NOT YET THE KANO CHRONICLE: KING-LISTS WITH AND WITHOUT NARRATIVE ELABORATION FROM NINETEENTH-CENTURY KANO

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In an article that will appear in a forthcoming issue of History in Africa, I have argued, contrary to M.G. Smith and Murray Last in particular, that the document that H.R. Palmer published under the title ‘The Kano Chronicle’ (KC) was not simply the latest update of a chronicle that had, as it were, been put out in a first edition in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and periodically added to.1 Rather it was an account of Kano history compiled for the first time during the reign of Emir of Kano Muhammad Bello (1882-93), reflecting a Kanocentric point of view in the face of a Sokoto overlordship that was to overreach itself shortly afterwards and precipitate the Kano civil war (basasa). The sources for the chronicle were largely oral—court traditions, praise epithets of rulers (kirarai), traditions of the learned, notably those who claimed descent from the North African scholar Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 909/1504), and apparently traditions stemming from local non-Muslim populations (maguzawa).

There was, however, clearly a written ‘chronological’ skeleton that supported these traditions and gave the chronicle the form it has. For while there are no absolute dates in the KC, its framework is a succession of rulers, each one numbered in order with a mention of the number of years (and/or months or days) he ruled and in most

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cases the ruler’s mother’s name. In this paper some of those lists of rulers that prefigure the KC will be presented and discussed. It will be shown that such king lists existed well before the time of the KC and, although no pre-nineteenth century examples have come to light, it is likely that the practise of recording lists of rulers goes back to the sixteenth century. While I find no evidence of a city/state chronicle before the late nineteenth century, it is not unlikely that scholars kept notes about their own families and possibly about other events. In the nineteenth century we see attempts to combine king lists, pure and simple, with other, narrative, material, especially material concerning Islam, though the simple king list was still in vogue in the 1890s.

In addition to such proto-chronicle forms, there is the Tayqīd al-akhbār, an account written in 1863-4 by the Fulani qāḍī Muhammad Zangi b. Śālih of the history of the jiḥād in Kano and the reign of the first three Fulani emirs, which to some extent would have provided a model for a city chronicle. It is, however, a triumphalist history in which all virtue and worth are attributed to the Fulani jiḥādists, and the pre-Fulani Hausa rulers are given short shrift. Perhaps it is surprising that they are given any mention at all. In fact the learned qāḍī gives a king-list, or perhaps takes data from more than one king-list, and presents his readers with a roster of forty-one rulers of Kano from Bagoda to Alwalī. In the preamble to his list he mentions ‘ancient chronicles’ twice; in the first instance he seems clearly to mean simple king-lists, since he says they contain the names of the kings and the lengths of their reigns. The second mention is in reference to al-Maghīlī’s alleged introduction of the date palm to Kano where again he refers to ‘ancient chronicles’, thus suggesting that material relating to al-Maghīlī had already been woven into king-lists, or perhaps that it was al-Maghīlī’s descendants who were the producers of at any rate one version of the Kano king-list. One of the other lists presented here, MS Jos 53, also reflects such an interest.

This latter ms also demonstrates another point that I make in regard to the KC; that is that the chronicle was not the work of a scholar from the high tradition of learning, i.e. one of the ‘ulamā’,
but was the work of a man only marginally literate in Arabic, who thought in Hausa and incorporated material from Hausa oral sources which he often had difficulty in rendering in Arabic.\(^2\) Hence he often simply left words in his text in Hausa, or if he rendered them in Arabic, essentially produced calques of Hausa phrases. In KC a typical calque is the repeated use of the Arabic verbal form \textit{jalasa} ‘he sat’, but which is used to mean ‘he remained, stayed’ reflecting the Hausa usage \textit{ya zauna}— which means either ‘he sat’ or ‘he stayed’. Precisely the same usage is found in MS Jos 53, where the phrase \textit{jalasa fı mulkihi} — ‘he sat in his kingdom’—is used consistently to mean ‘he reigned’. History, in Kano, was not the province of the \textit{‘ulamā‘} class.

It is this latter king-list, too, that comes closest to metamorphosing into a true chronicle. There are, in fact, three blocks of narrative: (1) regarding Sarki \textquote{Umaru} (#14) and his deposition,\(^3\) (2) a long narrative inserted into the reign of Muḥammad Runfā (#18) about the shaykhs \textquote{‘}Abd al- Раḥmān Za[gha]ytī and [Muḥammad b.] \textquote{‘}Abd al-Кārīm [al-Maghīlī], (3) an account of the dethroning of Alwalī (#41). There are also shorter narrative passages in reigns 28, 29, 30, 32 and 42. The chronicler was clearly out of his depth in Arabic when it came to narrative description beyond the purely formulaic. Hence, his passage inserted in the reign of Muḥammad Runfā suffers from syntactic confusion which leaves the reader at times unsure of who is the agent and who is the one acted upon. He also uses Hausa words for which there are simple Arabic equivalents, thus \textit{sintali} (ablution jug) instead of \textit{ibrīq}, and \textit{likkāfu} (stirrups) instead of \textit{rikāb}, and \textit{husūmiyā} (minaret) instead of \textit{mi’dhana}, or \textit{sawma‘a}.

The prominence given to al-Maghīlī in both MS Jos 53 and the \textit{Taqyīd al-akhbār} is interesting. It is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century some sort of received version of the introduction of Islam

\(^2\) See also Paul Lovejoy \textit{et al.}’s paper elsewhere in this issue ‘C.L. Temple’s “Notes on the History of Kano” [1909]: a lost chronicle on political office’, in which he argues that Dan Rimi Nuhu played a leading role in the writing of KC.

\(^3\) Other king-lists do not mention this, but KC says he abdicated to pursue the religious life.
into Kano had gained currency and that Sarki Muḥammad Runfā had been identified as the catalyst for this. Thus in MS Jos 53 al-Maghīlī ‘came bringing Islam’ in Runfā’s reign; in MS Falke 0704, though al-Maghīlī is not mentioned, ‘Islam began in his [sc. Runfā’s] time’; in Taqyīd al-akhbār ‘Islam began in this land in his time through the coming of Ābād al-Kārīm al-Maghīlī’; and in KC Ābād al-Kārīm (also called Ābād al-Raḥmān through conflation with Ābād al-Raḥmān Zaghaytī) established Islam in Runfā’s time. Historically, it is known that al-Maghīlī did spend some time in Kano during Sarki Muḥammad Runfā’s reign, but he did not of course ‘introduce’ Islam. Kano king lists clearly show that there were Muslim rulers before Muḥammad Runfā, notably the 14th, Āumar, whom MS Jos 53 calls a faqīh while putting Sufi sentiments into his mouth! KC (in Palmer’s translation) calls him ‘a mallam earnest in prayer’4 and MS Paden 53 also calls him a faqīh. Thus, quite apart from the absurdity of attributing the ‘coming of Islam’ to a single individual, Kano sources themselves acknowledge that there were Muslim rulers before Muḥammad Runfā.

Why, then, this close association of al-Maghīlī with islamization and the insertion of his ‘story’ into king-lists? While not denying al-Maghīlī his influence at Muḥammad Runfā’s court or among local Kano scholars of the day, or the legacy of his little ‘advice to kings’ book (the so-called Tāj al-dīn), it must be pointed out that there were many other scholars who visited Kano or settled there—the KC mentions a number and the Taqyīd makes special mention of Ābād Allāh al-Thiqa.5 There was also Ābād al-Raḥmān Suqqayn, the Fāsī scholar who narrated hadīth before the ruler in the early sixteenth century and is said to have left behind descendants, but whom Kano tradition does not remember.6 It is perhaps no coincidence that though

5  The grandfather of Ahmad Bābā al-Tinbukti had already taken refuge in Kano in the 1480s, a sure indication that there was already a firm Islamic presence there. See Ābād al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī, Taʾrikh al-Sūdān, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 37.
6  On this scholar and his sojourn in Kano see Ahmad Bābā al-Tinbukti, Nayl al-ibtiḥāj bi-taṭrīż al-dībāj, Cairo 1351/1931-2, 166-7; Muḥammad b. Jaʿfār
the king-lists record seventeen or eighteen rulers before Runfā, it is generally with his reign of 37 years, upon which all independent lists agree, that there starts to be a good measure of agreement among the various lists as to order of succession and reign length.\(^7\) Prior to his reign there is much more disagreement. This leads me to suggest that Runfā’s reign really was significant in terms of the implantation of Arabic literacy and Islamic ideas, and also I believe because it marked Kano’s final integration into the trans-Saharan trading networks, so that thereafter it remained in touch with the wider world of Mediterranean commerce and Islam. Al-Maghīlī would have played a role in this (and the Taqyīd implicitly suggests a commercial role for him), though he was one of many.

The cultural and commercial reinvigoration of Kano at this time may well have led to the establishment of a king-list tradition soon after. But this was not, it would seem, an authoritative palace tradition. Minor disagreements about reign lengths right down to the nineteenth century suggest that individual literate persons made their own lists, but that most probably the source for all the lists was ultimately oral knowledge preserved in the memories of courtiers and shared by other notables of Kano. In other words, a written tradition did not come to monopolize the recording process. No single list ever became the king-list, until, perhaps we come to that chronicle form of the late nineteenth century which comes to be called the Kano Chronicle.

We return now to the question as to why the Maghīlī story became part of some king-lists. One obvious answer would be that these lists emanate from members of that family. This may be so, but such an answer raises more questions, the answers to which but we can only speculate upon at present. The evidence of the Taqyīd shows that by the mid-nineteenth century the descendants of al-Maghīlī were claiming sharifian status, though no sharifian claim is made on al-Maghīlī’s behalf in any of the North African or Timbuktu

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\(^7\) There is also general agreement about the length of reign of the 14th sarki, ʿUmar, who seems to have been a favourite of the mallams.
soures (or even Sokoto sources), and as far as we know al-Maghılı did not make it himself. In the mid-nineteenth century the head of this family was called Sidi Fari (Hausa: ‘white lord’), evidently in recollection of one of al-Maghılı’s sons whom the same source and others tell us of. Again, no breath of this is to be found in earlier Arabic sources. At some point—and sources currently available to me have been unable to pinpoint exactly when—‘Sidi Fari’ becomes a Kano title held in this ‘sharifian’ family, and its holder a member of the emir’s council.

A hypothesis may be suggested, to wit that in the nineteenth century those claiming descent from al-Maghılı sought favour with the new Fulani rulers of Kano and wrote themselves into one strand of the king-list tradition, incorporating their family myths. As the descendants of Jum’a, the Sullebawa Fulani leader, settled down to their new status as rulers in Kano and became increasingly Hausacized and, indeed, Kano-cized, they found it useful to play up the connection with the descendants of al-Maghılı since it established a link between Kano sarauta (kingship) which they had appropriated and a scholar whom the jihād leaders had made emblematic of their struggle. The Sidi Fari’s claim to sharifian status would only enhance the image of a Kano ruler who patronized him. Eventually the link was formalised by the Sidi Fari being given a seat on the emir’s council. This cleared the way for much twentieth-century mythmaking about al-Maghılı which has been perceptively described by Priscilla Starratt, right down to a recent claim that he ‘wrote a constitution’ for Kano.8

The King-Lists

Four king-lists are presented below in the order in which it would appear they were written, followed by the relevant portion of the Taqıyıd. The latter is included principally for what it has to say about al-Maghılı. Because the source of its king-list is unknown and it

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may have been edited by the author of the *Taqyīd*, its Arabic text is not included. The four independent king-lists are:

(1) MS Falke 0704, a xerox copy of a manuscript forming part of the Umar Falke Collection in the Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana, Northwestern University. It formally ends with Alwalī, the last of the Hausa sultans and was therefore probably written down early in the Fulani period, probably before 1819. There is a note on the first page adding names of three Fulani rulers—Jum‘a, the Sullebawa leader who is elsewhere never officially recognised as a ruler, Sulaymān and [Ibrāhīm] Dabo. This note is probably in another hand and was added after the main list had been drawn up.

(2) MS Jos 47, a manuscript from the Nigerian National Museum, Jos. It goes down to Ibrāhīm Dabo, and thus we may assume that it was written during the reign of his successor, ʿUṯmān, i.e. between 1846 and 1855.

(3) MS Jos 53, the ‘proto-chronicle’ ending with ʿUṯmān, son of Ibrāhīm Dabo, and thus probably written during the reign of his successor, ʿAbd Allāh, between 1855 and 1882.

(4) MS Paden 399, a manuscript preserved in the Paden Collection of the Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana, Northwestern University. It ends with Muḥammad Tukur who ruled between December 1893 and March 1895. Its date of composition may therefore be presumed to be during the reign of ʿAlī, son of ʿAbd Allāh, 1894-1903. The actual copy, however, was made later, as a marginal note gives a date of Rabīʿ I 1334/7 January-5 February 1916.

*Arabic texts and translations*

In the Arabic texts that follow, line breaks have been indicated by a back slash and page numbers (not folio numbers, except in MS Jos 53) by a double back slash with a number in between. In MSS Falke 0704 and Paden 399 where the traditional triangle of large dots is used in the ms to indicate the end of an entry for a ruler, it has been replaced by the sign *.
This xeroxed copy of a manuscript of unknown provenance, consists of six numbered pages of 10.5 x 19 cm. Page one contains six lines in Hausa (and some other jottings) followed by five lines in Arabic. The latter give the names of the first three Fulani rulers of Kano, or to be more precise those whom the author considered to be the first three. The manuscript is vocalized throughout and the vocalization of names is reflected in their spelling in the English translation. There is some use of the *imāla* in the Arabic text, indicated medially by *yā‘* or the *nabra* with a dagger *alif* above and a dot below (٣٣, e.g. rulers 14 and 33), or finally by *alif maqṣūra* with a dot just before and with a dagger *alif* above it (٣٢, e.g. rulers 21 and 35). The rulers are not numbered except for the first (*awwaluhum*), but for convenience sequential numbers have been added between square brackets [ ] in the translation.

۲ / فائدة واما وجد بلد كنوه اولهم / بغودا اسم اهمه قونس سبع
ومسبعين / سنة في بلد * ثم وروث ابن ساخو ثلاثتين / سنة في بلد *
ثم نوت دغوت اهمهم / منسباد احدى سنة في بلدهما * ثم
غجماس اهمه تونس ستين سنة في بلد / قبل اربعين سنة * ثم ترتر
اهمه الديس / سنة في بلد * ثم ابن بغودا اسم اهمه / منتشراس اثنان
سنة في بلد * ثم أخيه / غوغوا اسم اهمه منسباد خمس / وخمسون
(سنة) * في بلد * ثم ابنه طارك / اسم اهمه ينكمما ستين سنة في /
 البلد * ثم ابن عوناك ثمانية سنة / في بلد * ثم ابنه رندا اسم اهمه /
في الهامش. ۹
سبد تسع وثلاثين سنة في بلد / ثم ابنه زمغناو اسم امه كمي 
تسع / سنة في بلد * ثم ابنه ياج اسم امه / مغررك عشرين سنة في 
البلد * ثم ابنه بقن اسم امه كمنتك خمسين سنة / في البلد * ثم 
عمه محمد كنجيج / اسم امه ياكوا اثنا وعشرين سنة في / البلد * 
ثم ابنه عمر غاري اسم امه / ياتار اثنا عشر سنة في البلد * ثم اخيه 
داود اسم امه مندون سبعة عشر / في بلد * ثم اخيه عبد الله اباج 
اسم / امه تكد خمس عشر سنة في بلد * ثم اخيه / يقف اسم 
امه تسافى / عشر سنة في البلد * هذا سلاطين كنفار { ( ) 
} 
ستتهم في بلد كنوا اربع مائة / وتسع وخمسون سنة في الداري على 
الكفر / والشرك / والافساد. صح بيان}10* ثم محمد رنفا بدأ 
إسلام في / زمانه رحمه الله اسم امه فاطمة / سبع وثلاثين سنة 
وعشر واربع / 4 / وعشرون يوما * ثم ابنه عبد الله / اسم امه حرى 
عشر سنة في البلد * ثم / ابنه محمد كسوكي رحمه الله اسم / امه 
لاميس ثمانية وخمسون سنة / في البلد * ثم يقف اسم امه / 
امينة غراي اربعين يوما في بلد * ثم / اخيه أبو بكر كد اسم امه 
في الهامش ، وما بين القوسيين غير مقروء و يظهر انه ارقام. 10
اووك / سبع سنة في بلد / ثم اخيه شهري / اسم امه دياسوا سنة
في بلد / ثم ابنه زاك اسم امه افاس ثلاثين / وسبيع سنة في بلد
ثم ابنه محمد خمس سنة في بلد / ثم الولي كنتني / اسم امه دادو
سبيع وعشرين / سنة في بلد / وقيل سنة11 وعشرون / ثم الحج سنة
في بلد / ثم شكريا / اسم امه دوس سنة وثمانية / 6 / شهر / ثم
محمد كننا ثمانية سنة / في البلد / ثم ابنه باوا عشر سنة وقيل / سنة
احدى عشر في بلد / ثم دادي اسم / امه يغري خمس وثلاثين سنة في
بلد / ثم شاريفا اسم امه مريم ثلاثين سنة / وقيل تسع وعشرون سنة
في بلد / ثم ابنه / محمد كنفاري اسم امه دوك ثلاث / عشر سنة في
الدار / ثم ابنه كوبى / اسم امه زينب تسع سنة وتسعة / شهر [في
بلد]12 / ثم ياج خمسة عشر سنة / وعشرة أشهر في البلد / ثم ابنه
زاكى تسبع سنة في البلد / ثم اخوه دودخمس سنة في البلد / ثم
اخته الولي ثمانية وعشرون [سنة]13 في البلد و (14 / واثنان في
كذا في الأصل ولعله يقصد : سنة.
في الهاشم. 11
في الهاشم. 12
في الهاشم. 13
غير مقرر. 14
Fā’ida: As for [those who] found [rule in] the town\(^{17}\) of Kano:

1. The first of them was Baghawdā. The name of his mother was Qawnas. 77 years in their town.

2. Warwatha son of Sākhu. 30 years in the town.

3. Nawata da Ghawata. Their mother was Minsāda. 1 year in the town.

4. Ghijimāsu. His mother was Tūnas. 60 years in the town, and it is said 40.

5. Tartari. His mother was Aldaysa (?). 1 year in the town.

6. Ibn Baghawdā. His mother’s name was Mantāras. 2 years in the town.

7. His brother Ghūghuwā. His mother’s name was Minsāda. 55 years in the town.

8. His son, Tārik. His mother’s name was Yankumā. 60 years in the town.

9. The son of Awnāka.\(^{18}\) 8 years in the town.

10. His son Randā. His mother was Sabda. 39 years in the town.

11. His son Zamnaghāwā. His mother’s name was Kumiya. 9 years in the town.

12. His son Yāji. His mother’s name was Maghanarku. 20 years

\(^{15}\) سنة مائة / و قمر (؟) واحد

\(^{16}\) بالاد —perhaps ‘city’ or ‘land’.

\(^{17}\) البلاط

\(^{18}\) According to other lists his personal name was Shēkaraw.
in the town.

[13] His son Buqanu. His mother was Kumantaka. 50 years in the town.

[14] His paternal uncle Muḥammad Kanajēji. His mother’s name was Yakūwā. 22 years in the town.

[15] His son ʿUmar Ghārī. His mother’s name was Yātāra. 12 years in the town.

[16] His brother Dāwūd. His mother’s name was Mandūna. 17 years in the town.

[17] Then his brother ʿAbd Allāh Abāji. His mother’s name was Takadu. 15 years in the town.

[18] His brother Yaʿquf. His mother’s name was Tasāfē. 10 years in the town.

These are the unbelieving sultans. [In marg.] Their years in the town of Kano were 459 in the abode (al-dārī). They lived in unbelief, polytheism and wickedness. [ ]

[19] Muḥammad Runfā. Islam began in his time—may God have mercy on him. His mother’s name was Fāṭima. 37 years and one month and twenty-four days.

[20] His son ʿAbd Allāh. His mother’s name was ʿawā. 10 years in the town.

[21] His son Muḥammad Kisūkē—may God have mercy on him. His mother’s name was Lāmīs. 58 years in the town.

[22] Yaʿqūfa. His mother’s name was Amīna Gharārī. Forty days in the town.

[23] His brother Abū Bakr Kada. His mother’s name was Ükin(?). 7 years in the town.

[24] His brother Shasherē. His mother’s name was Dayāsu. 1 year in the town.

[25] His son Zāki. His mother’s name was (?)Afsa. 37 years in the town.

[26] His son Muḥammad. 5 years in the town.

[27] Alwalī Kutunbī. His mother’s name was Dādū. 27 years in the town. And it is said, 26.

[28] Al-Ḥājj. 1 year in the town.

19 Two words, probably to be read as: saḥḥ bayān—‘a true exposition’. In fact, the numer of years, if one adds up the individual reigns is 488, or if Ghijimāsu is only allotted 40, then 468 years.
[29] Shakaraw. His mother’s name was Düsa. 1 year and eight months.
[31] His son Bāwā. 10 years—and it is said 11—in the town.
[32] Dādī. His mother’s name was Yaghrī. 35 years in the town.
[33] Shārēfā. His mother’s name was Maryam. 30 years—and it is said 29—in the town.
[34] His son Muḥammad Kunfārī. His mother was Dükin. 13 years in the abode (dār).
[35] His son Kūbē. His mother’s name was Zaynab. 9 years and nine months {in the town}. ²⁰
[36] Yājī. 15 years and ten months in the town.
[37] His son Zākī. 9 years in the town.
[38] His brother Dawdu. 5 years in the town.
[39] His brother Alwalī. 28 {years}²¹ in the town, then 2 on trek. Then [t]he[y] killed him. Ended.

{Their years were 300 and one moon (?) and two years and 80 years in the abode following Islam mixed with polytheism. There total number of years was 800 and one moon (?) in the abode}. ²²

[On the first folio, after six lines in Hausa, is the following]:

مَالاَ جَمْلُ الأول جمعة الخلف (؟) ثلاثية سنة / في ملك والثاني سليمين
اثنان عشرة (سنة)²³ / وسبع الشهر والثالث دابوا / خمس وعشرين
(سنة)²³ وخمس أشهر

²⁰ Added in the margin.
²¹ Added in the margin.
²² Written vertically in the margin and at the bottom of the page. In fact, the total number of regnal years from Muḥammad Runfā to Alwalī is 349 or 350, making the overall total from Baghawdā to Alwalī 817 or 818 years, six months and four days.
²³ كلمة سنة أضفته بعد النسخ.
²⁴ كلمة سنة أضفته بعد النسخ.
Mālan Jamu, the first was Jamʿat al-Ḥulla (?) or al-Julla. This would appear to be a reference to the Sullebawa leader Jumʿa referred to by Gowers as ‘Mallam Jemo, the most prominent leader in the “Jihad”’, see W.F. Gowers, Gazeteer of Kano Province, London 1921, 12. He names him as the uncle of Sultan Ibrāhim Dabo, but Temple’s ‘Notes’ mention him as a brother of Dabo. He is not normally reckoned as a ruler himself.

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26 Added later.

27 Added later.
In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. May God bless him after whom there is no prophet. The origin of Kano and the chronicle of its sultans.

1. Bughawda. His mother was Kawnasa. He ruled it for 77 years.
2. Warwathi. His mother was Asaji. He ruled it for 30 years.
3. Nawata Ghawata. His mother was Munsada. He ruled it for 1 year.
4. Ghajimasu. His mother was Yanas. He ruled it for 40 years.
5. Tariki. His mother was Yakan. He ruled it for 60 years.
6. Bughaji. His mother was Muntaras. He ruled it for 2 years.
7. Ghughu. His mother was Munsada. He ruled it for 55 years.
8. She Karaw. His mother was Awnaka. He ruled it for 37 years.
9. Rada. His mother was Salma. He ruled it for 39 years.
10. Zamnaghawa. His mother was Kany. 9 years.
11. Yaji. His mother was Maghanarku. 20 years.
12. Baghayi. His mother was Kamnarku. 5 years.
13. Kanajji. His mother was Yaku. 12 years.
14. 'Umar. His mother was Tara. 12 years.
15. Dawudu. His mother was Duniya. 17 years.
16. 'Abd Allah. His mother was Taghudu. 25 years.
17. Umadi. His mother was Kany. Six months.
18. Ya'qibu. His mother was Taifiable. 10 years.
19. Muhammad Runfa. His mother was Fatima. He ruled it for 37 years.
20. 'Abd Allah. His mother was Awuwa. 12 years.
21. Muhammad Kisuki. His mother was Lamis. 48 years.
22. Ya'qibu. His mother was Tunes. 5 years and ten months.
23. Dāwūdu Abāsama. His mother was Āmina. Forty days.
24. Abū Bakar. His mother was Kuyina. 7 years.
25. Muḥammad Shasharē. His mother was Ḥafṣa. Four months and twenty days.
26. Muḥammad Zāki. His mother was Ḥafṣa. 38 years.
27. Muhammad Nazāki. His mother was Kursu. 5 years.
28. Muḥammad Alwali, nicknamed Kutunbi. His mother was Dādu. 26 years.
29. Alḥaji. His mother was Nāsakas. Six months and twenty days.
30. Muḥammad Shē Karaw. His mother was Nāwarabu daughter of Zāriya. 1 year and seven months.
31. Suyāki. His mother was Fāṭima. Sixty-six days.
32. Muḥammad Kukuna. His mother was Ghūru. 8 years and one month and twenty-seven days.
33. Bāwa.29 His mother was Lāmis. 12 years and twenty-one days.
34. Dādi. His mother was Iyaghari. 33 years and six months and twenty-seven days.
35. Muhammad, his son, nicknamed Shārīfa. His mother was Maryamu. He ruled it for 29 years and five months.

[36] Muḥammad Qum Bāri. His mother was Dūkī. 13 years.
[37] Quwābī. His mother was Zaynabu. 9 years and ten months.
[38] Muḥammad Yāji. His mother was Maryamu. 16.
[39] Babāzāki. His mother was Y.r.dūrū. He had 8 years, and it is said [that] what is generally accepted (al-mashhūr) is 9 years.
[40] Dāwūdu, of his mother (li-ummihi) Madāki Būyā. And [he was] upon it 5 years and ten days altogether (kāmilan).
[41] Muḥammad al-Walī, of his mother Būyā. He had 27 years.
[42] Sulaymān. 13 years.
[43] Dābu son of Mahmūd. He ruled it 27 years and three months and nine days of Ṣafar.

Completed. Finished.

29 He is misnumbered in the text as 32, like his predecessor.
This is a composite manuscript with folio numbers added in European numerals. The king list/chronicle of Kano begins on f. 8v, line 5, following an Arabic version of the Hausa legend of the founding of the ‘Hausa Seven’. It is written in a neat \textit{ajami} hand, fully vocalized, of 12 lines per page (except for f. 8v which is 13 lines), with catch-words at the bottom left of the writing area of the verso of each folio, written almost vertically. The ms was part of H.R. Palmer’s papers and ff. 1-2 contain some marginal words in Palmer’s hand. A note on the cover-page of the University of Ibadan microfilm of the work reads: ‘Manuscript in eight folded sheets, 9 ins by 13 1/2 ins, equivalent to 16 folios 9 ins x 6 3/4 ins. New Ajami script, 10 lines per page,\(^{30}\) black ink and rubricated. Watermarks: “three moons” and “Andrea Galvani Pordenone”. From the collection of Sir Richmond Palmer’. Rulers are not numbered in the ms. For convenience numbering has been added in the English translation in square brackets. The manuscript is fully vocalized, including use of the \textit{imāla} in names. The spelling of proper names in the English translation reflects this vocalization.

\(^{30}\) In fact, ff. 1-7 have 10-12 lines per page, most being of 11 lines.
سبع سنين سبع سنين ثم ردا امه السباه / كممي ميا جلس في ملكه سبع / سنين ثم زمغوا امه كه / ميهاك جلس في ملكه سبع / سنين ثم ياح امه كمنتكا / جلس في ملكه عشرين سنة / 96 / ثم بوغو امه كومينيبي يذك / جلس في ملكه خمس سنين ثم / كنجلج امه باكو جلس في ملكه اثنا وعشرون سنة ثم / الفقيه عمر امه ياتاري جلس / في ملكه اثنا عشر سنة واخرجه / اقياله اوليهم سركن مينغ والثاني / سركن غيا والثالث غلاديم / والرابع مادوكي باب ودخل في / قريه دورا ودعا عليهم بحرم / واحد قطعك واربعة اوتادك / وسبعة اخبار واربعين بلدانك / 101 / وسبعون نجبانك وثلاثمائة / نجباناك اذ اخرجو لا يرههم / الله في ملكهم ابدا بسبب / دعائه ثم داوود امه مندرا / جلس في ملكه سبعا وعشرين / سنة ثم عبد الله امه تغد / جلس في ملكه خمسا وعشرين / سنة ثم يعقوب امه تضافي / جلس في ملكه عشرين سنة / وستين ثم محمد رنفا في زمانه / جاء عبد الكريم وزير النبي صلي / الله عليه وسلم بالاسلام في شهر / 101 / رجب يوم الاثنين عشرين منه / يوم الخميس او الجمعة السباه / الواحد الاثنين جاء عبد الرحمن ابن / زيتي في قريه
كانوا وصلُوا مع / جنسه اثنان وسبعون اولهم في / ولده مندوني ثم
مرتزق / ثم شيشي وذالك الزمان الذي اعتن / دين الإسلام واعطا
عبد الكريم / ألف دينار وجعله تحت حصوميا / في المسجد واعطا
عبد الرحمن / ألف دينار وورثه من جنسه / ولده وجلس في قرية
كنوا / 111 / ومات ودفن في باب دار تحت / كوك في مئات فسبب
هذا / محمد رتفا اشترى المكان بمائة / دينار ويدفن فيه حتى الان /
اما عبد الكريم فولادة ثلاثة / اولهم محمد حنترى والثاني / محمد
اين غلبت دودوا والثالث / عيسى سيد فري وورث عبد / الكريم
على اولاده ثلاثة / اولهم حنترى سفينة وخبر / النبي في يوم ولده
والثاني / صنعي سركي دلكانوا / 11 ب / والثالث ورقه النبوة
ومعامة / رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وتسبيح الحصا ثلاثة
وثلاثون / والثالث غلبت دودوا ورثه / سيف النبي والقرآن النبي
اربعة / سفرا والثالث سيدى فري ورث / قلنسوة النبي والعصا
وميزان الأرض فذا جاء يوم / المولد جاء محمد رتفا في بيت / سيد
فري وقراه ورقه النبي في / جنسه بين يدي سلطان المسلمين / اما
بعد جاء السلطان الى مدرج / 111 / عند مدرج رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم يمدح بين يديه / حتى الآن ثم خرج عبد الكريم / وترك
ولدها ثلاثة حنتارى أحمد غمن دودوا عيسى سيد فري ومشى إلى
الشام حتى / اختم ارسال النبي ومات في / شام اما محمد رتفا قامه
فاثما جلسة في ملكه سبعا / وثلاثين سنة ثم عبد الله امه اوا جلسة في
ملكه اثنين عشر / سنة ثم محمد كي سوكي / 12 ب / امه لاميس
تمجيكن جلسة في / ملكه ثمان وخمسين سنة ثم / يعقوب امه
تونس تكياس / جلسة في ملكه اربعة عشر / وعشرين يوما ثم داوود
با اسم / امه امينة جلسة في ملكه / اربعين يوما ثم أبو بكر اكد / امه
اونتباياري جلسة في ملكه / سبع سنين ثم محمد شبشي امه /
عائشة جلسة في ملكه اربعة / اشهر وعشرين يوما ثم محمد / ببا
زاك امه حفصة جلسة / 13 11 / في ملكه ثمانية وثلاثون سنة / ثم
محمد امه كرسوا جلسة في ملكه خمس سنين ثم الولي اكتبي امه
اوندنبولالي / جلسة في ملكه ست عشر سنة / ثم الحج امه ناسكس
جلس / في ملكه عشر سنة و شهر / وعشرين يوما واخرج ودخل / في قرية زك ثم شبلكوا / امه ناريا بنت زاري جلسة / في ملكه
سنة واحدة وسبعة / أشهر واخرج ودخل في قرية / 13 ب / زارية ثم
سوياكي امه فاطمة / جلس في ملكه سنة واحدة / وسبعة أشهر
واخرج ودخل / في قرية زاريا ثم سوياكي / امه فاطمة جلس في
ملكه ست سنين ويوما ثم محمد / ككنا امه رحمة جلس في /
ملكه سبع سنة وعشرين يوما / واخرج ودخل في قرية زك زك
وادرك ويات اربعا ودخل / في ببيته ثم باو امه لاميس / جلس في
ملكه احدى عشر سنة / 11 / وعشرين يوما ثم محمد دادن / الله
امه ياين غري جلس في / ملكه ثلاثين سنة وثمانية / أشهر وعشرين
يوما ثم / محمد شاريف امه مريم / جلس في ملكه ثلاثين سنة / ثم
محمد كنبار امه دوكي / جلس في ملكه ثلاث سنين / ثم كوابي امه
زينب جلس / في ملكه تسعة سنة وتسعة / أشهر ثم باج امه مريم /
جلس في ملكه خمس عشر / 14 ب / سنة واحدى عشر شهرا ثم ببا
زاكي امه زينب امه بنت دون / جلس في ملكه ثمان سنين / 
واحدى عشر شهرا ثم دوود / ابوسم امه باوي جلس / في ملكه
خمس سنين ثم ورثه / الولي امهما اي داوود والولي امهما واحدة ما
بين محمد رنفا / الى الولي ثلاث مائة واربعين / سنة وثمانينية سنة
وايضا / الولي شقيق داوود جلس في / ملكه سبع وعشرون سنة /
The origin of Kano is Baghawd; his mother was Qawnassu. He sat in his kingdom (jalasa fı mulkihi) 77 years.

His mother Asajë inherited [power from] him. She sat for 30 years.

Then Nawta da Ghawata, two twins. Their mother was Mun(a)säkë. They sat in their kingdom 1 year.

Then Ghajimmäsu. His mother was Yakhtaşsu. He sat in his

Translation

[1] The origin of Kano is Baghawd; his mother was Qawnassu. He sat in his kingdom (jalasa fı mulkihi) 77 years.
[3] Then Nawta da Ghawata, two twins. Their mother was Mun(a)säkë. They sat in their kingdom 1 year.
[4] Then Ghajimmäsu. His mother was Yakhtaşsu. He sat in his
kingdom for 40 years.
[5] Then Ṭārikī. His mother /f. 9r/ was Yankumā. He sat in his kingdom for 60 years.
[6] Then Baghiji. His mother was Muntāras. He sat in his kingdom for 2 years.
[7] Then Ghūghū. His mother was Munsāda. He sat in his kingdom for 55 years.
[8] Then Shēkaraw. His mother was Awnāka. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
[9] Then Radā. His mother was al-Sabṭi Kumay Mayā. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
[10] Then Zamnaghāwā. His mother was Kūmiyadhaka.34 He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
[11] Then Yāji. His mother was Kumantakā. He sat in his kingdom for 20 years /f. 9v/.
[12] Then Būghawa. His mother was Kūminē Yadhaka.35 He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.
[13] Then Kanajēji. His mother was Yākuwa. He sat in his kingdom for 22 years.
[14] Then the faqīh ṬUmār. His mother was Yātārē. He sat in his kingdom for 12 years. Then his chiefs (aqyāl) removed him. The first of them was Sarkin Mīgha, and the second Sarkin Ghayā and the third Ghalādīma and the fourth Mādawākī Bāba. He entered the town of Daura and invoked God against them, [calling] upon the sanctity of your one quṭb and your four awtād and your seven akhyār and your forty budalā’ /10r/ and your seventy nujabā’ and your three hundred nuqabā’.36 [His prayer was] that since they had deposed him, may God never restore them to their office, because of his imprecation.
[15] Then Dāwūda. His mother was Mandarā. He sat in his kingdom for 27 years.
[16] Then ‘Abd Allāh. His mother was Taghida. He sat in his kingdom 25 years.
[17] Then Ya‘qūba. His mother was Taṣāfē. He sat in his kingdom

34 Or Kūmi Yaya Dhaka or Kūmiya Ya-Dhaka
35 This would appear to be the same name as the mother of ruler no. 10.
36 These are various ranks in the hierarchy of ‘Friends of God’ (awliyā’).
for 22 years.

[18] Then Muḥammad Runfā. In his time ʿAbd al-Karīm,37 the wazir of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him peace—came bringing Islam in the month /f. 10v/ of Rajab, on a Monday, the twentieth of it. On Thursday, or Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayṭī came to the town of Kano and prayed with seventy-two of his people (maʿā jinsihi).39 The first of them was in [of ?] his sons Mandawanī, then Mararraghī, then Shēshī. That was the time when the religion of Islam was aided. And he [sc. Muḥammad Runfā] gave ʿAbd al-Karīm 1,000 dinārs. He put them under the minaret (ḥuṣūmiyā) in the mosque. He gave ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 1,000 dinārs and his son from among his kin (min jinsihi) inherited it. He sat in the town of Kano /f. 11r/ and died [there] and he buried him40 at the door of [his] house (fī bīb dārin) underneath a baobab (kūkā) in Madaci (Ar.: madathī). Because of this Muḥammad Runfā purchased the place for 100 dinārs. He (sc. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) is buried in it and [remains there] until the present time. As for ʿAbd al-Karīm, his sons were three. The first of them was Muḥammad Ḥantārī, and the second Aḥmad son of Ghēmin Dūdū, and the third was Īsā Sīdi Fārī. ʿAbd al-Karīm bequeathed [things] to his three sons: the first of them, Ḥantārī, a safīna41 and the account (khabar) of the Prophet’s birthday;42 to the second a metal [ablution] jug

37 I.e. [Muḥammad b.] ʿAbd al-Karīm [al-Maghīlī] who visited Kano in the early 1490s. He is often known simply as ʿAbd al-Karīm in Hausaland.

38 A Mande Dyula teacher and preacher. See M.A. al-Hajj, ‘A seventeenth century chronicle on the origins and missionary activity of the Wangarawa’, Kano Studies, i/4, 1968, 7-42. The name ‘Zayṭī’ is given there as ‘Zaghayṭī’ and is perhaps to be pronounced ‘Diakhite’.

39 The above is a literal translation. What it probably means is that a total of seventy-two persons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s clan accompanied him and offered prayer with him on his arrival in Kano.

40 Ar.: wa-dafanahu, but it probably means ‘he was buried’.

41 Literally ‘a ship’. Perhaps the reference is to the title of a book such as the Safīnāt al-najī of Ahmad Zarrūq al-Fāsī (d. 1493).

42 Lit. ‘account of the Prophet on the day of his son (yawma waladihi, but read mawlidihi—“his birthday”). What is probably meant here is some mawlid text.
(şintalı), a surkē and stirrups;\(^{43}\) \(\text{f}.\) 11v/ the third [received] the document of prophecy\(^{44}\) and the turban of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him peace—and a pebble rosary [containing] thirty-three [beads]; and [to] the third Ghēmin Düdū he bequeathed the sword of the Prophet and the Qurān of the Prophet in four volumes. And the third [sic] was Sīdi Farī and he inherited the qalansuwa of the Prophet and the staff and the balance of the earth (mīzān al-ard). On the day of the mawlid Muḥammad Runfā came to the house of Sīdi Farī and he read to him the document of the Prophet concerning his kin in the presence of the Sultan of the Muslims. Next, the sultan came to [Sīdi Farī] for eulogy of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him peace. He is eulogised in his presence until the present day. Then ʿAbd al-Karīm departed and left his three sons, Ḥantārī, Aḥmad Ghēmin Düdū and ʿĪsā Sīdi Farī and went to Damascus\(^{45}\) until he completed the mission (ʿirsāl) of the Prophet and he died in Damascus. As for Muḥammad Runfā, his mother was Fātimā [sic]. He sat in his kingdom for 37 years.

[19] Then ʿAbd Allāh. His mother was Awwā. He sat in his kingdom for 12 years.

[20] Then Muḥammad Kī-Sükē \(\text{f}.\) 12v/. His mother was Lāmīs Tamajikanna. He sat in his kingdom for 58 years.

[21] Then Yaʿqūbu. His mother was Tūnasu Takiyāsu. He sat in his kingdom for four months and twenty days.

[22] Then Dāwūdū Bā. His mother’s name was Amīna. He sat in his kingdom for forty days.

[23] Then Abū Bakar Akkadu. His mother was Awwā ta Bābārī. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.

[24] Then Muḥammad Shēshē. His mother was ʿĀʾisha. He sat in

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\(^{43}\) Text: [Hausa] şintalı surkē da likkāfū. For surkē, Priscilla Starratt has suggested reading sirdi—‘saddle’.

\(^{44}\) Text: waraqat al-nubuwwa, but we should read waraqat al-nabī—‘the document of the Prophet’ as the phrase occurs below. The reference is no doubt intended to be to a document allegedly given to the ancestors of ʿAbd al-Karīm by the Prophet establishing sharifian ancestry. ʿSidi Farī’ is now the title of a Kano office and its holder claims descent from the Prophet through al-Maghīli.

\(^{45}\) Or Syria—al-Shām.
his kingdom for four months and twenty days.

[25] Then Muḥammad Babbā Zākī. His mother was Ḥafṣa. He sat in his kingdom for 38 years.

[26] Then Muḥammad. His mother was Kursū. He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.

[27] Then Alwalī Uktūbī. His mother was Awwa ta Dan Būṭālē. He sat in his kingdom for 16 years.

[28] Then Alḥajī. His mother was Nāṣakas. He sat in his kingdom for 10 years and one month and twenty days and he was driven out and entered the town of Zak Zak.

[29] Then Shēkaraw. His mother was Nāribū daughter of Zāriya. He sat in his kingdom for 1 year and seven months and was driven out and entered the town of Zāriyā.

[30] Then Sūyākī. His mother was Fāṭima. He sat in his kingdom for 1 year and seven months and was driven out and entered the town of Zāriyā.

[31] Then Sūyākī. His mother was Fāṭima. He sat in his kingdom for 6 years and one day.

[32] Then Muḥammad Kukunā. His mother was Raḥma. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years and twenty days and was driven out and entered the town of Zak Zak. He was caught up with (?) and spent four nights and entered his house.

[33] Then Bāwa. His mother was Lāmīs. He sat in his kingdom for 11 years and twenty days.

[34] Then Muḥammad Dādin Allāh. His mother was Yāyin Gharī. He sat in his kingdom for 30 years and eight months and twenty days.

[35] Then Muḥammad Shārīfa. His mother was Maryama. He sat in his kingdom for 30 years.

[36] Then Muḥammad Kunbārī. His mother was Dūkī. He sat in his kingdom for 3 years.

[37] Then Kuwābē. His mother was Zaynaba. He sat in his kingdom for 9 years and nine months.

[38] Then Yāji. His mother was Maryama. He sat in his kingdom for 15 years and eleven months.

[39] Then Babbā Zākī. His mother was Zaynaba. His mother was

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46 This was apparently a restoration. According to KC it was Muhammad Kukuna who was driven out to make way for Sūyākī and later restored.
the daughter of Düna. He sat in his kingdom for 8 years and eleven months.

[40] Then Dawūda Abūsama. His mother was Bāwiyā. He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.

[41] Then Alwalī inherited it. Their mother—that is to say Dāwūda’s and Alwalī’s—was the same woman. Between Muḥammad Runfā and Alwalī are 348 years. Also Alwalī is the full brother of Dāwūda. He sat in his kingdom for 27 years /f. 15r/. And the army of the Falātīn drove him out and he went to the land of his brothers, the sultan of Ranū and assembled the sultans of his day to be his helpers. And he was driven from this town and he went to Zak Zak and he sat [there] for 1 year and seven months and returned to seek [control of] his abode (i.e. kingdom), and the Falātīn killed him in the land of the unbelievers called Burunburun in the month of Dhū ’l-qa‘da, on the 16th of it, on a Thursday. And God knows best what came after that of like matters.

[42] Also Sulaymān al-Falātī. His mother was Dāda. He sat in his kingdom 12 years and nine months and twenty-seven days in Shawwāl. He listened to the account [of the Prophet’s life?] on Fridays.

[43] Dābu. His mother was Ḥalīma. He sat in his kingdom for 26 years and forty days and three days.

[44] ʿUthmān son of Dābu. His mother was Shēkara. He sat in his kingdom for 10 years.

Ended.

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This is written on two sides of a single folio; with 18 lines on the recto side and 20 lines on the verso. Rulers are not numbered and

47 Ar.: salāṭīn ghuzamānīhi [sic].
48 Burumbarum is situated about 45 miles south-south-east of Kano and 70 miles from Zaria.
49 This probably to be connected with the account of ʿAbd al-Karīm’s son Ḥantārī above who had the account of the Prophet’s birthday.
therefore sequential numbers have been added within square brackets in the English translation. There is almost no vocalization; hence non-Arabic names have been written in their consonantal skeletons, except for the mothers of rulers 6 and 12 whose names are fully vocalized in the original.

كتاب تعرف الزمان : اصل * كنوا بقواد امه قونس / سبع وسبعين سنة * وروث امه الساحرو ثلاثين سنة * / عجمماسو امه يانس أربعين سنة * نوت دغوت اهمها / منساكن احدى سنة * طاركى امه ينكما سنين، سنة / * بغيي امه منثارس اثنا ستة سنة * غوغو امه منساد / خمس وخمسين سنة * شكرعا امه انوكما سبع سنة / * رد امه كميميا سبع سنة * ياج امه معرك / عشرين سنة * بقي امه كمنرك خمس سنة * كنجي جى / امه ياكوار اثنا وعشرين سنة * الفقيه عمر امه ينثار اثنا وعشرين سنة * داود امه مندار سبع وعشرين سنة / * عبد الله امه تكدا خمس وعشرين سنة * يعقوب امه تصفو عشر سنة * محمد رنفا امه فادم سبع وثلا / ثين سنة * عبد الله امه اوتى عشر سنة * محمد / كيسوكى امه لاامس تمجيعين ثمانى وخمسين سنة * يعقوب امه تونس تكياس اربع اشهر و / وعشرين يوما * داود اب اسمها امه اميليا اربعين / يوما * بوكر كد امه اوتيبينبار سبع كذا في الاصل واغلب الظن أنه اراد ستين *.
سنة 2 / محمد شهري امه عائشة اربع اشهر وعشرين يوماً *
محمد زاكي امه حفصة ثماني وثلاثين سنة * محمد امه كرس خمس سنين * الولى كنتي امه / داد تيوتالي ست وعشرين سنة * الحج امه ناربا بنت / رارية احدى سنة * سوياك امه فاطمة ست وستين / يوما
* محمد كنكنا امه غور ثماني سنة وست / اشهر وسع وعشرين يوماً * بار امه لايمس / عشر سنة واحدى عشرين يوماً * محمد دادي امه يا اوغري سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وثمانى أشهر / وعشرين يوماً
* كاملاً * شرى امه مريم ثمانية / وعشرون سنة * محمد قم باري امه دوود ثلاث / وعشر سنة * قوابي امه رئيب * تسعة سنة وتسعة / أشهر * محمد ياج امه مريم ت مجعني وتسعة / عشر سنة * ببا زاك امه بدون ثمانية سنة / قبل تسع * داود امه بوي خمس سنة * الولى / سبع وعشرين سنة * سليمان ابن ابهم ثلاث عشر / سنة * دابو امه حصليمة ست وعشرون سنة / وشهرين وتسع يوماً *

اي : ثلاث. 51
اي : زينب ، وقد اخطأ النااس. 52
اي : ثلاث. 53
كذا في الاصل ولعله اراد : حليفة. 54
A document for knowing the age.

[1] The origin of Kano is B-gh-w-ā-d, whose mother was Q-w-n-s, 77 years.

[2] W-r-w-th, whose mother was al-Sāḥū, 30 years.

[3] c-j-m-m-āsū, whose mother was Yān-s, 40 years.

[4] N-w-t D-gh-w-t, whose joint mother was M-n-sāk-n, 1 year.

[5] Tār-kī, whose mother was Y-n-k-mā, 60 years.

[6] B-gh-y-ā, whose mother was M-n-tār-s, 2 years.

[7] Ghūghū, whose mother was M-n-sād, 55 years.

[8] Sh-k-r-ū, whose mother was A-w-nāk, 7 years.

[9] R-d, whose mother was Kumaymayā, 7 years.

[10] Yāj, whose mother was M-ā-n-r-ā-k, 20 years.

[11] B-q-y, whose mother was K-m-n-r-k, 5 years.

[12] K-n-j-ā Jā, 57 whose mother was Yāk-w-āw, 22 years.

[13] Al-faṣīḥ ʿUmar, whose mother was Yatārā, 12 years.

[14] Dāwūd, whose mother was M-n-dār, 27 years.

[15] ʿAbd Allāh, whose mother was T-k-dā, 25 years.

[16] Yaʿqūb, whose mother was T-s-fū, 10 years.

[17] Muhammad R-n-fā, whose mother was Fād-m, 37 years.

[18] ʿAbd Allāh, whose mother was A-w-tā, 10 years.

[19] Muhammad K-y-s-w-kā, 58 whose mother was Lāmīs T-m-jīk-n, 58 years.

57 The two alif maqṣūras ‘ā’ are no doubt to be read with the imāla as ‘ē’, hence Kanajējē.

58 Or with imāla on the second and third long vowels, K-y-s-ō-kē, i.e. Kīsōkē.
[20] Ya’qūb, whose mother was Tūn-s T-k-yās, four months and twenty days.
[21] Dāwūd A-b A-s-mā, whose mother was Amīna, forty days.
[22] Bükar K-d, whose mother was A-w-t-yāy-n-bār, 7 years.
[23] Muḥammad Sh-sh-rā,59 whose mother was ʿĀʾishah, four months and twenty days.
[24] Muḥammad Zākī, whose mother was Ḥafṣa, 38 years.
[25] Muḥammad, whose mother was K-r-s, 5 years.
[26] Al-Walī K-t-n-bī, whose mother was Dād T-būṭālī, 26 years.
[27] Al-Hajj whose mother was Nār-bū bint Rār-yā,60 1 year.
[28] Sūyāk, whose mother was Fāṭima, sixty-six days.
[29] Muhammad K-k-nā, whose mother was Gh-w-r, 8 years and six months and seventeen days.
[30] Bāw, whose mother was Lāmīs, 10 years and twenty-one days.
[31] Muḥammad Dādī, whose mother was Yā A-w-gh-rī, 33 years and eight months and twenty days altogether.
[32] Sh-rā,61 whose mother was Maryām, 28 years.
[33] Muḥammad Q-m Bārī, whose mother was D-w-w-d, 13 years.
[34] Q-wābā,62 whose mother was Zaynab,63 9 years and nine months.
[35] Muḥammad Yāj, whose mother was Maryām T-m-j-n-c-nī, 19 years.
[36] B-bā Zāk, whose mother was Y-d-w-n, 8 years, and it is said 9.
[37] Dāwūd, whose mother was B-w-yā, 5 years.
[38] Al-Walī, 27 years.
[39] Sulaymān b. Ab-h-m, 13 years.
[40] Dābū, whose mother was Ḥalīma,64 26 years and two months and nine days.
[41] ʿUthmān, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 10 years.

59  Or with the imāla, Sh-sh-rē.
60  No doubt a copyist’s error for ‘Zāriyyā’.
61  Or with the imāla, Sh-rē.
62  Or with the imāla, Q-wābē.
63  In the text: Raynab, an obvious scribal error.
64  Text: H-s-līma.
[42] ʿAbd Allāh, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 28.
[43] B-l-ū, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 11 years
[44] Muḥammad Tukur, one month.
{Ended. In Rabīʿ I, 1334. Amen.}65

Pre-1807 Chronicle Portion of the Taqyīd al-akhbār of qādi
Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (1863/4) [MS Jos, 97]

وقد وجدنا في تواريحوهم القديمة مما لا يكاد يتفق عليه المؤرخون من اسماء ملوكهم وسن كل واحد منهم في السلطنة من زمن بغود وهو أولهم الى زمن رنفأ وهو الذي عاصر المغيلبي ونشأ الإسلام في هذه الارض زمانه بمجيء عبد الكريم المغيلبي التلمساني اليهم واخلف فيهم ثلاث اولاد محمد حنتار واحمد ميغيم وعيسى يد فر وهذه الذرية باقية الى اليوم وصار الملقب بسيد فر كبير الشرفاء في بلدنا ونقطنا في التواريح القديمة ان المغيلبي جاء بالتمر وزرعه في هذه الارض خاصة فنبت لينتفع به قومه وقيل بين رنفأ الذي جاء الإسلام في زمانه ببركة المغيلبي والولي الذي ظهر الشيخ عثمان نور الزمان وبركة الاوان في زمانه ثمان واربعين وثلاث مائة سنة وينبغي ان نأتي باسماءهم

65 Written in the margin in another hand. Rabīʿ I 1334 corresponds to 7 January-5 February 1916.
We found in their ancient chronicles, which historians can scarcely agree upon, the names of their kings and the years each one spent in power from the time of Baghawda, who was the first of them, to the time of Runfâ, who was a contemporary of al-Maghîlî and in whose time Islam spread in this land through the coming of ʿAbd al-Karîm al-Maghîlî al-Tilimsînî66 to them. He left behind with them three sons: Muhammad Ḥanatârî, Ahmad Mâi Ghîmî and ʿÎsâ Sîdî Fâri. Their descendants are still in existence to this day and the one called Sîdî Fâri is the head of the sharîfs in our town. We copied from (naqâllâ fî) the ancient chronicles [the fact that] al-Maghîlî brought dates and planted them in this land on purpose (ʾ?khâṣṣatan) and it grew, so that his people might benefit from them. It is said that between Runfâ in whose time Islam came through the baraka of al-Maghîlî and Alwâlî, in whose time appeared the light of the age and the blessing of the times Shaykh ʿUthmân, is 348 years. It behoves us to give their names:

1. Baghawda. 70 years.
2. Qawnas. 30 years.
3. Ajîmâsû. 40 years.
4. Thârakâ. 60 years.
5. Abû Ghîjî. 2 years.
6. Ghûghûwâ. 50 years.
7. Makankîra. 51 years.
8. Karârawâ. 80 years.
9. Randâ. 30 years.
10. Zamna Ghâwa. 30 years.
11. Kutungharâsâ. 7 years.
12. Yâghâjî. 5 years.
13. Kanâjî. 22 years
14. ʿUmar. 12 years.
15. Nawuta. 10 years.
16. Dâwûd. 70 years.
17. ʿAbd Allâh. 15 years.
18. Yaʿqûb. 10 years.

19. Muhammad Runfā. 37 years. In his time came al-Maghīlī. They say that he built the royal palace (dār al-salṭana) for ‘the blessing of his age’.
20. ʿAbd Allāh. 11 years.
21. Muhammad Ghisūkē. 52 years.
22. Yaʿqūb. Four months and twenty days.
23. Dawdu. Forty days.
24. Abū Bakr. 7 years.
25. Muhammad Shashara. Four months and twenty days.
26. Muhammad Zāki. 38 years.
27. Muhammad Ghurzū. 4 years and five months.
28. Alwali Kutunbi. 26 years.
29. Alhaji. 1 year.
30. Shēkaraw. 1 year and seven months.
32. Muhammad Kukuna. 8 years.
33. It is said that after him [came] Bāwa and in his time came the Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Thiqat.67 10 years.
34. Muhammad Dādi. 30 years.
35. Muhammad Sharīfa. 30 years.
36. Muhammad Kunbāri. 13 years.
37. Tunghiru, i.e. Kuābi. 9 years and nine months.
38. Yāṭi. 17 years.
39. Babbā Zāki. 8 years.
40. Dāwda. 5 years.
41. Alwali. 27 years.