

## Sultan Timimoune Souleymane, builder of the city of Zinder, capital of Damagaram Kingdom

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**ABSTRACT:** Born in the first half of the 18th century, Damagaram was an appendage of Borno until the accession of Tanimoune Dari to power in 1851. This energetic, daring sovereign and fine diplomat took decisions which allowed him to create the Independent state of Damagaram, starting with the capital, Zinder.

To write this article we first read the scientific writings on this kingdom. Then, we used documents from colonial archives and information collected following our field survey.

This article shows that the sovereign Tanimoune was an exemplary, courageous and daring statesman who knew how to build a city which acquired great fame. This city emerged thanks to the different districts that this sovereign created. These are the Birni, Zongo and Grain Malam districts. The *Birni* district symbolizes the independence of Damagaram. The Zongo district symbolizes commerce and the Garin Malam district refers to the «modernization of Islam which has become the state religion.

**KEYWORDS:** Zinder, *Birni* district, Zongo district, Garin Malam district, Sultan Tanimoune.

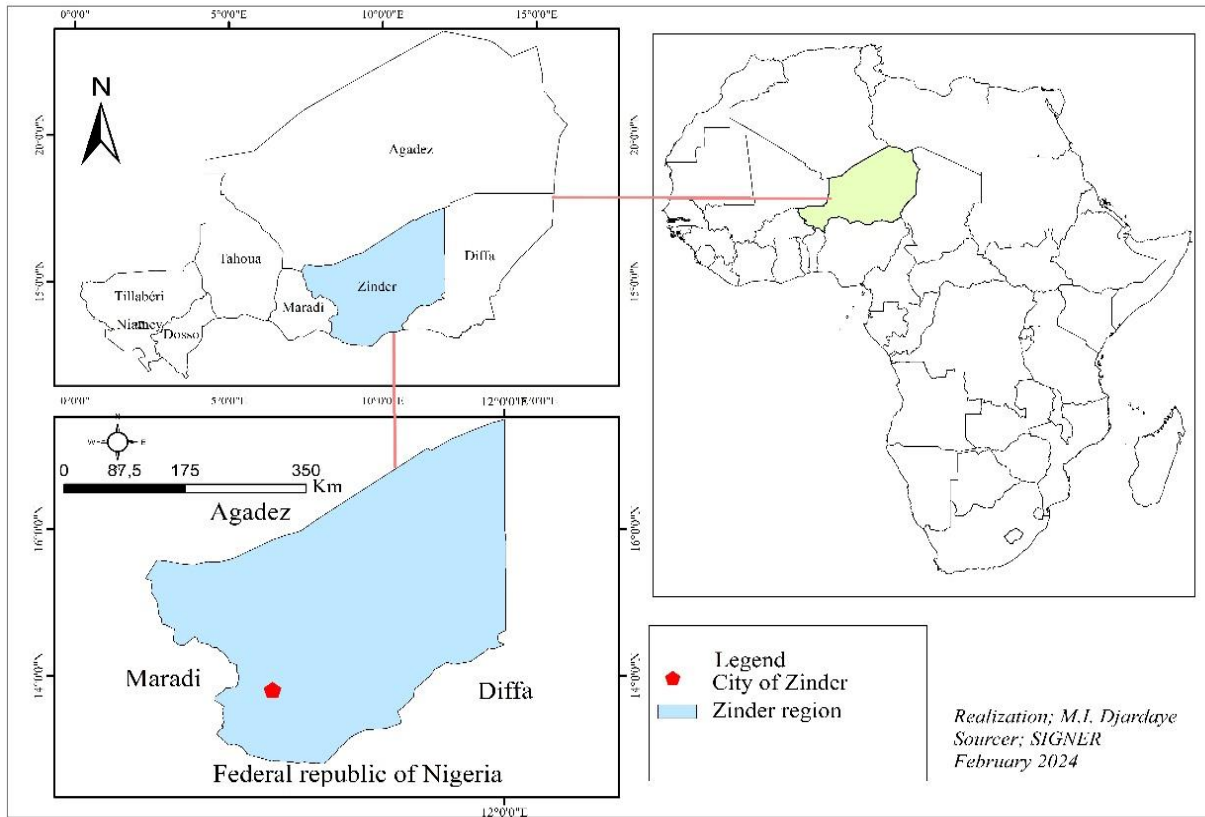
### 1 INTRODUCTION

The history of central Sudan was marked in the 19th century by the jihad of Usman Dan-Fodio who managed to build a vast empire stretching from Niger River to Lake Chad by subjugating several political entities, in particular the Hausa states. But certain states, notably Damagaram, escaped this domination. In fact, the 19th century marked the emergence of this State of Damagaram thanks to a great statesman who was Tanimoune Dari dan Souleymane Ki-Garajé between 1851 - 1884. An appendage of Borno, Damagaram relocated its capital in an area where small Hausa villages were located. His vision as a statesman pushed him to build a state free from Bornouan supervision. It was in this idea that he was able to build the city of Zinder, capital of the said kingdom.

This article aims at showing the role of Sarki Tanimoune Souleymane Tintouma Ki-Garajé in the construction of the city of Zinder, capital of the kingdom of Damagaram.

The kingdom of Damagaram has been the object of several studies (Malam Issa Mahaman and Malam Issoufou Djardaye, 2020; Malam Issoufou Djardaye, 2020; Dicko Abdourahamane, 2020; Malam Abdou Moussa, Boube Bali Saley, Ibrahim Mamadou and Laminou Issaka Brah. 2020; Lefbvre, Camille, 2017; Ibrahim Mamadou, Moussa Issaka Abdoukader and Malam Abdou Moussa; Danda, Mahaman, 2004; André Salifou, 1971; Dunbar, Anne, 1970; Fernand Foureau, 1910). These were focused around two main axes: the socio-political and economic history of the country and the shortage of water in the current city of Zinder. However, these studies depicted Sultan Tanimoune as a sovereign who served his kingdom without dwelling on his works of building the city. However, Sultan Tanimoune is, first and foremost, the builder of the city of Zinder before embarking on other projects for the development of the kingdom of Damagaram.

The article is structured around three points. The environment which served as a framework for the transfer of the capital of Damagaram, the construction works of Zinder to the credit of Sultan Tanimoune and the lessons to be learned from his management of the capital.



**Fig. 1.** location of the city of Zinder in Niger

## 2 ZINDER: ITS ENVIRONMENT AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT AS A CAPITAL

Relatively recent since it dates from the first half of the 19th century, the city of Zinder is located in a site formerly occupied mainly by the Hausa.

### 2.1 ENVIRONMENT

It is an environment marked by granite hills of average elevation (400 to 500 m) all "on the crystalline formations of Damagaram-Mounio" which "only has discontinuous layers of base subject to the irregularity of rainfall.<sup>1>2. This environment is subject to a Sahelian climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season (from July to September) and a dry season (from October to June). Zinder is thus located on the 500 mm per year isohyet<sup>3. This rainfall only allows vegetation essentially composed of thorn trees such as acacias of all kinds and, in particular, gao, the cutting of which was prohibited by Sultan Tanimoune. An important grassy cover and ponds develop during the rainy season. The immediate surroundings of Zinder were the domain of baobab trees.</sup></sup>

This vegetation, although relatively meager, constituted favorable ground for the development of a fairly rich fauna composed of wild animals of all kinds: carnivores (felines), herbivores (gazelles, deer, etc.), granivores (volatiles, etc.) and other

<sup>1</sup> I translated this quote from french to english.

<sup>2</sup> (Malam Abdou Moussa, Boube Bali Saley, Ibrahim Mamadou and Laminou Issaka Brah, 2020, p. 396)

<sup>3</sup> (Malam Abdou Moussa, Boube Bali Saley, Ibrahim Mamadou and Laminou Issaka Brah, 2020, p. 396)

reptiles. It is therefore an environment very conducive to hunting, but also to agropastoral activities, which hosted the capital of Damagaram. It is also due to these reasons that we see a very ancient presence of Man and his covetousness by the Tuareg of Damargu, immediate neighbors of the country.

The German explorer Barth (1861) who had stayed in the town of Zinder described this capital as having:

*“topographical situation as interesting as it is original. A considerable mass of rocks rises within the walls, on the western side, while others extend in chains around the city. The result is that a large quantity of water collects at a shallow depth from the ground, fertilizing abundant vegetation of the most varied nature, a spectacle which one is hardly accustomed to witnessing in these countries. Culture in turn is greatly affected, especially that of tobacco, mainly on the eastern side of the city where the plantations are located. Groups of palm trees enhanced the particular character of the vegetation...<sup>4</sup>”.*

It is therefore in this relatively favorable environment that the capital of Damagaram was relocated between 1809 and 1812 by Tanimoune’s father, Sarki Souleymane.

## **2.2 RELOCATION OF THE CAPITAL AND EMERGENCE OF THE CITY OF ZINDER**

The site which would become the capital of Damagaram was not a noman’s land at the beginning of the 19th century. There were, in fact, half a dozen villages mainly inhabited by *Hausa* but also by *Kanuri*, *Pulo* and *Tubu*. Some of the villages in the area included Ruwan Tsamiya<sup>5</sup>, Zindir<sup>6</sup>, Zongo<sup>7</sup>, Zongon Tudu<sup>8</sup> (A. Salifou, 1971, p. 46).

It is therefore in the middle of these villages that the capital of Damagaram was installed around 1809/1812 by Sultan Souleymane dan Tintouma Ki-Garajé.

Sultan Souleymane dan Tintouma Ki-Garajé known as Baba (father) acceded to the throne of the small chiefdom of Damagaram Ta Kaya thanks, firstly, to the support of the notable (at the court of Borno) Aji Abarma who pleaded his case with the Mai (sovereign) and that of the *Tubu* who assisted him in order to cover the expenses linked to the event. After his enthronement in Kukawa, capital of Borno, he was accompanied to Ci-Anza, then capital of the Borno province of Damagaram, by a contingent of *Tubu* to ensure his security. Then, he moved to Zinder around 1809 where he built his palace (*Gidan Gabas*) to the east of Zindir which he had surrounded by palanques, a security belt against enemy attacks, in particular the Tuareg (André Salifou, 1971, p. 61). When he became old, he entrusted command of the country to his eldest son Ibram from 1822 to 1841. Ibram built the rest of the palace. As for Prince Tanimoune, he lived in the current house of *Sarkin Fulani* (leader of the Fulani community). It is the first nucleus of the city of Zinder where the *Hausa*, the *Kanuri*, the *Bugajé* already lived and later, with the development of commercial activities combined with assured security, the *Tuareg* traders, the *Pulo*, the *Tubu*, the Arabs., etc., hence its cosmopolitan aspect<sup>9</sup>. The accession to the Damagaram throne in 1851 of Sultan Tanimoune precipitated the emergence of the city of Zinder.

## **3 SULTAN TANIMOUNE, BUILDER OF THE CITY OF ZINDER**

Who is Sultan Tanimoune Dari?

### **3.1 THE MAN, TANIMOUNE**

He was nicknamed “Baki-Jatau” because of his bravery, daring and sagacity. It is the question of the Tsoitse Baki State of Mirriah which constituted one of the reasons which opposed the two brothers Tanimoune and Ibram, all sons of Malam Souleymane. In fact, during Ibram’s first reign, *Mai*<sup>10</sup> Omar sensing the need to reconcile Damagaram and the Tsoitse Baki state authorities, took the initiative of going to Zinder in order to find common ground. Informed, Ibram and his brother decided to

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<sup>4</sup> I translated this quote from french to english.

<sup>5</sup> Which is the largest village. It is located in the north and inhabited by *Kardawa* or marabouts in the *Kanuri* language;

<sup>6</sup> created by the famous Zindirma, legendary character

<sup>7</sup> North of Ruwan Tsamiya. It is in fact a temporary camp of the Tuareg at the time and a place for exchanging products from the North for those from the South

<sup>8</sup> located in the current location of the Radio “Voix du Sahel” house, regional branch of national broadcasting

<sup>9</sup> (M. I. Djardaye, 2020, p. 211)

<sup>10</sup> Sovereign in *kanuri* language

welcome him to Hamdara. It was from there that Tanimoune went to Gushi to inform his elder sister, wife of Sultan Nafata of the said province, that he had denounced Ibram to Omar but without success. From there, he went to meet *Mai* Omar and when the information reached Ibram, he fled in 1841, putting an end to his first reign. Thus, Tanimoune began his first reign. In the meantime, Ibram, having taken refuge in Maradi, went to Kukawa to alert *Mai* of the persistence of the conflict between Mirriah and Tanimoune. The *Mai* wrote a letter summoning Tanimoune to return power to Ibram. Tanimoune abdicated and withdrew to Maradi with his men (Sarkin Dawaki Jan Damo, Sountali dan Kintaho, Katchalla Mele, Mashi dan Damaza, Sarkin Fada Kallamou, Poukuma dan Goude and Mayda)<sup>11</sup>. Then he returned to Kukawa where he spent two years. It was only after an attack by the Badawa (lake peoples) against Borno that Tanimoune resurfaced.

Thanks to *Gumsu*, the favorite woman of *Mai*, he returned to Zinder via Kirou, Doungas, Takay and Washa where he was invested sultan<sup>12</sup>. He continued his journey to Hamdara, Ruwan Tsamiya, from where he sent a verbal letter to the court to leave the capital. He thus began his second reign in 1851 which lasted until 1884. Tanimoune was a valiant warrior and above all a outstanding statesman. His imaginative spirit led him to take initiatives to gain independence from Borno.

How did he build and bring about the city of Zinder? His policy of openness not only made it possible to resolve the dispute between Damagaram and the Tuareg, but also to make Zongo permanent, thus creating a new district.

### 3.2 COMMERCIAL DYNAMICS AND EMERGENCE OF THE ZONGO DISTRICT

On the commercial level, he granted hospitality to all foreign traders, including the Tuareg but also the North Africans (Tripolitans, Ghadamesians) and the Wangarawa of West Africa. He also established commercial relations with Egypt. This policy of openness resulted in the settlement of Tripoli residents but also many Tuaregs in Zinder, hence the development of the Zongo district. He also asked to offer him a *Manzo* (representative) to sit with him at court. Thus, Alhousseini and Losso (founders of Zongo), Dounou, Guizo, Killele and Agour proposed the name Ibro. His role is to defend the interests of his community and to collect gifts intended for Tanimoune. This is how this district of Zongo was permanently established and became a place of commercial exchange.

In fact, the permanent installation of a *Manzo* in Zongo has several objectives. First of all, we have the assurance of the security of the capital of Tanimoune. The Tuareg were no longer to launch incursions into Damagaram territory. Then this permanent presence of the Tuareg alongside the Damagarawa has economic repercussions. Indeed, the *Manzo* had to collect from the caravanners the various gifts that he intended for *Sarki* Tanimoune. In addition, the Tuareg had become trading partners of the *Damagarawa*<sup>13</sup>. Salt and dates were exchanged for cereals, particularly millet. The security policy of the sovereign of Damagaram led him to build a protective wall called *Garu* or *Birni*.

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<sup>11</sup> Malam Abdou, Birni district in Zinder, June 2, 2017

<sup>12</sup> (A. Salifou, 1971, p. 143)

<sup>13</sup> Inhabitants of Damagaram

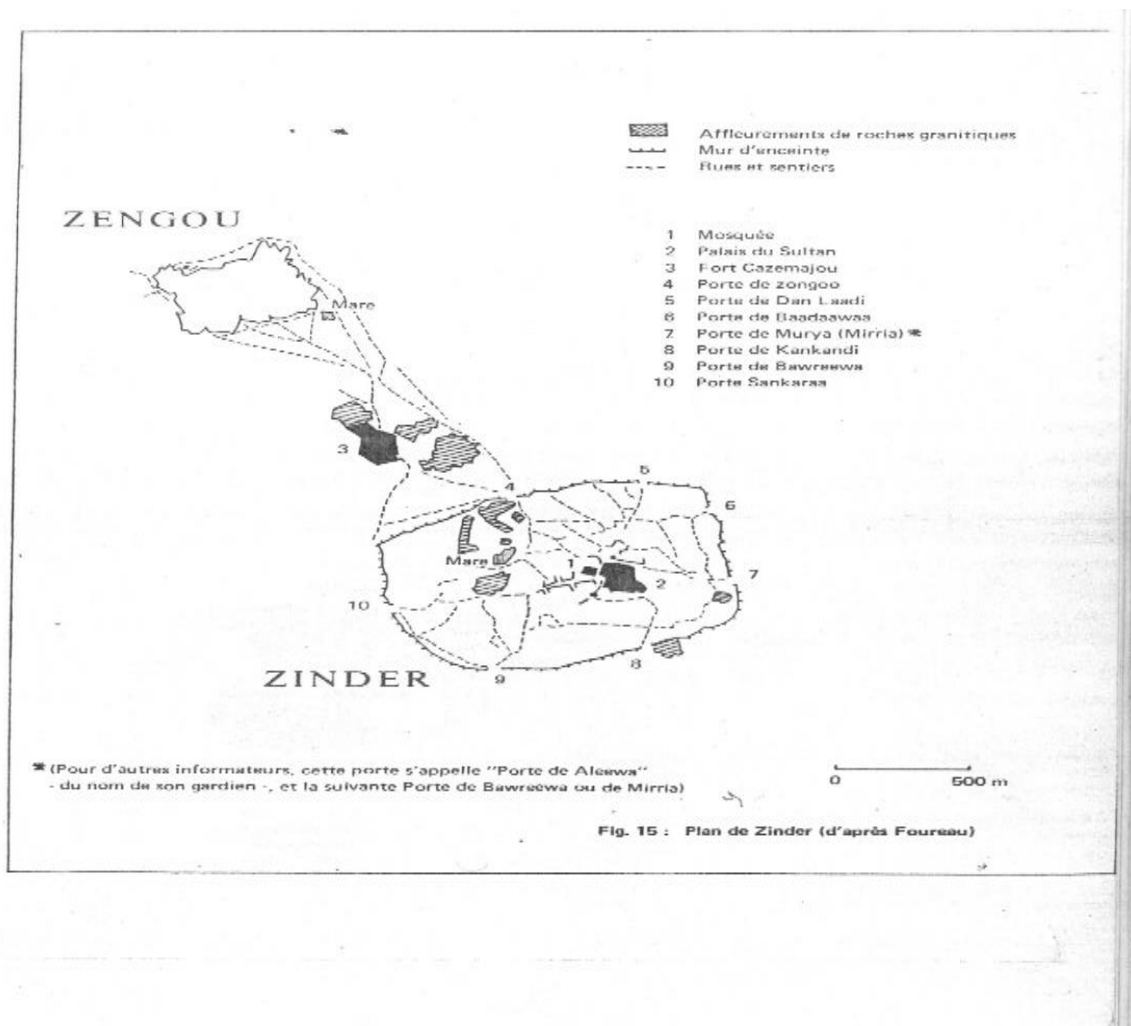


Fig. 2. Plan de la ville de Zinder

Source: Salifou André (1971, p.104)

### 3.3 THE CONSTRUCTION OF GARU

Until Tanimoune's accession to the throne of Damagaram, Zinder, the new capital, was not very secured. The city was only surrounded by less secure palanques installed by his father. Tanimoune, having traveled to Kano and Sokoto, was inspired by the protective walls erected by the leaders of the two states and took the initiative of building them at his home in Zinder. For him, it is an excellent safety belt against attacks from enemies. But, it is also a way of becoming autonomous and even independent. As could be expected, he encountered a major difficulty, the categorical refusal of his Bornouan overlord, Sheikh Omar (André Salifou, 1971, p. 62). How was the wall built?

Tanimoune called on all his subjects. Within a few days, all the materials were gathered and even before the envoy Dan Dingal returned, the construction of the wall was finished. But the sheikh's response was still negative, hence the sending of another messenger (Sarkin Dawaki Jan Damo) at the suggestion of his trusted men (Malam Souleymane, Liman Moustapha, Chatima Kiari, Alkali Abba, Naibi Moussa, Malam Ali)<sup>14</sup> to justify the accomplished fact.

<sup>14</sup> Malam Abdou, Birni district in Zinder, June 2, 2017

At the suggestion of marabouts and hunters, three virgins and four Korans were used in the construction of the wall. The Garu had seven gates: Sankara, Cancandi, Bawrewa, Mirriah, Badawa, Dan Ladi and Zongo gates<sup>15</sup>.

In 1899 Foureau Fernand (1902, p. 510) who stayed in Zinder in November 1899 and who saw the wall still intact said that it was:

*“earth walls 9 to 10 meters high, depending on the terrain, 12 to 14 meters thick at the base around the gates. They become thinner until they reach the top where they are only 50 to 60 centimeters long. This wall is crowned all along with almost regular serrations, sometimes a little crumbled, and representing quite well the rounded teeth of a gigantic saw. Outside, the wall is approximately vertical and preceded by the remains of a ditch which only appears in places; inside, and only near the doors the base is very thick, increased by piles of accumulated rubbish, and the wall decreases in thickness as one rises to end, at one or two meters from the summit, at certain points of its route, by a kind of bench where archers or shooters could settle, in several places even, on the south face, platforms intended to receive cannons have been provided, but they are all almost in ruins. On one of them, the third to the left of the Tinessinddi gate, there was a bronze cannon, without a mount, supported by two long pieces of wood, on the day of the entry of the Central Africa mission into the city”<sup>16</sup>.*



**Fig. 3. The ruins of the Garu de Zinder, here, one of the seven gates**

Source: photo obtained from Mr Laminou Issaka during the “Zinder 1900” exhibition held in february 2018 in Zinder.

### 3.4 THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GARIN MALAM DISTRICT

Although ruled by a dynasty of Islamic origin and therefore knowing Islam for many years, the different populations of the kingdom of Damagaram practiced animism in the vast majority. The Islamic religion only affected a part of the urban population who associated it with animist practices. In the capital of Damagaram it is “the tree of the law of Zinder” which symbolized this practice. It was, in fact, a tamarind tree, a giant tree located in the Sarki courtyard which served as a setting for judging indelicate subjects (Malam Issoufou Djardaye, 2020, p.212). Islam only experienced success with the second reign of Tanimoune (1851-1884) who brought Malam Souleymane to Damagaram. This *Bagobiri*<sup>17</sup> was at the origin of important changes in the religious life of the population of Zinder.

<sup>15</sup> Malam Abdou living in the Birni district of Zinder, june, 25, 2015.

<sup>16</sup> I translated the text of Foureau myself.

<sup>17</sup> A resident of the kingdom of Gobir.

The consequences of the defeat of the Gobir at Gawakuke on March 29, 1836, by Sokoto jihadist forces, worsened the climate of insecurity forcing certain *Gobirawa* scholars to leave their kingdom to either go on pilgrimage to Mecca or to settle outside the conflict zones in order to resume a peaceful life. This was how groups of Gobir scholars headed north from Alkalawa and settled in Madawa (Niger republic) where they created the current Alkalawa district of the said city. Other groups headed towards the East or the South or the South-West. Malam Souleymane was one of these literate *Gobirawa* who left Gobir in the 1850s with the aim of strengthening their knowledge of Islam (Malam Issoufou Djardaye, 2020, p. 213). He was a prince of Gobir born probably in Alkalawa in the late 1800s. The search for Islamic knowledge, *Ilm*, led this marabout to Kwanni, Madawa and Maradi before traveling between Katsina, Kano and Agadaz thanks to the services of his friend Alouwa. It was through this Touareg that Malam Souleymane came into contact with Sarki Tanimoune. But Malam Souleymane hesitated for a while because he did not want to stay in the fold of power. It was on the insistence of his friend Alouwa that Prince *Bagobiri* accepted by setting a condition, that of having Islamic law (*Shari'a*) applied throughout the entire territory of Damagaram. Without hesitation, Tanimoune accepted this demand. The marabout first settled in *Zongon tudu* and began the application of *Shari'a* within the royal court of Damagaram, starting with Sarki Tanimoune. The latter agreed to release all his "surplus" wives in accordance with the prescriptions of Islam. This marabout *Bagobiri* (subject of Gobir) became the king's advisor and qadi<sup>18</sup>.

After Cazémajou's assassination in 1898, Malam Souleymane's family took refuge in Ci Anza and refused the French offer to occupy the post of sultan. Then, she agreed to return to the town of Zinder and changed site because their old house was occupied by the French after the battle of Tirmini on July 29, 1899. The sites they proposed are numerous. We have the current location of the "cinema étoile", the current location of the Habou De Gaule store and finally, the current location of the *Garin Malam* school. This last site was identified and accepted by Malam Hasan, the eldest of the family, 16 days after the defeat of Damagaram, that is to say on August 15, 1899 which is also the date of the creation of the *Garin Malam* district where resides the qadi and located more than two kilometers from the royal court<sup>19</sup>.

Other infrastructures were also built by the sovereign. First of all, there is the market called "Dolé"<sup>20</sup> and a mosque.

### **3.5 OTHER URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE**

The ruler of Damagaram continued his work of building the city of Zinder with, first, the construction of a market and then the mosque which bears his name.

The creation of this market is part of Sarki Tanimoune's desire to make Zinder an important stopover and exchange point in the context of regional and trans-Saharan trade. In fact, during this period the trans-Saharan trade route connecting the North and the South went back east to join Kano, Zinder and Agadez. Tanimoune took advantage of this opportunity and set up his market opposite the Zongo gate. Many products could not be exchanged there, including slaves. This market took the name *Kasouwar dolé*. According to testimonies collected by Souley Tankari (2020, p. 33), the name *kasouwar dolé* (market whose attendance is obligatory) was born from:

*"three circumstances are at the origin of this nominative. The first two relate to a giant tree located outside Birni. A scarf from a fighter which would be torn off by a gentleman in order to separate her from her opponent and who tied her to a branch of a large gawo (acacia albida) saying to her dollé ki juma gurin huddo shi (you are forced to waste your time trying to remove it). Thus, this place takes the name of Gawon dollé (acacia of obligation). The second is due to the stretching of its shadow which led Sultan Tanimun to choose this place for the location of the market. But, just after the foundation of the market, a contagious epidemic (smallpox?) struck the place and it was abandoned to move to another site (current location of the cinema Rex). With the congestion the Sultan forced a return to the first site: the second reason for this nominative. From this moment on the place is no longer called Gawon dollé but rather Kasuwal dollé (the dolé market). The third relates to colonization".*

This market constituted one of the lungs of the economy of Damagaram, and in particular of the city of Zinder.

Regarding the mosque, opinions on its creation are divided. For some, it would be founded by Tanimoune during his first reign between 1841 and 1843. For others, it would be created later. In any case, local collective memory reports that it was during the time of Tanimoune that a messenger came from Turkey via the trans-Saharan route and requested its construction.

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<sup>18</sup> Malam Falalu member of the Alkali family in Zinder January. 12, 2015.

<sup>19</sup> Malam Falalu member of the Alkali family in Zinder. January. 12, 2015

<sup>20</sup> Obligation to frequented.

“A messenger from the East stops for two days. During his journey in Zinder, he came to the court of Sultan Tanimoune. Before continuing his journey west (Timbuktu), he proposed the construction of a mosque in the city. It shows a plan similar to that of Agadez and Timbuktu. He even proposes the place where the mosque will be built which is the place of the current central maternity ward. The model he gave is the same as that of Timbuktu and Agadez today but the court of Sultan Tanimoune refused to make the same model and built in that place, the court proposed another place in front of the palace and another model. This current model is the same as that of the capital of Turkey<sup>21</sup>.”

Finally, Sultan Tanimoune ensured the cultural development of youth through *Wassan Kara*. This game took place every year to entertain but also to challenge the leaders of the kingdom. It also reflects the rediscovered peace and above all the economic prosperity of the country and the integration of different population groups, bringing out cultural traits common to all *Damagarawa* against the background of a single language, *Damagaramci*, symbol of the identity of this cosmopolitan population (Souley Tankari, 2020, p. 50). The themes covered at *wassan kara* are numerous and varied. However, those which deal with situations concretely experienced by society, especially subjects which had caught the attention of communities over the past year, are retained. It is then a sort of critical review of the events which have marked the collective memory. These could be political problems, social conflicts, scandals of all kinds or misfortunes experienced. However, some of the themes were not chosen in advance. They were improvised during the ceremonies themselves.

#### 4 IMPACT OF SOULEYMANE’S ACTIONS

The works of Sultan Tanimoune make him a visionary statesman who was able to detach and create the State of Damagaram at the expense of Borno. What was his approach?

##### 4.1 SULTAN TANIMOUNE, THE MACHIAVELLIAN

By acceding to the throne of Damagaram in 1851, and for the second time, the sovereign of Damagaram was convinced that only a strong and well-equipped army could ensure his continued existence on the throne and above all ensure his secessionist enterprise vis-à-vis the Bornouan metropolis. Then he created a professional army with modern equipment; first step in secession and construction of the new state. With this army, he undertook the construction of the protective wall which is the second stage in the secession of Damagaram. Before building the wall, he used the “carrot” by sending emissaries to *Mai Omar* in order to obtain authorization but in vain. This construction allowed Sultan Tanimoune to have a means of protection against a possible attack from the *Mai* of Borno (who was hostile to the *Garu*) but also from the Tuareg. Moreover, to gain respect from his immediate neighbors, Tanimoune used the “stick” against the Tuareg. Thus, the *Birni* symbolizes the military power of Damagaram, which imposed its independence in 1857 and which began the construction of the country.

##### 4.2 THE SPRAWL OF THE CITY OF ZINDER TO ESTABLISH THE STATE OF DAMAGARAM

In terms of food security and the economic health of the country, he developed the cultivation of wheat, palm trees, rice, millet, tomatoes and especially tobacco and lemon wherever possible, including in the city of Zinder. He also developed livestock breeding to the point where the tannery industry was developed. This agricultural policy clearly proves that achieving food self-sufficiency was Tanimoune’s major concern. Better still, he quickly understood that his geographical position which placed him at the center of trans-Saharan trade could be very useful to him. In fact, Zinder was the gateway to Sudan where Bornouan, Hausa, Tuareg and North African merchants transited. That is why he created the *Dolé* market and made the Zongo district permanent by taking the initiative to create the post of *Manzo* at court. This district is the consecration of the sultan’s policy of openness since he managed to establish commercial relations with all his near and far neighbors: Tuareg, Wangarawa, Tripolitans, etc. The products exchanged were slaves, ostrich feathers and skins for burnous, fabrics, sabers and carpets.

With security and economic health assured, the sultan ensured the influence of Islam and culture. His attachment to Islam led to the birth of *Garin Malam*, a district located about two kilometers from *Birni*. As for the influence of culture, it made it possible to develop *Wassan Kara*, proof of the emergence of the State of Damagaram.

In short, Sultan Tanimoune was an exemplary leader, he was a model of a statesman like Sundiata Keita and Kankou Moussa of Mali, Askia Mahammad of Soney, Idris Alaoma of Kanem-Borno, of Bawa Jan Gwarzo from Gobir and Mahamadou Karau

<sup>21</sup> Information collected from Abdoul Karim secretary of the sultan of Damagaram in April 14, 2017.



from Katsina who knew, thanks to their genius, to bring their states to the pinnacle by ensuring the economic and socio-cultural development of their country.

## **5 CONCLUSION**

Sultan Tanimoune is really a statesman, builder of the city of Zinder and the State of Damagaram because it is thanks to his global vision of state management and his patriotism that he was able to design and execute major development projects for the city, capital. The execution of these projects allowed him to establish and develop Damagaram as a free and independent State of Borno. In memory of the politico-military acts he carried out, the modern State of Niger named the military camp in the current city of Zinder in his name. All cited works of Sultan Tanimoune make him a visionary leader and fine politician. Tanimoune left a kingdom of more than 70,000 km<sup>2</sup>, part of which was amputated for the benefit of English imperialism during the partition of the area in 1890. Is this not a fundamental reason for the divorce between Damagaram and France?

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