bawo. ... political organization emerged as a result of the conditions favouring the foundation and development of birni-type of settlements.²⁹

In fact, the traditions of origin of Daura discussed above are ahistorical and trivial because of a lack of convincing evidence. It is, however, reasonable to infer that most people moved into the area from within the Central Sudan because of the varied opportunities offered by the environment. Other factors to be considered include continuous human habitation, cultural evolution, and peace and security in the area, among others. Therefore, the formation of the state in Daura resulted from continuous migrations and human interactions, which led to the establishment of permanent settlements in the area of Tsohon Birni. The traditions of origin in the area and available evidence point to the people inhabiting the area for centuries, long before

²⁶ A. Smith, “Some Considerations...,” p. 329.

²⁷ A. Smith, “Some Considerations...,” p. 333.

²⁸ A. Smith, “Some Considerations...,” p. 335.

²⁹ A. Smith, “Some Considerations...,” pp. 337-345.

the appearance of Bayajida or Abdurdar. This was evident from the existence of a pre-Bayajida dynasty of female rulers in Tsohon Birnin Daura, with a high concentration of power and authority that brought other neighbouring settlements under control. Even archaeological evidence of tools belonging to the Sangoan culture, collected around Gusau in Upper Sokoto, confirms habitation in this area.³⁰ The era of the emergence of settlements may be provisionally assumed to be the last millennium B.C. and the first millennium A.D.

Political System

The Political System in Daura is divided into three phases: phase one at *Tsohon Birni*, the old capital; phase two at Sabon Birni, the new capital; and phase three at post-jihad Daura. The concern here is with phase two, especially from the mid-eighteenth century to the outbreak of the jihad. In Daura, unlike in other Hausa States, with the exception of Zazzau at one time, the matrilineal system of Government headed by a queen *magajiya*, with the active involvement of female officials, was the practice.³¹

Another office in the system of Government was the office of the *Sarki*, king, which was placed under the office of *Magajiya*, who was not as powerful as the queen. According to tradition, it was when Bayajida came to Daura and married the ninth queen, Daurama, that she relinquished her title and authority to her husband. Since then, the administration of Daura took another turn from matrilineal to patrilineal line.³² But even after this change, the office of *magajiya* remained important, and some titles were exclusively reserved for women. The office of Sarkin Daura was therefore not autocratic because of the counterforce of the *magajiya*.³³ The *magajiya* had the authority to forbid obedience to the king, *sarki*, or countermand his order or veto his decisions, to revoke his legislation and cancel his policies; and, if necessary, to depose him and have a new king selected, through *galadima* and *kaura*, the king makers, except if the king remained loyal.³⁴ However, the position of the *sarki* was hereditary in the Daura political system.

³⁰ Thurstan Show, "Pre-history," In Ikime, O. (eds.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann, Ibadan, 1980, p. 27.

³¹ A. Umar, "The Restoration of the Hausa Dynasty in Daura," B.A. History Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1972, p. 5.

³² R.M. Daura, *A Man of Great Honour: A Biography of Alhaji Bashir Emir of Daura*, Amman Publishers, Kano, 1999, pp. 12-13; A. Umar, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³³ A. Umar, "The Restoration..." p. 5.

³⁴ M.G. Smith, *The Affairs...*, p. 83. Many of my informants told me that some sarakuna of Daura were said to have been deposed by the queen before the nineteenth century. No example of those deposed were mentioned.

As a matter of fact, by the mid-eighteenth century, the office of the king became *primus inter pares* and, therefore, he became the guardian of the *kasa*. The office of the *magjiya* was given to the elder daughter of the king, as princess, for life. All other women title holders remained answerable to her.³⁵

The next office below the *sarki* was that of the *sarakunan karaga*, or senior councilors, who served as kingmakers. They were: *Galadima*, *Kaura*, *Liman*, *Dan Sanwai*, and *Alkali* (chief judge).³⁶ The major duty of the councillors was, among others, to choose a successor to the office of the *sarki*. They were also advisers to him; the *Galadima* supervised all princesses, with the exception of *Murka*, who was under *Kaura*.

Other important State officials in Daura were the *sarakunan garuruwa* or provincial chiefs. They were fief holders appointed by *Sarkin Daura*.³⁷ The authority of the *sarkin Daura* was exercised through a hierarchy of *sarakuna* who, in terms of their relationship with the *sarki*, fell into three categories: those drawn from among the princesses, princes and other members of the dynasty, who could be slaves or free-born. The *Sarki* exercised considerable authority over the whole of the State through these subordinate chiefs. They lived in their various towns and cities and had houses in the capital. They enjoyed relative autonomy in their respective *garuruwa*. Their major functions, above all others, were the administration of the units or Provinces as representatives of the king. They collected taxes from their subjects on behalf of the king and supplied military contingents from their Provinces to the central Government during wars.

Other title holders were *yayan sarki* or royal princes and princesses. These were not fief holders. They occupied privileged positions often without specific functions. They were *the yerima or crown prince and the king's chosen heir or successor to the throne, but in the event of the king's death, the council of electors could decide to set aside the yerima and appoint a more suitable person among the princesses*.³⁸ The princesses included: *Murka*, *Bunturawa*, and *Haska*. They were all appointed by the king and must be related by blood.³⁹

There were important female officials, including: *magajiya*, now called *mairama*, the

³⁵ M.B. Sani "A History ...," p. 73.

³⁶ A. Umar, *op. cit.*, p. 7; M.G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³⁷ These *sarakuna* were: *Kaura*, *Galadima*, *Madawaki* and *Sarkin Bai*. *Kaura* apart from being a fief holder he was also the chief of the army *sarkin yaki* all together.

³⁸ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 74.

³⁹ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 74.

king's oldest daughter; *lya*, second only to *magajiya*; *maidaki*, the sarki's senior wife; *gabsai*, who presided over ceremonies of the *yayan sarki* or king's children; and *uwarsoro*, the chief concubine. The influences of *maidai* and *uwarsoro* were restricted to the royal household. All the offices held by female officials were not hereditary, but all the titles mentioned above, with the exception of *maidaki* and *uwarsoro*, must, as a rule, be held by princesses of Kasa.⁴⁰

Also, other important titleholders in the political administration of the Daura kingdom were the *bayin sarki*, or *sarakunan fada*, court officials. They were in charge of the affairs of the palace. These officials were: *Sarkin Yara*, *Sarkin Bai*, *Sarkin Fuda*, *Fada Babba*, and *Shantali*. All of them were under the control of *sarkin bai*, who was the senior eunuch, in charge of the royal chamber. *Sarkin bai* was assisted by *Wambai*, a fiefholder. *Sarkin fada* was the chief messenger. *Fada Babba*, a senior eunuch, was in charge of all the courtiers. Under his office were other title holders, such as *sarkin dogarai*, head of the sarki's bodyguards, and *hauni*, chief executioner. On his part, *Uban Davaki* looked after the sarki's stables.⁴¹ Other slaves in the palace included: *Sarki's personal staff called yan muri*, such as *Sarkin Garka*, *Sarkin Jarmai*, *Lifidi*, *Makama*, *Ajiya*, and *Dan Maza*. All of them performed other duties that might be assigned to them by the king in the palace.

There was also a war council, made up of *sarakunan yaki*, whose major function was to take charge of war and defence of the kingdom in the event of an attack. The council members were seven title holders: *Kaura*, *Sarkin Yara*, *Sarkin Bai*, *Fada Babba*, and *Shantali*. The State had no standing army, but depended on the supplies made to the central Government from *garuruwa* or towns. Again, there was the category of officials in the machinery of Government in Daura, before the nineteenth century, which comprised: the occupational heads or craft officials, *sarakunan sana 'a*. These officials served as a link with the State. Their primary duty was to regulate their colleagues' activities. They were: *sarkin pawa*, head of butchers, *sarkin dillalai*, head of brokers, *sarkin zango*, head of cattle sellers, *sarkin makera*, head of blacksmiths, *sarkin marina*, head of dyers, *magajin aska*, head of barbers, *sarkin gini*, head of public works, *madugu* and *balkacima*, among others. Their major duties included: the collection of occupational taxes, the settlement of peace and the mediation of conflicts, as well as the production, supplies, and services to the State. Blacksmiths, for example, produced the State's arsenal; *sarkin gini* was in charge of the fortified walls, maintenance and repairs of the palace, and other public works, among others.⁴²

⁴⁰ A. Umar, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. Other less important female officials with unspecified jobs were *Yakuntu*, *Magajiyar*, *Karya* and *Dangawa* among others.

⁴¹ M.B. Sani, "A History ...," *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴² M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 76.

The last in the category of title holders in the Daura political system were the court musicians. They were: *sarkin busa*, *sarkin makada*, *sankira*, and *magajin tambari*. Under *magajin tambari*, there were other titleholders, such as *magajin turu* and *dan tomo*. Their major duties were drumming and praising the sarki and other title holders during ceremonies such as Eid el Maulud, Sallah durbar, and the installation of most new title holders, as the case may be.⁴³

It is important to stress that before the nineteenth century, *masu sarauta* (title holders) dominated the political, economic, socio-cultural and religious life of the people in the Daura kingdom. This in turn stratified the society into classes along the aristocracies, *masu sarauta* and commoners (*talakawa*), lines, with the former dominating and regulating the public life of the latter. This division, on the eve of the nineteenth century, no doubt affected the political economy of the State, which, by extension, provided the ground for the outbreak of the 19th-century jihad in Daura. The political and economic relations between the two classes, no doubt, became a rallying factor upon which the *talakawa* supported the jihad.

Daura was ruled by a total of 64 rulers, including 17 queens, from the foundation of the kingdom, at *Tsohon Birni*, to the outbreak of the jihad in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the jihad in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Sarkin Gwari Abdu, the 47th *Sarki*, was on the throne until he was driven away by the jihadists. For details of the machinery of Government in Daura, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, before the outbreak of the jihad, see the table below.

⁴³ M.B. Sani, "A History of Daura...", p. 76.

Table 1.1: Political System/Machinery of Government in Order of Hierarchy in Daura at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

S/N	MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT	OFFICIALS/TITLE HOLDERS	FUNCTIONS/DUTIES OF OFFICIALS OR TITLE HOLDERS
1	King/Sarki	President (overall head)	Head of affairs of the whole kingdom or state Guardian of the kasa
2	Senior Council of State (Electoral Councils)	Galadima Kaura Liman (chief cleric) Dan Danwai Alkali (chief judge)	Election of new king Advisers to the king Detronment shall the need arise Arbitration
3	Provincial chiefs (Sarakunan Garuruwa) or Governors	Kaura Galadima Madawaki Turaki Makama Sarking Bai Wambai	Fief holders Representatives of the king at various provinces, towns and villages Collection of taxes Supplying military during the war
4	Royal Princes Royal Princesses (female officials)	Yerima Murka Bunturawa Haska Magajiya (kings eldest daughter) Iya Mai daki Saraki Gabsai	Successor to the throne/crown prince (chosen heir) Without specific functions or duties but a privilege positions hold by virtue of their blood relation Sarki's senior wife
5	Senior throne slaves	Sarkin yara Sarkin Bai (Wambai) Sarkin Fada (Uban Dawaki) Fada Babba (Sarkin Dogarai, Hauni) Shantali	The running of the palace or royal chamber

6	Palace slaves (yan muri)	Sarkin Garka Dan Maza Sarkin Jarmai Lifidi Makama Ajiya	Any work or duties that may be assigned to them by the king in the palace
7	War Councils	Kaura Sarkin yara Sarkin Bai Fada babba Shantali	In charge of war and defence of the state
8	Occupational Heads (craft officials)	S/pawa (korama) S/Dillalai S/Zango S/Makera S/Marina S/Gini Magajin Aska Bulkacima Madugu	Administration of their occupational profession. Collection of taxes Mediation and settlement of conflict among members Services to the state
9	Court (palace) musicians	S/Busa S/Makada Sankira Magajin Tambari Dan Tomo, Magajin Turu (attached to sarki) Dakama (female attached to gabsai) S/Masu - attached to Iya	Royal drumming and singing to the king and other title officials during installation, durbar or any ceremony should the need arise

Source: Group Interviews at Daurawa, Jigawa State and Kurneji in Daura, 24th January, 2018

Significance of the Legend

Despite the limitations of Daura's traditions of origin, the two legends remain significant. The legends, in the first instance, suggest the intensity of human civilization in *Tsohon* Birni as evidence of the development of a highly centralized political community, with power and authority concentrated in the hands of a queen. The legends also threw additional light on major developments in the history of the area. For example, the coming of Abdurdar and the digging of the well point to a technological revolution. This means the ability to dominate the

environment and the beginning of sedentarisation, as settlements no longer had to rely on open surface water sources like streams and rivers (which may dry up during the dry season), further paving the way for the development of state structures.⁴⁴ In addition, the significance of the well may additionally be a new technology of digging wells or the rocky surfaces of Daura. It might also have provided a more secure water supply⁴⁵ in the area. In addition, Bayajida's appearance signals a revolutionary shift in power from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system, initiating a dynastic transition from female to male kinship lines.

Conclusion

The paper assessed the historical tradition of Daura from its origins in Tsohon Birni (old settlement) to the end of the Eighteenth Century. It also analysed the nature of the political system which Daura Kingdom had developed in the nineteenth century. The paper further discussed the significance of the legend of origin in tracing the history of the Daura Kingdom long before the arrival of Bayajidda. This indicated that a political community developed a state-like system with highly centralized powers and authority that held people together under a single matrilineal political authority. The available evidence also refutes the erroneous misconception among European historians that Africans were incapable of establishing a state and transforming society. The existence of the Daura Kingdom further revealed the presence of an ancient civilization and developments resulting from the ability of the people to transform their environment, which, to a large extent, was a pointer to the development of highly centralised settlements leading to the establishment of a political community even before the advent of Bayajidda into Daura.

⁴⁴ M.M. Gwadabe et al, *Turaki Nuhu...*, p. 12.

⁴⁵ M.M. Gwadabe et al, *Turaki Nuhu...*, p. 12.

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