

I.A.I. Cons 2 Bot 2 (4)
Wurkum People of Adamawa Province

Incidents and Customs of the

~~THE~~ KULUNG of
by Wurkum District
Ira E. McBride Adamawa Province
NIGERIA

Origin of Wurkum People

From Bulu (Ba Ta Bulu), February 22, 1927

A long time ago the ancestors of the Kulung lived in the Jukun country, at Kona or Jibu as the Wurkum call it. They were discontented there because of the continual fighting with the Fulani. One of them named MBUR came over across the river to the north of Kona, and found an unoccupied hill which would afford protection from the Fulani. From him the hill and town get the present name, Bambur, i.e.: Ba Mbur, (which may be place of Mbur or children of Mbur, depending on the tone of the Ba.) Being pleased with the place, he went back to Jibu and persuaded three others to return with him to Bambur. These were the first comers. The three who returned with him were Suma, head of all the clans who are Ba Sumas; Luave, head of the Ka Luave clan; and Ngwoba, head of the Ka Ngwoba clan. Ngwoba was the eldest. Those who are Ba Sumas are as follows: Ba Ta Bulu, Ka Gwō, Ba Ta Kiri, Ka Baghara, Ka Sagha, Ka Dwe, Ka Kpala, and Waram.

The first Chief of Bambur was a Ka Gwo, his name was Mburu. He never "Magha soba", i.e., was not officially "coronated". Following him, the Ba Ta Bulu clan has furnished Bambur six Chiefs: Mala, Bulu, Biru, Daba, Jebwo and Baka the present Chief. Under Jebwo was Sala, a Ba Ngai man who was "Tella ga gri" who went "Ga gri" up to Pia country, to Kakala and was there burned alive. The Ka Gwō clan have always had an important place in the selection of a new chief. (Upon the death of Chief Jebwo, his son Jorima was offered the position but he refused and it was given to the present Chief.)

Soon after the three above mentioned ancestors of the Wurkum came to Bambur, they were joined by Nbanalā, who came from the west, although he also had originally come from Jibu. His name comes from the small tinkling bells worn by the Kulung in the dance. He occupied the main peak of the Bambur hill and particularly the East side, sharing the hill with the Ba Kwano people. Nbanalā is the ancestor of the Ba Nbanalā clan and the present "Sarkin Dodo". Bulu tells an interesting story regarding this clan. All the other people on the Bambur hill became old and died in their turn, but the Ba Nbanalā people did not know death and became far more numerous than any other clan, even the Ba Ta Bulus. The old Ba Nbanalā men greatly desired death also. Finally they got together and killed a dog and dressed it up like a man with shirt and cap, and buried it as the other Bambur people buried their dead. When Yamba (God) saw this act He said he would teach them what death was and he killed nearly all of the clan and ever since then they have known death and the clan has been a small one.

Bulu also tells of the origin of the Ba Ngai clan. Ngwobo got a dog and trained it, but his brother Suma chased it away. It went into a hole in the rocks and Ngwoba heard it barking there. He went to see what animal the dog had found in the hole and found a man. He took the man home and Suma wanted to kill him, but Ngwoba said No, he would keep him and train him. Thereafter the man lived in his house as a sort of slave and carried his implements when Ngwobo went to the field. One day in the field they met a Fulani who was going to kill Ngwoba but the man interfered and saved Ngwobo's life. Then Suma admitted that he had "Sugi"ed, and they gave the man the name Ngai, gave him a wife from their own number and put him by the stream

in the part of the town on the hill which now bears his name, Ba Ngai. Hence also the name of his clan and descendants. Ngai planted the "Moloch" tree on top of the hill, which still lives, and even now whenever the Ba Ngai people kill a leopard they bring it up there under that tree for the dance. Bulu speaks of the Ba Ngai people as sons ("Muni") of the Ba Ta Bulus.

Origin of Ba Ngai Clan

From Sarkin Fada of Ba Ngai, February 26, 1927

The first ancestor of the Ba Ngai people was a Pia, and came speaking the Pia tongue. He came to Bambur from the north, and was found in a hole in a rock that juts out on the north side of the hill. He was found by Ngwobo, ancestor of the Ka Ngwobo clan, and by him was taken home. Ngwobo's brother Suma wanted to kill this new comer, but Ngwobo refused to do this, and kept him in his house. After this whenever Ngwobo went to the field, this Pia man went to carry his belongings. Then came war with the Fulani in the plain, and one day the Kulung went out to fight them. They told this Pia chap to stay at home, but he got a spear and followed them. They looked back and saw him following and told him to go back, but he only hid in the grass and then went on after them. In the fight, a Fulani speared Ngwobo and was about to kill him, when the Pia man rushed up and killed the Fulani. They cut off the Fulani's head and carried it back home with much rejoicing and had a big dance to celebrate the event. Suma admitted that he had erred in desiring to kill this man, and they voted him quite a hero. They gave him the name Ngai, hence the present name of the clan Ba Ngai, (Men of Ngai), gave him a wife of their own number and put him near the stream in the little valley which is the present seat of the clan on top of the Bambur hill. There he had many children and the clan grew to its present strength. Ngai also planted a tree on the Ba Kwano part of the hill called the "Ngun Moloch", and this is the place where the leopard dances are still held. Ngai soon learned the Kulung tongue and his children have never spoken Pia.

One of the BaNgai clan, one Sala, father of Sarkin Fada who tells this, became Chief of Bambur. He was at first a sort of under chief under Jebwo, and was Chief of War, but is also supposed to have been the head chief after the death of Jebwo. He was quite instrumental in leading the Government officer against the Pias to the north at the time when Kakala was subdued and partly burned. Later when two Ba Ngai men were made prisoners by the Kakala people Sala went up there personally to release them. When they saw Sala they said, "Good, here is King Sala who led the Dogolamba against us and burned our houses", and they tied him up releasing the two men whom he had come to save. After awhile they took him and piled stones about him and burned him alive. Sarkin Fada says that he personally went to Ibi to tell the Government officer there about this and that the Officer came up with many soldiers and killed twenty Pia men in return. After Sala's death, Baka, the present ruler, became Chief. (In 1906.)

Origin of Ba Nbanalã Clan

(Chief Tsafi, Priest)

From Sarkin Dodo (Ngai) of Ba Nbanalã, March 8, 1927

(Died October 12, 1930)

Sarkin Dodo said that his ancestors were Jukun from Kona (or Jibu) differing from the others who made up Bambur and who were "Kpanã", i.e. of Gateri. At Kona, they were the ones who selected the Jukun Chief, and left there because of a quarrel regarding the same. The first ancestor came and built on top of the hill just beyond Banyam, which they call Gerere, and learned the Kulung tongue from the people there. Later this ancestor moved down to the plain at that place, and that started the first wars

here with the Fulani which continued up to the time of the White men. Because of this war, his ancestor came and built on top of the hill here at what is now Bambur, living first on the place where the Sarkin Dodo's house now stands. When he came he found this hill top covered with trees and the first thing done was to clear a site for a house. That place was selected because of its protection from the Fulani and for the water supply in the stream near by. The clan multiplied until they covered all that hill east of where his main Ba Sali house now stands, and then up the main Bambur knob or the "Ba Kwano", the latter being given them by the Ba Sumas.

One of their ancestors was named Nbanalá, and from him the clan gets its name.

Sarkin Dodo also repeated the story of how the clan found death. At first they did not know death, none of the old people died, but only got older and older. They greatly wanted death, and one day they killed a dog and dressed him up as a man and dug a hole in the ground and buried him. When God saw this, he said he would teach them death and then killed off nearly all of them, so that the clan which was once the largest on the hill became one of the smallest.

Sarkin Dodo says that he has four brothers--Agbo, who lives in a village across the stream next to the rocky knoll called Bam Voila; Sarki or Gerkwa across the stream at the beginning of the Ba Ngai village on the East, and Gateri. (Later became Sarkin Dodo.)

The story of the beginning of the Ba Ngai clan was told practically as given by Sarkin Fada. Ngai, he says, was Pia and not Pero. Part of the Balasa people were Pero, and part always lived there. The wife of Sarkin Dodo is from Balasa, niece of the father of present Chief Kura. Soon after marrying her, Sarkin Dodo went to Kona on a hunt and there killed a large buffalo, the feat upon which a good bit of his fame is built.

History of Ka Lauve Clan

From Aberi of Ka Lauve clan (oldest living member). May 6, 1927.
(Died July 16, 1927)

The Ka Lauve clan gets its name from Lauve, brother of Ngwobo and Suma. These three were the first arrivals in Bamber. Aberi's first explanation was, of course, that Lauve came out of the rocks near the big baobab tree where we sat, but upon having his memory jogged a trifle, he gave a better story. These three brothers, he said, were originally from Kpana, or Gateri. They first went to Jibu or Kona, south of the Benue, and then came here on to this hill. Ngwobo was the eldest. One day his dog found something in a cave on the Barum hill. They investigated and found a creature like a man and asked it if it were a man and it said yes. Sure enough it was. He had come from the north and was a Pia, speaking the Pia tongue. Suma and Lauve wanted to cut off his head, but Ngwobo said no, he would tame him and have him for his slave (Guro). The man followed Ngwobo to the field in the south plain one day and in a fight with a Fulani saved Ngwobo's life. They took the Fulani's head and brought it back home, and the slave, whom they named Ngai, set out a tree called in Wurkum "Malak", and put the Fulani's head on display in it. This tree still stands where the three brothers first lived. After this Ngwobo gave Ngai a Kulung woman for his wife and put him by the stream that makes the valley on the East side of the hill. But Lauve and Suma became angry because a Kulung woman was given to a slave and they got up and moved to a new location on the hill, Lauve locating near the present group of Baobab trees on the south edge, near the foot of Ba Kwano knob, and Suma just west of him. The descendants of these men still live there.

One day Lauve was hoeing in his field at the foot of the hill on the south, and he saw a girl of the Kpana people, returning to her home from a visit at Jibu. He captured her and took her home and gave her as a present to Suma, who married her. But Ngwobo did not like this because he was the elder and thought that he ought to have her. He commanded Suma to send her to him, and a quarrel followed, in which the mother of these three brothers took the part of Lauve and Suma, and left Ngwobo's house and came to live with Suma. This is the first mention of either parent of the three--knowledge of the name of their father is always denied.

Later on two men came from Pau (Zo or Panya) and joined themselves to the Ka Lauve clan. This is why some say that the clan is of Pau origin, when it really was of Kpana.

History of Balasa

From Gerkwa and Agia of the Pigulum Clan.

These two men, with others who agreed with most of what they said, talked freely of their fathers and of Balasa history. Both are quite old men, living far up on top the Balasa mountain; Gerkwa is blind. The following was gotten from them.

The first of their fathers who lived on this mountain were named Nyimlo and Sana, two brothers. Asked who their father was, they were unable to remember for some time and finally said he was called Gwoti. The two brothers lived near each other on the north end of the Balasa hill. There are now two clans named after them, the Ka Nyimlo and Ka Sana. It was denied that these two men came here from anywhere else, they simply originated on top of this hill and bore children.

Balasa was occupied long before any of the Bambur people came. These two men agreed that the most of the Bambur people came from Jibu, most of them originating at Kpana. None of the Balasa people came from the Jukuns. Two clans came from the Piperos, the Ka Nzumo and Ka Gbari. (Note: One of the peaks between the Piperos and Jamnati is called Gbari.) These are now on the north end of Balasa hill and of course speak the Kuni Kulung, being now in no way different from other Balasa folk. One clan came from the Bayeri or Jarawa. A young man in the crowd was pointed out as one of the third generation of this clan. His grandfather married a slave at Jibu and came here where his father was born. Two clans came up from the Benue River; these are called Piu and Figulum, the latter being the clan to which the narrators belonged. Their fathers lived for a time at what is now Sobalingo, opposite Lau, and then came on here, occupying the south or higher end of Balasa. The narrators were not sure where these people came from before that, but thought it was somewhere beyond the Mumuye people. Sometime after the settlement of Balasa, some of the people on the south end of the hill became wearied of the continual wars, and left, going far up the Benue. (Note: This points to a strong connection between these people and the Mbula tribe, the first such that I have found. We know that the Mbula language is very much like the Kulung).

The following Balasa clans were named: Ka Nyimlo, Ka Sana, Ka Nzumo, Ka Jenge, Piu, Ka Fenum, Ka Zerakura, Ka Waghma, Ka Gbari, Ka Gila, Ba Kila, Balgbaba, Ba Da, Ka Mogha, Ka Gare (Chief Kura's), Ka Akuno, Figulum, Ka Madevre, Ka Doro.

The origin of the Kuni Kulung is not known to these men. They say that their fathers spoke it when the Banyam people first came (coming

from the Pias on the north) and taught it to them, and also to the Ba Nbanala clan of Bambur when they lived at Gerere.

From Aberi, April 15, 1927.

Balasa traces its ancestry to two men, Nyimlo and Sana. They are the fathers of the clans which bear their names, and lived on the north end of the hill. They originated on the Balasa hill, that is the end of the tracing. Asked for the name of their father, they said it was Gwoti. Pointing over to the Gwoti hill, about fifteen miles northeast, I asked if they knew its name and they replied instantly that it was called Gwoti, the same as their ancient ancestor. They then said that Gwoti lived on that hill and there were born these two men, Nyimlo and Sana. They got up from there and went north to the Piperos and the Piperos placed them here on this hill. Two men repeated this explanation.

Incident: A large leopard was killed by these people yesterday and the big gwom or signal drum was uncovered and Aberi showed me how it was beaten. He is the one who beats it to give the signal for the "Wala" in the big "Zolla" in the Fall. He said that Nyimlo made this drum, bringing it down from the Piperos when he came; that it was very old and had seen the death of many leopards and of many men too. (It had just been daubed with fresh blood and feathers).

Incident: A smaller drum, carved out of a smaller log about three feet long and a foot in diameter was also being beaten, having a leather head on each end and being held across the knees that the drummer might use both hands at once. I noticed that something was rattling inside and Aberi explained that it was the finger bones and nails of two Tangali men who were cannibals and were killed by their fathers while they still lived up north (pointing) with the Piperos.

History of Balasa

From Sarkin Sambo (Deposed Chief of Balasa and Kerum),
August 6-8, 1927. (Died December 1927)

I visited Sarkin Sambo in his place of exile, Piko, about ten miles west of Kerum, where he has been living since he lost out on his kingship, about eleven years ago. Though now an old man, he has a very keen memory and never tires of talking. Most of this was given piecemeal, and has been rearranged.

Sambo says that the first people who ever came to Balasa, came from the Piperos. He has no doubt of this. The first two clans were the KaNzumo and Ka Gbari. Sana and Nyimlo were the fathers of all the original people, but they were from the Piperos and were the real founders of these two clans. After these two clans others came from other places, so that Balasa is a mixture of many people. Some came up from the river and some came from up beyond the Jukun and Jarawa. He did not know where the Kuni Kulung came from, God just gave it to the first comers, although they all talked the Piperos tongue also. He opposed the idea of their having gotten it from the Jarawa, because the Jarawa came from them and got the language from them. However he also said that their fathers told them that one time a number of Jarawa people came to them from a long way off past the Jarawa and Jukun hills and said they had been driven out by war and asked protection from the Balasa people because they were brothers. After living for awhile at Balasa they moved to their present place in the hills back of Ligri.

Sambo says that the Balasa people never had a chief of any kind until

he started the idea with them and became their first one. His father died when he was only a boy. Although his people never went out into the plain, he made a trip to Muri to greet the Emir there when only a small boy. He took a present of four smithing irons, gotten from the Jukun. He told in detail of this visit, of the glory of the Emir's court and power of the Fulani. The Emir was so astonished at his nerve in coming into the camp of the slavers, that he burst into laughing and said that he should have royal treatment and the keys of the city. He stayed a number of days and saw the gathering of the taxes. A messenger from Sokoto was there with the Emir of Bauchi and a host of slaves, men, women and children, gathered from all over the country were fastened to long chains and started off towards Bauchi. There were twelve Kulung men in slavery at Muri at the time. He named each one and told what happened to them; only one was alive to leave Muri, all the rest died there.

Sambo made three trips to Muri, living there several years, and learning the Fulani tongue. It was probably there that he got the idea of becoming chief of Balasa, although he says that while he was still a boy, the people brought presents to him and gave him honor as one above themselves. He got enough cloth to have a gown made up in Pia country and trousers made at Gateri and a Rouni, and a Muri Fulani helped him. But he put the gown on himself, that is he made himself chief. He admits that there was another man with kingly ambitions but says that he exercised authority over Zhi Kwana which seems to have been more closely related to Balasa than. But even with this admission, Sambo claims to have been the first and original chief of Balasa.

Later he moved to Kerum. His reasons for doing so were indefinite. He forgets how many years he was chief at either place but altogether he was chief of Balasa and Kerum over forty years. He always recognized the power of the Fulani and seems to think he was on very friendly relations with all of them. The Muri Chief later put a gown on him and so did the Emir of Bauchi. He regularly paid tax to Bauchi, through Muri usually, and sent large quantities of food when any of their dignitaries came through. He talks much of Mallam Yakubu of Bauchi. The first white men found him here in power. He says that the white men warred against him seven times.

He names the white men with whom he had dealings as Mister Ibi, Mister Gru and Maisaje, and others whom he does not remember so well. Mr. Groom once made him prisoner at Balasa and he was released after paying a heavy fine. Mr. Groom visited here soon after Sambo came to Kerum and the Shi Kwana chief here, Kula, made the claim to him that he, Kula, was greater than Sambo. This Sambo of course denied emphatically and proceeded to show how he excelled Kula three times over. Thusly: (1) When he first heard of the coming of a big Fulani chief from Sokoto he took a present of a number of goats and chickens and loads of guinea corn to him and so was recognized in return as chief of Kerum; and (2) later when he first heard of the coming of the white man, he sent thirty loads of presents to them clear down to Wase; and (3) when the first white man came to this district and called on the chiefs of the hill tribes to come down to him, he Sambo, was the only one who went. It must have been a very impressive argument.

There seems always to have been a good bit of rivalry between Sambo and the other (Zhi Kwana) chiefs of Kerum. Kula, he says, was the first comer, long before the Balasa man, Luave, and it would seem that the first comer would have had more right as Chief, but not with Sambo. There were frequent quarrels and at least three serious enough to have been called wars, and finally the sixth Zhi Kwana chief became tired of it and left,

going to Darofoi. Sambo says that this chief was Delo (Belo) and not Daro Foi, that Delo died at Mabubu and Daro became chief after him.

Eleven years ago Sambo was removed and ordered to live outside the district, and has since been at Piko. Lately he received permission to visit here, and has lately been at Kerum and Balasa, but his heart is heavy because he cannot return here to live. He is a lonely old man in exile, but with ambitions to return to a greater kingship than ever he had before.

History of Kerum

From Kwoi (Ardo's father) Ka Bana; and Kalmo (Tajera), (Tani's father) Ka Madevere. August 1, 1927.

Kwoi is a Zhi Kwana man while Kalmo is Balasa. In giving this account each was partial to his own place.

They agreed that the first men who came to Kerum were Lauve from the Piu clan of Balasa and Kula of the Ka Kunga clan of Nzhi Kwana. Each was sure that the man of his town came a little previous to the other. Kula was the great grandfather of our house boy, Ardo, his mother being a daughter of Kula's son. Three supposed sons of Lauve live now at the foot of the rocks on the east side of town: Kwiki or Manga, Aberi and Pilagwa. Lauve came here and built his house just above where our house now is, while Kula was farther down the slope. Thus the north side of Kerum has always been Balasa people, and the south Zhi Kwana, Pias are now also found on the north side.

For a long time, Kerum was really two separate towns with two lines of Kings, Zhi Kwana and Balasa.

The following were the seven Zhi Kwana kings:

1 -- Kula. He had formerly been made Tella Ba Nkwana at Zhi Kwana, by the Chief at Muri (Fulani) and was then made king of Kerum by a Fulani named Wurshe.

2 -- Yana (Ka Kunga). He was later made prisoner by a Fulani and sold into slavery.

3 -- Foi (Ka Kunga). Was a son of the first king, Kula.

4 -- Gambo (Ka Kunga).

5 -- Amadu (Ka Kunga). Was brother of Foi.

6 -- Belo, or Delo (Ka Kunga).

7 -- Foi. (Ka Kunga). Also called Daro or Darofoi. Son of Nun. After being king here for awhile, he and a large number of the Zhi Kwana people left Kerum and went to Mabubu, on the road to Muri, in order to find fresh farm land. He is now the present king of Darofoi.

History of Kerum

From Zagha (Puba or Bal Gbaba of Balasa). August 15, 1927.

Zagha moved to Kerum from S. Yamma two years ago and now lives in the old Kerum Barracks. He is of the same clan as Chief Kura of Balasa. He says that the Zhi Kwana chiefs of Kerum were first Kula, then his three sons, Gambo, Foi, and Amadu, and then Delo, son of Gare. Delo moved out

and went to Mabubu and after his death there, the present chief Daro or Darofoi became chief at Mabubu or Darofoi.

Zagha says that Foi saw the coming of the first white men, he being here and having the privilege of entertaining Messers Ibi and Maisaje. Foi was shot by an arrow at Langa, in a quarrel over salt. Amadu was killed with a spear. Delo was chief here when Mr. Groom came.

Zagha himself followed Mr. Groom over a good bit of territory, finally leaving him at Mutum Biyu. Zagha then went to Yola and via Nafada and Gombe to Jos; he says that he was Headman in building ten different barracks around Jos; that he had his wife with him on his journeys for a period extending over ten years; that two of his children were born in his travels; and that he finally returned to Wurkum land and built at S. Yamma, where most of his children live and where he still farms. He is a friendly, cheerful old man.

History of Kerum

From Sarkin Sambo (Ka Pigulum), August 6-8, 1927.

Part of Sambo's account of Kerum history is found in that of Balasa. (See history of Balasa).

He of course was the first Balasa chief here, and saw all six or seven of the Zhi Kwana chiefs come and go. His account of them is found below.

At Kerum he was recognized as chief both by the Emir of Muri and the Emir of Bauchi. Both put gowns on him at different times. Sambo was chief of the Balasa section of town until the departure of Delo to Mabubu, and after that of the whole town. When he was deposed, eleven years ago by his account (which would be in 1916), Maman Wurkun was made chief. About a year later there was an epidemic which took a large number of people, and the chief also. Then the present chief came in.

His list of Zhi Kwana chiefs is as follows:

- 1 -- Kula. The first comer to Kerum. He disputed the authority of Sarkin Sambo before Mr. Groom.
- 2 -- Gambo. Taken as a slave by the Fulani but later released by the Emir at Bauchi and allowed to return as chief.
- 3 -- Foi. Reigned but one year and was then shot with an arrow by a Pyela man.
- 4 -- Amadu. Brother of Foi. Killed by a Kerum man named Zaka, who speared him at instigation of Delo, who then became king.
- 5 -- Delo. Got kingship by putting Amadu out of the way. Had a quarrel with Sambo and the case was taken before "Miser Ho". He later went to Mabubu and died there.
- 6 -- Daro. Became chief of Darofoi or Mabubu upon death of Delo.

History of Kerum

From Sarkin Daro, Chief of Darofoi. August 15, 1927.

Chief Daro should be pretty good authority on the history of Kerum as he belongs to the line of kings there. He is of their Ka Kunga clan of

Zhi Kwana, and is probably about 50 years old.

He gives the following as Chiefs of Kerum: Kula, Yana, Gambo, Foi, Amadu, and Delo.

He says that a man named Zo was first, but that he never reigned or lived at Kerum; he was at Zhi Kwana. Kula was the first comer at Kerum and the first chief. He thinks that Delo was rather foolish for letting Sambo drive him out, and opines that if he, Daro, had been chief there then it would never have happened. He, by the way, is ambitious to become Chief of Kerum at the present time. When Delo was driven out he came to Mabubu, the present Darofoi. He died twelve years ago, and a year later, (1916) Daro was brought from Zhi Kwana and made Chief of Darofoi in his place. This he says was the same year that Sambo was deposed. Mr. Groom placed the robe on him in the presence of the King of Muri at Mutum Biyu, and soon after invited Sambo to spend the rest of his life in the fields. I notice that he and others often refer to Sambo as "No na foa".

Before becoming Chief here, Daro says that he spent seven years with the Fulani at Muri, and speaks their language, evidently quite fluently. He says that he was always friendly with the Fulani and did not have to fear slave raids as did Bambur and Kwonchi. Daro at the present time owns about a dozen cattle and three horses; the cattle at least would show Fulani influence because the Kulung as a rule have no earthly use for bovines.

History of Baraia

From Joro, Sarkin Baraia. August 17, 1927.

Joro, or Baraia, is the fifth chief of his people, and says that his ancestors came from Wukari, being pure Jukun. The first comer was a man named Kula, and he was followed or accompanied by four others. They left Wukari because of jealousy of the Wukari King. He does not remember of having heard the name of that king, or of the men who accompanied Kula.

Coming from Wukari, they came to the end of the high ridge running west from Banyam, and located on the knob called Lokoma. There were no others on the ridge at that time, he says, but there were people at Balasa and Bambur and at Banyam. Later Pias came from the north, settling on the end of this ridge. Just to the right of these "Baraia" people were Pias called Kyana, occupying the top of the Lokoma knob, the Jukun being on the east side of the knob. These Kyana Pias later left and went north and now live in a village called Kyana, which lies northwest of Kerum, between Gora and Dani. These and other Pias influenced the Jukun, they intermarried with them and the Jukun tongue was forgotten and Pia adopted. But today they deny that they are Pia, they are Kulung. Joro himself hears Kuni Kulung very well, but refused to talk it, answering always in Pia. But all of the people there talk both Pia and Kulung; Pia probably predominating.

Dara, son of Kula, was the first chief of these Jukun. He was made chief by the Sarkin Gbana, the Jukun town in the west part of Muri division. Following him his three sons, Gyane, Mutari (Baraia), and Kindau, respectively, were the Chiefs. Upon the death of Kindau, Joro, the present Chief, was placed in authority. He is a nephew of Kindau, his father having been killed by elephants at Kpaia. Joro, also called Baraia, was made chief by the Sarkin Jalingo at Jalingo on the same day as was the Chief of Bambur. This, he says, was 19 years ago.

History of Ba People

From Ngya of the Ba Da clan of Kwonchi. March 18, 1927.

Ngya, a brother of Galidima Ntai of Kwonchi, says that the Ba people are first of all no relation of the Kulung who came from Jibu. The Ba people came from a hill far to the north called Kpaia. They left there because of wars with the Dungali (Tangali), and came down past Gbwandum, not stopping there, and to the north side of the Kwonchi hill. Ngya denies that they are Pero, although admitting that the language is very similar. (He does not speak the Ba tongue.) After the imprisonment of the Kulung chief of Kwonchi, So, the Government Officer, picked a Ba man as chief. Upon his death, the present chief, his son, Yeli, was selected. Soon after he showed signs of leprosy and now he and all his household are afflicted by the disease, with at least five of his sons being in advanced stages of leprosy. (Yeli died 1938).

Because of wars between the Ba and Kulung, one of the British government officers, Mr. Groom, ordered all the Ba people to vacate the main hill top and most of them moved over to the hill top to the north, now known as Wala, and many over to the east to Baria. The Chief's clan, of course, lives at the foot of the west side of the hill by the stream known as Kyel Muga. During this dry season most of the people of Wala have moved away, some founding a new village down on the plain, and some going to Baria, and some going north to Gero. Only three houses remain. This year about twenty Kulung speaking Ba's, headed by Mallam Duna, returned to Kpaia.

History of Bã^(Bang) People

From Baria (or Baraia), headman of the village of Baraia. A Bã man, about 45 years old. March 17, 1927.

Baria says that his ancestors came out of the rock on the south side of the Gbwandum hill at a place known as Ligiri. The place is a deep hollow, surrounded by high steep mountains. The stream known as Digasok came out first, with their ancestors, and still flows down through the land occupied by them. There were two brothers called Toma and Batoma, who parted there and came southward, one of them, Toma, occupying the top of a high steep hill to the west of Jannati peak, called Gwoti. From him all the Ba people descended. Ba Toma went to Jannati and is their father, so the Ba people and the Jannatis are related. As the Ba people multiplied they occupied the ridges to the west of Gwoti and finally the main ridge of the Kwonchi hill. From here however they were driven by the order of Mr. Groom and then occupied Wala and Baria.

Baria says that he was born on top of the Gwoti hill and had two sons of his own there. His father still lives on the west ridge of that hill, and each year goes back to Ligiri, where his ancestor originated, to sacrifice there.

Also, the Jannati people deny that they are blood relatives of the Ba because when the white man first came they were afraid that if they admitted that Batoma and Toma were brothers, they would be given to the Ba people.

History of Bã

From Ngya of Ba Da, March 18, 1927.

Mallam Duna, who has just led the exodus to Kpaia, is a Ba man who went to Bornu school six years ago and who has been a Mallam at Mutum Daya for the past three years. Ten years ago he was sent by Sarkin Yeli of

Kwonchi to arrest a Ba Da man named Djen, who had killed a Fulani man who drove his cattle too close. Duna went after him but he too was speared by Djen, who seems to have been very free with his spear throwing. Duna however was not killed, the spear going clean through his thigh. Djen has just come back (in February 1927) from serving ten years in Lokoja prison.

History of Kwonchi

From Ngya of Kwonchi Ba Da, March 18, 1927.

The Kulung on Kwonchi came from Jibu, but came originally from Kpana. A number of their ancestors came across soon after Bambur was founded and built on the Kwonchi hill. Others joined them from Bambur. They were also joined by the Ba people who came later from the north and settled on the main ridge. There was continual war between them until Mr. Groom ordered the Ba people off that hill.

The first two Kings of Kwonchi under the British government were Kulung and the next two were Ba. The first was Kala. Upon his death his brother So became chief. During So's reign four Fulani Mallams from Karim who were taking the census, were killed. Because of this a Government officer came and burned many of the Kwonchi villages from Tel Ndaku clear around to So's house. Five men were taken, one was hanged on a large Ndel tree near So's house in the presence of all the people. The Ndel tree was pointed out-- it stands in a hollow about three hundred yards below the house of Mallam Audu. Another of the murderers was hanged down on the plain and three at Ibi.

Chief So was later taken into custody for slaving, he having taken two adults and two boys and sold them to the north. He and some of his household were taken and tried and So died in prison at Lokoja. The first Ba man was then taken and appointed King. So had several sons, three of them being strong Mohammedans. One, a mallam, was killed by a spear at Bauchi several years ago; another mallam has been teaching a school at Mutum Daya; Audu has been imprisoned several times for various misdeeds (he is the one most desirous of being Chief after his father); and another son, a pagan, still lives in his father's house. Chief So's house occupied a prominent place on a commanding rise on top the Kwonchi hill, his yard being nearly an acre in extent. The silk cotton trees and the "Baro" trees which he planted around the spirit house still stand. There is now also a young date palm which Audu planted three years ago. So was not a Mohammedan but remained pagan until his death.

Ngya says that for many years the Kwonchi paid tribute to the Fulani at Bauchi, because this was in Bauchi's territory. This was a yearly tax of food only. He remembers as most prominent in this tax collection one Mallam Yakubu, who also made the road which follows the south side of these hills. Mallam Yakubu first came through with a large number of Fulani whom he led through Lamurdi and Numan to Yola, and leaving part of them there he returned later to Bauchi by way of the Tangali hills. The tax was finally discontinued and they were free from taxation until the coming of the white men. Ngya says that he went through the country with "Maisaje" following him to Gwomu and witnessing the battle there and was given two goats for his pains.

Kwonchi gets its name from the first Ba man who came here, who came, as did the present chief's forbears, direct from Kpaia, and not by way of Gwoti.

PIA HISTORY

Ba Kpara (or Angbara)

From Chief Ba Kpara, September 14, 1927.

Ba Kpara is the Kulung name from Angbara. Their language is Pia, or Pok Walo. These people are quite distinct from their neighbors on the east, Angule, although they had the same origin, that is, Gbwandum. In the old days they had continual war with Angule.

The Angbara people came from the Piperco town, Gbwandum, moving south to the mountain called Panji, about eight miles straight south. Later on they left Panji and moved to Balasa, living near a cove called Gbara, or Kpara, on that mountain. Later the Balasa people took them and put them on the Angbara hill, southwest of Angule. Because of this relation with Balasa, they never warred with them and still call them their brothers, and most of them now speak the Kulung language, in addition to their own, Pia.

* The Chief tells this story in connection with their living on Panji. The hearts of the main Angbara people were one with Yamba (God). But the people did not die; therefore they could not have any "Beer for the dead". Other people, called "Paghta", did die and had "Beer for the dead". But the Paghta people were bad, their hearts were not one with Yamba. The Paghta people had "Beer for the dead", and the Angbara people went over to drink it with them. But the Paghtas refused and chased them away. So the hearts of the Angbara were not sweet. So one day they took a dog, killed him and buried him, just as if it were a man. Then they made "Beer for the dead". When Yamba saw this he was angry with them. He told them they had sinned. He said, "What is this, you take a dog that would have eaten your body if he found you in the bush, and you bury him like a man and make "Beer for the dead! You want death, do you? All right, you shall have death." Then the three men who buried the dog died and many others died too, and it seemed that Yamba would kill them all because of their sin. Only one, one, one lived, and these left Panji and came to Balasa. They have had death ever since.

The Paghta are a clan from Angule. Those who heard the story at Angbara, told me at Angule, when I found this clan, that these were the bad ones mentioned in that story. But the Paghtas of Angule said they had never lived at Panji. So if this incident happened there, the Paghtas must have been still living at Gbwandum, as before they came to Angule. However, now they are in a small village on the west side of Angule, nearest the Angbara.

The Chief says that when his father was chief, about fifteen years ago, the D.O. Mr. Groom drove them off their hill of Angbara, and forbade them living there, because it was their habit to waylay and kill all passing Hausas and take their goods. Since then they have scattered, La Ba, Gbaigha, and other villages being their people entirely with many more living in Wia, Dongoro and Kerum.

Angbara (Laba)

From Sarkin La Ba and older brothers, August 31, 1927.

Told of origin, practically same as that of chief of Angbara, with less detail. Did not mention living at Panji. Said Angbara meant the men

* (Compare this story with that told by Sarkin Dodo, Bambur, regarding the coming of Death to them.)

living near the Cave, or Men of the Cave, although he said this did not necessarily mean that they lived in the cave, but only close to its mouth.

Said Laba was so called because the first man who came down there off the Angbara hill began to hoe his field in the Fall, and the name was thus derived.

The present chief has a deformed face, twisted to one side. He lives part way up the hill, to the left of the road as you go up to Ba Kpara and Angule.

Angbara

From Dauhd (Alkali), September 17, 1927.

Alkali is our language teacher, teaching his tongue, the Pia. He says that Mr. Groom drove them off the hill, about 15 years ago. He himself moved down to the sand on the East for seven years, and, with others, then moved back to the Angbara hill for two years. Then the D. O. again chased them off. This time he moved down to Laba where he has lived for six years.

Angule

From Chief of Angule (Alkali of Angule), September 15, 1927.

Angule, called also Bakule by the Kulung, is the name of both a mountain and the tribe living on it, about twelve miles northeast of Kerum and the same distance northwest of Bambur.

The founders of Angule came directly from Gbwandum, being Piperu. The Ainyaghara clan came first, with the Peina. They asked the Spirit of the Mountain, "Patu", if they could camp there. Ainyaghara raised his voice and said, "Spirit, he is talking to you, don't you hear him?" The Spirit answered, "What does he want?". "He asks you if he can sleep here". "To", answered the Spirit, "Sleep here". So they have slept here ever since.

Now the Ainyaghara clan hears and translates the voice of the spirit in the night time, but if he speaks in the day time the Andamin clan hears. These are the clans of Angule:

Anguderu, Paghta, Baginge, Pugeru, Kyana, Andamin, Kpaige, Peina, Pigenu, and Ainyaghara.

The Chief says that whenever the Piperues killed a man, they always took his hands and feet down to Balasa.

He says that the Ba Kpara, (Angbara), people are entirely different from Angule, and that there was continual war between them in the olden days.

KULUNG BELIEFS

Yogha Ngun (The Boaconstrictor Snake)

From Sarkin Bambur, February 5, 1928.

Incident:--Making inquiry as to the cause of the death of Yimu, a young man of our acquaintance, the Sarkin Bambur told me this:

A number of years ago his older brother Bauchi killed a Yogha Ngun, which, from the description always given, I judge to be the Boaconstrictor. He said the snake was about twenty feet long and larger than his thigh. The

eldest brother of the family, Gungum, cooked the snake as was the right of the elder, and although he cooked it for a long time it would not get done and he could not eat it. Then the snake entered the body of his wife, and she bore a son called Yimu. But it seems that they always knew that Yimu was not a human child but a Yogha Ngun. He looked just like a human, but that snake is always clever enough to appear to be a man. It is a very bad snake. So Yimu grew to be a man and married and carried for us a number of times and was always very friendly, but all the time he was a Yogha Ngun. Then last month when the smallpox was so bad here, he began to act strangely and finally went off down to Djen. From there he sent word for his brother to come and carry him home as he could not walk, being quite ill. Four men went to get him, two of them being his cousins, a brother of his father-in-law, and a Pia man named Dan Damisa. They carried him home to Bambur, and that night the Chief says he told him and his father and a number of others--"Mbanam"--I'm going. Next morning he was dead. Asked what he meant when he said he was going and where he went, the Chief answered that he meant going Tagh--going to Yamba, and that was where he went. I note that when he is mentioned all the men say "He went" and not "He died" or "He Fell", or other terms usually used. Only when held down with pointed questions do they say that he is dead.

But the work of the snake goes on. Sometime ago a cousin of Yimu, Jatau, son of Ngya, younger brother of Gungum, Bauchi, and the Chief, complained that he could feel the snake wrapping itself around his arms and legs. He was finally taken over to his father's house, and still continued to be worried by what seemed to be the snake winding itself tightly around him. His neck is drawn back and his hands held stiffly in front of him and he seems dead from his waist to his neck. The snake is slowly choking him. (Later he recovered.)

Hunting Customs. Tying the Mbia

At Kwonchi on March 18, 1927, I saw the following: My friend Ntai had killed a small Ngya antelope a few days before and his father had cooked its head in a large pot. On this morning Ntai with his brother went to his father's house, asking me to come inside with them. The old man took the cooked antelope head out of the pot and laid it on a board. Ngya, the brother, produced a leaf of Mbia (a small palm), and some red powder, crushed "Tal Levi" rock. The old man then split the palm leaf and tied one strip about the antelope's nose. He rubbed his finger over the bottom of the pot and with this spot, made a mark on the animal's face, above the palm strip, and then one below, longitudinally. He then put his finger in the Tal Levi powder and made similar marks over the soot marks. Ntai came forward and held out his right arm. The performance was repeated on his arm, the tying of the palm strip, the other half being used, then the marks above and below with the soot and red powder. As soon as it was finished, he leaned back and carelessly broke the strip from his arm, although this did not seem to be part of the ceremony. The head was then divided, the other strip being loosened in the action, and they proceeded to the feed. When cleaned, the skull was placed in a small tree, "Ngun Gum", near by. The antelope had been killed three days, shot by an arrow.

These trees, loaded with animal skulls, stand in front of nearly every Kulung house. Usually it is the Ngun Gum, a small, gnarled, shrub-like tree, with few leaves. The Moloch tree also serves the same purpose, although the skulls are sometimes out on the house roof or on the mats around it, or on pegs stuck in the walls inside the courtyard. The Sarkin Dodo has a number fixed in the last mentioned manner.

A Gum tree stands near our hut on the Bambur hill. During the last Ba Sali worship, a strip of Mbia palm leaf was tied around its trunk and a piece of Nza rope just below it. Mala, the man living nearest, said a chicken was killed on the rock at its foot at the same time, and pointed out the blood marks.

When the leopard was killed on Balasa (April 1927), the skull was placed in a moloch tree in this manner.

Hunting with Nets

From Bulo (Ba Ta Bulo) Wada and his brother Deba (Ka Lauve),
October 13, 1928.

All agree that the art of hunting with nets as practiced at Bambur was introduced by people from Pau (Zo and Panya). A man living here now, called Kpara, a Pira man of Kwonchi, but originally from Pau, brought it here. All the rules are also from Pau.

On the day of the hunt it is not necessary to ask the Ba Sali god for a favorable date. It is only necessary to get a group of men together, preferably after a rain, so tracks may easily be seen. They get the stakes and nets (woven from Za fiber with meshes from four to six inches across) which are usually kept in trees some distance from the houses so as to be free from human scent. When a favorable piece of bush is reached the nets are put down by the path while the hunters scout around to find fresh tracks. They then gather again to report and the exact selection of the place for the drive is made. The section is surrounded in a huge circle, depending on the number of men, with the nets arranged on one side of the circle only. The nets are arranged on long stakes, brought for the purpose, and present a wall about six or eight feet high, stretching through the grass for some distance.

One old man, or sometimes two or three if the hunt is a large one, are sent into the circle to beat the grass and drive the animals out. If the animal runs back toward the circle of men they attempt to spear it as it goes through the line. The main object is to drive it toward the nets, and all yell "kye do, kye do, kye do". Any antelope or cat, etc., trying to get through the net is quite certain to become entangled, and knocking the net down it becomes more so as the net falls on top of it and the net men run in to hold it and kill it, either with clubs, axes, or spears. It is then taken out, left on the ground, and the net raised again in hopes of getting another. The throat of an animal caught in a net is not cut. It is left lying where it fell while the hunt moves on to another place. Not until evening is someone sent to get it and take it home for cutting up. It is said that buzzards will not eat such an animal until the hunters go home.

At the end of the hunt the animal is divided thus:

Owner of net - - - - -	Rear leg and skin
Killer - - - - -	Rear leg, entrails, chest, and head
Stake carrier- - - - -	Neck
First to sieze animal- - - - -	Front leg
Tracker- - - - -	Front leg
Carrier of meat- - - - -	Loins and three ribs

Prohibitions on Net Hunting

Certain strict regulations must be kept, the breaking of which will spoil the usefulness of the net for further hunting. They are:

The throat of the animal must not be cut.
The meat must not be dried in the sun.
The skin must not be dried in the sun, but in the house.
If, while the meat is cooking in the pot, the cook looks in with a torch and some of the ash falls in, it must not be removed.
If the pot is taken from the fire and set on the ground it must not be moved again until sundown.
A woman must not take any of the meat out of the pot for herself.
A woman may not eat any of the meat excepting the head, and this not until a man has touched the meat with his finger and tasted it.
No meat must be given away to outsiders.
No one may eat of it excepting those accustomed to eating in the same calabash with the one who has the meat.
If the eater says "I'm finished", neither he nor any one else may eat any more of the meat.
The owner may not sell any of the meat if he has said "I will not sell any".
During the hunt no grass must be pulled up.

Any of these things are "Gila"--prohibited or taboo. To remove the taboo, there are two methods:

- 1--One head of guinea corn is given. This is shelled in the hand and eaten by the hunters at the next hunt.
- 2--Leaves of the "Du" tree are taken by the hunters at the next hunt and thrown on the ground.

This further rule holds. If a leopard is killed in the net, the leopard call "Wala" must not be given. All the hunters gather round; one is sent to run to the house and take a chicken. He throws the chicken on the path that the hunters will come on and then gives the call "Gwal wala". Then all may shout.

Incident: In a hunt at Bambur in October 1928, Nanai killed a "Njika" buck. He had been the borrower of the net, and was near enough to hit the animal with a club. I watched the meat being cut up and divided as per the above rules. I know they were kept faithfully because I got none of the meat.

Division of Spoils

Incident: During the summer of 1925 a large bush cat, a "Luruk", was seen by the daughter of Gungum, in the rocks just back of our house at Bambur. She called out so that a number of people came running, and with a club chased it up the rocks behind her house. Her brother hit it with a spear, but the spear fell out again. An old man from 'Angula' threw his spear which hit it and stuck. Mapindi then caught the animal by the tail and held it. It was divided in this way: The girl who saw it first and gave the alarm, got nothing. Her brother whose spear did not stick, got nothing. The man whose spear stuck in claimed the animal. He gave the skin and front leg to Mapindi, for first catching hold of the animal. Mapindi sold me the skin for ten pence. The old man ate the animal, and the next day sold the scent bag to Ato for ten pence.

Incident: In 1924 I shot a small antelope, "Njika", near Gidan Garo. I found that one foot was caught in a rope trap. I cut the animal's throat and hung it up in a high fork of the tree. When I told the people of Garo of it, they laughed at my idea of honesty, and said that I should have taken the skin and one front leg and hung the remainder in the tree for the owner. They argued that the animal might have gotten its foot out of the rope as they frequently do, and that by killing it, I made sure that the trapper would have his meat. The trapper was evidently not so honest,

because I was there a couple of days, and when he came to see the trap he could tell that the antelope had been shot with a bullet and would have known that I was there and had done it, but he did not bring me my share.

Incident: (May 24, 1927) While at Dan Fulani's house in Banyam, a dog chased a monkey up a Ndiel tree. We all ran between the tree and the rocks, and surrounded it, while one chap climbed the tree and shot the monkey with an arrow. It fell onto a lower branch and another lad speared it but the spear fell out as the animal struck the ground where it was knocked in the head. When it was divided, I found that the chap who had shot it had skinned it and taken the skin and the right front leg; the lad who speared it took the entrails, but all the rest was sent over to another village. The dog who had chased the monkey up the tree belonged to a man of this village, a Balasa man, so the monkey was sent to him. He was absent at the time. Although the men who killed it made the division this way, they grumbled because, as they said, the Balasa man's dog would never have gotten the monkey alone.

Incident: (February 16, 1927) In Bulo's hunt, I found a number of men with the front legs of animals and their skins. In each case the men explained that they had been the first to catch hold of the animal after another had speared it, and this had been given them as their rightful portion. There were probably twenty or thirty animals killed in this hunt, and as far as I could learn by observation and questions, this custom was kept in every case. At no time during the three days hunt did any man claim any part of the animal if his spear or arrow had fallen out before the animal died. It might have been hit by several such weapons, but none of them counted. There were no disputes over the division of the spoil during the hunt.

Incident: (April 18, 1927) In the big Ka Lauve hunt which ended today, a number of men showed the front legs and skins of animals. I questioned a number and in each case they had been the first to catch hold of the animal after it had been shot by someone else.

Gungum answered that his big dog had caught hold of a crippled antelope and held it down, so he was given the same portion, just as if he had gotten hold of it himself.

Galidima reported that his dog had caught and held an antelope, therefore he got the entire animal.

At Killing of a Leopard April 14, 1927.

Incident: We were camped on top of Balasa today and about noon heard the leopard call, relayed from the north. The leopard call is the usual "Wala", the staccato shriek mostly by the women. All who heard it took it up so that in a very few minutes it passed over the entire country. Then there was a pause, an effort to determine if a leopard had only been seen or if it had been killed. It was said that the call might have been given for a hyena also, but more likely a leopard. Particularly the blowing of the horns was listened for--this would indicate that the animal was killed. Soon however the news was relayed by shouting that the leopard had been killed at Kala, a village several miles north, and that they were bringing it up to the mountain.

All of the men, old and young, immediately siezed all the fighting weapons and ran to meet it. The procession came up in about two hours.

The animal, a huge male, was borne on the shoulders of two men. It had killed eight goats at Kala that morning and had been tracked down and killed, three men being hurt in the scrap. The hero of the occasion was a young man who drove an arrow into its neck, he being then counted as the killer, as the poison of the arrow would have killed it. Another had driven a spear into the shoulder, and one man met the beast in a head-on charge and drove his spear clear through its head so that the point stuck out its neck below the chin.

Followed by a large crowd, the leopard was carried up to the top of the north end of the Balasa hill and thrown down on top a large sacrificial stone, under a Moloch tree. The stone was already smeared with blood of other animals and the tree was full of skulls. Two old men stepped out of the ring and addressed first the animal and then the other elders, proposing the course to follow. An agreement was reached. First it was to be taken to another tree, about fifty yards away, a Banyan tree, where there was a speech and much yelling. Then it was brought back to the stone. Ten young men were lined up on a leg, the first being the chap who drove in the first arrow, the second the one who "caught the foot", and the others those who were in the fight. Flour was brought and one of the old men smeared it on the forearms of these ten. The rest was then mixed with water, and beginning with the killer each in turn took one mouthful, spat it out on his right, took another and spat it out on his left, took still another and spat it out between his knees and passed the calabash on to the next. When all had finished it was started back, but before it got clear back, one chap took a long pull and finished it.

The leopard was then cut up, with much discussion as to whose knife was sharpest. The whiskers were pulled out or cut off and piled on a rock at its head, and to this were added the genital glands, the heart, and liver. The principal old man cut a line around the skin well above each foot and around the neck back of the ears. No thought seemed to be had of preserving the skin whole--it was taken off roughly, slit down the middle and the hind legs, the forelegs peeled off. Then the naked animal was laid out on his back, and struck in the solar plexus with the flat of the head Skinner's knife. He then neatly stuck the point in where he had slapped. The entrails and internal organs were taken out and cleaned for eating. The right front leg, the part belonging to the man who had first "caught the foot", was then cut off, close to the body, with all the muscles that could possibly belong to it. The man receiving it retired a short distance with his relatives, and laying the leg out on a rock addressed it in a sort of triumph chant with loud shouts for the chorus. The left leg was taken off and a similar procedure followed by another group, this time a bunch of Pias. The rest of the carcass was then put aside for the big feed of the old men next day.

I did not attend, but the feed was held the next day. All the Balasa old men from far and near came, so that some told me there was only a mouthful for each. I do not know that the man who killed the animal got anything, although I believe the skin would be hung in a tree or similarly presented to his god at his own house. I was told that the skull would be placed in the Moloch tree where he was cut up.

Funeral Customs:

From Janga, June 27, 1927.

As soon as a person has died, the old men, most closely related to the family, are sent for to dig the grave. A person is nearly always buried as soon as possible after death. The women, the mother or sisters or other relatives or friends, bathe the body, be it either male or female.

They also continually flex the arms and legs so that the joints will not stiffen. No explanation for this is given except that it makes the body easier to bury, the grave being very small. The death wail is begun as soon as death comes and continued for several hours. A mother usually returns to her father's house after the death of a child, wailing all the way. Janga said he knew nothing of the grave or how the body was laid.

A number of pots, gourds, etc., are broken in front of the door of the dead person's hut. On the following day the people of the immediate family and close relatives sit at the door, mourning "Dob a kun da". On the third day they take an axe and shave off the wood from a "Ngun Bagha", i.e., the ladder-like stick by which they enter their graineries, and soak these chips in water, and then wash their hands in this water. On the fourth day they shave their heads and bathe. This ends the main period of mourning, although sometime later an offering is made at the "Ba Sali" house for the deceased.

From Observation.

Incident: While at Banya in June 1924, a baby died next door to where I was staying. The wailing lasted only until morning and the family shaved their heads and bathed themselves that day.

Always after a death one sees the broken calabashes and pots in front of the door. Usually it is the following: A large water pot (Mbyeghe), a water carrying pot (Tela), a cooking pot (Ngwari), a gourd cup (Mun ku mul), a gourd water bottle (Mbosok), and a wide-mouthed pot. This has been observed for both men and women. A pot is often broken on top of the grave also, but this is in addition to those broken in front of the house.

Incident: (July 14, 1927). About 8 o'clock this morning Jato came to tell me that Njere had just died. Njere, son of Bulo, a Ba Ta Bulo, had been sick for about four months, supposedly because of having taken sweet potatoes from a field of Kauje's, guarded by a "Kaghla Kumbu". It was what is known as "Pughurum". I would say that his sickness was the result of an infected ulcer on his ankle and the enforced inaction.

I went immediately, arriving at the house probably twenty minutes after death had taken place. The old men had already begun to dig the grave, at the edge of the corn field, about ten yards from the door. Galidima Kyebe and another were doing most of the work; Bulo his father (really uncle) was squatting by.

The entrance hut held about a dozen women, most of them sobbing quietly. The genuineness of their grief struck me instantly; there was no wailing whatever until the body was taken out to the grave. The body was on the mat where he had lain, but in a sitting posture, being held up by a woman on a stool, holding it between her knees and with her hands covering the mouth and eyes. Several men were also in the hut and way was made for me. All seemed pleased that I had come and continually mentioned things that I had done for Njere. They motioned toward the body and said "There he is! There is Njere. Just look at him". The same sort of expression was used a number of times as newcomers, especially relatives, entered. Quite frequently they addressed the body directly, just as if it understood. The limbs were frequently flexed. Then the mother brought water and aided by his sisters and aunts washed the body thoroughly. I knew that during the four months of his illness he had not had a bath. His hair, which had grown quite long, was shaved off. Following the washing, his mother brought oil and, aided by the others, rubbed it on the front of the body and limbs and the top of the head. They continued

addressing the body while doing all this.

Then the men came in and said the grave was ready. Bulo took the newly washed breechcloth and tied it in place. He also took a new strip of white native cloth of similar quality and tied it around the head, and then carefully closed the eyes. Then as two younger men took up the body the women who had been sobbing broke out into wailing.

The grave was elliptical, running north and south, about a foot wide and two feet long, slightly wider at the south end. It was about three or four feet deep, and enlarged somewhat at the bottom. A grass stem was placed crosswise over the opening. The body was carried out by Amali and Baka, feet first. Some of the women, wailing loudly, followed half way to the grave, and were scolded by Bulo for coming so close. Still carried feet first, the body was taken twice around the grave, counter-clockwise. Galidima had already thrown away the grass stem and taken his place in the hole. With his help the body was then let down into it, feet toward the south, and doubled up as it entered. When in position, a small mat was placed over it, and the dirt placed back in with the aid of a calabash, Galidima doing this. The dirt was firmly stamped down, and nearer the surface was pounded down with a stone, and the spot leveled off. I then left.

Njere was a lad about seventeen years old, an orphan, but adopted by his uncle, Bulo. Several days ago he was taken over to Galidima's place, near by, and then over to Waram, a mile or more distant, and was brought back late last night. No doubt this exposure brought on his death.

Smallpox

From Galidima of Kerum, July 31, 1927. *

Incident: Today I was visiting in the town where there had been a case of smallpox, but the patient was said not to be there. I made inquiries and the Galidima explained that the woman had been taken out into the bush today. He said this as if it demonstrated that she was on the road to recovery and not given up as hopeless. He said that she had had it in the house for a number of days, and now was taken out so that others would not get it too. Asked why she was not taken out as soon as the disease was noticed, he answered that she certainly would have died then because the pox must not be exposed to the wind, but the patient must be shut up in the house.

In this case the woman was taken out away from the town and put under an overhanging rock, and two men stayed with her to give her food and water. He thought she would be brought back in a few days if she fully recovered. He said that either one, two, or three persons might be left with the patient.

About two months ago when there was an outbreak of smallpox here, one lad was said to have been taken out into the bush about four or five miles east of here and left there unattended. Those who told me this did not know if he had died or recovered.

Eku

From Bulo (Ba Ta Bulu), March 15, 1927.

The Eku was not original with the Kulung, but was introduced from the Pia's on the North. A certain number of men in each clan have the Eku spirit, they are Eku men. Some clans have but one, some have five or six. When one of these men dies, his spirit does not immediately go

"Tak" (East) to Yamba, but goes to Eku, in the spirit house. There it remains until the period when the people "Ta" (worship) Eku. This follows the main season of Ba Sali worship. For a long time previously they have been blowing the Eku horns. (To nzehi-gi). These are animal horns, cut off and thrust into hollow sections of bamboo about four feet long, which are blown, the sound carrying for a long distance. Beer is then taken to the spirit house where the Eku dwells along with the spirits of the Eku men. Then led by one or more men blowing Eku horns, the crowd goes from house to house. As the sound of the horn comes near a house, all the women and girls hide inside. The crowd stops and some bring out the beer from the house while the rest blow and dance. In each house there is one pot of beer which has been set aside and sealed up for this occasion. If any woman drinks of this before the Eku has what he wants of it, she is cursed and will become sick and finally die unless at some time soon she makes some special beer to atone and offers one sheep to the Eku. After the Eku crowd have drunk and gone on, the women may have any that is left. This period of worshipping the Eku frees the spirits of the "Eku" men who had died during that year so that they may now go to Yamba in the East.

Eku Worship as seen in Bambur June 28, 1925.

This period of Eku worship followed immediately the main period of Ba Sali worship. We were spending a week on the hill at that time and so were very close to the people during both. I saw the crowd of Eku worshippers at a number of houses. Besides one blowing the horn, there were twenty or thirty men and boys in the crowd. No women were to be seen. While some were drinking beer at a house, others danced. The dancing was done with sandals on the feet. It was a sort of enthusiastic jigging, with much fast and furious foot-slapping on the ground. Each man, especially the older ones, was anxious to show that he excelled the others of his crowd. There were a number of Pitiko men present.

Ba Sali

From La tiro Bulo (Ba Ta Bulo) and Gateri (Ba Nbonalon), May 20, 1933.
(Both very old men)

As usual, their first definition or explanation of Ba Sali is "Ba Sali is God (Yamba)." "He is one with Yamba." Pressed further they agree that Ba Sali is the spirits of their fathers. This agrees with the definition gotten from a number of old men here and also gotten by Rev. Arnold lately at Kerum. Bulo and Gateri say that Ba Sali is not only the spirits of all their "Fathers" in Bambur, but also of all those dead in Balasa, Kona, Mumuye, Gwomu, and everywhere. All make one Ba Sali. They explain that Ba Sali is an intermediary between Yamba and man. Yamba is far off "a Tak" (in the east). He has put Ba Sali here on earth to represent Him. We invoke Ba Sali to give us health and blessing. He intercedes with Yamba for us.

When a man dies his spirit will probably remain near his home. It may sit in a tree near by. On the third day some of his brothers or relatives will take a chicken which has been tied under the deceased's bed since the death and will carry it to the sacred grove--the "Da (house) Ba Sali". Also called the "Kuni Jen" (edge of a wall), the place being enclosed with a low wall of rocks. Here the chicken is killed. The belief is that the dead man's spirit will enter the body of the chicken while tied in the house, and is thus carried to the Da Ba Sali and released. Henceforth it is at rest in this place of Ancestral Spirits. Then all relatives, men and women, gather at the dead man's house for the "Moa Muru" (shaving the heads) and purification bath, following which all the men take food (Kwokh) to the Da Ba Sali for the farewell ceremony. (Described elsewhere.)

From Janga, a Ba Ta Bulu, March 23, 1927.

Incident: Today Janga's wife, Madugu, who gave birth to a daughter yesterday, was standing by the wife of Janga's brother, Maidaki. The other woman was putting her baby on her back in order to tie it in the "Kambi" or baby carrier. As she slung it over her shoulder her hold on its arm slipped and it fell backwards. Madugu put out her hand and caught the baby against the other woman's back thus saving it from the fall. For this Madugu was instantly accused of "Ewon Nyili", i.e., breaking one of the taboos of the Nyili. It was demanded of Janga, as her husband, that he make sacrifice to atone for the act. This may be a chicken, or food, or goats, and much beer, sometimes lasting as long as two years. Having lately become a Christian, Janga refused. Finally it was demanded that he at least give a small gift of beni seed, but this he also refused to do. His wife stood by him in the refusal, although afraid of her parents anger.

Janga says that the Kulung originally got this Nyili from Bibina (Karim). It now exercises power throughout the entire tribe. It is of course invisible, but has different men representing it who see that its taboos are kept and who receive the sacrifices. Certain people, especially women, are free from its taboos. For instance, it is forbidden for one woman to help another set down her load, either in her house or out, unless she be one of these favored few. There is no word to be said to keep one from breaking the taboo while in the forbidden act as in the "Gubra". (As saying "Gubra, Gubra, Gubra" while carrying fire so that the Gubra spirit will not do harm). If the taboo is broken, one must atone with sacrifice, or harm will come. In Madugu's case, the harm was threatened to her new-born child--it would soon get sick and die. Another act taboo is that of one person striking another on the shoulder or his back, with the hand. Incident: Mrs. Guinter was at one time doctoring Janga's mother for her sore back. As she rubbed her back the woman complained that it hurt, and when Mrs. Guinter playfully slapped her on the back and said that of course it didn't hurt, the woman flew into a rage and became very excited about it. Evidently it was because of this taboo.

Pia Names and Meanings

<u>Kulung</u>		<u>Pia</u>	
Pitiko	--	Pirego	(Landar or outcropping rock, also Lalibe. Miri Lalibe.)
Bakule	--	Angule	(High mountain) Also, An means man, and gule big.
Ba Kpara	--	Angbara	(Mouth of cave) The Angbara people are reported to have lived for a time near a cave at Balasa.
Bashama	--	Miri Pandi	(Men of rocks)
Kpani	--	Kwani	(Name of chief; died of smallpox 1928)
Bañ	--	Pulan	That is the people on the north of Kwonchi. Includes Chief of Kwonchi, Yeli.
Jamnati	--	Tara	Also Pakh Dara.

<u>Kulung</u>		<u>Pia</u>	
Andin	--	Andin	(Because of songs raised to sky so loudly Sky -- dan).
Singe	--	Senge	(Name of first-comer from Pitiko).
Pia	--	Walo	
Kun Pia	--	Pok Walo	(i.e., the Pia language).

The following "Short History of Wurkum" was received 7th January, 1930, from L. C. Schlotel, D.O. of Muri:

"The present district consists of the three Wurkum sections of Balasa, Kakala, and Gwomu, and the former district of Jaling Habe, which were amalgamated January 1, 1914.

"In 1912 Joro Bauro, a brother of the Emir, was appointed D.H. of the Jalingo Habe district, and he remained head of the present district on its inception. In 1916 he received the title of Ubandoma. Joro Bauro is son of the famous Emir Nya (1874-1896) 7th Emir of Muri. He is the present D.H.

"About 1750 the Wurkum of Balasa and Kakala are supposed to have migrated from Gwandon, in the northeast, and to have settled on the summit of Balasa hill, a few miles north of Bambur, to escape from the slave raiders. From here they spread to the north and west. Simultaneously with their arrival in the district, some of the Jukun from Kwona crossed to the north bank of the Benue and formed a settlement on Kullung Hill, to the southeast of, and within a few miles of, Balasa.

"Of the Wurkum of Gwomu, tradition says that three families of Mumuye quitted their country, crossed the Benue, and settled Gwomu, Borok, and Painya because evil spirits were killing their children. After their arrival some Tangali came and settled at Lo and Korde (Kwode), to the east of the first comers, and spread southwards for a short distance.

"Early in the 19th century Yakubu, first Emir of Bauchi, pitched a war camp at Bambur Hill east of Balasa. He took some slaves but made no permanent conquest of the country, and the Wurkum paid no regular tribute to him. About 1850 the Mordibo of Muri raided them, but, after meeting with initial success, he was routed with heavy loss at Gwomu. The Fulani apparently made no further efforts to subdue them.

"There have been numerous patrols in the district. In 1902 and 1903 no resistance was offered. In 1906 there was another patrol; and in 1909 a patrol under Lieutenant Feneran, with Mr. Elphinstone as Political Officer, defeated the Wurkum and routed them after considerable opposition at Gwomu. There were further patrols in 1910, 1911, and 1912.

"French Lieutenant Mizon joined the Emir of Muri about 1892 and shelled Kwona, enabling the Emir to capture a town that had up to that time defeated him. He used letter paper headed "The French Protectorate of Muri" and "The French Post of Yola". He was apparently an adventurer, having died later in Madagascar.

"The Niger Co. stores at Lau and Kwinini were sacked by Emir Nya 1891."

History of Muri

From S. Daro, January 31, 1932 (died 1950).

Muri was first occupied by the Jukun, or at least they lived near it. It was the extension of Wukari's kingdom. They called it Ngye Muri (or Ke Muri).

Later the Fulani came from Muri and killed many of them, driving them from the Ndolon hill. They also drove off or killed all on Ma Farum hill at the same time. (One survivor of the latter, called Danure, lives at Kerum now.)

But Yakubu of Bauchi came down bringing a Fulani called Gwanan and put him at Muri to watch over the Nyam and Pylans who then paid tribute to the Fulani. Gwanan lived beside the Jukun in peace. He established chiefs over Nyam and Pylan. (Daro also thinks the Bambur chief paid tribute to him.) But Nzhi Kwana alone refused to follow him.

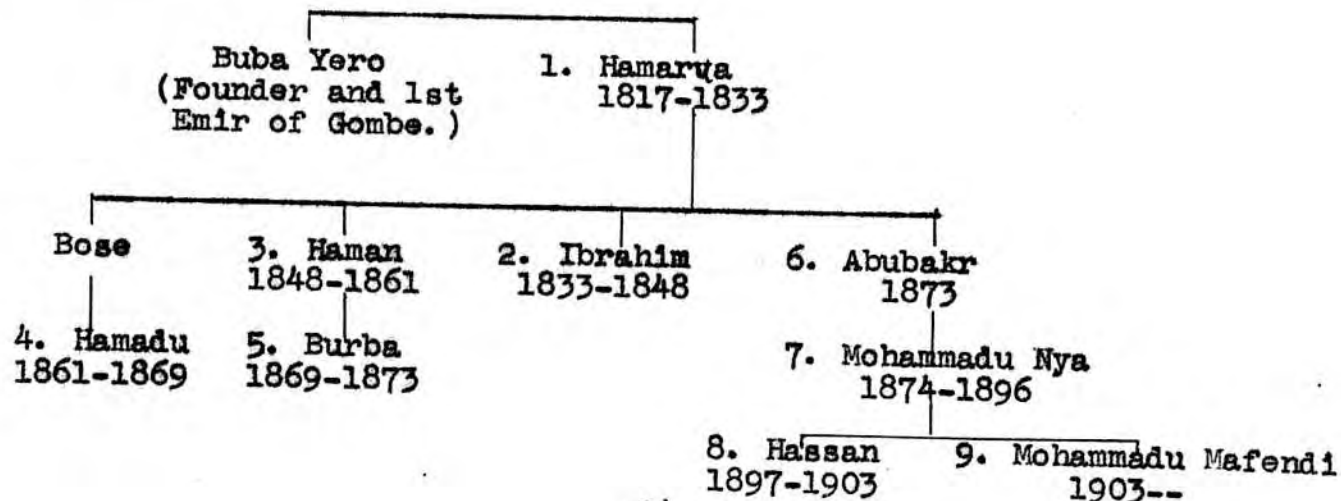
Then other Fulanis came down from Yola. These were the fathers of the present Emir of Muri. They fought the Bauchi Fulani at Muri and the Jukun and drove them out. They established themselves at Muri. They founded other towns in the plain--Taro, Wuyu, Bumandu, Balengu, Tonga, and others. Nyam and Pylan paid them tribute. Chief Zo of Nzhi Kwana followed them, and then Chief Kula, so Banyan has always done so. But the Fulani were unable to take Bambur.

Nya (Jatau), the present Emir's father, moved to Jalingo to fight Kona, but Kona repulsed them. Then a white man (the Frenchman) came to help him and Kona was taken.

Daro says that he himself lived at Jalingo seven years and helped Nya fight. For this he was given rule over Nzhi Kwana which he has had for 23 years (1932). (He has Darofoi, S. Yamma, Lakoma, Kadan, and Banyan.) When made Chief here, Daro forsook the Mohammedan religion which he had followed while at Jalingo, and returned to pagan worship. Asked if he thought there was truth in the Mohammedan faith, he replied that he couldn't tell, he never understood what he said in praying.

Daro is a rapid speaker, talking like a motor going on high.

Genealogical Table of Emirs of Muri



History of Muri

(From Muri Province Gazetteer 1919. J. M. Freemantle)

1. Hamarva 1817-1833. Called Modibo (learned man), brother of Buba Yero founder of Gombe Emirate (Bauchi Province). Buba Yero and Yakubu (born in 1753 and died 1833) received flags from Othman Dan Fodio the first Sarkin Musulmi (Sultan of Sokoto who reigned 1804-1817). Hamarva founded Muri and followed Buba Yero and went in his train to Sokoto. Buba Yero when old wished to unite Gombe and Muri under his son Koiranga (2nd of Gombe). He called Hamarva and son Bose to Gombe and killed them. Muri appealed to Sultan who sent flag to Haman, but people chose Ibrahim.
2. Ibrahim 1833-1848. Ruled three years, went mad, and was succeeded by Haman. Then reinstated, again went mad, was deposed and died.
3. Haman 1848-1861. Deposed by unsatisfied people of Muri. Had added Jibu, Bantaji, and Ibi to Emirate.
4. Hamadu 1861-1869. Spent part time at Gassol. Married daughter of Sarkin Wukari. Died at Gassol.
5. Burba 1869-1873. Besieged successfully Gassol and Wurio. Went mad and was deposed.
6. Abubakr 1873. Died after seven months.
7. Mohammadu Nya 1874-1896. Ablest of all. Four campaigns against Munchis. Burnt Katsena Allah. Attacked Kwona but did not take it, but made treaty and got tribute. Kwona revolted, but in 1893 was taken with the aid of Lieutenant Miyon. Muri given up as capital in favor of Jalingo. Died in 1896.
8. Hassan 1897-1903. Met his brother Haman Mafendi, who was plotting against him, at Wuyu, but force of latter scattered. Mafendi went to Yola and was put at MaioBalewa to control Mumuye. After fall of Zuberu (Sarkin Yola) in 1901, Haman Mafendi was first to tender his submission.
9. Mohammadu (Haman) Mafendi 1903--. After news of Hassan's death he came to Jalingo, siezed power, and informed Resident. Installed at Lau. 1910 moved capitol to Mutum Biyu. 1917 moved back to Jalingo. Attended Dubar Kano 1913. Mutum Biyu raided by Germans April 1915, Emir and D.O. escaping. Contributed £800 to war expenses; £500 in 1916 (since refunded); and £100 to soldier relief.

History of Banyan

From Darofoi, January 31, 1932.
From Jibu -- Danwu.

Danwu, coming from Jibu (because of quarrel with Chief) found people on Ba Kwana hill called Ka Gamla. They had come from Panji and talked the Pero language. Danwu married Ka Gamla woman. She had been captured by Ke Muri (Ngye Muri) people of Muri. (They were Jukun--one with Wukari and Jenue and Gateri.) The Ka Gamla folk took Danwu with them to rescue her because he talked Jukun. He gave his shirt and irons for the woman. So they gave her to him to wife.

Zo was made first Ka Kunge Chief. By now the Fulani had come from Yola and taken Muri. Zo went to them to rescue a woman captured by them.

They said they would make a chief but not Zo as he was left-handed. So Zo gave it to Kula and Fulani put a robe on him. He went and founded Kerum.

Kerum Chiefs

From Aberi (Yirima), June 19, 1928.

<u>Balasa</u>	<u>Nzhi Kwano</u> (all Ka Kunga)
Lauve (founder and first Chief)	Kula (founder)
Sambo	Yanga (sold as slave--caught at Muri)
Wumbo (1 year) died	Gambo
Dogo (Kpala Kiri)	Foi (shot by arrow by Garima)
	Delo (led people to Mabubu)
	Madu (Ka Kunga speared him for taking his niece and selling her as slave. Reigned at Kerum.)
	Daro (followed Delo as chief at Mabubu).

(From Abari-Kerum. A very old man. Died about 1940)

Lauve was reigning at Kerum. Three years before white man (Maisaje) came. Chief of Kpali (Hausa) came to Jebjeb for salt and called him to come. Lauve refused. Gbwelli (Gunter's language teacher) took Sambo, who had not yet been chief, and the Chief of Kpali put robe on him. Three years later Maisaje came and Sambo got him to burn all of Lauve's houses and leave him, Sambo, chief. Lauve went back to Balasa and was again burned out there. He returned to Kerum and Sambo slept as chief.

Sambo was Pia--Ba Kpara--son of Biru. His father came from Dugari. A fight over a top-spinning drove them from Ba Kpara and they came to Balasa where Sambo was born.

After the white man made him chief, his people chased him out because of his "rikici" and he went to Kpali. They wanted my informant, Abari, to be chief, but he was only a boy, so they got Sambo back. But his heavy rule got too bad again, so they told the white man, Mr. Groom, who ousted him.

History of Malchombi

From Sarkin Malchombi, February 6, 1932.

Their ancestors once lived on the main Nyam hill. They were related to the Jukun of Gateri. They were there before the coming of the Fulani. They were constantly attacked by Fulani, from both Bauchi and Muri, and finally decided that they would be wiped out if they stayed longer. So they all moved to Gateri. Here they stayed until the coming of the white man.

The first to come to Malchombi (or Balchumbi) was Yirima and another man 17 years ago (1915). Five years later the present Sarki brought his people here.

All say they speak Jukun and Nyam tongues with equal ease, but the children are leaving the Nyam. The two languages are quite different from each other--the Nyam very slightly similar to Pyelam or Pia.

A number of the younger folk are doing Moslem worship.

History of Bambuka

From Sarkin Fada, Bambuka, and other old men, January 10, 1930.

The fore-fathers of the Bambuka people came from the east. The first was one man and his wife. The place where they lived was in much water, so there was no good place to build a fire for cooking food. So the man asked God for a better place with less water, and God raised up these rocky mountains and led him here.

Bambuka is the Fulani name. Native name is Gwe. The people here are closely related to Panya and Munga. This is especially true in relation to the Fulani.

This first Bambuka man had eight children in the land of much water from which he came; four boys and four girls. Some of these he took and gave back to God when God asked him to show what kind of children he had given birth to. But of the eight, he took three and hid them and showed but five. God took these five and circumcised them, making them the fathers of the Fulani. When he learned that the man had hidden three more, he decreed that these should be "Habe"--paying tribute of slaves to the Fulani always.

Relation to Fulani

According to the arrangement ordained by God, the Bambuka people were to be "Habe", and mountain dwellers, paying tribute to the Fulani. The Fulani came for slaves and got many young girls. They were paid a regular tribute from here, also from Panya, Zo, Munga, Karim, and Djen. Gwomu did not pay, nor did Pakhdara, Lo, and Borak. At the same time they killed Fulani whenever possible.

Head-hunting Custom

Heads were always taken of those killed in war. A man was not acceptable to young girls unless he had taken a head. (Sarkin Fada says he took five heads). Many years ago their fathers erected huge stone altars at their doors--on these are laid round stones like skulls, one for every head taken. These altars, mounted with the stone "skulls" may still be seen at many of the house doors.

History of Bambur

Fight with Fulani at village of Melaba, beyond Taou. Wurkum from Bambur cut down nearly-ripe guinea corn of Fulanis. Fulanis came and chased them off, killing the following men:

Kauwan -- Ka Due
Biyo -- Ba n Kwanon
Mbakha -- Balasa
Wusige -- Ta Bulo
Gbala -- Nyam at Waram
Tan -- Ta Kiri
Benga -- Ba Ngai (Waziris)

Defeat charged to fact that a small bundle of corn was first cut and placed at the Sengum tree on Bambur hill. Then before it was "Lese", before the "Kare Bwolalak" was drunk, they gathered and went to cut the corn. Hence the defeat.

Bambur Chiefs

From Dogo Yamma (Ta Bulo), September 1, 1948.

Mala (also called Bulo):

He was appointed by Jebiru who was Sarkin Langa (a salt lick near Darofoi). Jebiru was either a Jukun or Fulani, not certain which. Bambur followed him.

Biru, son of Mala

Daban

Jebwo

Baka

Haruna

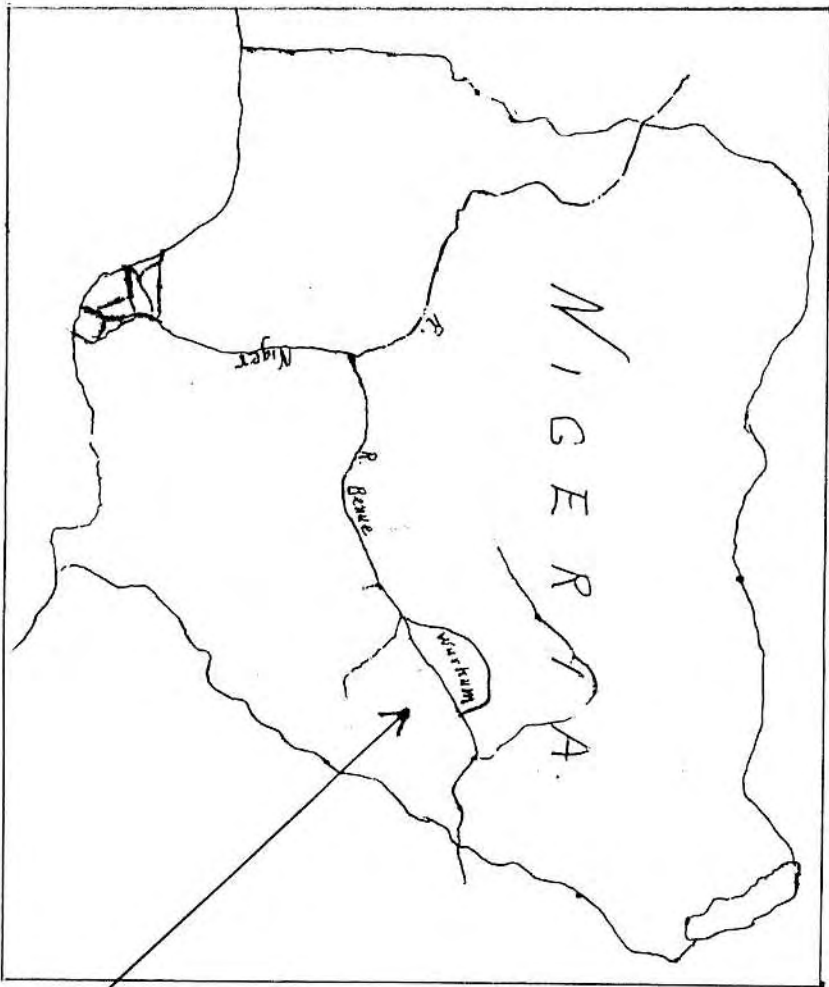
Jatau

Dogo Yamma says he remembers Biru (Chief of Bambur). He describes him as a big powerful man with a "Debre" in his left eye and ivory bracelets.

Mom, uncle of Dogo Yamma, went to Langa with Baka of Pira Clan, Kwonchi, and Biru (Ka Gwon, uncle of Galidima Kyebe); also Tango (Ba Takiri). The alarm was given and these first three were captured by the Fulani of Muri. Tango hid and escaped. Baka Pira, despondent at being a prisoner, killed himself with a club. He was father (or uncle) of Nanga of Zazon. Mom and Bira were redeemed with gifts from Bambur.

N.B.

Postage to be refunded
when this MS is returned.



Map
Showing location
Murkum District,
Adamawa Province,
NIGERIA

I.F.M.