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HAUSA-YORUBA RELATIONS 1500-1800: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

**Rasheed O. Olaniyi*

Abstract

From a revisionist perspective, this paper demonstrates that the history of Old Oyo empire and Hausa-city states were closely interwoven especially in commercial interaction, cultural exchange, the propagation of Islam and state building processes. The paper argues that the articles of trade suggest that beyond the movement of goods and peoples in both societies, an enormous degree of diplomacy and politics existed to facilitate the process of exchange. The relationship between Old Oyo and Hausa-city states was closely linked to the political economy of the states especially slave trade, export and import of horses, cowries and firearms. It is then argued that the relationship was more complex and mutually reinforcing. Contrary to widespread accounts, there is no material to show that the term Yoruba was originally used by the Hausa to describe the people of Oyo-ile. There is every possibility that the people of Oyo ile whose language was Yoruba described themselves as such. The first reference to the term Yoruba could be found in the work of the famous Songhay scholar, Ahmad Baba Al-Timbukti.

Introduction

This paper demonstrates that the history of Old Oyo empire and Hausa-city states were closely interwoven especially in commercial interaction, cultural exchange, the propagation of Islam and state building processes. The following established conceptual frameworks have predominantly influenced the historiography of the Old Oyo and Hausaland relations.

- i) A prevailing tendency has been the claim to associate the name "Yoruba" to Hausa origin¹;
- ii) The description of Oyo people as a wholly non-literate people, even though Oyo had adopted the practice of writing in Arabic from its Islamised northern neighbours²;

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- iii) That in politics and diplomacy the Old Oyo empire and Hausa states appeared to have existed in isolation up to the outbreak of the Sokoto Jihad in 1804³;
- iv) That the relationship between Old Oyo and Hausa states only existed at the private realm especially in commerce and the propagation of Islam⁴;
- v) That Old Oyo was merely a "transit city" and passive participant in the trade between Hausaland and Gonja⁵;
- vi) That Old Oyo only imported but could not produce anything for export⁶; and
- vii) That it was the Hausa traders who went to meet the Yoruba to trade⁷.

In contrast to these arguments, this paper points out that the articles of trade suggest that beyond the movement of goods and peoples in both societies, an enormous degree of diplomacy and politics existed to facilitate the process of exchange. The relationship between Old Oyo and Hausa states was closely linked to the political economy of the states especially slave trade, export and import of horses, cowries and firearms. This paper then argues that the relationship was more complex and mutually reinforcing. Old Oyo Empire formed part of a much bigger socio-economic and political entity in the western Sudan. Oyo produced marketable commodities and benefitted from a complex flourishing import and export trade. It is almost impossible to discuss the imperial expansion and economy of Oyo without reference to the robust relationship it cultivated with its northern neighbours especially Borno, Hausaland, Nupe and Borgu⁸. Yoruba traders penetrated Nupe and Hausa markets.⁹ The value of Oyo in the north-south trade was partly derived from its commercial links with the north, while Ijebu merchants were accustomed to travel with their cloth as far as

northern Nupe.¹⁰ It is quite evident that economic complementarity and interdependence existed between the two regions.¹¹ The hostility and warfare Oyo encountered with its Borgu and Nupe neighbours in the 16th century must have stimulated Oyo to develop diplomatic and commercial relations with the Hausa states and Borno in order to import horses and firearms.

Contrary to widespread accounts, there is no material to show that the term Yoruba was originally used by the Hausa to describe the people of Oyo-ile. The reference to the term Yoruba in the works of Muslim scholars in Hausaland from Ibn Masani to Usmanu Dan Fodiyo and Muhammad Bello does not suggest that the name has Hausa roots.¹² There is every possibility that the people of Oyo ile whose language was Yoruba described themselves as such. The first reference to the term Yoruba could be found in the work of the famous Songhay scholar, Ahmad Baba Al-Timbukti.

The geographical setting facilitated trade, human migration which in turn generated considerable contacts and connections of Old Oyo Empire and Hausaland and led to significant degree of cultural exchange.¹³ Asiwaju and Law contend that:

In the region between the Volta and the Niger, the Mande and Songhay exercised considerable influence on the Bariba (Borgu), and the Hausa upon Nupe; while Bariba (Borgu) and Nupe in turn certainly had an enormous formative influence on such northern Yoruba groups as the Sabe and the Oyo.¹⁴

Commercial intercourse between Old Oyo and Hausaland were influenced by their strategic locations in relation to each other. Hausa states were entrepot in which trade routes from the

Maghrib, Egypt and Borno converged. By virtue of its location at the southern terminus of the trans-Saharan trade routes, Hausaland received many valuable commodities from the north, which the Hausa traders re-exported to the south.¹⁵ Hausa traders were noted for their penchant in controlling the markets located in their own towns and in penetrating the markets of others.¹⁶ The Old Oyo controlled some of the major ports on the coast from which various goods of interest to their northern markets were obtained from European sources.¹⁷ Oyo was the convergence centre of routes from the forest belt including Nupeland, Borgu, Volta Basin and the middle Niger. Each of these societies attained a high level of civilization that enabled them exchanged their home-made products.¹⁸ Both Yoruba and Hausa traders had sufficient goods to facilitate the development of an active and continuing trade between them.¹⁹

The transformation of state systems, which Songhay and Borno consolidated in the 16th century promoted inter-group relations, extensive commercial networks and the spread of Islam in the western and central Sudanese societies. The political processes created wider commercial linkages and influenced cultural exchange between Old Oyo Empire and the Hausa states of Kano, Zaria and Katsina. Under Sarkin Kano Ali Yaji b. Tsamiam (1349-85) his conversion to Islam encouraged large scale migration of Wangarawa Muslim clerics from Mali. In the 15th century, Zaria, Kano and Katsina were under the sway of Songhay in the west and Borno in the east. The early 16th century was contemporaneous with the increasing commercial and political significance of Hausa states of Kano and Katsina and their integration into the trans-Saharan trading networks.²⁰

An impetus to the growth of Old Oyo empire was derived from the development of the Sudanic polities in Hausaland and

Borno as well as the emergence of new trade networks from the second half of the 15th century. Old Oyo came into prominence with its engagement in the trans-Saharan trade. Mande merchants (dyula) began to pioneer trade routes down to the Akan forests in the second half of the 14th century.²¹ Under Sunni Ali Ber (1464-92) military campaigns was concentrated on the creation of an empire very closely to the river Niger and its immediate hinterland. The Dyula trade was extensive southwards through the waterborne links across the Niger. Old Oyo empire, as one of the immediate hinterland of the river Niger was profoundly influenced by the Songhay through the Hausa, Mande (dyula) and Kanuri traders. It has been suggested that the earliest Islamic influences on the Hausa states came from Kanem Borno and Hausa states had access to the trans-Saharan trade through Borno. In the 16th century, Songhay was the most powerful state in the central Sudan. Songhay not only traded with, but exerted influence over Borgu-Bussa, Old Oyo northern neighbours in 1555-56.²²

Traditions of Origin

The Kisra, Bayajida and Oduduwa legends and myths of origins conflicting though, referred to Hausa and Yoruba as products of the same source. Early account of Oyo-Yoruba is dependent on African Arabic sources produced by scholars from its northern Islamic societies.²³ References were made to Oyo from the 17th century on the political economy of the western Sudan and issues of diplomacy (warfare and enslavement). The Nimrud tradition of Yoruba origin written by Muhammad Bello in his *Infraq al-Maisur* (1812) was adapted and modified by Samuel Johnson. Reverend Johnson echoed Sultan Bello that Yoruba were descendants of Oduduwa, a descendant of Nimrud who migrated from Mecca. According to Johnson:

The Yorubas are said to have sprung from Lamurudu one of the kings of Mecca whose offspring were :-Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yorubas, the Kings of Gogobiri and of the Kukawa, two tribes in the Hausa country. It is worthy of remark that these two nations, notwithstanding the lapse of time since their separation and in spite of the distance from each other of their respective localities, still have the same distinctive tribal marks on their faces, and Yoruba travellers are free amongst them and vice versa each recognising each other as one blood.²⁴

By applying the Charles Darwin's theory of social evolution, Samuel Johnson exaggerated that the Yoruba of Oyo – ile became civilised due to their contact with the Arabs and Fulani :

It should be remembered that the coast tribes were much less of importance then than now, both in population and in intelligence; light and civilization with the Yorubas came from the north with which they have always retained connection through the Arabs and Fulanis. The centre of life and activity, of large populations and industry was therefore in the interior, whilst the coast tribes were scanty in number, ignorant and degraded not only from their distance from the centre of light, but also through their demoralizing intercourse with Europeans, and the transactions connected with the oversea slave trade.²⁵

The Nimrud version was adopted in Oyo in the context of the struggle against the Muslim Jihadists of Ilorin as the linking

of Oyo with Gobir and Kukawa (Borno), which like Oyo were affected by the attacks of the Muslim Jihadists.²⁶ The function of the story was apparently political, to legitimise the Oyo opposition to the Jihad which undermined its authority and finally brought an end to the empire.

According to Hugh Clapperton, "the term Yoruba is regularly used in African Arabic sources referring to Oyo."²⁷ The word **Yoruba** first appeared in Ahmad Baba's work.²⁸

The work was a reply to questions sent to Ahmad Baba from Tuwat in 1612:

You asked: what have you to say concerning slaves imported from lands of the Sudan whose people are acknowledged to be Muslims, such as Bornu, Afunu (Hausa), Kano, Gao, Songhay, Katsina and others among whom Islam is widespread? Is it permissible to possess them (as slaves) or not? whoever is taken prisoner in a state of unbelief may become someone's property, whoever he is, as opposed to those who have become Muslims of their own free will, such as the people of Kano, Bornu, Songhay, Katsina, Kebbi, Gobir and Mali and part of Zaria; they are Muslims and may not be possessed at all. So also most of the Fulani, except that we have heard of a group them beyond Jenne who are said to be unbelievers, though I do not know whether through apostasy or birth. All those who are brought to you from the following groups are unbelievers and remain so to the present day: Mossi, Gurma, Busa, Borgu, Kotkoli, Yoruba, Tabango, and Bobo. There is

nothing against your taking possession of them without further question.²⁹

In the 17th century, Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Masanih (d. 1667) in his works discussed Islam among the Yoruba of Oyo-ile.³⁰ In the 19th century, intellectuals and leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate, especially Uthman dan Fodiyo, the founder and first Caliph of the Caliphate refer twice to Yoruba in his 1806 and 1811 works.³¹ He cited Ahmad Baba's classification of the Yoruba as a land of unbelievers in Islamic faith. A substantial account of Yoruba history and geography was provided by Sultan Muhammad Bello in 1812.³² Bello's account on Yoruba was partly derived from the work of Ibn Masanih, which consist of accounts on Yoruba migrations to their present homeland. He mentioned and condemned the sale of Hausa slaves by Oyo-Yoruba to Europeans at the coast.³³

According to Sultan Bello:

The people of Yoruba are descendants from the Bani Kan'an and the kindred of Nimrud. It is said that the Sudanese people who live up on the hills are all kindred; so also the people of Yauri are their kindred. In the land of Yoruba are found the birds green in colour which are called 'babgha' in Arabic and which we call 'Aku' (parrot). It is a bird, which talks and is beautiful.³⁴

From the 1820s and 1830s, Oyo-ile was always referred to as Katunga; the Yoruba people as Yarriba, Yauriba and Ilorin as Alorie by the Lander brothers and European travelers who relied on Hausa informants concerning the affairs of Oyo-ile that was embroiled in crisis in order to emphasize the eclipse of the old order and outstrip Old Oyo of its political influence over the Muslim state of Ilorin.³⁵

The Nexus of Commerce

Oyo and Hausa states traded together due to their complimentary geographical locations. Kano was located in the north to have access to the desert trade, both inter-regional and trans-Saharan, and far enough to have close links with Borno.³⁶ Trade provided major linkages between Hausaland and Old Oyo Empire.³⁷ In the 15th century, the Old-Oyo empire was connected to the Hausaland-Gonja trade.³⁸ Indeed, commercial intercourse was a significant factor in the rise of various states and expansion of political scale in western and central Sudan. The relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba was first fostered through the trans-saharan trade between northern Nigeria and the Maghreb and the Western Sudan dated to the 11th century but did not become important until the 15th century. The most active and direct traders were the Hausa and the Kanuri who developed centralised state systems.³⁹ The involvement of their southern neighbours especially the old Oyo empire was carried out indirectly. The Hausa and Kanuri traders were middlemen in the long distance trade. The items exported to the Maghreb included slaves, ivory, kolanuts, gum, leather, ostrich feathers while the imported products included clothing, carpets, salt, firearms, and horses as well as military hardware and textiles from Europe.⁴⁰

The trans Saharan trade, the introduction of and expansion of Islamic influences occurred contemporaneously in the western Sudan. Old Oyo empire benefitted from the stimuli enjoyed from her northern neighbours. Although the Old Oyo empire participated in the coastal trade from the second half of the 17th century, it took almost a century later before it became a factor in the development of Oyo economy and politics.⁴¹ Old Oyo had fully developed before the onset of the coastal trade owing to the commercial and political stimulations from the northern trade

across the sahara. The trade along the coast also expanded the Oyo commercial interest. Oyo empire established commercial centres along the routes to the coast in order to control trade from the north as well as from the dependencies.⁴²

Regional markets brought Hausa and Yoruba traders together in close contacts. Famous among the markets were Kulfo and Raban/Saguda in Nupeland, Kurmi in Kano, Gonja and Salaga in the Volta Basin of Ghana, Birnin Gazargamu and Kukawa in Kanem Borno, Jega in Birnin Kebbi, Katsina, Lokoja and Egga, Yauri, Igbebe and Porto Novo. Yoruba women long-distance traders operated in Kulfo market of Nupeland. Yoruba traders from influential families populated Ogodo, a principal Nupe market town. Raka market (in Hausa) Saguda in Yoruba and Raba in Nupe was located in the north-east of Oyo-ile close to the River Niger along Gonja-Oyo-Nupe and Hausa trade route. Raka was main centre of trade between Oyo, Nupe and Hausa. Greater part of Oyo trade with the north neighbours was conducted through Ogodo or Raba. Raba was the commercial centre of Nupe in the 18th century and was also the ferry point at which the large long-distance caravans crossed the river Niger. In Borgu, Bussa was the main market for trade between north and south.⁴³ Some of these market centres were destroyed by the Sokoto Jihad of 1804 which paved way for new ones to reflect the political realities of the time.⁴⁴

The major route from the west (Gonja markets) of Hausaland passed through Birnin Yauri, Birnin Kebbi and Old Oyo.⁴⁵ Yauri was an important resting station for the caravans going to Gonja from Hausaland. It was the first Hausa town for the Hausa-bound caravans and an entrepot of trade in gold. From Birnin Yauri, salt were distributed to Nupe and pepper to Gonja markets.⁴⁶ In the 15th and 16th centuries, the most important

centres of trade were Gao, Timbuktu and Agadez. The fall of Songhai in 1591 caused commerce in the Niger Bend Region to decline in the subsequent years. The political and commercial centre of gravity in the Western and Central Sudan shifted from the upper Niger to the Chad region.⁴⁷ The flow of the trans-Saharan trade shifted to Birni Gazargamu rather than to Timbuktu and Gao that were disrupted following the Moroccan invasion in 1591. Two main routes connected Oyo to the northern trade: towards the Niger at Bussa and to the Niger crossing at Jebba island on the edge of the Nupeland.⁴⁸

The important items sent northwards included Kolanuts from the forests of the Volta Basin, peppers grown along the coast, cloth and marine or European salt. Slaves were exported from or through Oyo to the northern markets, but there are no indications of such a trade on large scale.⁴⁹ The trade routes from Oyo through Nupe and Borgu converged in the early 19th century at the Nupe market town of Kulfo. Through the Kulfo route, Yoruba traders traveled to as far as Hausaland and Borno before the 19th century.⁵⁰ In 1904, Lord Lugard estimated that the Ibadan-Lagos covered 450 miles, which took a 40 days journey.⁵¹

According Madhi (68), the following articles of trade passed through the trade route from Hausaland to Gonja through Oyo ile⁵²:

1. Hausa Cotton Garments : gowns (*riga*) and jumpers (*taggo*), cloaks (*alkyabba*), wrappers (*zabi*) for women, plain and embroidered trousers (*wando*)
2. Leather goods : shoes, sandals, slippers, leatherbags and pillow cases ;
3. Horse riding equipment : saddles, trappings, bits, and stirrup ;

4. slaves
5. Items for re-export obtained from across the sahara and Borno : natron (*kanwa*), paper, beads (*dutse*), silk cloth, carpets, antimony (*kwalli*) and horses.
6. Condiments : onions, tafarnuwa and daddawa).
Articles of trade from Gonja to Hausaland:
 1. Kolanuts (*goro*)-been the most valuable and oldest export to Hausaland ;
 2. Gold : both raw form and produced into trinkets and rings ;
 3. European goods

Old Oyo was categorised as merely a 'transit centre' for traders passing through Gonja and Hausaland and Borno.⁵³ Oyo was described as passive recipient of goods from the Central Sudan and the coast. Madhi concludes that:

What Yorubaland exported to the north is not clear, for Old Oyo is not known to have produced goods which were in demand in Nupe or Hausaland. It seems, therefore, that what the traders from the north purchased in Old Oyo were mainly goods obtained from the European merchants on the coast. Sagudu (which the Hausa called Rakka) was the northern gateway to Oyo, it was only about six hours journey to the east of Old Oyo and two hours west of the right bank of the river Niger.⁵⁴

He further stresses that:

Concerning Oyo's trading links with the savana kingdoms, the author has no material to show that in the eighteen century Yoruba traders had come further north than Nupe in large numbers. It is therefore possible that it was the Nupe, Hausa, and Barebari Traders mainly plied the

route to and from Rakka and Old Oyo. Of course, it should not be forgotten that a section of the Gwanja-Hausa trade passed through Old Oyo.⁵⁵

In contrast to this explanation, Old Oyo was not only political capital but an emporium of trade that attracted Wangarawa and Hausa traders who settled in the city and propagated Islam. Oyo merchants equally traded with societies in the central Sudan and established commercial diasporas.⁵⁶ Beyond agriculture, Oyo was a leading centre of commerce in the south-west of the Niger.⁵⁷ Oyo was prominent for its weaving and blacksmithing industry whose products were in great demand from the Niger bend to Kano where they interacted with traders from the Maghreb, Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne on the Middle Niger.⁵⁸

Using the state and trade theory, Morton-Williams explains the possibility of the rise of Oyo with the development of trade in Kolanuts between Gonja and Hausaland.⁵⁹ The trade was dated to have commenced in the 15th century, which linked the eastern commercial network dominated by Hausa merchants, with the western network where Mande merchants of Mali Empire predominated. There was a possibility that Oyo served as an important middleman role in the trade between Gonja and Hausaland, since traders chose to avoid the turbulent conditions in the Borgu states of Nikki and Kaima to pass instead through Oyo to cross the Niger at Jebba and Bussa.⁶⁰ An evidence of commercial links with the Mande was the Yoruba word for Muslim '*Imale*, ' which illuminates that Islam, was originally introduced into Oyo by the Mande merchants.⁶¹

In Hausaland, Zaria, Kano and Katsina emerged to become militarily powerful and economically prosperous states, profiting

from commercial links with the south and west and increased participation in the trans-Saharan. Hausa traders unavoidably passed through Old-Oyo that was relatively safer for the caravans.⁶² From the 15th century onwards, trade routes and itinerant caravan traders linked Kano commercially with the Old-Oyo.⁶³ The establishment of the intercontinental Kurmi market by Sarkin Muhammad Rumfa (1463-99 A.D.) set in pace a commercial process that increased the volume, value and variety of exchange between Kano and Old-Oyo.⁶⁴ The Old Oyo Empire played invaluable role in the commercial transactions between the Mande and Hausa traders, which inevitably contributed to its growth. In the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic trade, Hausa traders who engaged in slaves and kolanuts passed through Oyo-ile to Salaga and Gonja.⁶⁵

In the 15th century, Zazzau extended its military campaigns south-westwards into Nupe territory towards the Niger. The Nupe campaigns offered tributes in the forms of eunuchs and kolanuts, which Nupe also obtained farther southwest. For the first time, kolanuts and eunuchs became important commodities for state functionaries that Kano attempted to have direct access by opening up routes between Hausaland and Volta Basin. During Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Burja, a route was opened from Borno to Gonja and during his son's reign (1452-63) Gonja traders were operating in Katsina. The establishment of regular commercial linkage between Volta Basin and Hausaland was carried out by Manding dyula or Wangarawa traders.⁶⁶ According to the 'Origins of the Kano Wangara' they formed a wider commercial diaspora with presence in Gonja, Borgu and Bussa through which they formed a trade route from the Volta Basin to Hausaland.⁶⁷ The Wangarawa traders were part of the commercial networks that imported gold, kolanuts and cowries

shells into Hausaland and export leather goods and textiles for shipment to Songhai.⁶⁸ Forest products like kolanuts, slaves, cowries, palm oil passed through Zaria markets of Kudan and Hunkuyi to Kano.⁶⁹

According to Clapperton who passed through Oyo in 1826, trade routes connected Oyo -ile with Kano. The Alaafin sent messengers to many routes to ensure safety. From Kisi in Oyo Empire, trade route led directly to Wawa in Borgu, and from Badagry, Gonja, Dahomey, Asante, Ijana to Nupe, Hausa city-states and Borno.⁷⁰ At the Kulfo market in Nupeland, Yoruba, Nupe, Borgu and Hausa traded together in "ironbits and stirrups, brass ornaments for saddles and bridles and brass ear and common rings."⁷¹

The commodities could be broadly divided into two categories. First were state necessities such as slaves, cowries, weapons and salt. The items were essential elements in maintaining the economic and political structures of the states which demanded for them.⁷² Cowries served as major currency; slaves formed the bulk of the labour force and military strength; salt was a dietary necessity; and military equipment, including cavalry horses were vital to the preservation of and extension of imperial power.⁷³ Second, there were luxury items such as expensive cloth, pepper, kolanuts, leather goods and beads imported for prestige reasons. Oyo imported a variety of commodities from the north which included hides and cotton cloth from Nupe; Glassware; coats of mail (*ewu irin*), edible: *kanun* (potash), *obu* (rock salt), natron (sodium sesquicarbonate - a mineral salt used for medicinal purposes and as a stimulant ingredients from Borno; cosmetics: *tiro* (black antimony), *laali* and unwrought sick and Venetian beads; swords and knives, leather goods, and Saharan salt from across the Sahara. Oyo re-

exported some of these commodities especially natron to the coast.⁷⁴ The Batagarawa producers of tobacco from Katsina carried their products to some parts of Yorubaland.⁷⁵

By the 16th century, military hardware and slaves were articles of trade between Kano and Oyo-Ile.⁷⁶ The establishment of a stable political order for economic growth enhanced Kano's demand for guns, muskets, gunpowder, shields and flutes that further stimulated trade with Old-Oyo.⁷⁷ From Kano and Borno, Oyo empire imported horses, cloth, and slaves.⁷⁸ Old Oyo imported tailored garments from Hausaland on a large-scale.⁷⁹ The commercial exchange of clothes between the Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe and Kanuri for several centuries indicated the diversity of aesthetic cultural tastes across regions.⁸⁰ Oyo exported the *adire* (resist pattern dyed clothes) and imported tailored and embroidered gowns. The textile trade further produced a cross-cultural cloth culture between Hausa and Yoruba that survived till today.⁸¹ According to Madhi Adamu, Oyo had imported considerable amount of Hausa and Nupe cotton garments that nearly all the Yoruba traditional clothes, especially for male, has Hausa and Nupe names.⁸²

In many parts of west Africa, horses were consumed primarily for use in warfare. Because of its strategic and security importance, the purchase of horse was undertaken by political authorities for distribution to their soldiers and use in military expeditions.⁸³ Therefore, the relations between Yoruba and Hausa could not have been restricted to private affair. Indeed, the commodities of trade deployed in imperial ambitions and state-building enterprise transcends private affairs of individual traders. The trade was organised on a large-scale and carried out directly by the state authorities for the purpose of security and expansion. Importation of horses by the state authorities required

certain levels of diplomatic relations due to their military significance. The politics of horse trade was reinforced by its linkage with the trade in slaves. The technique of cavalry warfare was established in Mali empire and Hausaland by the end of the 14th century which spread to the southern areas of Nupe, Borgu and Oyo in the 16th century. The southward diffusion of the Islamic tradition of horsemanship and cavalry warfare from Kanem and Hausaland was effected by trade.⁸⁴ Songhay military strength depended on its cavalry during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Horses was relevant to the transformation of the balance of military power which occurred between the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo and its northern neighbours, the Borgu and Nupe, during the sixteenth century. It seems likely that the military superiority of the Bariba and Nupe over the Yoruba was due in large part to their use of cavalry, and reflects the southward diffusion of more effective techniques of cavalry warfare, associated with the introduction of larger breeds of horses and of saddles and stirrups. Conversely, the recovery of Oyo power in the late sixteenth century could be connected with the adoption of cavalry warfare, under the impact of these northern invasions, by the Oyo themselves during the course of the sixteenth.⁸⁵

The trade in slaves and horses created economic underpinning for an imperial structure among the states of western and central Sudan. By the end of the 14th century, Kano, for example, had enough horses for commercial exchange for slaves with the state of Kwararafa (Jukun) further south to Nupe, the neighbours of the Old Oyo Empire.⁸⁶ Kano imported mail coats, iron helmets and quilted 'armour' through Borno from Egypt.⁸⁷

From the 15th century and most importantly in the 16th century, southern societies consumed horses on a considerable scale and employed large cavalry forces in their armies. Examples of these societies that depended on importation of horses included : Kwararafa kingdom in the Benue valley ; the Nupe, Borgu and Oyo kingdoms to the south-west of Hausaland.⁸⁸ A link had possibly existed between the launching of a substantial trans-saharan trade in horses in the 13th and 14th centuries and the commencement of the north-south trade in the 15th century western Sudan. The establishment of the larger breeds of horses imported through the trans-sahara has been associated with the adoption of effective techniques of cavalry warfare and the emergence of horse as a crucial military resource that a substantial demand for horses developed in the south.⁸⁹

In the south-west of Hausaland, in Nupe, horses were introduced in the 15th century possibly through the imperial push of Zaria.⁹⁰ According to the Kano Chronicle, Sarkin Kano Yakubu (1452-63) traded horses with the Nupe rulers in exchange for horses. Sarkin Yakubu sent ten horses to the king of Nupe to buy horses, receiving twelve eunuchs in exchange.⁹¹ Tsoede was reputed to have had 5, 555 horses for his cavalry forces.⁹² Katsina was regarded as the most important emporium of trade in Hausaland where the Saharan breed horses (Dan-Azben) were highly demanded due to their tall and stout size appropriate for the use of cavalry. Borno was another source of supply of horses to Hausaland. Mahdi suggests that Katsina dominated the commerce coming into Hausaland from the east (Borno), the north (Sahara), and from the west (the Gonja markets), while Kano coordinated the Hausa commerce with the south up to the Benue valley.

However, the original source of supply of horses into Old Oyo empire requires further research. The word *esin* for horses in Yoruba must have been a loan word of *si* for horses in the Mande language of Soninke.⁹³ The word *si* was derived from the pre-Arabic languages of the Sahara, especially Tuareg, *es*. This suggests that a small-scale amount of horse trading must have existed between old Oyo and Mali or Songhay before its large scale importation from Hausaland and Borno.⁹⁴ Yoruba word for horse riding equipment especially stirrup-*Alukembu* must have originated from the Mande word *Alkerbou*.⁹⁵ The adoption of cavalry warfare by Oyo in the 16th century signifies a southward diffusion of horses and cavalry techniques.

In the 16th century, the use of cavalry introduced military technological revolution for territorial expansion on a wider scale. The Nupe expansion across the Niger and of state-building enterprise was accomplished through the use of cavalry force.⁹⁶ Indeed, dramatic recovery of Oyo, internal consolidation and gradual territorial expansion relied on cavalry warfare and commercial possibilities. Under Alaafin Orompoto (a woman ruler), Oyo underwent a military revolution for a large-scale territorial expansion and to secure a firm foothold in the highly competitive Niger bend. The rearguard of the army alone consisted of 1,000 horsemen and 1,000-foot soldiers.⁹⁷ Old Oyo adopted the use of cavalry during the 16th century under the stimulus of the Nupe conquest, the adoption of cavalry provided rapid recovery of Oyo power after the collapse. The balance of military power was redressed when Oyo adopted the cavalry force in warfare.⁹⁸ Oyo expanded to River Opara in the west, Rivers Moshi and Niger in the North and River Osun in the south-east between the late 17th century and early 18th century. The use of cavalry force enabled Oyo to exert political control

over commercial routes and military superiority over its neighbours.

A subject of controversy was what Oyo exchanged to obtain horses. There was a possibility that Oyo financed the highly expensive importation of horses in the 16th century by the northward export of slaves.⁹⁹ Horses had long been a staple of the barter trade in slaves in western Sudan. In the 16th century, Borno was noted to have exchanged twenty slaves per horse for defensive and aggressive warfare.¹⁰⁰ The exchange of horses with slaves dominated the early trade between Hausa states and the long distance traders from the north.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Hausa states traded horses with Nupe in exchange for slaves.¹⁰² The labour for feeding horses was supplied by Hausa and Nupe slaves.¹⁰³ In Hausaland, the rate of exchange was ten horses for twelve eunuchs.¹⁰⁴ The exchange of horses for slaves was a feature of the trade from Kano to Kwararafa in the 16th century. In Oyo in the 18th century, the import of horses from Hausaland and Borno co-existed alongside a large scale import of slaves from the north, to be re-exported to the coast for sale to the European slave traders. Horses were bought from the north with re-exports of European goods obtained from the coast in exchange for slaves. According to Robin Law, 'the connection between the horse and slave trades lay in their relation to war. Horses were valued primarily for their use in warfare, and were perhaps especially useful in the pursuit and capture of fleeing enemies, that is in securing slaves. Slaves, conversely, were most readily obtained through capture in warfare. The exchange of horses for slaves therefore tended to become, a 'circular process': horses were purchased with slaves, and financed further purchases of horses. Trade and war fed upon each other in a self-sustaining

process which reinforced the domination of the warrior aristocracies',¹⁰⁵

In the late 18th century, Oyo purchased slaves as well as horses from Nupe and supplied Hausa slaves to Porto-Novo.¹⁰⁶ During this period, there was marked shift in Oyo's trade with the European traders at the coast. Oyo's trade with Hausaland remained crucial as the only source of horses for the Oyo army. It has been suggested that the bulk of the Oyo horses were imported from Borno though few must have bred locally.¹⁰⁷

The power elite of the Old Oyo Empire used slave trade to take full advantage of their geographical location. Oyo-ile was sufficiently north of the forest zone which enabled cavalry to be maintained without the threat of tsetse, and yet sufficiently south to exert control over the Atlantic. Oyo traders imported slaves and horses from the north, used the horses for military control over their possessions and used the slaves for re-export on the Atlantic coast.¹⁰⁸ Oyo Empire recognised the importance of control over the Atlantic trade, used its cavalry power to control Dahomey, which it turned to a tributary state in 1729.¹⁰⁹ The importation of horses was now financed by northward export of European goods obtained at the coast in Porto-Novo and Badagry in exchange for slaves.¹¹⁰ From the Atlantic coast, Oyo imported salt, guns, cowries and manufactured goods. Some cowries were re-exported to the north. Indeed, Oyo empire as the major middleman between the north and the coast thrived and expanded at the height of the Atlantic slave trade.¹¹¹ The Atlantic slave trade stimulated a substantial expansion of the older system of long-distance trade between Old Oyo Empire and Hausaland.¹¹²

Traders from Hausaland and Borno traded horses with Oyo and its northern neighbours, Nupe and Borgu. Hausa and Borno

traders took horses to Kulfo market in Nupeland. Arab merchants from Sokoto sold horses at Rabba market in exchange for money (cowry shells), locally made cotton cloth, and slaves.¹¹³ Hausa and Borno merchants sold imported horses from Borno to Borgu and Old Oyo empire. In the early 19th century and possibly earlier, Oyo traders re-exported horses to the coastal ports of Badagry and Porto Novo where they were purchased by Europeans for use on the Gold Coast.¹¹⁴ In the 1820s, the price of horse in Oyo was twice the price of a prime slave but a horse of 15 hands' heights of superior quality cost 7 slaves.¹¹⁵ By the mid-19th century, the average price of horse in Yorubaland was between 60, 000 and 120, 000 cowry shells.¹¹⁶ Oyo depended on the supply of labour from Hausaland, Nupe and Borno for the care and maintenance of the horses. The slave official in charge of the royal stables was entitled the Olokun Esin, meaning the 'The Holder of the Horse's Bridle' Olokun Esin was a very powerful palace official.¹¹⁷

Beyond its military use, horses were invaluable commodities in trading activities. Oyo slave merchants at Porto Novo rode horses while the slaves travelled on foot.¹¹⁸ Horsemen also served as military escorts accompanying Oyo caravan traders against attacks by Dahomians whose raids were disrupting the trade routes to the coast.¹¹⁹ Horses were important items in the burial ceremony of Kings of Oyo.

Contrary to the claim of Morton Williams that Oyo relied on northern kingdoms for the slaves they sold at the coast, Ologe argues that Yoruba kingdoms of Ijesha, Ekiti, Akoko and Egbado were Oyo's main reservoir for slaves during the 18th century.¹²⁰ It is possible that Oyo used the imported slaves from the north for its domestic economy, especially agriculture and

trade as well as to reinforce its soldier-slaves dominated cavalry force.

During the 18th century, traders from Old Oyo, Hausa states and Ijebu also traded together in Porto-Novu in articles which included handkerchiefs, both red and blue, from Manchester, linens, silesias from Germany, silk handkerchiefs, cultanees and taffetas from Madras, tobacco from Brazil in rolls and also manufactured in snuff, iron, coral beads, and cowries.¹²¹ Clothes, soap and indigo leaves were supplied from Oyo and Ijebu.¹²²

The trading network between the two regions was further transformed in scale due to the supply of cowries shells from Oyo to Kano in the 18th century. In the 18th century, Oyo paid for horses from the tributes and trade taxes paid in money (cowry shells) and luxury goods (cloth), coral beads, iron bars; slaves from Dahomey and war booty especially slaves used for the purchase of horses from Hausaland.¹²³ The widespread use of cowries in West Africa from the early 16th century suggests the existence of communication in Africa independent of European contact.¹²⁴ The use of cowries in Oyo was in the 1780s. In the late 18th century, the cowries in Oyo were imported from the coast. According to the Kano Chronicle, cowries reached Kano during the 18th century from Oyo.¹²⁵

The merchants of Nupe and Old Oyo were the two chief middlemen in the importation of cowries into Hausaland during the 18th century, a period that witnessed the peak in the importation of cowries and exportation of human cargo on the coast of West.¹²⁶ The cowries currency and commodities further intensified commercial intercourse leading to the settling down of a group of Yoruba traders in Kano city. According to R.S. Smith, there was "a colony of traders from the Oyo town of Ogbomoso in the 18th century Kano."¹²⁷

There was an existence of Hausa diaspora in Yoruba towns of Oyo ile, Kishi, Igboho, Ilorin, Ogbomoso and Ijanna.¹²⁸ There were numerous groups of Fulani pastoralists who lived on peaceful terms with the Oyo people to whom they traded their milk, butter and cheese. Some Oyo owned their own cattle, employing Hausa slaves to tend them.¹²⁹ Hausa traders also traveled southwards into Old Oyo Empire and further to the coast in Lagos.

The Propagation of Islam

The Old Oyo Empire was linked to commercial and ideological nexus of the Islamic world through trans-Saharan trade. A great deal of intellectual and religious nature existed between Hausaland and the Old Oyo Empire. High level of intellectual exchange between Yoruba and Hausa Muslim scholars which included flow of communication, training, preaching and propagation of Islam existed. African-Arabic sources collected a considerable amount of information on old Oyo and made reference to the name Yoruba but an insignificant amount survived.¹³⁰

By the 17th century, Katsina was well established as a center of Islamic learning producing such scholars as Muhammad dan Marina (d.1657), Muhammad b. Masanih (d.1667) and Muhammad b. Muhammad (d.1741).¹³¹ The invitation of dan Masani to Old Oyo must have been influenced by one of his students or contemporary scholars. Law concludes that:

The oyo empire was certainly not a wholly illiterate society. It is known that Islam began to spread to among the Oyo from the countries to the north as early as the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and individual Oyo could well have acquired literacy in Arabic along with the Islamic religion. The oyo also imported numbers

of slaves from the north. Some of these were certainly literate in Arabic, and some Oyo probably used slaves as secretaries. The French trader Landolphe records that a party of Oyo ambassadors whom he met in the Benin area in c. 1787 were literate in Arabic: such ambassadors would probably have been royal slaves¹³²

Despite the role played by the Muslim scholars and the *Jamaa* in the political crisis of Oyo and the revolt of Afonja against the Alaafin, Oyo did not oppose Islam or Muslims. Indeed, magico-spiritual services such as divination provided by the Muslims were used contemporaneously with the complex rituals of animist sorcery. Hausa Muslims were patronised because of their proficiency in occultism. In 1830, the Lander brothers noted that Islamic scholars from Hausaland were tolerated in Oyo-ile, where they were "enriched at the expense of the credulity and ignorance of the inhabitants," presumably by selling charms to Yoruba Muslims and pagans who desired "protection" in the period of insecurity.¹³³

State and Trade Processes

The centralised political authorities seem to have given credence to the relations between Old Oyo and Hausa states. The states were civilized in their own rights with highly developed system of imperial administration. The rulers in Old Oyo and Kano developed cosmopolitan view of state-building in which the flow of commodities, ideas, and people transcended continental, regional, ethnic, and political boundaries.¹³⁴ There was business-oriented statecraft and state liberal policies towards merchant communities, and the provision of security by the state for itinerant merchants.¹³⁵ Control of trade routes and entrepôts created greater wealth and power to the controlling state and

political elite.¹³⁶ Indeed, the toll taxes on trading items and traders provided states important sources of revenue.¹³⁷

There was state monopoly of trade in slaves as well in ammunition and in the collection of tolls at designated toll-gates from groups of traders that patronized the routes.¹³⁸ Those who traded for rulers, or travelers under the protection of rulers were exempt from paying tolls.¹³⁹ Gift giving was prevalent. The gift-giving was a social obligation which sought to foster social cohesion.¹⁴⁰ The tolls and gifts collected were used for route maintenance and road repairing to create conducive atmosphere for commercial activities.¹⁴¹ To neglect trading routes implies that the empire or state would suffer serious setback in revenue collection and a decline in trade.¹⁴² Beyond the tax structures, merchants often provided gifts to the political authorities. The gift-giving practices was symbolic in the fostering of cordial social relations between merchants and the rulers.¹⁴³ The rulers provided security for the traders.

It was customary that soldier-slaves were never sold and they remained part of the households of the war chiefs. Slaves were placed in positions of trust and responsibility especially those were brave and energetic. They keep horses of their own, farms and farm-houses, have harems, a drummer and fifer.¹⁴⁴ They trained other young slaves in warfare and appropriate war captives as well. Slave labour was used in the domestic economy particularly in the farm plantations owned by chiefs. Women slaves formed part of the harems and in the production of palm oil, soap, shelling palm nuts and weaving mats.¹⁴⁵

Slaves were used in public administration. The practice of giving titles to eunuchs and creation of slave military commanders were administrative features in Kano, Borno and Old Oyo. Under Muhammad Rumfa eunuchs were given state

offices such as Sarkin Gabas (chief of the east), Sarkin Tudu (chief of the hill) and Sarkin Bai and Sarkin Kofa. Under Muhammad Shashere (1573-82) eunuchs appointed into more important offices of Wombai, Dagaci and Sarkin Dawaki. Oyo had the institution of seventy war commanders (*eso*) of slave origin, which comprised Nupe, Borgu, Borno and Hausa. Trusted Hausa slaves were given assignments in the government of the Alaafin of Oyo.¹⁴⁶ The use of Hausa slaves in the administration of the districts was to ensure that loyalty to the Alaafin, their master who favoured them with such prestigious posts. Being non-Yoruba, it was considered that they might not be easily influenced by or involved in local politics. In 1830, Lander was in contact with the Governor of Ijanna who was described as a Hausa slave of the Alaafin specifically posted to run the district.¹⁴⁷

The protection of strangers and immigrant elements were considered strategic in diplomatic and political affairs. An attempt by Bashorun Asamu in the 1770s Old Oyo Empire to sabotage the commercial activities and violate the religious rights of a Hausa trader heightened the wave of constitutional crisis, power struggle and rebellions in Old Oyo Empire. The goods of Alajaeta was plundered under the pretext that he was 'bringing bad charms into the city.' The seizure of Alajaeta's goods was apparently meant to put an end to his growing commercial prowess in the market and subsequently to expel him from Oyo-ile. Bashorun Asamu also confiscated the Holy Qur'an, the religious book belonging to Alajaeta in his bid to discourage the propagation of Islam in Oyo-ile.¹⁴⁸ Alajaeta appealed to the king Aole for justice and restoration of his goods, particularly the most valuable treasure, the Holy Qur'an.¹⁴⁹ The Basorun disobeyed the Alaafin's order to restore the Holy

Qur'an to the Muslim trader, even though he restored other goods. The Alaafin felt insulted and responded that :

Is it come to this that my commands cannot be obeyed in my own capital ? Must it be said that I failed to redress the grievance of a stranger in my town ? That he appealed to me in vain ? Very well then, if you Basorun Asamu cannot find it my father (Sango the defied Alaafin, god of thunder) will find the Koran for me.¹⁵⁰

The second day, the god of Sango took vengeance when lightning struck the Basorun's house.¹⁵¹ The defence of the Hausa Muslim trader in Oyo-ile inevitably led to conflicts between the Alaafin and Basorun Asamu leading to full blown civil war and partly contributed to the fall of the empire. By implication, the Alaafin ensured justice by reprimanding the highly placed chief to please the aggrieved Hausa Muslim trader.¹⁵² Alaafin Aole ensured that rule of law prevailed by ignoring the social status of his chief in protecting the rights of the Hausa migrant trader. Aole considered the action of the Basorun Asamu an attempt to jeopardise the economic fortunes of the empire and portray the king as a weakling who could not protect the strangers in his domain.

The protection of strangers and migrant elements as well as the promotion of religious pluralism were considered the sacred onus of the kings in most of the centralised states of western and central Sudan. Migrants enjoyed the protection of state authorities due to the valuable commercial roles they played.

Conclusion

The interaction of geography and history, of trade and Islam influenced the Hausa-Yoruba relations in the period under study. The centuries of slave trade both across the Sahara and the coast

enhanced the territorial scope of Oyo and Hausa states as well as encouraged political centralisation and expansion of markets in western and central Sudan. Trade promoted extensive cultural contacts including the use of clothes, Arabic and Hausa languages in many parts of Yorubaland.¹⁵³ The increased demand for agricultural and non-agricultural output gave impetus to a considerable demand of domestic slaves.¹⁵⁴ Oyo relied on Hausa slaves and artisans for pastoral works, surgical operations, barbing and rope making. Hausa slaves who performed pastoral work; some were barbers, rope makers; they performed minor surgical operations such as cupping, bone-setting, tapping hydroceles. Some operate cataract. Some were occultists. Many Hausa slaves served their Yoruba masters in the internal and long-distance interregional trade.¹⁵⁵

In the late 18th century, the interruption of supply of horses accelerated the decline of Oyo's military power.¹⁵⁶ Many of the slaves in the Old Oyo were imported from Hausaland and by the end of the 18th century these northern slaves, many of whom were unassimilated Muslims supported the Jihad in Ilorin which ultimately led to the collapse of the Oyo empire.¹⁵⁷ The paper points out that the name Yoruba was used by the people of Old Oyo to describe themselves and their language but was popularised in African Arabic literature from the 17th century. It was only in the early 19th century that European explorers who relied on Hausa informants, described Yoruba as Hausa word for the people of Old-Oyo. In all, this paper demonstrates that splendid interaction existed between the Yoruba of the Old-Oyo and Hausa states of Kano, Katsina and Zaria. Many of the diasporas created by the commercial networks have fully integrated into the Hausa and Yoruba societies respectively. The relationship was marked by mutual exchange of goods and ideas

as well as peaceful co-existence until the outbreak of constitutional crisis in Old Oyo and the rise of Ilorin Emirate in the early 19th century.

End Notes

1. See example of such works: I.A. Asiwaju and R. Law, "From the Volta to the Niger c. 1600-1800" in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, (eds.), *History of West Africa, Vol. I* (New York: Longman), p.413; Hugh Clapperton, 1829, *Journal of a Second Expedition Into the Interior of Africa* (London), 4; R. Law, 1991, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 5.
2. S.O. Biobaku, 1973, *Sources of Yoruba History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 1.
3. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press), p. 123.
4. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
5. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 60.
6. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
7. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
8. I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, "The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S. Osoba, eds., *Topics On Nigerian Economic and Social History* (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Limited), p. 37.

9. T. Falola, 1991, "The Yoruba Caravan System of the 19th century" in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No.1, p. 115.
10. S.O. Biobaku, 1973, *Sources of Yoruba History*, p. 234.
11. R.O. Lasisi, 2002, "Oyo-Yoruba and Ilorin Relations in the 19th century" in G.O. Oguntomisin and S.A. Ajayi, eds., *Readings in Nigerian History and Culture: Essays in Memory of Professor J.A. Atanda* (Ibadan: Hope Publications), p. 260.
12. In the early 19th century Kano, Yoruba were referred to as Ayagi (Eyagi), a Nupe word meaning "childhood friend."
13. I.A. Asiwaju and Robin Law, "From the Volta to the Niger c. 1600-1800", p. 412.
14. I.A. Asiwaju and Robin Law, "From the Volta to the Niger c. 1600-1800", p. 412.
15. M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
16. T. Falola, 1991, "The Yoruba Caravan System of the 19th century", p. 115. It has also been suggested that Hausa traders must have been present in Ijebu country for trade in slave and cloth despite the reputation of hostility to non-Ijebu (considered as strangers). This is from the tradition that: "Ijebu-Ode ajeji ko wo." Bi ajeji ba wo laro, won a fi sebo lale-Ijebu-Ode, a town forbidden to strangers; if a stranger entered it in the morning, he was sure to be made a sacrifice in the evening. See, R.S. Smith, 1976, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba* (London: Methuen and Co.), p. 89.
17. Madhi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
18. Madhi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.

19. Madhi Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p. 123.
 20. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600" in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa, Vol. I* (New York: Longman), p. 323.
 21. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600", p. 325.
 22. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600", p. 347.
 23. R. Law, 1991, *The Oyo Empire*, p. 12.
 24. S. Johnson, (2001 edition), *The History of the Yorubas* (Lagos : CSS Limited), p. 3 .
 25. S. Johnson, (2001 edition), *The History of the Yorubas*, p. 40.
 26. R. Law, 1985, "How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself? Some Problems in the Traditional History of Oyo", in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 18, No.1, p. 40.
 27. H. Clapperton, 1829, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (London), p. 4.
 28. Ahmad Baba, Al-Kashf wa'l-bayan li asnaf Majlub al-Sudan, otherwise known as Mi'rajal' su'-ud ila nail hukun Majlub al Sud, Translated as Belief, Unbelief, and Slavery in Hausaland (1615/16 A.D.). Abu 'l-Abbas Ahmad Baba al-Tinbukti (156-1627) was one of the outstanding intellectuals of medieval scholasticism in Timbuktu and a member of the Aqit family. He devoted his life to teaching and writing mainly in Timbuktu and from 1594 to 1607 after his capture by the Moroccans in Marrakesh.
- T.Hodgkin, 1975, *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology* (London: Oxford University Press). Ahmad

- Baba, a product of the Timbuktu school was one of the most outstanding scholars in western and central Sudan. He was born in October 1556 to the Aqit family noted for its learned men. Ahmad Baba was reputed to have produced over forty works. Ahmad Mohammad Khani, 1405 A.H., *The Intellectual Origin of Sokoto Jihad*, (Ibadan : Iman Centre), p. 16.
29. T.Hodgkin, 1975, *Nigerian Perspectives*, pp. 155-156.
 30. Ibn Masanih, *Shifa 'ruba fi tahrir fugaha Yuruba*, "A Reply to the Learned Men of Yoruba." The work explained the method of determining the time of sunset and time of prayer. Another prominent work was titled *Azhar al-ruba fi akhbar Yuruba*, "On the Wonders of Yoruba." R. Law, 1991, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-c.1836*, p. 15.
 31. Uthman Dan Fodjiyo, *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra ala'l-ibad* (1806) and *Tanbih al- Khwan'ala ahwal ard al-Sudan* (1811).
 32. Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maisur* (1812).
 33. R. Law, 1991, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-c.1836*, p. 15.
 34. The Origins of the Yoruba in Infaq Al-Maisur in T.Hodgkin, 1975, *Nigerian Perspectives*, pp.78-79.
 35. "Katunga" meaning "the wall" in Hausa-*Bayan Katanga*-Outside the walls of *Dar-al-Islam*. It emphasised the autonomy of Ilorin as a Muslim state and denounced Oyo as a land of pagans which could be conquered and its people enslaved.
 36. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600", p. 331.
 37. T. Falola, 1990, "The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on Yorubaland" in A.M. Kani and K.A. Gandhi, eds., *State and*

- Society in the Sokoto Caliphate* (Sokoto: Usman Danfodiyo University Sokoto), p. 126.
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40. G. N. Uzoigwe, 'Foreign Impact', p. 285.
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51. R. Law, 1991, *The Oyo Empire*, p. 120.

52. M. Adamu, 1982, 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan, p. 80.
53. M. Adamu, 1982, 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan, p. 60.
54. M. Adamu, 1982, 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan, p. 81.
55. M. Adamu, 1982, 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan', p.83.
56. R.O. Olaniyi, 2004, *Yoruba in Kano: A Commercial History of a Migrant Community, 1912-1999* (PhD Thesis, Kano: Bayero University).
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66. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600", p. 331.
67. J. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and the Hausa States, 1450-1600", p. 331.
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