

The Development of Women's Authority in the Kano Tijaniyya, 1894–1963

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This article acknowledges Kano Muslim women's contributions to their faith through their activities within the Kano Tijaniyya. It discusses two women from the first generation of Kano Tijani muqaddamat, Hajiya Iya and Umma Makaranta, who were very active during the period 1937–1963, a time of expansion in the Kano Tijaniyya's membership. This article describes these two Tijani women's lives and the ways male patrons helped them rise to the position of muqaddama, a status which entails considerable authority. These women achieved spiritual and personal authority in an Islamic setting without sacrificing "respectability." Their actions have helped create and legitimate new possibilities for women in contemporary Kano.

Much has been written about the history of Kano Sufi orders. Women, however, are only footnotes in those works. There are few works about West African Muslim women's activities within orthodox Islam. Over the years scholars of Hausaland have paid particular attention to women's participation in the *bori* spirit possession cult or have proclaimed that "Muslim Hausa women have no respected religious functions or roles" (Coles 1983:96–7). *Bori* is an important subject, and Muslim Hausa women certainly face challenges to their full participation in Islam. However, Muslim women have overcome some of those challenges and do hold positions of authority within their religion. This article acknowledges Kano Muslim women's contributions to their faith through their activities within the Kano Tijaniyya and argues that some women have authority within the order.

This article joins the budding, albeit still scant, body of literature on Muslim women's religious roles in West Africa. Boyd and Last (1985) recognized the dearth of published work on specific Muslim women in the history of West African communities. They wrote about Nana Asmau's contribution to religiosity in nineteenth-century Sokoto, the creation of the *yan taru* movement.¹ They also called upon researchers to pay serious attention to the role of women in West African Islam and to write "with

biographical detail of what they both thought and did" (Boyd and Last 1985:284). Several scholars have heeded the call. Christian Coulon (1988) explored "women's Islam" in a brief study of Sokhna Magat Diop, a female shaykha among the Mourides of Senegal. Sule and Starratt's (1991) article on female Islamic leadership helped pave the way to the current study. They brought to light a number of leadership roles in Islam that Kano women have been performing for years. One such role is *muqaddama*, a representative authorized to initiate and supervise members of a Sufi order.²

Despite these pioneering studies, much remains to be done. Researchers still do not integrate Muslim women's experiences into specific historical debates. This is the case for Kano despite the fact that women's roles in the Tijaniyya Sufi order underwent profound changes between 1937 and 1963, during which time women became *muqaddamat* for the first time, women's membership increased, and women's Tijani networks were built. In this article I seek to write women into this critical period of the order's history by describing the lives of two Tijani women whose work as *muqaddamat* and *malamai*³ (Hausa: Islamic teachers) was crucial to those developments. I will also discuss the ways male patrons helped these women rise to their positions of authority in the Tijaniyya and the reasons they did so.

Although it is hard to measure the effects of Kano Tijani *muqaddamat* on Kano women and society, their lives and actions represent alternatives to the lack of education, seclusion, and dependency that characterize Hausa women's lives. These Tijani *muqaddamat* have been lauded in the northern Nigeria mass media as exemplary Hausa women.⁴ In addition to expanding the membership of the Tijaniyya, they expanded the possibilities for women to achieve spiritual and personal authority in an Islamic setting without sacrificing "respectability."

This article differentiates between the terms power and authority. Power is considered to be the ability to control other people and situations, whereas spiritual authority is defined as the socially recognized right to perform certain religious functions, and personal authority as the ability to determine various aspects of one's own life (residence, profession, Sufi affiliation, mobility, etc.). In terms of power, the Kano Tijani *muqaddamat* were similar to ordinary Kano women; they primarily exercised power over other women (of lower educational achievement or social status) and younger people. However, the women described in this study had more personal authority than most married Kano women and were considered more respectable than most divorced or widowed women who remained unmarried. These women also had spiritual authority within the Tijaniyya; they performed several important functions, and both men and women eventually recognized that extensive authority.

In order to contextualize women's authority in the Kano Tijaniyya and their contributions to this period in the order's history, I will describe the significance of Kano City, the role of the *muqaddamat*, and the place

of Sufism, especially the Tijaniyya, in the city's history before turning to the specific examples of Hajiya Iya and Umma Makaranta.

Kano City and the Tijaniyya

The largely Muslim city of Kano is well known as the commercial, religious, and political center for the northern half of Nigeria. Historically the city has been an important center of Islamic education for West and North Africans. Because of the North's history of cultural and religious exchange with the Muslim world and the Sokoto Caliphate's emphasis on learning, there was an Islamic Arabic and Hausa educational system in place in the emirates prior to colonization by the British. The emirs saw no reason to replace it with an English curriculum and resisted colonial attempts to establish a school system based on missionary and British models. Muslim Hausa leaders were especially concerned that colonial education would corrupt girls and lead them away from proper Muslim female behavior (Imam 1991:249).

The British colonial government succeeded in establishing schools for both girls and boys in the emirates, including in Kano. The Nassarawa School, the first school for boys, was established in Kano in 1909 (Graham 1966:79). The first girls' center (later called Kano Girls' School) was not established until 1930 (Tibenderana 1985:95; Ogunsola 1974:26–28). These schools always included an Islamic component and utilized Muslim elders as chaperones for the students. However, there were fewer schools for girls than boys in the North and fewer schools in the North than the South, a pattern that has continued since the colonial period (Ogunsola 1974:26–28). In present-day Nigeria there is still a gender gap in education (Coles and Mack 1991:14).

Sufi orders are often described as brotherhoods. This article will not employ that term because it does not reflect the reality of women's participation in these organizations. The purpose of Sufism and Sufi orders is to provide a path, which Sufi adherents can follow to gain closeness to God, Allah. Founding Sufi shuyukh (masters) blaze those paths for their adherents and then supply litanies, rituals, and rules for use in the quest for proximity to God.

The history of Sufi orders in Kano is a long and illustrious one. The orders figure in palace history, the story of the pilgrimage from West Africa to Saudi Arabia, the history of commercial trade in Hausaland, and changing British colonial policy and perceptions of Islam. Just as Islam ideally pervades every corner and facet of the lives of Muslims, the Sufi orders have influenced Kano religious, political, social, economic, and gender history. Although the Tijaniyya is one of the most prominent orders in recent northern Nigerian history, the order only came to prominence after 1937. Prior to the late 1930s, the Kano Tijaniyya was a fragmented order which included several different communities. Authors have advanced a myriad

of reasons for this fragmentation: Paden cites ethnic and generational differences (1973:99); Loimeier suggests inequities in socioeconomic status and debates over doctrine (1997:31–32). From 1937 until the late 1940s, most of these factions were brought together under the leadership of Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse.

Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse (1902–1975) was a Tijani shaykh from Kaolack, Senegal. Ibrahim was the son of Shaykh Abdullahi Niasse, a renowned Tijani scholar who had ties with North African and Middle Eastern Tijaniyya communities. His death in 1922 led to changes in the Niasse order. Mumar, Ibrahim's eldest brother, inherited the leadership of the community. But Ibrahim had inherited his father's spiritual and personal dynamism. Soon after Abdullahi's death, Ibrahim split with his brother and founded his own *zawiya* in Medina, another quarter of Kaolack. He proclaimed himself *ghawth al-zaman* (reformer of the age), which many Sufis believe comes to restore the order every century (Hiskett 1980:102). Ibrahim also had a vision in which he received *foyda* (a flood of spiritual grace), which further supported his claim to be *ghawth al-zaman*.

Shaykh Niasse created two organizations, Jamaat Ansar ad-Din (The Society of the Helpers of the Faith) and Jamaat al-Fayda (The Community of Grace), which he used to build his following. In 1937, he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca and believed that he had been recognized as the leader of the entire order by Tijaniyya authorities at the *zawiya* in Fez. In the years that followed, Shaykh Ibrahim's *foyda* attracted first a regional and then an international following, making him the undisputed victor in the competition for adherents.

While on pilgrimage in 1937, Shaykh Ibrahim met with the Emir Abdullahi of Kano and Wali Sulayman, who were the first Kano residents to submit to Shaykh Niasse and encouraged him to visit Kano that year (Paden 1973:73). More followers joined, establishing Kano as the site of the first significant international following for Ibrahim outside of the Sine-Saloum area of Senegal. Kano was important to Shaykh Niasse because it was one of the educational and scholarly centers for Nigeria, and its position on the Sudan route to Mecca made it a base for future growth. A number of young energetic scholars helped spread Shaykh Niasse's influence throughout Nigeria and into northern Ghana, parts of Cameroon, and Niger (Abun-Nasr 1965:146). The membership of Kano Tijaniyya increased after Shaykh Ibrahim's visit. He was successful for several reasons: he was not a member of any camp and was therefore accepted by most Tijanis, he could lay claim to chains of authority through Tijaniyya leadership in Morocco, and his teachings were inclusive of more Muslims.⁵

A period of increased political and social upheaval followed from the early 1950s to 1963, sparked by the beginning of democratic party politics which led to independence. This transition brought with it critics, such as Sa'ad Zungur (1915–1958) and Abubakr Gumi (1922–1992), who tried to ensure that the postcolonial North would rid itself of social, political, and religious ills. Zungur and Gumi criticized the colonial collaboration and

corruption of the emirs and women's seclusion and inadequate education. They also opposed what they saw as the excesses of the Sufi orders and began an anti-Sufi movement in Nigeria (Umar 1993:158–159). This turbulent period took its toll on the leadership of the Kano Tijaniyya, ending in 1963 with the abdication of Emir Muhammad Sanusi before he could be deposed. During this critical period for the Kano Tijaniyya, 1937–1963, several women played significant roles as *muqaddamat*.

The Role of the *Muqaddam/a*

Muqaddamat and *muqaddamun* are persons who command the spiritual authority to induct others into a Sufi order. To fulfill this role, a person must know the rules of the order, be sufficiently grounded in its spirituality and doctrine, and have a good temperament and moral behavior. A *muqaddam/a* must provide a good example as well as teach the obligations and prohibitions incumbent upon members, the Arabic text of the order's litanies, and the best times for their performance. *Muqaddamun* also appoint new *muqaddamun*.

Initiation is the first step in a new Sufi disciple's relationship with the *muqaddam/a* from whom he or she will learn the first level of Sufism as practiced by the order. Within each order there are various levels of formulas, prayers, and practices. The Tijaniyya observes many supererogatory practices and two daily rites, *lazumi* and *wazifa*. The *muqaddam/a* guides each member to the appropriate level at the appropriate time. Although any qualified *muqaddam/a* can guide a member in voluntary practices and higher Sufi thought, a follower will usually seek the help of the *muqaddam/a* who first introduced him or her to formal practice.

Once admitted by a *muqaddam/a*, the member is in frequent contact with him or her. An individual may call on a *muqaddam/a* for any number of reasons, including questions of doctrine or the desire to learn some of the books of the Tijaniyya or the songs of praise for Shaykh Tijani or the Prophet Muhammad. The education of a member and the member's family will usually be turned over to the *muqaddam/a* or another Tijaniyya member whom s/he recommends. Many Kano Tijani Islamic teachers are scholars of jurisprudence and can also provide advice on legal matters concerning the *sharia*, mostly personal law. Some *muqaddamat* and *muqaddamun* have been known for their knowledge of traditional herbal and Islamic medicine, and their clients seek them out for consultations about health or personal problems.

The disciples' obligations are considerable. Members will pay whatever amount they are able for certain services. As a sign of respect, members may also do personal service for their *muqaddam/a*. If the disciple resides with the *muqaddam/a*, attending the *muqaddam/a* may be part of the member's chores. Alternatively, an adherent may be called on to render help occasionally. A *muqaddam/a* may also foster members' children.

In exchange for attending to the child's education and upbringing, the *muqaddam/a*'s family receives the benefit of the child's labor for household chores.

Although most Islamic services and obligations are performed regularly by both men and women in Kano, there is one function that most women do not perform: leading *wazifa*. The idea of a *muqaddama* leading *wazifa* is a delicate subject. Some Muslims equate the *muqaddam*'s role in that rite to the role of *imam* (prayer leader), the one role specifically denied to women by the Maliki School of Islamic law, which most West Africans follow (Kenny 1992:49). Despite this stipulation, one Kano *muqaddama* leads *wazifa* for her following (Maryam 1992). Because spiritual authority is inherent in the position of *muqaddam/a*, a woman who becomes a *muqaddama* can garner material as well as spiritual advantages which may transcend formal precepts such as that concerning the *wazifa*. Since the late 1930s, *muqaddamat* have opened a new world of religious influence, economic gain, and personal authority to Kano Tijani women.

Preparing to Be a *Muqaddama*

Kano women have historically had to negotiate with local patriarchies in order to become anything other than daughters, wives, mothers, or widows. To become *muqaddamat*, they first had to be recognized as scholars, or *malamai*, which required being learned enough to teach. The first Kano *muqaddamat* were educated in the established Hausa Islamic way—not in colonial schools—in the 1910s and 1920s.⁶

It was a struggle for girls and women to obtain this education because a woman's age, marital status, and relationships to men restricted her access. A young Hausa girl's Islamic education was often interrupted by *talla* (Hausa: hawking small items for one's secluded mother) or marriage. In order to receive a thorough education, a young girl needed scholarly or supportive parents. Girls had two choices for their schooling beyond *makaranta allo* (Hausa: Quranic primary school): their parents or a hired teacher could teach them at home, or a girl's mother had to forgo the use of her labor and her father had to consent to send her to school. Both options required some form of sacrifice by parents.

The seclusion of wives, *kulle*, was another variable with which women had to contend in pursuing roles beyond mother or wife. Once married, a woman's husband could teach her the books beyond the Quran privately or allow a *malama* in the house to teach his wife. Often these *malamai* were postmenopausal women who were allowed freedom of movement by the society because of their advanced age. Female Islamic teachers might also teach in their homes, but as most Kano women did not own their homes or other property outright, they had to receive permission from their husbands or a male relative to use rooms in his home. A woman's pursuit of Islamic knowledge was often with the intent of be-

coming a teacher and reproducing that knowledge for the perpetuation of Islam.

The negotiating techniques Kano women utilized allowed them to take advantage of the opportunities to be found in a time of dynamic change. Change was brought to the Kano Tijaniyya through contact and exchange with outside forces. The changes for female Tijanis began with the visit of Shaykha Khadija, an important Tijani female saint from Northern Africa, and progressed to the first bestowal of *muqaddama* status on a Kano woman, Hajiya Maymunatu Iya, better known as Hajiya Iya. Shaykha Khadija bt. Muhammad made her visit to Kano in 1934–1935. Khadija was the author of many books and was described as a saint, shaykha, and mystic capable of miracles.⁷ That the Shaykha's arrival in Kano made a profound impression is evident. Descendants of important Kano *malamai* still speak of her in glowing terms, and in the 1980s Hajiya Iya fondly recalled their interaction (Sufi 1980:line 131). Beyond this, relatively little is known about Shaykha Khadija. Nevertheless, many leading Tijani shuyukh and male *malamai* of Kano documented her popularity. She is included in their lists of important teachers from whom they received *ijazas* (Paden 1973:139). The important Kano Tijani Abubakr Atiku claimed a connection to Shaykha Khadija. She advised a Kano shaykh to give Malam Atiku *taqdim* (Hunwick 1994:288). Shaykha Khadija and her daughter Aisha are the only females to appear in these lists, which indicates the significance of her status as a Sufi saint and *muqaddama*. Before the Shaykha's visit to Kano, many thought the role of *muqaddama* was circumscribed by gender.⁸ Shaykha Khadija destroyed that notion. She provided a role model of women's authority for Kano Tijani women such as Hajiya Iya, the first Kano *muqaddama*.

The First *Muqaddama*, Hajiya Maymunatu Iya

Hajiya Iya (1894–1986) was from an important Tijani family of Islamic scholars. Her older brother was Sulayman b. Ismail al-Khatib al-Kanawi al-Fallati, better known as Wali Sulayman (1890–1939). He was a titleholder in Kano Emirate and the colonial native authority (Paden 1973:107). The Naibi Kano, Malam Adamu, initiated both Wali Sulayman and Hajiya Iya into the order in the late 1910s (Sufi 1980:lines 101–102; Ado 1988:15). Hajiya Iya had attended primary Quranic school as a young girl until she was married to a man related to the royal family of Yola province and living in Yola quarters, Kano. She left that marriage quickly after she discovered that *bori* was being practiced there (Sufi, Husaini 1993). Her brother, Wali Sulayman, arranged for her to marry a friend and fellow Tijaniyya member, Alhajji Malam Ahmad Sufi. She continued to study with her second husband (Zawiya and Sadauki 1991:50; Iya 1984; Gambo 1986:19). Hajiya Iya furthered her studies under other *malamai*, including her brother, and taught girls and women in her home (Sufi 1994:343). When Malam

Ahmad Sufi died in 1932, Hajiya Iya moved into her brother's house. There she met with many of the shuyukh who visited Kano during this period.

Because of Hajiya Iya's knowledge of written Arabic and her role as a teacher, she was asked to facilitate the visits of Arab and other non-Hausa speaking female dignitaries. Sayyida Salima and Sayyida Maryam were two such Arab women whom she met in 1936–1937 and with whom she eventually traveled to Mecca (Sufi 1980:lines 130, 133). Hajiya Iya's relationship with these women is referred to in her daughter's poem: "*Tana ta sonsu kwarai tana/ hidimarsu ko yaushe Iya*" (She loved them very much/ she served them all the time) (Sufi 1980:line 132). Hajiya Iya added that the Sayyidas encouraged her and lobbied for her to go on *hajj* (pilgrimage) in 1937, the year of the historic pilgrimage of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero of Kano (1926–1953), Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse, and Wali Sulayman. When she first asked to make the *hajj*, Wali Sulayman refused her. But Sayyidas Salima and Maryam took the initiative and convinced him to let her accompany them. Hajiya Iya later recalled:

They came to the Wali's house. . . . (The Wali) took me to them (and said) give them tea and anything they want and take no money from them. They were very intelligent women and read books of the Tĵaniyya. The Arab women did not speak Hausa and I did not speak Arabic. So at first they wrote (notes) to me (in Arabic).

They stayed for about 6 months. I asked the Wali if I could follow them to Mecca. He refused. Then they said (to Wali) if they went to Mecca without Maymunatu [Iya] it would be like not packing anything. (Maymunatu Iya 1984)

Wali Sulayman agreed and Hajiya Iya traveled to Mecca in 1937.

While Hajiya Iya was on *hajj*, she came in contact with a community of West Africans who had fled the British invasion of the Sokoto Caliphate and migrated to Medina around the turn of the century. This community was originally under the leadership of Alfa Hashim (1866–1932), who was a nephew of Al-Hajj Umar Tal of Futa Toro. This community and its leaders served as a link between West African Tĵanis and those from other countries while on *hajj* (Abun-Nasr 1965:142; Paden 1973:85). During Hajiya Iya's pilgrimage in 1937, Shaykh Ahmad b. Abd al-Rahman b. Ibrahim Zaki was leader of the community and gave her *taqdim* (Sufi 1980:line 142). In so acting, Shaykh Ahmad was following the tradition of his community. His predecessor, Alfa Hashim, had made a woman, nicknamed Allahu Hayyun, a *muqaddama*. Upon her death another woman, Sakinat, became *muqaddama* for the women's community (Ahmad in Atiku 1956: 42–43). Eventually, Shaykh Ahmad and Hajiya Iya accepted Shaykh Niasse's leadership (Paden 1973:86), but there is no evidence of Shaykh Niasse mandating Hajiya Iya's bestowal. In a Sufi order, collecting *salasil* (chains of authority) and connecting to blessed shuyuk enhance the *baraka* of a

member or *muqaddam/a* (Loimeier 1997:15); Shaykh Atiku's advertisement of Shaykha Khadija's role in his *taqdim* is an example of this tendency as is the recording of Shaykh Niasse's role in her brother's *taqdim* in Hajiya Iya's family history (Sufi 1980:lines 145–146). Conversely, no such stories exist to tie Hajiya Iya's *taqdim* to Shaykh Niasse, which indicates that he probably had no role in her bestowal.

This *hajj* was an important event in Tijaniyya history because it was the meeting place for the Kano and Kaolack Tijani communities. History books mention that Hajiya Iya's brother Wali Sulayman and Emir Abdullahi came into contact with Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse while on *hajj*, but Hajiya Iya's groundbreaking presence and bestowal are not discussed (Paden 1973:98; Loimeier 1997:38; Hiskett 1980:103; Mohammed 1993:128). Hajiya's *taqdim* had increased significance for Tijaniyya history due to the consequences of the Bayero-Niasse meeting.

The Effect of Shaykh Niasse's Reforms on Kano Women's Authority

In 1937, Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse began to expand and consolidate his international following among West African Tijanis. Emir Abdullahi and Wali Sulayman became his adherents and thereafter most of the Kano Tijani shuyukh and *muqaddamun* came under his influence. Shaykh Niasse's leadership ushered in a number of reforms to the organization, teachings, and practices of the Tijaniyya. Under the Shaykh's leadership the organization of the Kano Tijaniyya became more cohesive (Paden 1973:104), and increasing the ranks of the Tijaniyya became a goal of the order (Loimeier 1997:71). The reorganization of the order as a mass movement was achieved through the teaching of *tarbiyya*.

Tarbiyya "is a special way of gaining an intuitive knowledge of God which can only be experienced by a Sufi under the spiritual guidance of his *shaikh* or *muqaddam*" (Mohammed 1993:127). *Tarbiyya* is a secret process that Tijanis insist one must experience to understand (Paden 1973:131). However, there are some published references to it which describe the process as one that can take between a few days and a few years (Mohammed 1993:131). Hiskett (1980:120–121) gives the fullest published description: it is a five-step process in which the adherent graduates from answering questions about the oneness of God and the creation of man to the final question about the place of Shaykh Niasse in "the whole of being."

In the 1940s, the emphasis in the teaching of *tarbiyya* was on spiritual experience, not scholarship. Therefore *tarbiyya* encouraged sectors of Kano society not traditionally affiliated with the Tijaniyya (the less educated, women, and youth) to join the order. One no longer had to be an ascetic, aristocrat, saint, or scholar to attain higher spiritual knowledge (Loimeier 1997:37; Paden 1973:131; Hiskett 1980:120). *Tarbiyya* appealed

to masses of Kano Muslims and made the new practice of mass initiation possible.

In the late 1940s the order began mass initiation campaigns, which were performed by foreign shuyukh on tour in Nigeria. These tours created a surplus of Tijaniyya members who did not have a local shaykh or *muqaddam* to whom they could turn for spiritual advice or with whom to perform the order's daily litanies. All these factors heightened, perhaps created, competition among male Tijani leaders for the capture of the new members' clientage (Tahir 1975). The initiation campaigns were the reform that had the most dramatic effect on women: they provided women who had been members of the Kano Tijaniyya prior to the 1940s with a following for their leadership by significantly increasing the number of Tijaniyya women.

Coulon (1988:121–123) notes that several Islamic mass mobilization campaigns in West Africa (including the Niasse branch of the Tijaniyya in Senegal) recognized the need to recruit more female members in order for their efforts to be successful. This same phenomenon occurred in 1940s Kano. The mass mobilization of Kano men and women through *tarbiyya* meant that many newly initiated Kano women did not come from educated families and had no educated male relatives who might act as advisors and teachers. Once the foreign shuyukh returned home, these women found themselves with no *muqaddam*. Sex segregation presented a barrier to these women; they could not look for a male *muqaddam* to be their spiritual advisors. Into this void stepped the first *muqaddamat*. Because women were necessary for popularizing the Tijaniyya, Kano men eventually supported this new role for women.

First Generation *Muqaddamat* and Their Patrons

The two women and their patrons discussed here are the most extraordinary and well-known women and men of the Kano Tijaniyya. These two women were among the first to receive *taqdim*; however they are not the only *muqaddamat* of the Kano Tijaniyya, nor are they the only female Tijani teachers. They are representative of the hundreds of women who are *malamai* and the fifteen Kano women confirmed as *muqaddamat* by this research (Hutson 1997).⁹

Fifteen may seem like a small number in a city of millions, but research on men in the Tijaniyya has shown that a few individuals can have a significant impact on Kano through their elite status, networks of Sufi affiliation and clients/students, and the practice of intermarriage. For example, Shaykh Muhammad Salga, a male Hausa scholar, was perhaps the foremost Tijani in Kano. Shaykh Salga was *malam* to the generation of male Tijanis who instituted the important changes to Kano Tijani practice suggested by Shaykh Niasse. Shaykh Salga's students—Abubakr Atiku, Wali Sulayman, and Shaykh Mai Hula—went on to become prolific

writers, important Kano titleholders, owners of the largest, most influential Islamic schools in Kano, and patrons of Tijani women.¹⁰ The contributions of a handful of well-connected men had significant effects on Kano's religious, political, and gender history.

The women discussed here were also well connected; they had similar elite family standing and overlapping networks in Tijaniyya and Kano society. So while this research only found fifteen *muqaddamat*, it encountered hundreds of women and men whose spiritual lives and educations were touched by these women. This new form of influence for women was not uncontroversial. Hasana Sufi (1993) reports that some Tijani men objected to Hajiya Iya's *taqdim* in the 1930s. In fact, opposition to the idea of women as *muqaddamat* was strong enough that Shaykh Atiku wrote a piece on the subject. In a chapter of a larger work, Shaykh Atiku (1956) argues for the inclusion of women in the Tijaniyya at nearly all ranks of its hierarchy, including the role of *muqaddama* but excluding the role of *imam*.¹¹ His discussion does not mention any one person or book in particular but seems to address widely articulated opposition to women's participation and *taqdim*. Shaykh Atiku's attention to this subject indicates a number of possible scenarios: 1) He wanted to encourage more women to become *muqaddamat* in Kano; 2) More *muqaddamat* existed in the 1940s and 1950s than this research was able to confirm and their numbers disturbed many Tijani men; 3) The impact of a few *muqaddamat* on the Tijani community was considerable and thus warranted the attention of the scholarly male Tijani community. Even the patrons described below exhibited a certain amount of ambivalence toward women and their aspirations.

Despite these obstacles, the first generation of *muqaddamat* gathered followings of women and established networks of women Tijanis. They even spawned a second generation of *muqaddamat* who have kept the Tijani women's community alive. Women like Umma Makaranta paved a respectable path for the next generation of women. Supported by her patrons, Umma moved into a public arena, the government school system. Nearly all second generation *muqaddamat* followed her by becoming professional schoolteachers in both private and public schools. One *muqaddama* even owns her own school. The actions of the *muqaddamat* secured for themselves some material security and spiritual authority within Kano society.

Hajiya Iya's Patrons

Hajiya Iya's first patron was her older brother, Wali Sulayman, who was born in 1890 (Sufi 1994:61; Ado 1988:15). Because their father died when Sulayman was young, his mother, Hadiza Mama, directed his education and upbringing. Hadiza Mama made sure that Hajiya Iya and Wali Sulayman had similar early educational experiences. Sulayman was first sent to

Quranic school in the city and then to the country to finish learning the Quran, which he achieved by the age of fourteen [Ado 1988:16]. After finishing his basic Quranic studies, Sulayman became the Quranic tutor for Fulani Maryam Maiharara, the Emir Abbas' first wife and the mother of Emir Abdullahi Bayero. Though Fulani originally wanted a female teacher, a network of Sulayman's female relations and family friends took the initiative and secured him a teaching post at the palace. He began teaching Fulani Maiharara and later came to teach all of the Emir's wives in the morning and the women of another palace official's house in the afternoons [Zawiya and Sadauki 1991; Sufi 1994].

Sulayman also continued his Islamic education. As he learned new books he taught them to the palace women who were his students. The women were at least taught basic books of Islamic jurisprudence such as *Mukhtasar fi l-ibadat ala madhhab al-imam Malik (Al-Akhdari)*. *Al-Akhdari* is a thirty-page summary of a larger work which focuses on rituals such as ablutions and prayers [Sule and Starratt 1991:48]. Wali Sulayman was initiated before his first marriage at the age of twenty-two and learned *Jawahir al-maani* [Sufi 1994:87, 112].¹² Sulayman may have taught this book to the palace women since Fulani Maiharara and Sharifiya, one of her co-wives, were Tijaniyya members [Paden 1973:82 n.23].

Wali Sulayman also supported his female family members in their spiritual and scholarly pursuits. He helped Hajiya Iya continue her studies and supported her pursuit of knowledge within the Tijaniyya order, and he reportedly helped Hadiza Mama receive *muqaddama* status.¹³ Wali Sulayman provided the tools for Islamic learning and Tijaniyya knowledge to his female relatives and other women and facilitated access to the order for Kano women in general.

Sulayman held a number of positions in the palace and the educational system, the most important of which were *Maaji* (Hausa: treasurer of the emirate) and *Wali* (Hausa: head of the legal system). From 1918 to 1932 Wali Sulayman was a teacher and then the Headmaster of Shchuci Judicial School, Kano [Paden 1973:83; Zawiya and Sadauki 1991:36]. It was around the beginning of his tenure at Shchuci that Wali Sulayman accepted *muqaddam* status from the visiting Shaykh Ujdud [Paden 1973:83].

Although Wali Sulayman was committed to women's private traditional education, and had several positive female role models, he showed signs of ambivalence to women's aspirations. The Wali did not consider his sister in the initial travel plans that transformed the Kano Tijaniyya. In 1937 Iya, Salima, and Maryam had to initiate the discussion. His first response was negative; Iya's continued efforts were needed to secure her brother's support.

After his sister was elevated to *muqaddama*, Wali Sulayman included women and girls in public education. He spoke to Emir Abdullahi in support of the establishment of British-style schools for girls as well as boys [Sufi 1994:157-160]. In the first years of the Girl's Training Centre, Kano (GTC), a *malam* was put in charge of the girls' Islamic education.

The British Lady Education Officer found him to be incompetent. She suggested to the Emir Abdullahi that a Hausa woman on staff be allowed to take over the Quranic classes. The Emir doubted this woman's qualifications and sent Wali Sulayman to assess the situation. Wali Sulayman visited the school in September of 1938 and certified the female teacher qualified for the task (Booker 1938). Unfortunately, Wali Sulayman died prematurely in 1939.

After Wali Sulayman's death, Hajiya Iya's principal patron was Ciroma Muhammad Sanusi.¹⁴ Ciroma Sanusi was a very staunch Tijani and accepted Shaykh Niasse's leadership when the Shaykh visited Kano in 1937. Hajiya Iya and Ciroma Sanusi met through networks of marriage: Ciroma Sanusi's *malam*, Ahmad Sufi, was Hajiya Iya's husband (Zawiya and Sadauki 1991:50–52). Throughout the 1940s, Ciroma Sanusi not only encouraged Hajiya Iya to teach but also provided her with pupils and teaching space. He invited her to reside in a house very close to his own so that she could teach his wives. During this period, Hajiya Iya read *tafsir* (exegesis of the Quran) during Ramadhan (the Islamic month of fasting) in the palace of Emir Abdullahi. In the 1940s Hajiya Iya kept in contact with the major Tijaniyya shuyukh and *muqaddamun* of Kano.

By 1952 Kano shuyukh were emphasizing the importance of her *taqdim*. That year Shaykh Mai Hula wrote a letter to Kaolack with news about Hajiya Iya, her Tijaniyya activities, and the depth of her commitment to Shaykh Niasse (Sufi 1980:lines 204–206). She strengthened that commitment through ties to Niassen women who married Kano men. In the 1950s, Hajiya Iya lived for several years with Shaykh Niasse's daughter Sayyida Umm Kulthum, first teaching her Hausa, and then helping to care for Sayyida's son Hassan. Hajiya Iya's daughter, Aisha Mowa, acted as a nursemaid to Hassan (Aisha Mowa 1994). Sayyida Umm Kulthum was also a *muqaddama* and initiated Hajiya Iya's granddaughter Maryam into the order (Habibu 1992). In turn, Maryam became a *muqaddama* and government schoolteacher later in life. Sayyida Umm Kulthum returned to Senegal in 1957 when her husband was convicted of forgery. The connection between the Sayyida and Hajiya Iya's family was profound. Hajiya Mowa, who was then divorced, went to Kaolack and stayed with the Sayyida and her son for several months.

During this time period, Muhammad Sanusi was turbaned as the Emir of Kano. Through his tenure as Emir (1953–1963), Hajiya Iya continued to conduct *tafsir* in the palace (Har Azumi 1994). While Emir Sanusi was supportive of Hajiya Iya, he was ambivalent toward other women. This ambivalence can be seen in two of his decrees concerning women. Prior to Emir Sanusi's reign, the judicial trend was not to allot women land or houses in the division of estates. He ordered this trend reversed and retrained the *sharia* court magistrates to ensure women would no longer be discriminated against in this area (Zawiya and Sadauki 1991:86–87). Nevertheless, in at least one case before the Emir's court, the court failed to redistribute inheritance to redress the previously misguided inheritance policy (Mahmoud 1993:8–10).¹⁵

Emir Sanusi also gave orders that severely restricted women's mobility. The Emir prohibited women from giving and attending naming ceremonies or parties at night (Kano Provincial Office 1958). He also forced some unmarried women to marry or be incarcerated, assuming that these divorced women were prostitutes. Emir Sanusi even disbanded the nighttime market where married women in seclusion regularly bought household provisions. He believed that in the market married women came into contact with people of bad character (Zawiya and Sadauki 1991:87). In his inheritance policy, Emir Sanusi gave women access to land and housing; in his proscription of women's movements, he made sure women stayed in those homes.

Perhaps his ambivalence came from his complicated and contradictory relationship to the religious, political, and social changes occurring at the time. He was an elite leader in a religious order that was trying to mobilize the masses. He was an aristocrat who reigned during the transition to democratic party politics. He was a protector of the traditional social and religious structure at a time when social critics such as Zungur were questioning the seclusion of Hausa women and the legitimacy of Sufi orders. Emir Sanusi's gender policies were no more complicated or ambivalent than his politics. Of course the ultimate contradiction was his abdication, despite the fact that he was the wealthiest and most powerful emir of the time (Yakubu 1996:192–193). The Emir Sanusi's patronage of Hajiya Iya was in keeping with his ambivalent posture toward Kano women and awkward position as an aristocrat during a time of democratic politics.¹⁶

By the time of the Emir's abdication, Hajiya Iya had such a significant following of women that Paden has identified her as the leader of the Kano Tijani women's groups (Paden 1973:138). She was an active Quranic teacher throughout this time period, but, like most of the famous Tijani male *malamai* and *muqaddamun* in Kano, she never participated in the colonial or independent government schools (140). Hajiya Iya never abandoned her traditional Hausa values or traditional Kano institutions. Without a role in a public sector—the market, government, or a government school—or a set income, she was dependent on male patrons for most of her material needs. However, Hajiya Iya's example shows that a Kano woman with only a traditional Islamic education could participate in the historical transformations and “modernization” of that period.

Umma Makaranta and her Patrons

One of the women in Hajiya Iya's network of female Tijanis was Hajiya Saudatu (1905–1976), better known as Umma Makaranta (Hausa: mother of the school). She too was a famous female Quranic teacher and *muqaddama*. Umma was related to Hajiya Iya by marriage: around 1919, when she was fourteen years old, she married Wali Sulayman and became his second wife. The Wali encouraged her and taught her Islamic religious knowledge. Though they did not all attain the same level of scholarship, his other three wives also received an Islamic education.

The Wali opened a school for Umma Makaranta in his house, where she started teaching all the children of the house as well as the children of the Emir Abdullahi's palace. In fact, Umma Makaranta was the first teacher to many of the current titleholders in Kano Emirate (Mai Zure 1994; Bayero 1993). The current Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero (1963–), memorized the Quran with Umma Makaranta. He and his classmates attended Quranic school in the mornings at her house and returned to Umma Makaranta in the late afternoon. One of her former students estimates that Umma Makaranta had over one hundred students at a time. Umma also taught many girls from Tijani families. She even sent a few of her advanced female students out to teach elite women in their homes. Wali Sulayman initiated one of Umma's students, Hajiya Maryam Ahmad, into the order, and Hajiya Maryam reports joining the Tijaniyya in part because her teacher, Umma Makaranta, was a Tijani. Much later in life she too accepted *taqdim* (Ahmad 1993). Another of her female students during this period went on to become a Tijani *muqaddama* and government primary school-teacher (Ta Sidi 1992).

In the 1930s, Umma Makaranta and Wali Sulayman jointly conducted *tafsir* for women at Emir Abdullahi's palace: Umma Makaranta acted as the reader of the Quran, and Wali Sulayman provided the Hausa translation and exegesis. All of this was accomplished in keeping with Hausa and Islamic notions of sex-segregated space and propriety: Wali Sulayman was kept from viewing the women and out of the women's view by sitting in an attached room (Mai Zure 1994; Mustapha 1994; Wali 1994). Umma Makaranta also accepted *muqaddama* status from Wali Sulayman. His early death heralded a number of changes in Umma Makaranta's life. After 1939 she continued teaching the Emir's children, but her school was moved to rooms of the palace. Having lost her *tafsir* partner, she no longer conducted readings.

Wali Sulayman's life-long support of knowledgeable, intellectually inquisitive women was greatly influenced by his relationship with four learned women early in his career. Hadiza Mama supported his quest for knowledge and worked to ensure that he was accepted into court life. Fulani Maiharara and Hajiya Iya served as examples of women eager for knowledge and in need of willing teachers. Sulayman also supported Umma Makaranta's thirst for learning, teaching, and *taqdim*. Despite some ambivalence, he eventually supported the initiatives of women in all his endeavors—Quranic and colonial education, *tafsir* at Ramadhan, the *haji* to Mecca, and the practice of the Tijaniyya.

Umma Makaranta did not remarry immediately after her husband's death even though she was only 34. She was later remarried briefly, but the second marriage only lasted for two years. Although she was still considered marriageable, she negotiated her way out of the marriage system; yet she did not relinquish her status as a respectable woman. As young widowed women, Umma and Hajiya Iya used prestige and respectability to claim early postmenopausal status and therefore were afforded more mobility.¹⁷

In the 1940s, Umma Makaranta lived in the Wali's house near the central Mosque until Emir Abdullahi Bayero requested that she teach Islamic religious knowledge in the Girls' Training Centre, Kano (GTC). The school for girls, which had been established in the late 1930s during the Wali's lifetime, was expanded, renamed the GTC, and moved to the air field abandoned by the American Armed Forces after the Second World War (Sufi 1994:169; Secretary of the Northern Provinces 1947). The school's records show that the Arabic and religion teacher was found to be inadequate and the Deputy Director Education (women) Dr. A. McMath requested a new teacher be found (Resident of Kano Province 1947). In December 1947, Emir Abdullahi asked Umma to fill the position (Resident of Kano Province 1948). The GTC was located at the abandoned military barracks from 1949 to the late 1950s.

From 1948 Umma Makaranta earned a teaching salary, and by 1950 she obtained accommodation at the school. At GTC, Umma taught many subjects and religious books. A syllabus from the mid-1940s shows the Quran, Arabic grammar, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *hadith* (sayings and traditions of the Prophet), and *tafsir* being taught in Women Teachers' Training Centres (Kano Provincial Office n.d.). She also taught many young girls and served as a role model. Among Umma Makaranta's female students were Hajiya Amina Kiru, a former commissioner in Abubakr Rimi's Kano state government, and Hajiya Rabi Wali, president of the Kano Branch of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) and a private school proprietor (Sule and Starratt 1991:38-39). Umma Makaranta lived at the school near the airport until 1959, when it was relocated to the old city near Kofar Nassarawa and renamed Shekara Girls' School (Sufi 1994:169). She then returned to the family house near the Central Mosque, although she continued to teach at Shekara until the late 1960s.

Umma Makaranta represents another avenue for learned women. Unlike Hajiya Iya, she taught in the government school system, which was modeled on the British system. She too was a product of traditional Kano education, but she utilized it not only in transforming gender roles in the Tijaniyya, but also in the public sector. As a professional school-teacher she did not live her whole life dependent upon male patrons for material support. She taught many women, including some of the second generation of Tijani *muqaddamat*, and thus served as a role model of a professional woman for Kano girls. She did all of this without a "modern" colonial education herself.

Tijaniyya Women's Networks

The lives of Hajiya Iya and Umma Makaranta represent the many ways in which Kano women contributed to the Tijani women's community, the Tijaniyya as a whole, and the education of Kano women. Hajiya Iya's net-

works with visiting Arab women inspired her and brought her to the right place at the right time. Once she was a *muqaddama*, she initiated, taught, and conducted *tafsir*. These activities helped her gather a following of women. In this way, she catered to the spiritual needs of Tijani women and at the same time helped the order become a mass movement. Her connections to Niassen women further enhanced her reputation and gave her female relatives opportunities—to travel, to join the order, and to become *muqaddamat*.

Hajiya Iya set the precedent of *taqdim* for Kano women; her in-law Umma Makaranta benefited from and built on her example. Umma Makaranta also became a *muqaddama*, but she went one step further and became a professional schoolteacher. Her female students and initiates followed in her footsteps and progressed even further.

It is interesting to note that Hajiya Iya's and Umma Makaranta's experiences throughout the period 1937–1963 contradict Zungur and Gumi's critiques about the neglect of women's education. However, there is no indication that Tijani men used the example of these women to counter their critics' arguments. Nor is there any evidence that these women engaged in the polemic debates that took place between Tijani men and anti-Sufis.

These women also did not elevate anyone to *taqdim*. While the second generation of *muqaddamat* were taught and inspired by the first generation, they depended on the next generation of male patrons for *taqdim*. None of the *muqaddamat* from the larger study (first or second generation) has bestowed *taqdim*.

Why first generation *muqaddamat* did not pass on *taqdim* to others is an intriguing question. Unfortunately, Umma Makaranta and Hajiya Iya did not answer this question in the records and interviews that have survived. But it seems there are three possibilities that can be ruled out: 1) This lack of self-regeneration was not caused by a lack of spiritual authority; there were no restrictions against women bestowing *taqdim*. 2) They did not reserve *taqdim* from their followers because they were against other women being educated to their level; they taught and encouraged other women to high educational achievement and deeper knowledge of the Tijaniyya. In other words, they helped prepare more women for *taqdim*. 3) They were not overly protective of their status as educators or *muqaddamat*; they gave teaching opportunities to some of their students and were proud of students who became *muqaddamat*.

The answer may involve notions of *baraka*. First-generation women may have refrained from bestowing *taqdim* because their *baraka* was not perceived to be as intense as that of their male counterparts, especially the men of this dynamic period in Kano Tijani history. That many Tijani shaykhs were seen as having more *baraka* than *muqaddamat*, even than women like Umma Makaranta and Hajiya Iya, is not surprising. Umma's and Iya's male contemporaries had more opportunities to read complex Islamic books, more financial freedom, more freedom of association, and

more mobility to study with experts and to found schools. The male patrons who bestowed *taqdim* on the first generation of *muqaddamat* were extraordinary men: Wali Sulayman was a titleholder and learned enough to be headmaster of a legal school; Shaykh Ahmad was leader of an important Tijani community in the holy city of Medina. The men who bestowed *taqdim* on the second generation of *muqaddamat* were similarly accomplished.

However, *baraka* is not always gendered. It can be inherent in certain families; for example, the Niasse family is steeped in *baraka*. *Baraka* can also be acquired through age and wisdom. While no Kano women have bestowed *taqdim*, a daughter of Shaykh Niasse, who was not resident in Kano, elevated one Kano woman to *muqaddama* (Maryam 1992). Hajiya Iya could have initiated Maryam, but instead she took Maryam to Sayyida Umm Kulthum, an older more knowledgeable female relative, for initiation. Maryam explained these actions as a matter of respect and propriety (Habibu 1992). No doubt it was also a matter of *baraka*.

Conclusions

Before the 1930s, female participation in the Tijaniyya seems to have been limited to membership.¹⁸ Shaykha Khadija's 1935 visit to Kano changed this pattern. Before her visit, most Kano Tijanis thought the role of *muqaddama* was prohibited to women. Because Khadija was a shaykha and *muqaddama*, her presence enlightened Tijani men and opened Tijani women's eyes to the possibility of *muqaddamat*.

The information presented here indicates that it was Hajiya Iya's connections to visiting Arab women and not her connection to Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse that enabled her to obtain the status of *muqaddama*. However, the Shaykh's reformation of the practices and organization of the Tijaniyya were crucial for the Kano shuyukh's acceptance and earnest support of *muqaddamat*. The Tijaniyya expanded its membership through mass initiation tours of northern Nigeria by North African shuyukh in the 1940s. The order's expanded membership included women, many of whom did not have a male relative who was a *muqaddam* and suitable advisor. This situation presented new opportunities for Kano Tijaniyya women, and more women obtained the position of *muqaddama*. *Muqaddamat* helped fill the need for local advisors to the newly initiated women and brought more women into the order.

Though the *muqaddamat* discussed in this article were authorized to initiate anyone into the Tijaniyya, they initiated women exclusively. By voluntarily limiting their influence in the order, women avoided competition with *muqaddamun*. Male Tijani *malamai* and shuyukh were not threatened by this development, because female networks did not cross boundaries into the male domain. Women secured for the Tijaniyya adherents for whom the *muqaddamun* could not compete, female adherents to

whom *muqaddamun* had no access. Women like Umma Makaranta and Hajiya Iya only enhanced the order by maintaining women's membership and loyalty to the order.

The patrons discussed here were all members of the elite ruling or scholarly classes of Kano. Since these women were relatives of male Tijani leaders and from the elite families, *muqaddama* status did not challenge any of the class dimensions of Tijaniyya leadership. In most cases the same families and clans led both the male and female communities. These women's elite status, partially garnered from the males in their family, their educations, and their reputations for piety also helped shield them from rumors of misconduct and allowed them to negotiate their way into early postmenopausal status and the possibility of greater mobility.

Kano Tijani women's activities posed no threats to the Kano social order, Islamic values, the order's doctrine, or the personal interests of *muqaddamun*. On the contrary, these women helped the order realize its goal of becoming a mass movement. They supported the Tijaniyya throughout a time of upheaval and may have served to counter critics' charges about the lack of education for women. In turn, women profited from men's patronage, which provided women with a number of benefits, including room and board, education, employment as teachers, and *muqaddama* status. These women forged ties of patronage with male relatives and non-relatives through kinship, marriage, scholarship, or common Sufi affiliation.

As *muqaddamat*, Hajiya Iya and Umma Makaranta had more than just the ability to induct members into the order. They also served as leaders and advisors to their initiates. *Muqaddama* status resulted in authority for these Kano Tijani women and provided examples of respectable life styles to Kano Muslim women in general. Neither of these women intended to reshape the boundaries of respectability or overthrow patriarchal control in Kano society, but their actions helped create and legitimate new possibilities for women within Kano. Kano Tijani women can now become teachers, *muqaddamat*, shaykhas, and leaders.

NOTES

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- 1 For more on Nana Asmau and the *yan taru* movement, see Boyd (1989); Boyd and Last (1985); and Boyd and Mack (1997).
- 2 The feminine plural is *muqaddamat*. The singular masculine is *muqaddam*, pl. *muqaddamun*.
- 3 The singular feminine is *malama*. The singular masculine is *malam*.
- 4 Radio broadcasts such as *Uwa Mabada Mama* (1984), produced by Hajiya Mairo Muhammad and aired on Kano State Radio in July and August, have included information about Umma Makaranta.

- 5 See Loimeier (1997:30–32, 43–45) for more on the different strands of the Tijaniyya in Kano and why Shaykh Niasse was able to bring them together.
- 6 Sadiya Mustapha (1984) describes Umma Makaranta's educational background. Alkali Husaini Sufi (1993) describes Hajiya Iya's early education. The first colonial girls' school was not established until 1930, well after most of these women had reached adulthood, married, and started teaching.
- 7 Shaykha Khadija's origins are disputed. Paden (1973:100 n. 68) identifies Morocco as her country of origin, but she may have been from Mauritania. See J. O. Hunwick (1994:261–262 n. 9) for more of the little information known about Shaykha Khadija and her daughter, Shaykha Aisha.
- 8 In *Ifadat al-Murid*, Abubakar Atiku (1956) devotes the entire third chapter to the question of women's participation and *taqdim*. He reports that many of his countrymen were ignorant about the qualifications needed to be a *muqaddam*.
- 9 This number does not include Senegalese women of the Niasse family resident in Kano.
- 10 See Hunwick (1994:260–263) for more on Shaykh Salga. Paden (1973:101) reports that Shaykh Salga's granddaughter Safiya was a *muqaddama* in Kano. Safiya was married to one of his students.
- 11 "Raf al-itaradi wal-malam amman qaddama al-mara li-talqin wird khatam al-alam (Refuting objection and removing blame from those who grant women the right to convey the word of the Seal of Luminaries)" is the third chapter of Atiku's *Ifadat al-Murid* (1956).
- 12 *Jawahir al-maani* (*The Gems of Meaning*) is a book of the sayings, teachings, and life history of Shaykh Ahmad Tijani. It is the foremost text of the Tijaniyya, from which evolved the doctrine of the order. For more on *Jawahir al-maani*, see Abun-Nasr (1965:25–27) and Loimeier (1997:190–191, 273–276).
- 13 Shaykh Aliyu Har Azumi (1994) said that Hajiya Iya and Wali Sulayman's mother, Hadiza Mama, were *muqaddamat*. He claims that Shaykh Ujdud gave her *muqaddama* status when he lived in Kano (approx. 1914–1920). Hadiza did not meet with the Shaykh in person but accepted the title through the mediation of Wali. However, no other member of Hadiza's extended family was able to confirm or deny this testimony.
- 14 Ciroma is a title given to the emir's heir apparent.
- 15 The case of Iya (not the Hajiya Iya of this article) vs. Mamman was originally heard in the Emir's Court, Kano. Iya was trying to claim her share of her father's inheritance (four houses and five farms) divided up at least thirty years prior between her four male relatives. Citing the length of time that had transpired, the court ruled against Iya and told her to be patient and live peacefully with those relatives. She filed an appeal, which was heard before the Sharia Court of Appeal SCA/CV.93/1962. The appellate court ruled that her share should be determined and given to her.
- 16 Critics of the emirate structure complained bitterly about Emir Sanusi's decree restricting women's activities (Kano Provincial Office 1958:154).
- 17 Coles (1983:226, 316, 380) describes ways in which women can "manipulate" their way into early postmenopausal status. She cites religious education as one way.
- 18 This study could not locate any *muqaddamat* among the Umariyan branch of the Tijaniyya. Tijanis who chose not to accept Shaykh Niasse's leadership.

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