HISTORY AND CULTURE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ADARA AND ZURU IN KADUNA AND KEBBI STATES FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO 2018

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KEYWORDS
History, Culture, comparative, Adara, and Zuru

ABSTRACT
The Adara and Zuru in Kaduna and Kebbi States respectively shared many similarities in their historical trajectory. The historical interconnectedness of these two distinct but historically resembled polities has raised many thoughts in minds as to whether the adara and Zuru were in anyway linked at one point or the other in their historical journey. This work therefore interrogates the fundamental factors that brought these similarities since the earliest time to 2018. In doing the aforementioned, the work will examine the intergroup relations of the diverse but culturally resembled polities of the Adara and Zuru within the context of their origin, nature of their socio-political and cultural links. It will unravel the possible historical melting point of the two nationalities. The work s will use primary (archival records, gazettes, memoirs and oral accounts) and secondary sources (textbooks, newspapers, magazines, articles in journals, online materials, thesis, and dissertations) for data collection, analysis and interpretation. The research will use multiple-group design technique which is expected to conduct many oral interviews across each site of these groups. The composition of the informants will largely be elders from ages fifty and above cutting across both sex (male and female). Since the polities have so much in common in their cultural history, facts from both primary and secondary data that exhibits any form of similarity shall be cross examine and objectively interpreted. At the end, the expected result shall provide the following; trace the origin, migration and settlement pattern of the Adara and Zuru polities, account for the similarities in the nature of the Adara and Zuru socio-political and cultural activities, and examine the possible point of inter-group contact and departure between the Adara and the Zuru.

Introduction

It is important to state *ab initio* that, the Adara and Zuru belong to Chadic speakers of the broad Benue-Congo group of Negro languages.[1] In discoursing the History and Culture of the Adara and Zuru in Kaduna and Kebbi States respectively, it is also important to look at the geographical location of the study area. What became today Zuru land is locate in the south-central potion of the Sokoto State, Nigeria. It occupied an area of estimated at about 9,000 sq km. Zuru is an Emirate which is divided into five administrative districts; Donko, Fakai, Sakaba, and Wasagu and Dabai as epicenter of its administration. As a local government, Zuru is bordered by Gummi Local Government Area in the North and also part of Anka Local Government Area. To the South, it shared border with Niger State. To the south-west, its' land ends a few kilometers west of a large tributary of the Dan Zaki River. Moving northwestward, the land protruded to Yauri Local Government Area, which extended to Sokoto State. Few kilometers to the west, the land connected to Bagudo Local Government Area also in Sokoto State. This western border is then completed in the Northern-West by a Short South-West curve that linked with Gummi Local Government Area.[2]

The Adara land Mass is also estimated at about 6,450 sq with an approximate population of 275, 101 based on the 1991 census figures.[3] The census proved that, in the entire Kaduna state, the Adara were the second largest ethnic group aside from Hausa/Fulani who are basically from the northern part of the state and dominate the Zazzau Emirate in particular. This implies that, in Southern Kaduna, the Adara remained the majority in terms of numerical strength.[4] The land is bounded to the west by the Gbagyi Districts and presently Gbagyi Chiefdom in Chikun and Gwagwada; north-east by Rigachikun; east by Kauru (with a few Kadara settlers); south by Zangon Kataf District of the Atyap Chiefdom, Bajju Chiefdom, Ikulu Chiefdom, and Kamantan; south-west by the Ham Chiefdom and to the west by the Gbagyi in Kaduna State and Koro of Niger state where the Adara community occupy the Eastern part of Fuka which was later included in Kuta District.[5] In 1907, Adara land had four districts – Kajuru, Kachia, Bishini and Bikaratu.

Adara land to the west is characterized by streams and rivers bounded by the Gbagyi district, while mountains and valleys dominate the northern boundary with the Riga-chikun. The eastern part was also characterized by a river that cut across Libere to form the River Kaduna. This river marked the Adara boundary with Kauru, though few of the Adara settled across the river. To the south were the plains and minor streams which join with the Ikulu and Kataf Districts. The south-west where the Adara bounded with the Ham is characterized by light-forest. The Adara boundary to the North-west is known to have been characterized by thick forest, cutting across from Maro to Abuja - Kaduna road to join with Niger state.[6] Adara land is drained by many streams and rivers. These rivers are the River Kaduna at Gefe meeting point, Kutur ariver, Rimau/Kallah river, the Attee/Mokoro river, the Ankwa river, the Ishau river and Kachia/ungwan-ateh river, river Kamshi, Agyoro river, Gurara dam among others. There are also ancient caves in the area. These caves are the historic monuments that explain the origin and migration of the Adara. These include; the Iburu cave in where they called Oparibu,[7] the Ankwa (Unhua) cave, the Ungwaku cave among others.

[1] C.F. Voegolin, (1977) Classification and index of the World's Languages, Elsesevier.

[2] Y. I. Bitiyong, "A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region, Sokoto State," in *Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate,* ed. A. R. Augi and S.U. Lawal (Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd 1990), 24-25.

[3] NAK/Zar Prof/ acc 21: (1932), Rough Notes on the Kadara and Kuturmi Tribes.

[4] Iburu Hassan Audu Agya, *A Survey History of the 'Kadara' People,* (Amune Printing Press Ltd, Abuja, 1994), 23.

[5] Yohanna Mamman, Age:60years, Retired Lecturer, Geography Department Kaduna State College of Education, Gidan Waya – Kafanchan, Interviewed with on 27th March, 2018.

[6] Iburu Hassan Audu Agya, *A Survey History of the 'Kadara'…*13.

[7] Rabo Hassan Iburu, interviewed with on 13th September, 2018, at Iburu, age 68years. See also, The Cave at Aparibu Near Iburu in Kajuru Local Government Area.

The Adara and Zuru in Misconception

The problem underscoring the historiography of the Zuru and Adara is the question of aboriginality. Literature on Adara and Zuru abound. However, plethora of these literature did not account for the origin, migration and settlement pattern of these ethnic groups and also offer a contextual and or comparative study of the Adara and Zuru in Kaduna and Kebbi states relations from the earliest time to 2018. Most of the existing literature were documented by the 20th century colonial agents aimed at justifying Indirect Rule on the natives. The colonial traveller's account and anthropologists report on these ethnic groups were marred by colonial sentiment and also characterized by many prejudices and inadequacies particularly on the origin, settlement, religion, and political history of the natives.

Most literature that accounted for Zuru and Adara histories have their roots in colonial sources. The colonial data are characterized with distorted vagaries, and until recently, the natives were left with imaginary oral criticism of what European said their history is. Until now, the history of these polities has been anchored on European travellers, missionaries, anthropologists, colonial administrators or, in other words amateur historians' accounts. For instance, Mallam Hamis in an effort to elaborate this assertion maintained that, what P.G. Harris did in his work titled *The Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer…* which he claimed to have written the history of the Zuru area was a mere discourse on customs, culture, religion and colonial administration/activities in Zuru land which has nothing about the political, economic and social history of the *Alele.*[8]

In the same vain, Iburu and Ibrahim James shared the same colonial account on the tradition of origin for the Adara.[9] Could there be a deliberate attempt on their part to agree with Meek's (colonial account) which linked the Adara origin with a prestigious polity like the Saifawa dynasty of Borno which inform their total agreement with some sort of imaginary stories accounted by M.C. Meek and O. Temple?[10] Under the same precept, Boyd and Hamilton' work on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria ended in describing the geographical treatise than a work on history.[11] What was documented through colonial account is far different from what the people know themselves to be, from their origin, migration, settlement pattern and their socio-cultural, political, and economic history. Though, the distortion of history of most nationalities by the colonial writers was a general phenomenon that characterized the African continent. Therefore, the task of deconstructing and reconstructing the history of Adara and Zuru history therefore becomes a must do responsibility to modern historian who are concerned with the history of the indigenous polities.

The Zuru and Adara in Time Perspective

To say that, the art of historical reconstruction of African history began with the coming of the Europeans is not true. The art of writing itself was said to have started with hieroglyphics in Egypt, which is Africa. Needless to say, the beginning of Africa's distorted history has its roots from the European travelers and anthropologists who recorded that Africa is a dark continent, and has no history. They went further to say, Africa is characterized by fetish practices and barbarism. This postulation has racial undertone, and it was done to prove white superiority over the Blacks Africans. Furthermore, their argument was to further justify colonialism as an alternate way forward to salvage Africa from its so-called backwardness.

[8] B. Swai, "Towards An Explanation of the Underdeveloped State of Zuru History" in *Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate,* ed. A. R. Augi and S.U. Lawal (Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd 1990), 4.

[9] M. C. Meek, *Tribal Studies of Northern Nigeria* (vol. II London, 1931): 34. He pointed that, most of the tribes which now inhabit southern part of Zaria province initially, were residing at the Eastern side of lake Tangayika. He cited tribes like Kihugu and Kigoma still living at the Eastern side of lake Tangayika and likely being the remaining of Kahugu and Kagoma people of Southern Zaria province.

[10] Monday Mangvwat, "The Evolution of Miskaham Institution Among Mwahavul C. 1750 – 1957 A.D An Aspect of Political Evolution" (BA Dissertation submitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1976): xi-xii.

[11] Y. I. Bitiyong, "A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region, Sokoto State," in *Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate,* ed. A. R. Augi and S.U. Lawal (Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd 1990), 26.

However, in the quest for the reconstruction of African history, J. Vansina argued for the validity of oral source in place of an unwritten source. He argued that no written document can provide detail analysis on the history of a people more than what oral account provides on the material history of the people. He further maintained that, no historian can better explain historical event as the one who is familiar with the language of his respondent. The point worthy of note is, how many of these primary sources that claimed Zuru migration were written and documented by the indigenous writers? Virtually all that is said relied on colonial report which is committed to speculations resulting to distortion of the peoples' identity.

It is important to note that, in corroboration with the oral tradition is the archaeological evidence. The question of autochthony of Warrawa, Lelna, Dakarawa, Gwamfawa among others earlier than the purported migration as littered by many writers is not unthinkable. This can be understood through the Stone Axe discovered within the region 3,000 B.C. this discovery was made during the reconnaissance in Zuru region which confirmed the existence of the Zuru people within the region even as far back as the late Stone Age dated about 12,000 B.C.[12] The migration account of some polities like the Warrawa which Bitiyong controversially pointed that they migrated from Borno Empire is not only erroneous but misleading. Furthermore, history has it that, for every migration of a polity, there must be a push factor and clear evidence of chronology in the period when the migration took place. All these were not adequately address by early writers on the Zuru origin.

However, what became peculiar in the history of these two groups that worth studying is that, these ethnic nationalities are far separated by geographical location. Yet, practically exhibit almost the same characteristics virtually in all facets of their human endeavors more closely than even their immediate and closest neighbors. If there was any Adara and Zuru migration from any distant place other than their present location as claimed by colonial reports Meek (1932);[13] Greenberg & Harris, (1963, 1938) certainly it should not be northward migration from Borno. It should be noted that, the Zuru belonged to the Chadic speakers of the Benue-Congo group of Negro languages who are technically related to the Bantu group of languages from Southern Africa as against the Afro-Asiac of the Northern part of the River Ka in Zuru land whose trace of origin can be seen within the lenses of Arabian specie. However, the aforementioned point is the specific problem that necessitated the study of the two diverse but historically and culturally resembled ethnic polities (Adara and Zuru).

Contextualizing Historiography in Zuru and Adara Land

In the 21st century, the quest to ascertain the origin, peopling and formation of communities in Zuru an Adara land has being like hot potatoes in the mouth, due to factors that bothers on historians' prejudices. Yet, the main issue in Zuru and Adara histories is the question of establishing the aboriginality of the people. Several attempts have been made at different quotas to tress the original ancestry of the Zuru and Adara. However, over the years, this effort largely ended in narrating migration and settlement accounts as documented by colonial travelers and anthropologists.

Globally, migration has undoubtedly formed part of human existence. In Africa, the migration spree in the earliest time was factored by many factors. However, the causality that characterized this migration was both human and natural. These circumstances became the basis for their conformity into various patterns of livelihood. Traditional boundaries were tempered with, settlements were adjusted, cultures and traditions were infused and integrated, making inter-group relations more consolidated among close neighbors. The situation occasioned by migration in the pre-colonial era in Nigeria has posed challenges on the autochthonous identities of most ethnic nationalities particularly the minority groups in the north. The Zuru and Adara were not an exception to this challenge.[14] Bitiyong in his work, grouped the peopling of Zuru land into two

[12] T. Shaw, "Preliminary Report on Archeological work in the Wushishi Area, Early 1976, *Zaria Archaeology Papers,* (Vol.9, 1976):1-4.

[13] M. C. Meek, *Tribal Studies of Northern Nigeria* (vol. II London, 1931): 34.

[14] NAK/Zar.Prof/2159: (1935), *Kadara of Zaria: Intelligent Report*, M.R.C.S. Stanley.

basic categories;[15] those that claimed autochthony and the recent migrants. Though, the work was not critical about the heterogeneity of the Zuru Emirate being a land far beyond two groups, yet it provided an impetus for the discourse Zuru within the lens of time and space, particularly their origin and settlements at different epochs. Perhaps, his analysis was informed by the available data within his reach, which were largely colonial source. It should be noted that, the colonial sources are mostly characterized by many prejudices. Another point worthy of note is the fact that some of the available evidence given by the natives were corrupted partly because, among the groups that claimed autochthony, were some that controversies that lingered within the authenticity of their aboriginality. Thus, recent findings has shown that, they actually migrated from other parts of the Northern Nigeria before arriving the Zuru land in the 18th century which they themselves have confirmed and attested to it. In the same vein, there were some among these aboriginals that were erroneously referred to as migrants, but in the real sense they were not migrants, they were only been calved out from part of Zuru by the politics of colonial boundary which was adjusted during Emirate creation.

Therefore, the best way to ascertain the aboriginality of the people of Zuru is to critically examine the pre-colonial boundary of the Zuru Emirate even beyond the Danfodio era up to the post-colonial period. The significance of the Danfodio era is that, it marked the period which migrations to the region for safety began which is a recent development in the history of Zuru people. It is important to note that, the influence of Usman Danfodio Jihad which necessitated the migration of some of these groups to Zuru land did not in any way meant conquest, because there has never being a time in Zuru history where they were conquer by the Danfodio Jihad or the external force of the Kanta period and beyond. During the Kanta, there were several attempts by Kanta and his adventurous to capture Zuru land, since the Zuru are the aboriginals, Kanta tried severally to capture them but failed. The Zuru remained independent polity in their present abode with their rulers fully in charge of their affairs even beyond the advent of the Danfodio just like their neighboring territories - Bukkuyun and Gummi at that time. Thus, those that claimed being autochthonous and the recent migrants.[16] In the Adara experience, recent finding shows they are the autochthonous.[17]

It is pertinent to note that, there were some autochthonous groups that were not by any means easily spotted and captured by the European travelers and anthropologists, on the course of their documentation adventure this was due to their hill-top settlement pattern. As such it was difficult to existentially establish their long presence within their ancestral land without resorting to genuine oral account. The Gwamfawa and Warrawa were however part of these Autochthonous groups that inhabit Zuru land from time immemorial. The Warrawa who where/are derogatorily refers to as Bangawa by the Hausa, lived at mountain top just like their immediate neighbors Dakarkari and Gwomfawa believed that, cultural adherent is the basis of human existence. This quest necessitated their choice of settlement pattern at the mountain top. They would always ensure the availability of water at the fringe of their settlement to support their livelihood. The surrounding land at the foot of the hill was used for farming and hunting. The choice of mountain top was basically for security purpose, the mountain top just like the River *Ka* provided them with basic defense against any form of aggression. However, any eventual security threat or attack from the enemies, the inhabitant would take advantage of the familiar hill-top terrain to inflict pains on their aggressors.

On tradition of origin, there are different views regarding the tradition of origins of some of the groups that formed the larger Zuru Emirate. However, Bitiyong postulated that, the human population of Zuru region is multinational,[18] and can be grouped into two broad categories, thus; the long term ”settlers and or autochthony,” and the “recent

[15] Bitiyong Y. I., “A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

[16] Bitiyong Y. I., “A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

[17] Marabs Joshua Anthony and Martha Ezekiel Shamang, “A Historical Perspective in the Evolution and Transformation of Traditional Institutions Among Societies in Southern Kaduna Area”, *Kaduna Journal of Historical studies,* (Vol. 7 September 2015) 93-96.

[18] Bitiyong Y. I., “A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

immigrants or even temporary strangers,"[19] was not only categorical but factual. The contradiction in his analysis is, most of the ethnic groups classified as long term settlers who laid claims of originality from Hausa land are also lumped as autochthonous.[20] There is difference between long term settler and autochthony. Long term settler has a place of departure while autochthony is an original inhabitant.

Sami maintained that, the zuru land is located at the southern part of River *Ka* which formed the central part or middle-belt of Zuru Emirate. As occupants of the most treacherous and difficult terrain due to the presents of wild animal and other potentials that could attract the attention of enemies due to the situation of the River *Ka*, yet, they devised a skillful strategy to maintain their independence against external aggression occasion by slave riders and conquest. The ancient Zuru people were adaptive to circumstance. They operated an egalitarian society where individuals were allowed the right to self-actualization through available endeavors. Apart of Farming and Hunting which was there major occupation, they engaged in other crafts such as; blacksmith, weaving, pottery, fishing, just to mention but few. Their leaders were shrew administrators of their various independent village states. Their sagacity in planning characterized the uniqueness of the Zuru polities in the region. This in no small way made them developed a unique culture that is viable enough to support their livelihood since their antiquity till date. As means of defense, they chose to live on the mountain-top and other most difficult terrain, often fenced with tall stone. Their walls enhanced their security which helped in outsmarting their enemies in situational face-off.

Since the region was characterized by different uncertainties and risks such as slave raid, possible attacks by wild animals, and other mischief by individuals, they became conscious of their security. They realized that going to the farm in singles would expose them to greater danger. They developed a system of group farming called *Golmo. Golmo* was also a corporate system which formed part of marriage process obligations for youths. This meant that, instead of individuals going to farm separately, a group of organized youths from all the communities who were expected to get married within the next one to seven years, would be assembled at a designated point every morning, which they would move from one prospective father in-laws' farm to another where they would work tirelessly before retiring to their hill tops settlements in the late evening. This team work makes it difficult for any possible attack by an enemy. To enhance more security and increase their weaponry, the Zuru people farm tools such as Hoe and Axe were purposefully designed to be effectively sharp and potable, for farming and defensive purposes.

On glottochronology, Lelna (Dakarkari) has some four genetically related languages whose roots in commonly traced to singular source but long term intergroup contact orchestrated their variation in Zuru land, thus; Bangawa (Warrawa), C'lela, Dunkanci, and Fakkanci.[21] One may not denied disparity in linguistic terms, but Greenberg and Voegeling widen the language azimuth to enable them assert for Lelna the global classification of African languages, which meant that, they Zuru languages belongs to the Benue-Congo group of Negro languages.[22] They were less concern about the assertiveness of autochthony of these groups. The striking point of concern is, the over bearing colonial sources has it that, the Dakarawa, Bangawa, Fakawa, Katsinawa and Dukawa moved together into what is today Zuru land from area outside their present abode.[23] The proponent of this postulation was Harri,[24] and Hamilton Brown,[25] they both maintain that, almost all the groups

[19] Bitiyong Y. I., "A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

[20] Bitiyong Y. I., "A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

[21] A. H. Amfani, "A Glottochronology of the Four Benue-Congo Languages in Zuruland," in *Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate,* ed. A. R. Augi and S.U. Lawal (Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd 1990), 47.

[22] J.R. Greenberg, *Language of Africa of Africa,* (Blooming, 1963) and C.F. Voegolin, *Classification and index of the World's Languages,* (Elsesevier 1977).

[23] A.R. Augi, "A Survey of Social and Political History of Zuru Emirate Before 1900" in *Study in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate* ed. A. R. Augi and S.U. Lawal (Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd 1990), 87.

[24] P.G. Harris, "Notes on the Dakarkari", *Gazetteer*, 310-317.

[25] E.C. Duff and W. Hamilton Browne, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, (London, 1920), 30-31.

presently living in the Zuru land are believed to have migrated into the region from elsewhere.

They made this claim to establish the basis for the assertiveness that, most of these polities came from a popular centralized states. By this, they can justify indirect rule on them through an already established mechanism of a most advanced polity. However, one cannot dispute migration spree which could be a recent phenomenon especially in the 19th and 20th centuries due to some form of factors like political instability orchestrated by the slave trade, jihad movement just to mention but two. These particular factors must have being the push factor that triggered migration for the settler polities of Katsinawa, Wasagu, Zamfarawa, among others in Zuru Land. One may not be too certain to say that there was no migration among the polities that formed the whole of Zuru Emirate in the past. This migration was largely intra Zuru migration. As mentioned earlier, the migration account for Zuru polities by the colonial travelers was to justify the fact that the Zuru inhabitants could at best be governed under the Sokoto Caliphate system. Perhaps, this quest must let colonial account gladiators to assert that the Bangawa had their ancestors from Borno Empire in the present day North-East of Nigeria. The District Head of Donko in a verbal discussion shared the same colonial view as pointed by Hamilton, Browne and Harri.[26] Could this be a deliberate attempt on the part of the colonial travelers and anthropologists to linked the Bangawa (Warrawa) with a prestigious polity like the Saifawa Dynasty of Borno? This might not be far from it due to colonial interest in justifying indirect rule system and to further suggest that most of these polities share things in common with the larger polity in Borno, as such could be manage under the same approach of indirect rulership. This idea, the District Head of Donko was not critical about it. Perhaps, the District Head of Donko, has heard of the Sokoto Jijhad which affected Gobir, more probably, the Warrawa may have left Borno, if they did, as a result of Mai Ali Ghaji's (1472-1608) wars of expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries and the establishment of Birnin Ngazargamu.[27]

The indisputable widespread influence of Borno over the entire Hausa land, Baghirmi, Sahara, up to Benue valley within the 19th century was yet another factor that prompted Hamilton and Harri to think alike in their postulation of the Bornoan tradition of origin for the most populous polities of northern Nigeria.[28] However, in understanding this phenomenon, one should not be too sure to conclude this as it could mislead the general public, hence it largely depend on assumption which is not safe in the historical reconstruction of the tradition of origin of a people. This is because if there were any war between Gobir and Borno, it was the Jihad of Shehu Usman Danfodio which could presumably be the push for Warrawa migration. This meant that the migration took place in the 19th century which is a recent affair. By and large, by this time of the Jihad, the Warrawa and their neighbors had already settled in their respective village states several centuries earlier.

The Zuru and Adara Cultural Institutions

To examine how the Zuru and Adara operated their priestly institution from the earliest time and in relation with the present, cannot be clearly understood outside their traditional institution. In discoursing traditional institution in Zuru and Adara, what comes to mine is the nature and manner in which their cultural institution dishes out their socio-political regulations. This meant that, cultural links between the various polities of Zuru and Adara lands were manifested in similarities of their traditional, political and social organization. However, in Zuru land, there are convergent cultural practices such as M'gila, Golmo, D'biti. Beledima, and Uhola among the homogeneous but linguistically diverse ethnic nationalities under Zuru Emirate. These diverse groups are closely knitted together through cultural practices that within a unique identity as Lelna. In the same vein, the Adara has similar traditional practices embedded in the people's ritual institution that is the *Ahuh* (masquerade). This practice is somewhat similar to the Zuru. However, the impacts of the Adara *Ahuh* (masquerade) traditional ritual practices are largely felt during Festivals. These festivals

[26] Bitiyong Y. I., "A Survey in the Zuru Emirate Region...26.

[27] Abdullahi Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan," in History of West Africa, ed J.F.A Ajayi and Michael Crowder (Vol.1, Longman, 1971): 184.

[28] Monday Mangvwat, "The Evolution of Miskaham Institution Among Mwahavul C. 1750 – 1957 A.D An Aspect of Political Evolution" (BA Dissertation submitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1976): xi-xii.

mostly take place during harvest season, basically around the month of October. The traditional practices of Zuru and Adara polities therefore could be more appropriately describe as the consolidated group type of the decentralized state system, characterized by the group's recognition of the authority of the central priest chief, who merely wielded authority and not power.[29]

In *M'gila* tradition of the Zuru, the Chief-Priest is responsible for the transmission of message as received from the *Obangizi Asila* to the Priest-Chief and the elders in the community. While in Adara land, the *Agom Ahuh* is charged with similar function as in the Zuru experience. This shows that the role of community elders cannot be undermine among the Zuru and Adara. However, *Golmo* among the Zuru is one of the most popular cultural practice that buttress uniqueness of every male in the Zuru society. According to the Zuru tradition, *Golmo* is an institution that regulates social conduct and training among Lelna from young ages to adulthood.[30] It comprises social contract for marriage, economic livelihood training, security and defense tactics among other. The intrigue in the whole of *Golmo* cultural practice emphasized brevity and as such became mandatory for every male child to participate according to age grades. In discoursing *Golmo*, it is pertinent to note that exhausting all-encompassing the role and function of the *Golmo* among Lelna is almost an impossible task. This is because of the preternatural activities that characterized the process from the beginning to it maturity. At best, what can be done to bring to public knowledge about the *Golmo* particularly its role, function and operation in the Zuru land is the description of those vagaries that dispense what the physical can see, touch feel and hear.

However, *Golmo* to its Zuru meant a lot that only those it concern and participated or went through its processes and stages could understand its rudiments. This is because there were ritual engagement between the participants through process of initiation that only those involved feels the aura and present of the supernatural especially during initiation and communing with the *Ubangizi.* In the same vein, the Adara sees god (*Onuh/Unom*) the supernatural, and can only be reach through a process of sacrifice to their deity. Most of the Adara deities are stones, and either blood of animal or libation of local beer are poured to evoke the spirit of the ancestors who often intercede on their behalf to the god.

Conclusion

Following the uniformity in most of the socio-cultural and political practices of the Zuru and Adara which are evident in material history (wooden spoons, clay pots, grinding stones, wooden carriers, cloth and mode of dress), settlement pattern, religion (belief, initiation processes to adulthood) cloth, mode of dress, festivals, dance, marriages, among many others. One may be tempted to conclude that, the push and pull forces of migration must have accounted for the migration of these which led to contact of these groups in the past.

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[29] Mohammed Sani Sami, *A Celebration of the Lelna Culture: Selected Traditional Festivals in Zuru Emirate of Kebbi State*, (Hweraka Resources Ltd., Zuru, Kebbi State, 2005): 16.

[30] Mohammed Sani Sami, *A Celebration of the Lelna Culture: Selected Traditional Festivals in Zuru Emirate* …16.

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