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Gerhard Müller-Kosack

AZAGHVANA



**A fragmentary history
of the Dghwede of
the Mandara Mountains**



Non-profit online publication

Hardbound back cover

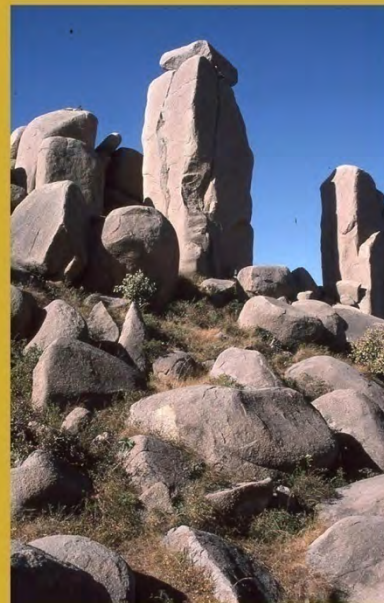
Gerhard Müller-Kosack, an ethnographer with long experience on both sides of the Nigeria-Cameroon frontier, lived and worked with the Dghwede and neighbouring montagnards of the little known Gwoza hills between 1994 and 2010, just before they were brutally decimated and their societies destroyed by Boko Haram. His substantial and original unravelling of the linguistic and ethnic history of the region over the past 600 years, in which he brings together archaeological, pre-colonial, colonial, linguistic, and oral sources, breaks new ground, not least in inter-relating events and processes in Nigeria and Cameroon.

The bulk of this massive tome, generously illustrated (maps, figures, tables, plates), presents what is known of Dghwede culture in twenty-three varied chapters ranging from the material to the ideational, with emphasis on kinship and ritual. Oral traditions – the main legacy of the Gwoza hills montagnards – are at their core and are subjected to critical analysis. A labour of love and fine scholarship, this is the first extended ethnographic account from this region and will be warmly welcomed by specialists for its broad coverage and inferences and, a generation hence, by Dghwede descendants eager to explore their cultural heritage. All readers will gain a heightened appreciation of the multiple uncertainties with which ethnographers must wrestle.

Nicholas David, Emeritus Professor of Archaeology, University of Calgary.



The front cover shows an image of a man and a woman who have just put the calabash down after drinking guinea-corn beer together, while here we see them drinking from the calabash, an expression of unity and friendship known across the Mandara Mountains. On the right we see the rock pillars crowning the regional rain shrine Durghwe, which in Dghwede cosmology represent 'granaries', with the belief that guinea corn originated from the cracks in its surface.



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Special commendation by the Amaury Talbot Prize
committee at the Royal Anthropological Institute of
Great Britain and Ireland

Highly commended: *An encyclopaedic account of the people of the Gwoza hills, at the northern end of the Mandara mountains in NE Nigeria, this volume presents its ethnography in rich detail. It is valuable all the more since the region has been ravaged by Boko Haram, and remains insecure. the author terms his history 'fragmentary' in that context, but the comprehensive treatment preserves a remarkable varied record - a feat of scholarship of great anthropological worth.*

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Gerhard Müller-Kosack

AZAGHVANA

**A fragmentary history of the
Dghwede of the Mandara
Mountains**

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A history from the grassroots

*For the survivors of today and the
historians of tomorrow*

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CONTENTS

List of Figures, Tables and Plates	xii
General Acknowledgements	xx
Technical Notes	xx
<i>Spelling convention of Dghwede words</i>	<i>xx</i>
<i>About maps and illustrations</i>	<i>xx</i>
Preface (with maps of the region)	xxi

GENERAL INTRODUCTION 25

<i>Recent times of devastation</i>	25
<i>Contradicting circumstances</i>	27
<i>A summary of devastation</i>	29
<i>The hills remain unsafe</i>	30
<i>The presumed impact on the environment</i>	31
<i>The latest developments</i>	31

For the survivors of today and the historians of tomorrow 33

<i>A history in fragments from the grassroots</i>	35
<i>Azaghvana – 'I say'</i>	36
<i>A comprehensive summary of the three parts</i>	41
<i>Why we use the ethnonym Dghwede</i>	47

P A R T O N E

THE GWOZA HILLS BEFORE BOKO HARAM

Introduction	49
Chapter 1.1 The Gwoza hills between 1994 and 2009	51
Going around the foothills	51
Visit to Dghwede and Gvoko	56
Mountains versus plain	59
Christianity and Islam	61
Rise of Islamic conversion in the hills from 2005 onwards	62
Chapter 1.2 Mapping ethnographic complexities	63
Survey circumstances and acknowledgements	63
The administrative background structure of Gwoza LGA in 1994	63
The boundaries of villages and wards	64
Language distribution based on village and ward boundaries	66
Ethnicity based on village and ward boundaries	68
Working out population estimates based on ethnolinguistic belonging	70
Localised issues of population density and resulting conflict areas	71
Conclusion and orientational map of the wider region	72

P A R T T W O

KEY SOURCES TOWARDS A SHARED SUBREGIONAL PAST

Introduction	75
Chapter 2.1 Between the pre-colonial Wandala and the DGB sites	77
Introduction	77
The role of Kirawa in early written sources	78
The contemporaneity of the DGB sites	80
Mentions of hill areas by Leo Africanus	86
Tribute arrangements and the link to slave raiding in the hills	88
<i>The threat of pre-colonial slave raiding according to Dghwede oral accounts</i>	90
<i>The pre-colonial boundary between Fulbe and Wandala according to oral accounts</i>	93
The roots of the sun and the moon legend	94
<i>The ethnoarchaeological potential of the tale</i>	94
Katala-Wandala of the hills	97
Conclusion	99
 Chapter 2.2 Unsettling colonial years	 101
Introduction	101
Coming under German and British rule	102
<i>Readjustments under British Mandateship</i>	103
The Dghwede version of Hamman Yaji's arrest and death	105
Mountain versus Plain: pagan reorganisation and the issue of self-governance	109
<i>The issue of 'Pagan Reorganisation'</i>	110
<i>Western education for the development of a new colonial local elite</i>	111
The failure of the 1950s resettlement scheme	112
<i>The file 'Gwoza Terracing' – Stanhope White and the stone wall terraces of Ghwa'a</i>	113
<i>Limankara and Disa become the newly planned resettlement area</i>	114
The killing of Iwan Buba – the 'Gwoza Affair'	116
<i>Tada Nziye's oral account of the 'Gwoza Affair'</i>	121
The process of Christianity	126
Two Plebiscites on the route to independence	129
Conclusion	131

P A R T T H R E E

DGHWEDE ORAL HISTORY RETOLD

Introduction	133
 Chapter 3.1 Names and places	 139
Introduction	139
Two colonial sources	140
<i>Moisel's (1913) view of the Gwoza hills</i>	140
<i>Dghwede settlement units according to captain Lewis (1925)</i>	144

List of Names and places according to 1994 settlement survey and oral history	146
Goze and Gharghuze	147
Conclusion	148
 Chapter 3.2 Warfare and settlement history	 151
Introduction	151
War alliances between northern and southern Dghwede	151
The war between Gudule and Vaghagaya and/or Mughuze	153
War with the 'Matakam' (Mafa) and others	154
Conclusion	155
 Chapter 3.3 The Tur tradition in its wider subregional context	 157
Introduction	157
The Tur tradition deriving from Mbra across the Gwoza hills	158
Migratory traditions and the proximity of the DGB sites	160
The significance of the Godaliy tradition	163
'Johode' as early arrival zone for migrants coming from 'Fitire'	164
Conclusion	166
 Chapter 3.4 The Dghwede house of Mbra	 169
Introduction	170
Difficulties in compiling a Dghwede lineage tree	171
<i>The three 'brothers' or four 'sons' of Dghwede-Mbra</i>	171
The Mughuze-Ruwa	173
<i>Vaghagaya</i>	175
<i>Pre-Korana lineage groups</i>	179
<i>Kwalika and its possible link to the Dagha of Kadzgwara descent</i>	179
Thakara of Ghwa'a	181
Conclusion	183
 Chapter 3.5 About outsiders as founders	 185
Introduction	185
Hembe and Mughuze	186
The story of the founding ancestor of the Zelidva	188
Similarities and differences	190
Conclusion	190
 Chapter 3.6 Relations and relationships	 193
Introduction	193
A provisional list of social relationship terms	195
Clan and lineage groups	196
<i>Exogamous clans and lineages according to Mathews (1934)</i>	197
<i>Exogamy rules</i>	198
Generational grouping and other family connections	200
A Dghwede model of local group formation	203
Conclusion	205

Chapter 3.7 Specialist lineage groups	207
Introduction	207
Alternatives of specialist lineage descent through Wasa and Tasa	208
The Dagha peacemaker lineage according to Baba Musa	209
Amuda and <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> as divine food	211
How the Gazhiwe became cornblessers of Dghwede	212
Ritual experts can have specific vulnerabilities	213
Dagha and Gaske past and now	214
Conclusion	215
 Chapter 3.8 Interacting with the seasons	 217
Introduction	217
The bi-annual calendrical cycle	218
The labour-intensive phases of the agricultural year and the lunar months	222
The seven moon phases and the days of the week	223
Two field accounts about interacting with the seasons	224
<i>Bulama Ngatha's description of the bi-annual calendar</i>	224
<i>Rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma about his seasonal activities</i>	229
Rainy and dry season in cultural-historical perspective	232
Locality aspects of the Dghwede ritual cycle	234
Conclusion	235
 Chapter 3.9 Distribution and custodianship of local shrines	 237
Introduction	237
Types of shrines	238
The meaning of <i>khalale</i> (lineage shrine)	239
<i>Example of the Vaghagaya lineage shrine</i>	240
The sequence goes from the house to the group site	242
List of <i>thaghaya</i> (seventh born) as custodians across Dghwede	243
List of places of ritual function across Dghwede	244
Conclusion	246
 Chapter 3.10 Working the terraced land	 249
Introduction	249
General model of Dghwede farm layout	249
Terraces and soils	254
Men and women and other arrangements	256
Not only was the making of agricultural tools essential	259
The importance of livestock	261
John Zakariya (2006) about changes in local resource management	264
<i>Livestock keeping past and present</i>	264
<i>Leasing out of land to pay a son's bridewealth</i>	264
<i>Trees could be leased out as well</i>	265
<i>A new system of short-leasing of land in the plains</i>	265
Reversal of significance between the guinea corn and millet years	266
List of useful trees	267
<i>Euphorbia trees as fencing</i>	272

Useful grasses, weeds and vermin	272
<i>Useful grasses</i>	273
<i>A list of weeds</i>	274
<i>A list of vermin in Dghwede</i>	275
Medicine to increase the yield of crops and domestic animals	276
Conclusion	277
Chapter 3.11 The architecture of a traditional house	279
Introduction	279
The landscaped terrain of a settlement	280
Standardised ground plan of a Dghwede house	283
Various views of the functional spaces around the outside of a house	286
Orientation and clustering of traditional Dghwede houses on a hillside in Dzga	288
'Stomach' and 'bed' of <i>thala</i> between central passageway and front wall	290
The foundation stones of the upper passageway, child's room and kitchens	294
The lower and the upper room complex with animal sheds attached	298
The backyard and the miniature ancestor rooms	303
Conclusion	304
Chapter 3.12 Ritual aspects of the house as a place of worship	307
Introduction	307
3D ground plan of a traditional house	308
The three ancestor stones are found in every traditional house	311
Pots and people in the context of <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i>	315
Why ritual beer pots (<i>tughdhe</i>) had small apertures	320
Types of ritual pots found in a traditional Dghwede house	322
The ritual significance of the loft (<i>gude</i>) above the lower room of the first wife	329
<i>Har gwazgafte</i> – slaughtering a he-goat for divinity before threshing guinea corn	330
About the use of rainstones	335
Conclusion	338
Chapter 3.13 The Dghwede bull festival (<i>har daghile</i>)	341
Introduction	341
The ritual place of <i>thagla</i> (harvest festival)	344
Bull festival among Dghwede neighbours and its wider subregional complexities	346
Legend of how Gudule was banned from rainmaking and its ritual implications	349
Typical performance elements of the bull festival in Gudule	352
How the bull festival travelled in Dghwede and beyond	356
Conclusion	359
Chapter 3.14 Becoming an accomplished male (<i>dzum zugune</i>)	361
Introduction	361
The four stages of <i>dzum zugune</i> – a reconstructed field summary from 1996	363
Documentation of places and material culture linked to <i>dzum zugune</i>	366

<i>Illustration of dress and body adornment plus other items used for dzum zugune</i>	368
Discussion of dress codes and other performance elements of <i>dzum zugune</i>	384
<i>Discussion of the first stage (ngwa hamtiwe)</i>	385
<i>Discussion of the second stage (ngwa garda and ngwa kwalanglanga)</i>	386
<i>Discussion of the third stage (ngwa yiye)</i>	389
<i>Discussion of the fourth and final stage (bak zalika)</i>	392
Open questions arising from our oral sources in relation to the role of Gudule	393
Comparison of the equivalent of <i>dzum zugune</i> among the Dghwede neighbours	397
From traditional to modern – socio-economic changes and crisis management	401
Conclusion	405
Chapter 3.15 Dghwede ideas around existential personhood	409
Introduction	409
Reconstructing Dghwede ideas around the structure of the mind	410
Vulnerability to witchcraft and sorcery in the light of opposing character traits	413
The transformational aspect of existential personhood beyond humans	418
Proclaiming innocence by individuals accused of sorcery or witchcraft in the past	419
Conclusion	421
Chapter 3.16 Localised flat-earth worldview and cosmology	423
Introduction	423
This world (<i>luwa</i>) as a mountainous disc with a hard sky above (<i>ghaluwa</i>)	424
Tale of how stones stopped being main source of food after arrival of guinea corn	429
Dghwede ideas around the concept of a Supreme Being (<i>gwazgafte</i>)	433
Conclusion	435
Chapter 3.17 The importance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine	439
Introduction	439
Photographs I took to document the various aspects of Durghwe	440
A cartographic reconstruction of its possible visibility by Barth in June 1851	443
Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga of Ghwa'a explain	448
The cosmological architecture of Durghwe	452
Conclusion	455
Chapter 3.18 The significance of the seventh and the eighth-born child	457
Introduction	457
The Dghwede naming tradition	458
The seventh born and the system of inheritance	461
The ritual responsibilities of the seventh born	464
From infanticide to adoption	465
The lucky and the unlucky ones	467

Seventh-born and eighth-born traditions among neighbours of the Dghwede	468
Conclusion	470
Chapter 3.19 The birth of twins and ideas around conception	473
Introduction	473
Dada Dukwa on the birth of twins	473
<i>Triplets or any other way of being born differently</i>	480
Dada Dga about Dghwede ideas around conception	481
Conclusion	484
Chapter 3.20 Past ways of marrying in Dghwede	487
Introduction	487
Three ways of marrying in Dghwede according to John Zakariya	489
John's description of the various ritual steps of marrying in the past	491
Conclusion	496
Chapter 3.21 Two ways of decision making in Dghwede of the past	499
Introduction	499
The power of majority (<i>gadghale</i>)	500
Divination as traditional method of decision making	505
Conclusion	512
Chapter 3.22 On symbolic classification and the classification of things	515
Introduction	515
On Dghwede symbolic classification and Mafa ritual counting	516
The classification of living and non-living things and shades of colours	519
Conclusion	523
Chapter 3.23 Ritual density and the role of Cissus quadrangularis	525
Introduction	525
Varieties and ownership of Cissus quadrangularis (<i>vavanza</i>)	526
The concept of <i>man skwe</i> and its potential ritual implications	533
Conclusion	536
GENERAL CONCLUSION	539
BIBLIOGRAPHY	549
Published and unpublished works	549
Archival materials	554
List of quoted oral protagonists from Dghwede (1995-2010)	555
A glossary of key Dghwede expressions used in this book	557

List of Figures

- Figure 1:** The Mandara Mountains **xxiii**
- Figure 2:** The Gwoza Hills **xxiv**
- Figure 3:** Boundaries **65**
- Figure 3a:** Languages **67**
- Figure 3b:** Ethnicity **69**
- Figure 4:** Orientational map of the northern Mandara Mountains and adjacent plains **73**
- Figure 5:** A three-dimensional perspective of the northwestern Mandara Mountains **81**
- Figure 6:** Relative expansion of Wandala state during the eighteenth century AD **89**
- Figure 7:** View of the Gwoza hills according to Moisel's map of 1912 **141**
- Figure 7a:** Extract from Moisel's map with place names, district boundary and excursions **142**
- Figure 8:** Boundaries of Dghwedè administrative structure of 1994 (extract from Figure 3) **147**
- Figure 8a:** Potential war alliances between northern and southern Dghwedè **152**
- Figure 9:** The Tur tradition deriving from Mbra across the Gwoza hills **158**
- Figure 10 :** Migratory traditions of the wider subregional context **161**
- Figure 11:** Northern Dghwedè as early arrival zone and connections within the Gwoza hills **165**
- Figure 12:** A Dghwedè lineage tree **170**
- Figure 12a:** Alternative version of the Dghwedè house of Mbra **172**
- Figure 12b:** Key marriages of Mughuze and Vaghagaya **176**
- Figure 12c:** Vaghagaya lineage tree **177**
- Figure 12d:** Lineage tree of the Thakara of Ghwa'a **182**
- Figure 13:** Example of *kambarte* and *ksage* in relation to Thakara-Ngara of Ghwa'a **198**
- Figure 13a:** Half- and full-siblingship across the paternal and maternal family divide **202**
- Figure 13b:** Illustration of mother's brother's sons also being referred to as *jije* (grandfather) **203**
- Figure 14:** Local group formation along local kindred ties **204**
- Figure 15:** Descent tree of Baba Musa **209**
- Figure 15a:** Tree of descent of Amuda and Ganjara **211**
- Figure 16:** The paleoclimatic context of archaeological, written and oral source locations **233**
- Figure 17:** A model of the general Dghwedè farm layout **250**
- Figure 18:** General layout of a traditional Dghwedè house plan **284**
- Figure 19a:** 3D view from lower kitchen corner **309**
- Figure 19b:** 3D view from upper kitchen **309**
- Figure 19c:** The foyer seen from lower room. The stomach of *thala* with the three ancestor stones and the ritual sitting area in front of the granaries and husband's ritual sauce kitchen. **310**

- Figure 20a:** The spatial dimension of senior brothers and generation mates serving the three ancestor stones in the houses of their agnatic kin as part of a local group **314**
- Figure 20b:** The way of *har ghwe* after the death of *zal thaghaya* (father and owner of the house) **318**
- Figure 21a:** *Tsaga* branch and *kwatimba* tent **353**
- Figure 21b:** Travelling bull festival and harvest festival in relation to the Gwoza hills **357**
- Figure 22 :** Key stations of *dzum zugune* in Ghwa'a **367**
- Figure 23a:** *Wushighwe* – used by men anticipating *dzum zugune* **383**
- Figure 23b:** *Pakdinda* rods dangled from the sides of war helmets **387**
- Figure 24:** Lineage tree of Thakara of Ghwa'a **390**
- Figure 25:** Model of the Dghwedē view of cosmographic mirror worlds **428**
- Figure 26a:** Petermann's (1854) [Mt] Legga as seen and reported by Barth from Isge in 1851 **443**
- Figure 26b:** Reconstruction of Barth's first view of the Gwoza hills in early June 1851 **444**
- Figure 26c:** Reconstructed first view of Barth's 'Wandala mountains' from Palamari **446**
- Figure 26d:** Reconstructed second view of Barth's 'Wandala mountains' from Mutube **446**
- Figure 26e:** Reconstructed third view of Barth's 'Wandala mountains' from Isge **446**
- Figure 27:** Cosmography of Durghwe with croaking toad and the three bulls in deep water **454**
- Figure 28a:** Five scenarios of intergenerational inheritance of land through the same 'kitchen' **461**
- Figure 28b:** Examples of the inheritance of farmland (*gwiye*) among the Dghwedē **462**
- Figure 29a:** 'Locking device' (*ngage*) **478**
- Figure 29b:** Twins marked on forehead **478**
- Figure 29c:** Aperture of girl's twin pot **478**
- Figure 30:** Sketch of the three types of twisted twin bangle (*ding ghwala*) **480**
- Figure 31:** Types of *tadiya* amulets representing a fallopian tube **482**
- Figure 32:** The middle stack of the three stacks of solid food is broken and shared. **493**

List of Tables

- Table 1:** Population estimates of ethnic groups and languages for 1996 **70**
- Table of Contemporaneity** – combining written, oral, prehistoric and palaeoclimatic sources **83**
- Table 2:** Moisel's place names and their correct spelling **143**
- Table 3:** Dghwede settlement units according to captain Lewis (1925) **144**
- Table 4:** List of Dghwede settlement units and lineage names **146**
- Table 5a:** List of the various calendrical activities during the bi-annual crop cycle **219**
- Table 5b:** Table showing the Dghwede calendar linked to the Gregorian calendar **220**
- Table 5c:** The three main labour-intensive periods of the year **222**
- Table 5d:** List of months of the labour-intensive period **223**
- Table 5e:** The moon cycles according to John Zakariya **223**
- Table 5f:** The seven days of the Dghwede week **223**
- Table 5g:** Bulama Ngatha's annotated field account about the bi-annual calendar **225**
- Table 5h:** Ndruwe Dzuguma's account of his seasonal activities **229**
- Table 6a:** List of *thagaya* across Dghwede responsible to start planting and harvesting **243**
- Table 6b:** Group sites and communal places of ritual function across Dghwede **245**
- Table 7a:** Agricultural products in the Dghwede hills before Boko Haram **267**
- Table 7b:** List of useful trees in Dghwede **268**
- Table 7c:** List of useful grasses used by the Dghwede **273**
- Table 7d:** List of some weeds in Dghwede **275**
- Table 8:** Annotated list of ritual pots found in a traditional Dghwede house **328**
- Table 9:** Sequences of how the bull festival travelled in Dghwede **356**
- Table 10:** John's list of comparison of equivalents to the Dghwede *dzum zugune* stages **397**
- Table 11:** Dghwede naming tradition of according to the birth position of a child **459**
- Table 12a:** Images, description and ritual ownership of *Cissus quadrangularis* varieties **526**
- Table 12b:** List of ritual *vavanza* without images **530**

List of Plates

- Plate 1a:** Dzga ethnographic research station **25**
- Plate 1b:** Visitors at the station **25**
- Plate 1c:** Dzga primary school indoors **26**
- Plate 1d:** Dzga school outdoors, with Stella **26**
- Plate 2a:** Islamic teaching facility **26**
- Plate 2b:** Teachings by radical preachers **26**
- Plate 3a:** Funeral in Ghwa'a, with mainly younger local women now in Islamic dress code **28**
- Plate 4a:** Group of bulamas and elders of Korana Basa during my first visit **37**
- Plate 4b:** We do not know which ward we visited that day. John is sitting in the centre front. **37**
- Plate 4c:** Again we do not know the location in Dghwedē, but can see John (bottom right). **38**
- Plate 4d:** This is Kwalika and the man in the middle is Chika Khutsa. **38**
- Plate 4e:** Senior rainmaker Tada Nzige to the left of John **39**
- Plate 4f:** Tada Nzige **39**
- Plate 4g:** Bulama Ngatha of Hudimche to the left **39**
- Plate 4h:** John Zakariya **39**
- Plate 4i:** Zakariya and Dga of Ghwa'a together with John **40**
- Plate 4j:** Zakariya & Haruna **40**
- Plate 4k:** Dukwa of Ghwa'a, a father of twins, and myself **40**
- Plate 4l:** Ghamba of Ghwa'a **40**
- Plate 4m:** Abubakar of Ghwa'a (with sunglasses) invited us to document his house. **40**
- Plate 4n:** Kalakwa of Ghwa'a also invited us to photograph the inside of his house in 2005. **40**
- Plate 5a:** View from Fachekwe in Wala, with hillside and valley leading up to Divili **51**
- Plate 5b:** Little lake in Divili on top of Zelidva spur **52**
- Plate 6a:** View of Guduf saddle, Zelidva spur and Gwoza town in western plain **52**
- Plate 7a:** View of Gvoko and Tur heights from Uvagha foothills of the western plain **53**
- Plate 7b:** *Bebe* (legendary foothill and shrine) of Vile, with foothill of Disa in background **53**
- Plate 8a:** Intramountainous eastern plain photographed with wide angle lens **54**
- Plate 8b:** Eastern plain with Ngoshe, photographed from Divili **54**
- Plate 9a:** View of Kirawa foothill from Ghwa'a, across the eastern plain **55**
- Plate 9b:** View across the eastern plain with Moskota hills and Mora hills in background **55**
- Plate 10a:** View across the western slopes **56**
- Plate 10b:** Terrace platform in Ghwa'a **56**
- Plate 10c:** View from Gharaza during rainy season, with Ziver-Oupay massif in background **57**
- Plate 10d:** View from Ghwa'a across Dghwedē towards Gharaza **57**

- Plate 11a:** View from Korana Basa, across the valley and up to Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko **58**
- Plate 12a** View of entrance area of DGB1 with Oupay massif in background, photographed from DGB2, visible in the foreground at the bottom left **82**
- Plate 12b:** View of ancient terrace wall at the bottom right – photographed from the bottom of DGB1 and with the remains of DGB2 visible at the top left of the picture **82**
- Plate 13a:** Hamman Yaji as a young man in Wanday (Strümpell 1912:87) **106**
- Plate 13b:** Ghwa'a terracing still intact during my time (the photo was taken in 1998). **114**
- Plate 14:** Junior rainmaker demonstrates his rainmaking ability. **231**
- Plate 15a:** View over terrace fields of Ghwa'a from Durghwe, with house platforms visible **251**
- Plate 15b:** *Kla pana* fields in the foreground (the valley of Kunde in the background) **251**
- Plate 15c:** View of Kunde, with newly cultivated bushland (*siye*) in valley bottom **252**
- Plate 15d:** Gathaghure in background with greener areas, which mark hamlet and infields **252**
- Plate 16a:** Rope making by men in Dzga (1998) **258**
- Plate 16b:** Women in Ghwa'a plant tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*). **258**
- Plate 17a:** Charcoal from a sack **260**
- Plate 17b:** Improvised oven with bellows **260**
- Plate 17c:** Still smithing with stones **260**
- Plate 18a:** *Wurighe* (fan palm) had many uses. **269**
- Plate 18b:** Palm tree fibre – hammered out of the bark **269**
- Plate 18c:** *Lave* tree – used to make ritual stick (*tsage*) put into house for bull festival **269**
- Plate 18d:** *Wa'iye* tree – used for roofing; was inherited by *thaghaya* (seventh born). **269**
- Plate 18e:** Haruna prunes my mahogany tree. **271**
- Plate 18f:** Man harvesting from his tree **271**
- Plate 18g:** Old man is moving a dried out tree branch. **271**
- Plate 19a:** *Ghalahgala* (carpet grass) **274**
- Plate 19b:** *Tgija wushile* – applied to beans **274**
- Plate 19c:** *Za'aghaya* grass is for roofing. **274**
- Plate 20a:** Ingredients for *magulisa* **276**
- Plate 20b:** Rainmaker ties bean. **276**
- Plate 21a:** Dghwedè landscaped terrain in Ghwa'a **281**
- Plate 21b:** House without *thala* roof **281**
- Plate 21c:** Dghwedè House with *thala* roof **281**
- Plate 21d:** Chikidè (left) and Guduf (right) house fronts **282**
- Plate 21e:** Chikidè landscaped terrain (2004) **282**
- Plate 22a:** The roof of a house in Kwalika during rainy season **284**
- Plate 22b:** The ruin of a Dghwedè house showing the base structure of the foyer **285**
- Plate 23a:** Platform leading to the entrance of Buba's house **286**

- Plate 23b:** Buba's entrance **287**
- Plate 23c:** Flat rock as drying facility **287**
- Plate 23d:** Tree as storage facility **287**
- Plate 23e:** Grass and wooden sticks for goats **287**
- Plate 23f:** Goat enclosure during wet season **287**
- Plate 23g:** Watering place for animals **287**
- Plate 23h:** Granaries are open for being filled. **287**
- Plate 24a:** Buba's house to the left of the shared terraced platform **288**
- Plate 24b:** Clustering of houses on three interlinked terrace platform **289**
- Plate 25a:** Buba sitting next to his three ancestor stones **290**
- Plate 25b:** Buba's view towards 'bed' of *thala* and upper kitchen area **291**
- Plate 25c:** Buba stands next to ancestor stones. **291**
- Plate 26a:** Passageway between front wall of *thala* and outer house wall (first view) **292**
- Plate 26b:** Passageway between front wall of *thala* and outer house wall (second view) **292**
- Plate 26c:** Opening of the 'stomach' of *thala* faces the front wall of the house. **292**
- Plate 26d:** View of the inside of 'stomach' of *thala* from the top towards front wall **292**
- Plate 27a:** A Chikidè shrine facing the front of the house **293**
- Plate 27b:** Rear of the shrine **293**
- Plate 28a:** View of *ghar-malga* towards ritual sauce kitchen with lower room and cowshed **295**
- Plate 28b:** Entrance of Buba's ritual sauce kitchen next to his first wife's granary **295**
- Plate 28c:** The foundation stones of *ghar-malga* passageway towards child's room **296**
- Plate 28d:** Child's room and upper kitchen as part of *wuts-kudige daghara* passageway **296**
- Plate 29a:** View of child's room **297**
- Plate 29b:** Thatched roof of child's room **297**
- Plate 29c:** Upper kitchen with grinding top **297**
- Plate 29d:** Thatched roof of upper kitchen **297**
- Plate 29e:** Grinding stones in Kalakwa's lower kitchen **297**
- Plate 30a:** Foundation wall of *thala* across Kalakwa's front passageway **298**
- Plate 31a:** Entry step to lower room **299**
- Plate 31b:** Entry step to upper room **299**
- Plate 31c:** View from upper room to entrance of lower room in Kalakwa's house **299**
- Plate 31d:** View from lower room to entry from foyer in Kalakwa's house **299**
- Plate 32a:** Lower room in Buba's house **300**
- Plate 32b:** Ladder (C) to *gude* **300**
- Plate 32c:** Entrance to *gude* in lower room **300**
- Plate 32d:** Dome of *gude* in lower room **300**
- Plate 33a:** Buba's entrance to goat shed **301**

- Plate 33b:** Buba's goat shed **301**
- Plate 33c:** Buba's entrance to cow shed **301**
- Plate 33d:** Buba's cow shed **301**
- Plate 34a:** Kalakwa's bed in upper room **301**
- Plate 34b:** Abubakar's bull shed to the left side of his upper room **301**
- Plate 34c:** Kalakwa in the upper room, with the drum, *timbe*, for bull festival and funerals **301**
- Plate 34d:** Upper room loft opening **302**
- Plate 34e:** Watering-place outside bull shed **302**
- Plate 35a:** Buba's ancestor rooms **303**
- Plate 35b:** Kalakwa's ancestor rooms **303**
- Plate 35c:** *tughdhe batiw gajije* **303**
- Plate 35d:** *tughdhe kule* **303**
- Plate 35e:** *sak batiw gajije* **303**
- Plate 36a:** Retired ancestor stones under bulama Ngatha's granary in Hudimche (1995) **313**
- Plate 37a:** Buba's main three ritual *thala* pots in 1998 **319**
- Plate 37b:** Buba's *zal jije* pot in 2005 **319**
- Plate 38a:** Lakwa demonstrates how to make a small aperture disk (a) for a *tughdhe* pot. **320**
- Plate 39a:** Heap of ritual potsherds next to the ruin of an abandoned house **321**
- Plate 39b:** Broken mouth of same ritual beer pot (*tughdhe*) with small aperture photographed from both sides **321**
- Plate 40a:** Bulama Ngatha's three legged personal spirit or god pot above his bed in 1995 **324**
- Plate 41a:** Retired *dungwe* cooking pot for child under bulama Ngatha's granary (1995) **325**
- Plate 41b:** Retired *dungwe* spirit pot for child under Buba's granary (2005) **325**
- Plate 41c:** Calabash on top of a twin pot for a girl under one of Buba's granaries **326**
- Plate 41d:** A twin pot of a girl with the typical divided aperture under one of Buba's granaries **326**
- Plate 42a:** Twin pot for a boy has two small apertures (b). **326**
- Plate 43a:** *Tughdhe gude* and other pots in Kalikwa's first wife's *gude* **329**
- Plate 44a:** Possible important waypoint for Buba during *har gwazgafie* **331**
- Plate 44b:** Buba's main entrance from inside **332**
- Plate 44c:** Buba's long entrance platform **332**
- Plate 45a:** Storage basket full of sorghum **333**
- Plate 45b:** Bulama Ngatha in 1995 **333**
- Plate 46a:** Retired rainstones in Kalakwa Wila's house **335**
- Plates 47a to 59e:** Documentation of objects relevant for *dzum zugune* (Chapter 3.14) **369**
- Plate 60a:** Ritual dunghole **389**
- Plate 60b:** Group of rock seats for lineage elders nearby **389**

- Plate 60c:** Fkagh Maruwa near rainmaker's house **390**
- Plate 61a:** View of the Gwoza hills and Tur heights as far as from the Sukur massif **441**
- Plate 61b:** View from Tatsa **441**
- Plate 61c:** Looking south from pillars behind Tar Durghwe **441**
- Plate 61d:** Durghwe is 1200m high. **441**
- Plate 61e:** View of rock pillars behind Tar Durghwe **441**
- Plate 61f:** View of Ziver-Oupay massif and Tur heights **442**
- Plate 61g:** Eastern slopes of Zelidva spur and Guduf saddle **442**
- Plate 61h:** Kirawa foothill across eastern intramountainous plain **442**
- Plate 61i:** Central pillar in clear weather **442**
- Plate 61j:** Central pillar in foggy weather **442**
- Plate 61k:** Detail view of central pillar **442**
- Plate 62a:** Cutting of the *mandatha* slices **508**
- Plate 62b:** The twenty *mandatha* slices are ready. **508**
- Plate 62c:** The throwing of the *mandatha* slices **508**
- Plate 62d:** The washing of the *wulinge* leaves **508**
- Plate 62e:** The *wulinge* leaves are held above the patient. **508**
- Plate 62f:** The diviner rubs the sternum of his patient. **508**
- Plate 62g:** The diviner waves the *wulinge* leaves. **509**
- Plate 63a - 63l:** List of ritual *Cissus quadrangularis* (see Table 12a) **526**

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Technical Notes

Spelling convention of Dghwedè words

I use the adopted spelling conventions I learned when working among the Mafa of Cameroon, by writing the lateral fricative as *th* and *dh* instead of *sl* and *zl*. I also use the implosive *d'* and the implosive *b* but do not use any other phonetic fonts such as tones. We use *gh* for guttural, *r* for a hard guttural, and *h* for a soft one. I am not a linguist but have standardised the cultural vocabularies used in this book by relying on my Dghwedè research assistant to transcribe the Dghwedè words.

About maps and illustrations

I made most maps myself, based on topographical maps 1:1,000,000 for Figures 1 and 2, and used topographical maps 1:50,000 as base maps for Figures 3-3b. Many Plates are colour photographs taken during field sessions and I converted the ones I found suitable into grey-scale illustrations and drew on them with a digital pen in order to bring out the elements I wanted to emphasise. This was particularly important for the reconstruction of Dghwedè vernacular architecture, and I added reference numbers to the illustrated greyscale images so the reader can easily identify descriptions referred to in the text. I have also used field drawings that Stella Cattini kindly produced for me while I was working on adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) rituals, by combining them with photographs I took of the dresses and adornments the Dghwedè once used. There are also many illustrations from ethnographic contexts, such as ritual pathways or illustrations of war alliances, and they are all included below as Figures. Finally there are Tables to further describe past ethnographic data on the history of clan and lineage names, demographic data and data linked to the seasonal calendar of the Dghwedè.

Preface

Azaghvana means 'I say!' in the Dghwede language, and this statement in the way it was expressed was also used to refer to the Dghwede as distinct ethnolinguistic group. The subtitle 'A fragmentary history of the Dghwede of the Mandara Mountains' implies that we are putting our Dghwede protagonists at the centre of the ethnographic narrative while writing their history from the grassroots, and at the same time our aim is to embed their oral historical perspective into the wider subregion of the northwestern Mandara Mountains. My ethnographic work began in 1981 among the Mafa on the Cameroonian side of the wider subregion, and in 1994 I started working in the Gwoza hills and lived among the Dghwede, but withdrew in 2010 because terrorists of Boko Haram had invaded their mountain homeland. This led to the death of many and destroyed their collective memories as montagnards. Between 2012 and 2016 many of my Dghwede friends fled the mountains and adjacent plains. They now live in refugee camps or are trying to rebuild their lives elsewhere, while the Gwoza hills remain too unsafe to return and conditions of life there have changed beyond recognition.

It was due to witnessing the destruction of the Dghwede culture before my eyes that I decided to write this book from a personal perspective. I had already made several attempts to write about the Dghwede and what I knew about the ethnography of the Gwoza hills in general, but I felt a growing sense of dissatisfaction in not putting my Dghwede friends at the centre of it. There was also the critique I have harboured for quite some time about ethnographic writing in general, which is in my view the increasing tendency of ethnographers to enjoy writing for each other more than translating and discussing the oral testimonies of their protagonists. This led me to imagine how the Dghwede as survivors and future historians of their past would want me to write. In the course of my quest for such proclaimed authenticity I felt increasingly inadequate but decided to see it through. The result is this fragmentary narrative which also aims to fill a regional gap, and my only defence is that I have been doing cross-border fieldwork in the area for several decades.

In 2003 I published *The Way of the Beer*, a work about the Cameroonian side of the mountains, which is a re-enactment of history through rituals carried out among the Mafa who are also terrace farmers of the Mandara Mountains. The Mafa are the immediate neighbours of the Dghwede and I was very interested in how their ritual culture could be read as oral history. In 1994 I was awarded a grant by the German Research Foundation (DFG) to begin ethnographic work in the Gwoza hills, because as a result of colonial history they had been neglected by ethnographers. In Part One we present a summary of the ethnographic survey I made at that time, and introduce the reader to how I experienced the Gwoza hills before the occupation of Boko Haram. In Part Two we learn that the Dghwede massif, with Ghwa'a at its centre, was once an early arrival zone from where other groups evolved. The pre-colonial past of the Gwoza hills also includes Kirawa as the first capital of the Wandala, but we also consider the stone ruins of the DGB site in the Mafa area to be part of the wider subregion. In the chapter on colonial history we present the Gwoza hills as an Unsettled District under British indirect rule, where a conflict emerged between the Dghwede and the new colonial elite in Gwoza town who wanted to bring about their downhill migration.

Part Three presents Dghwede oral culture by contextualising fragments of their history with what we learned in Part One and Part Two, and also by ethnographically connecting the Gwoza hills with the rest of the Mandara Mountains. We achieve this by contextualising Ghwa'a, as early arrival zone from Tur, with similar south-to-north migratory traditions of the wider subregion, which includes migratory traditions of the Mafa from the DGB area. Throughout Part Three we present the interconnected ethnographic fragments from Dghwede with the aim of forming a shared history from the grassroots, and critically underpin the perspective of our oral protagonists with paleoclimatic and other early key sources. By examining our source material along the lines of a narrative of a pre-Copernican worldview we reconstruct the Dghwede way of life as a sophisticated historical achievement in which

sustainable food production was central. The terrace farming strategies of this key group of the semi-arid most northern part of the Mandara Mountains were indeed unique.

Perhaps one of the most unique features of Dghwede terrace culture of the past is revealed in our reconstruction of adult initiation, a tradition that had ended by the late 1930s. It shows how important it was to have a system of emergency food storage ritually embedded in the culture and that it was dependent on alliances formed along kindred ties. Another aspect is the complexity of cyclical rituals linked to the seasons, which was a consequence of the high population density necessary for the labour-intensive farming system. We will show how the chemical fertiliser promoted during colonial times to replace the traditional animal manure eventually led to a reduction of ritual density. Guinea corn (sorghum), alternating with millet and beans as part of the subsistence economy of crop rotation, had the greatest cosmological significance, but the guinea-corn year lost its bi-annual ritual importance and farming for a modern market economy increasingly took over.

The terrace fields connected to the farmsteads had been manured with animal dung over the generations, a practice deeply embedded in their cosmological way of thinking. This was manifested for instance in the rainmaking and cornblessing rituals as 'blessings from above and below this world', and every guinea-corn year the travelling bull festival also ritually renewed the peaceful unity of Dghwede. Dghwede cosmology was very localised however, and the family ancestors who had kept the land fertile and passed on their practice were imagined to also exist locally in multiple mirror worlds below this world. We will see how the Dghwede concept of socio-economic reproduction can be connected to their cosmographic view of the world which also had a gender aspect, and this will be illustrated in the vernacular stone architecture we have reconstructed in great detail. The Dghwede also believed in the communal reincarnation of twins, and there were rituals in which twins were brought into the house after birth by their former parents who had been identified by means of divination.

Mountain tops visible from afar were important cosmographic manifestations, and we will describe the role of Durghwe, the most northerly rain shrine of the Mandara Mountains, which was ritually linked to Ghwa'a as the early arrival zone from Tur. Its three rock pillars were seen as three granaries and each pillar was said to represent one of the three neighbouring ethnic groups. Durghwe also played a regional role in crisis situations, and in late pre-colonial times the Dghwede of Ghwa'a held the custodianship for such regional demands. We will also show that in pre-colonial times ethnicity was most likely not the main factor behind the idea of Dghwede belonging. This was connected with the high population density needed for the continuation of terrace farming, which led to frequent population pressure and changes in terms of local group formation. We suggest that the locality aspect of the dense ritual culture might have led to kindred alliances across neighbourhoods, and that perhaps a shared language played a stronger cohesive role than clan and lineage membership.

There are many more complexities of Dghwede culture we will describe, explore and illustrate, by relying primarily on the interpretation of our oral protagonists rather than on preconceived ethnographic theory. However we will use my ethnographic research among the Mafa of Gouzda and Moskota for comparison, to contrast some of the Dghwede cultural variations. We will also point out the many shortcomings in my own ethnographic research, the full extent of which I did not realise a couple of years ago when I started to write this book. This means that writing it has also been a learning process for myself as area specialist of the northwestern Mandara Mountains, and by openly admitting this I encourage the reader to be critical of my interpretations and conclusions. I nevertheless hope that I have managed to present this fragmentary history of Dghwede culture as a valuable contribution, for the Dghwede themselves and also to fill a gap in wider regional knowledge. The Gwoza hills have been neglected by ethnographers for far too long, and reconstructing the past Dghwede way of life from oral testimonies will not only serve Dghwede survivors but also future historians who are interested in the Mandara Mountains in their geographical entirety.

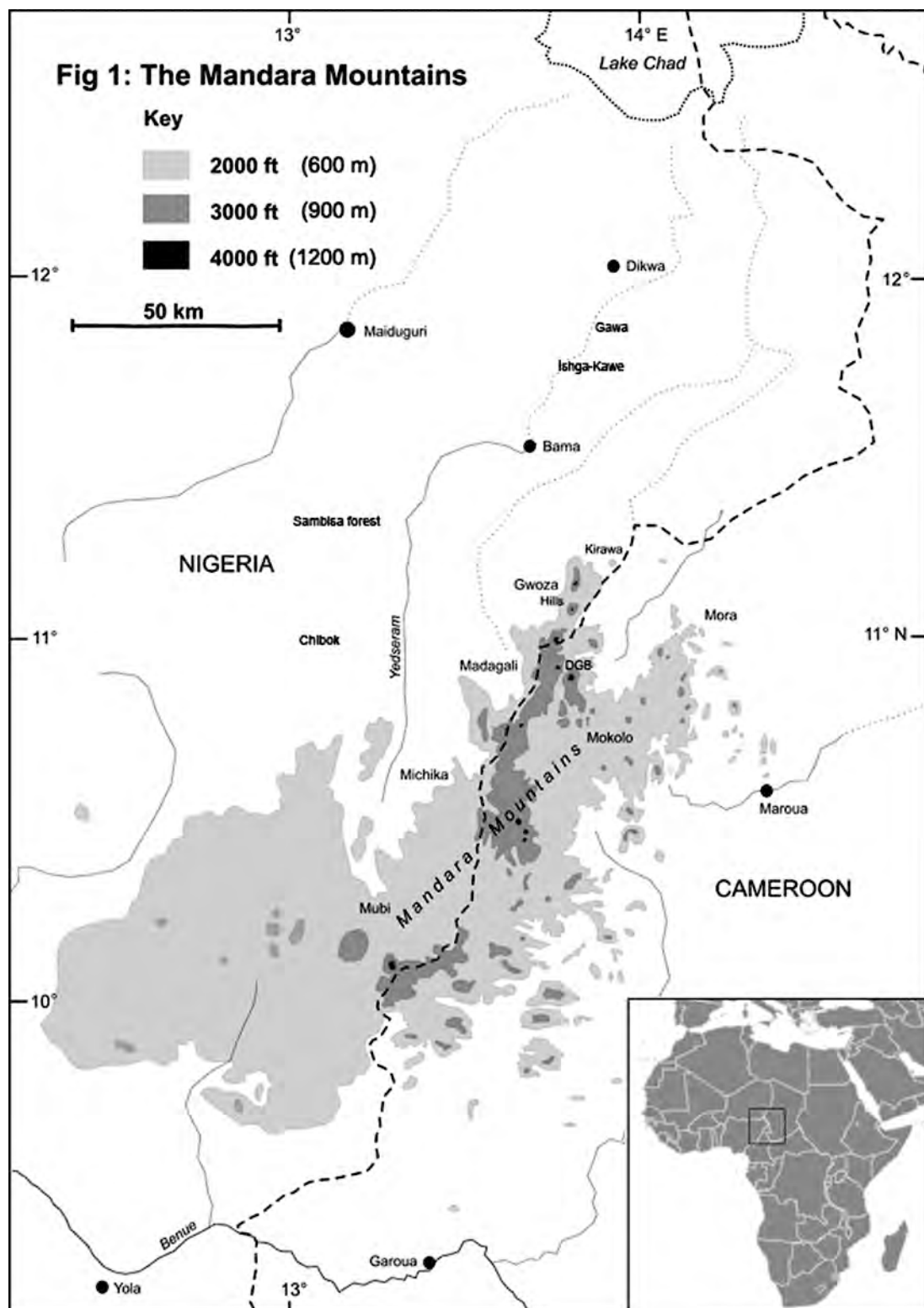


Figure 1 gives an overview of the wider region, showing the Mandara Mountains situated between the Benue river in the south and Lake Chad in the north. We recognise the international border cutting across the mountains, separating northeastern Nigeria from the far north of Cameroon. We can see how the Gwoza hills are sandwiched between the DGB stone ruins and Kirawa, the former ancient capital of the Wandala state. We see the main massif of the Mandara Mountains running from north to south on the Cameroonian side, while the Gwoza hills form the top end of that massif, reaching like a peninsular into the semi-arid northern plain in the direction of the increasingly shrinking southern shores of Lake Chad.

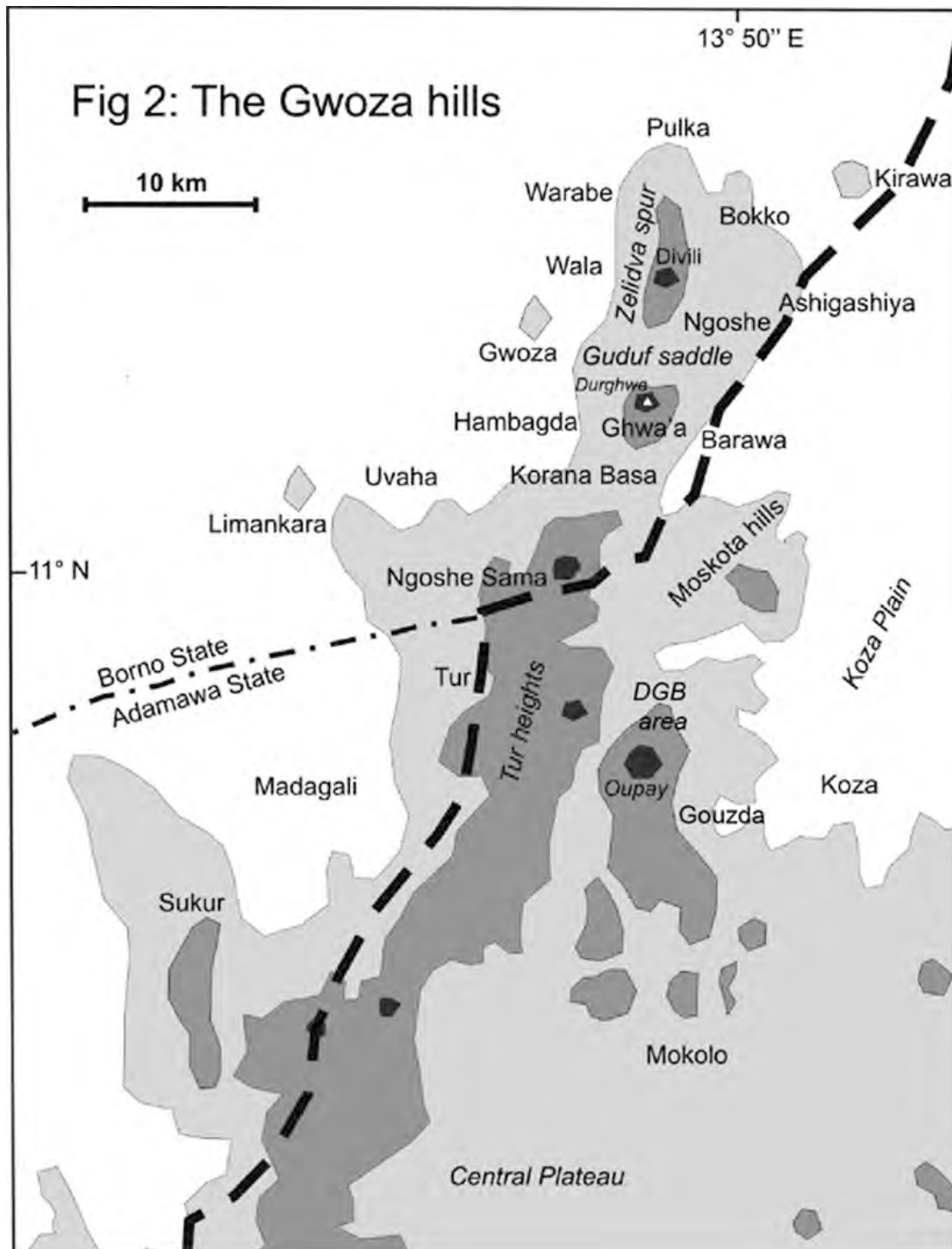


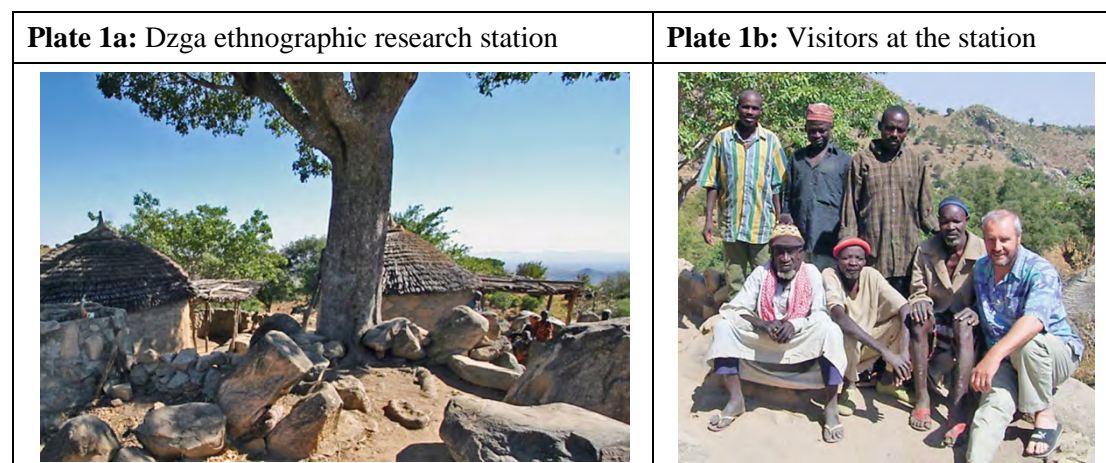
Figure 2 gives a detailed view of the Gwoza hills, with information on the topography and important settlements of the Gwoza Local Government Area (Gwoza LGA), including Ghwa'a and Korana Basa which are the main administrative units of Dghwedè. Ghwa'a was where I had my research station. For the elevations please refer to the key in Figure 1. In Figure 2 we see how the international boundary separates the Gwoza LGA from the Cameroonian side, following the Kirawa river to its source in Ngoshe Sama. The Gvoko of Ngoshe Sama are the southern neighbours of the Dghwedè and still belong to the Gwoza LGA. We can see how the Borno state boundary separates the Gwoza hills from the Tur heights, the latter belonging to Adamawa state. We link the DGB stone ruins and early terrace farming to the 15th century when Kirawa as the capital of the pre-Islamic Wandala started to become a centre of transregional trade.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Recent times of devastation

The Gwoza hills are a remote mountain range in the semi-arid northeast of Nigeria (see Figure 1). In terms of modern infrastructure they are the most underdeveloped part of Borno state, if not the whole of Nigeria. The hills belong to the Gwoza Local Government Area (GLGA), and its east side borders the far north province of Cameroon. Its administrative centre, Gwoza town, made headlines over the last few years because in August 2014 the terrorist group Boko Haram declared Gwoza the first 'Islamic State caliphate' inside the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The terrorist group had for several years used the Gwoza hills as a convenient place to recruit and hide, and despite Gwoza town having been retaken by the Nigerian army in March 2015, the hills themselves (in particular the Dghwede massif) remained much under the control of Boko Haram. Also, the intramountainous eastern plain along the Cameroon border remains highly insecure because the army is present only in Gwoza town itself. The ongoing unresolved security situation has not stopped the Nigerian government demanding that the internally displaced persons (IDPs) should return.

Considering that this humanitarian disaster has been acute since at least late 2012, it is unlikely that the hills area in particular will ever be the same again. I am now asking myself what my responsibility is, since I have ended up holding more or less in trust the most recent ethnographic accounts of the oral history of the Dghwede way of life, as it was explained to me between late 1994 and early 2010, on audiotapes and into my notebooks by my Dghwede friends and local protagonists. I wonder if I can truly rise to the responsibility in such deadly circumstances, and adequately write a book about the orally-related Dghwede past. Many of my friends and their relatives who lost their homes and livelihoods in the hills now suffer in refugee camps. Many others, whom I never met, lost their lives, or their daughters were abducted by Boko Haram. Some of their sons might have been influenced by the group while working as seasonal workers in Maiduguri, while others, often elderly Traditionalists, were forced under Boko Haram rule because they had not been able to flee the Gwoza hills.



In December 2009 I visited Dghwede for the last time, only several months after the death of Mohammed Yusuf who was then leader of Boko Haram. A neighbour who was an old man came to visit me and told me that he had lost his son during the crackdown by the security forces against Boko Haram in Maiduguri earlier that year. I had come with Stella Cattini, who had been a primary school teacher in London all her working life. In 1998 she started a learning support in the hills for English literacy and numeracy. Her initiative was to bring about the primary school of Dzga, which is the local village ward where I had a research station.

The research station (Plate 1a/b) was later burned down, and the primary school (Plate 1c/d), for which we had sponsored the building and teaching materials, became a local Islamic school under Boko Haram. At least this is what I was told by my Dghwede friends a few

years afterwards, and it was not at all a surprise considering that Boko Haram means 'Western education is forbidden'. In the light of the atrocities committed by Boko Haram, the loss of my research station is, of course, a minor footnote in all of this. The whole circumstance has now inspired me to safeguard as much of the Dghwede oral history as possible, and to retell it in such a way that much of the authenticity contained in my fieldnotes is preserved. We see in the chapter section 'For the survivors of today and the historians of tomorrow' how the unfolding events have led me to the way I want to write. But first it is necessary to give a background account of how some of the main events unfolded between 2010 and 2016.

Plate 1c: Dzga primary school indoors



Plate 1d: Dzga school outdoors, with Stella



During that last visit we were told that the local Muslim community had fortunately asserted itself against a minority of youth who had come under the influence of fundamentalist preachers. Quite some time before the 2009 crackdown, these preachers had come into the mountains from outside the Gwoza area to preach radical Islam. The fact that they had become increasingly influential was underpinned by various stories, including a public book-burning by radicalised girls at Dzga primary school.¹

Plate 2a: Islamic teaching facility



Plate 2b: Teachings by radical preachers



During our visit we also went to see the now abandoned radical Islamic teaching facility high up on the hillside of Ghwa'a (Plate 2a/b). On the way back a young man came to greet me, only to disappear again. I had an odd feeling because it was strange that he had not come to my house to greet me there, after all he was one of the talented children we had supported with small grants a couple of years before. He was a Muslim boy who had converted to Islam although his parents were still Traditionalists. We had made a particular point to be non-denominational with our little learning support charity, and were rather shocked by the situation we encountered in December/January 2009/10. Whether the young man had at one point become a sympathiser of the deadly Boko Haram ideology, and was now too embarrassed to talk to me, being a white representative of Western education, I will never know for sure. The young man himself had profited from our joint educational efforts.

¹ Andrew Walker (2016:157ff) quotes my observations about the incident in his book *Eat the Heart of the Infidel* by addressing the historical and cultural factors which drive insurgencies like Boko Haram.

During my previous visit in November 2005 I encountered something I would now like to refer to as an early warning sign of what was potentially to come. Often in the evening I had local visitors coming to my research station in Dzga, and I remember one evening a group of young Muslim men coming along. We sat on the rocks and talked about all sorts of things, and I asked them how they felt as Muslims about their right to inherit farmland from their Traditionalist fathers. These young men insisted that they would rather not inherit the land of their forefathers, unless their dads converted to Islam before they died. Their sense of religious identity as Muslims did not permit them to inherit from their 'unbelieving' fathers, a predicament which denied them the right to inherit arable family land in the hills. They seemed prepared to put religious belief over material interest.

At the time I was not aware that these young men might have already been influenced by fundamentalist preachers of some kind. I just thought they had come back to the hills for a social visit after earning money as butchers in Maiduguri. I remember, in my naivety as a Westerner and a child of the political idealistic left of the 1960/70s, feeling some kind of weird counterintuitive kindred spirit regarding their preparedness to break with tradition for the sake of ideas. However I could not share their sentiment but instead felt a sense of regret, and would have liked to be able to persuade them to respect their forefathers' tradition while at the same time being Muslims. After all, I was more interested in their fathers' views and memories about the traditional past of the Dghwede than I was in their newly acquired religious radicalism. In 2005 I had of course no idea of how it would all turn nasty only a few years later.

Contradicting circumstances

The people of the Gwoza hills have a long history of resistance against Islamic conversion, and as one of the large groups the Dghwede played a prominent role in the context of this only a couple of generations earlier. In 1953, lawan Buba, a retired former village head of Gwoza, was killed in Ghwa'a (see Figure 3) because he tried to mediate in a resettlement conflict. Lawan Buba himself originated from Korana Basa, but at that time he was seen as a representative of the new Muslim elite which had formed in Gwoza town under the auspices of the British colonial system of indirect rule. The incident, which was officially referred to as the 'Gwoza Affair' and unofficially as the 'Johode Affray', is well documented, and we will hear more about it later. At this point, it is only to say that the killing of lawan Buba happened in the context of an early 1950s attempt to more or less force the Dghwede off the hills and resettle them in the plains. The Dghwede did not like this because they did not want to give up the safety and security of their mountain farms.

An important part of their resistance was the fear of being raided if resettled out on the plains, a memory of which the Dghwede still had from the attacks by Hamman Yaji across the hills. Hamman Yaji had abused his office as district head and had conducted slave raids in the context of the upheavals of World War One. The circumstances of the death of lawan Buba in 1953 and the raids by Hamman Yaji about thirty years before had remained in the collective memory of many of my Dghwede friends. The killing of lawan Buba therefore created a lasting negative legacy in Ghwa'a, where it had resulted in children missing out on access to primary education even until my time. The earlier mentioned Dzga Primary School was only founded in 2001 and was the first official state school ever in Ghwa'a. We can confirm that it was the result of an earlier initiative by Stella Cattini and myself, in which Stella had started to teach children the basics of English literacy and numeracy under the mahogany tree of my research station.

Thanks mainly to the financial help of Stella's friends in London and elsewhere, we eventually managed to collect enough money to finance a separate building for a new centre, but then the local government closed it down because they classed it as a primary school. Luckily a delegation of elders went down to Gwoza and spoke to the education secretary, and it was opened again as the first Dzga Primary School. This example shows that the old

resentment against education by the people of Ghwa'a, rooted in their experience and the fear that it would alienate their children, was finally overcome, but it was only to raise its head again in the devastating events of the takeover of Boko Haram and the declaration of Western education as *haram* (forbidden). The contradicting local circumstances behind this are complex and we have to go back into colonial history to unravel some of the likely underlying causes.

Already, decades before the killing of Iwan Buba, the British had declared the Gwoza hills an Unsettled District. The mountain population was seen as having 'special needs' in terms of their collective ability to develop self-governance, and special touring officers visited them to address this. Later we will hear about some of their reports and roles in conflict situations. The 1953 incident was the most recent and one of the more dramatic incidents demonstrating the difficult relationships between the hill population and the newly emerging Gwoza district. Before Independence in 1960/61, as a result of it being classed an Unsettled District, Christian missionaries were neither allowed to enter the hills. All special colonial attempts to establish successful self-governance failed and the mistrust between the by then established elites in Gwoza town and large sections of the hill population prevailed.

Plate 3a: Funeral in Ghwa'a, with mainly younger local women now in Islamic dress code



Not only has resistance against Islamisation a long history in the Gwoza hills, but the history of Islamic sectarianism also has a long history, and Boko Haram was not the first of that kind. For example, when the earlier mentioned Hamman Yaji, who was already district head of Madagali under the Germans, was arrested by the British in 1927, the official reasoning was because of his links to Islamic sectarianism. It is interesting that the British found this more important than the fact that for years he had raided many areas of the northwestern Mandara Mountains for domestic slaves (many of them young females), sorghum and cattle. The Dghwedè remembered, as part of their narrative of his arrest, many of the names of those who were kidnapped by his troops. The British never officially admitted that they might have waited for too long to arrest him for his abusive raids against the hill populations.

It is a puzzling thought how it was possible for a local population with such a background history of resistance against any religious conversion, to eventually become one of the places of Boko Haram activity. In the four years between my last visits to Dghwedè, between late

2005 and early 2010, I noticed a significant increase in conversion to Islam in Ghwa'a. This became particularly obvious in the change of the female dress code. I had noticed that younger women in particular now wore Islamic clothing, which mostly consisted of a full body gown (called abaya in Arabic) with hijab, sometimes with full face cover (burqa), but more often with a partial face veil (niqab).

This occurrence was something very new and became particularly obvious when I attended a funeral in January 2010. We see, in Plate 3a, that the terraced hillside in front of the house of the old Traditionalist who had died in Ghwa'a was covered with rows of women in their Islamic dresses, while only a few women danced with leaves over their backs below them. Also, the number of traditional men in full warrior gear was significantly less in comparison with funerals that I had seen only a few years earlier. Later, I was able to establish that most of the recent conversions were to Izala, a version of Islam that had gained popularity in the towns of the plains.² It appears that many of the young seasonal workers were attracted by this, which also became apparent by the increasing number of marriages celebrated in the hills to which radical preachers were invited.

A summary of devastation

From mid-2013 onwards, violent attacks on mainly minority Christian communities in the Gwoza hills began. Houses and churches were burnt and people were killed. These events were linked to the revival of Boko Haram under a new leader by the name of Abubakar Shekau and occurred across the northeastern part of Nigeria, in particular Borno and Yobe state and also in Adamawa state. The attacks intensified and in August that year I was informed by my friends that Boko Haram had burnt down my research station and that the first ever state primary school of Ghwa'a had been made into an Islamic school.

The settlements in the eastern plain along the Cameroonian border also came under constant attack, and streams of refugees leaving their villages developed. By late 2013 and early 2014 the Christian communities, which had been particularly strong in the eastern plains, came under threat to the degree that more and more people abandoned their homes and fled. The same happened on the Dghwedé massif where the Christians had been in a clear minority, and the few Muslims who remained must have joined or were forced into Boko Haram. At this point we did not know what happened to our Traditionalist friends, who were mainly elderly people. We learned only later that they were eventually forced to farm for Boko Haram living in the hills. Later, I was informed that elderly Traditionalists had been forced to join Boko Haram for the sake of survival. Also, we were able to establish that those members of Boko Haram hiding in the hills mostly consisted of those who had fled the plains.

Over the following months the Gwoza hills, in particular Dghwedé, became one of the main operational bases of Boko Haram, at least this is what I gathered from friends who had fled. The Sambesa forest to the west of the Gwoza hills became the most important hiding place of the group and I was told that one could fairly easily move discreetly from there into the hills. Throughout that first period of destruction, Gwoza town itself remained under the control of the Nigerian army, but in May 2014 the emir of Gwoza was killed and abductions of women and girls started to be reported in the news. Before 2013 some attempts to take back the hills had still been made by the military, but this had now stopped completely. I remember speaking regularly to my friends, who had been originally from Barawa in the eastern plain but had fled to safer places, first to Mubi and later to Abuja. They updated me on what they

² For a better understanding of the history between Izala and the Boko Haram doctrine I recommend Adam Higazi (2015), who also did extensive research on the insurgency in the Gwoza area. He writes (ibid:324): 'Izala are strongly against Boko Haram and in that respect they are a bulwark against the jihadists, in Nigeria and Niger. But their Salafist message increased discord and religious competition in northern Nigeria, particularly with the Tijaniyya Sufi order and local Christians. This contributed to the rise of Boko Haram, which developed its own ideology but started as a splinter group from Izala.'

had heard from their internal networks of local news providers, often consisting of people who had recently travelled.

These internal news networks also confirmed cross-border attacks of Boko Haram into neighbouring Cameroon, which started to be reported by the media. It appears that by late 2013 and early 2014 the whole mountain area and eastern plain was controlled by Boko Haram, who, according to my friends, retreated into the hills whenever the Cameroonian army tried to retaliate in the eastern plain. Massacres by Boko Haram were reported by the media during this period in the eastern plain, where hundreds died. My friends added that fleeing villagers could be killed by mistake by the Cameroonian army when they tried to temporarily cross the international border for safety. Eventually Boko Haram also took Gwoza town and declared it a caliphate, and I refer to this as the second phase of devastation. This means that from August 2014 until end of March 2015, Gwoza town and with it the hill area remained under the total control of Boko Haram.

The only exception was a place called Ndololo, a deserted settlement on the highest elevation of the Zelidva spur. I was shocked when I heard from my friends that thousands of mainly Christians were allegedly hiding up there. Unlike the southern massif of the Gwoza hills where the Dghwedè lived, the Zelidva spur of the northern massif had been increasingly abandoned since the 1950s. However, after independence a small mainly Christian minority had established itself successfully in Divili (see Figure 2) and it now formed a place of safety for other Christians from the adjacent plains who could also go and hide there. The refugees subsequently retreated from Divili altogether, and moved higher up to Ndololo as the better hiding place.

The hills remain unsafe

Unlike the Dghwedè area, the Zelidva spur is extremely difficult to reach, but crucially it has permanent water on the top. In late 2014 I was informed that Boko Haram finally managed to get up there too, and killed many, but withdrew again. After the recapture of Gwoza town by the Nigerian army in 2015, Ndololo was still under the control of the Christian minority while the southern massif of the Gwoza hills remained infested by Boko Haram insurgents. Of course this was a consequence of the difficulty of the terrain in the whole of the Gwoza hills, with its lack of roads, the possibility of finding hiding places in caves, and so on. Also, the eastern plain remains, at time of writing, entirely unsafe for the return of those who have fled the area. This situation pertains, even though the Buhari government, after declaring technical victory in late 2015, has been trying to push for exactly that.

It is difficult to say whether the populations of the Gwoza hills who fled will ever return, and how life will be for them when they eventually do. I managed to remain in contact with some of them throughout the last couple of years of devastation. Much of the information I hold about this most recent time of devastation is based on weekly or monthly phone calls. Sometimes I heard about attacks shortly before they appeared in the Nigerian or international press. From late 2012 onwards I kept a diary of the press releases dedicated to the northwestern Mandara Mountains, on my website www.mandaras.info, under the subdirectory Information to Share. Also, the little charity Dzga Learning Support continued to exist, and with the help of Stella's friends we went on to collect money to support some families of close friends who had fled to various places of safety so they would have a better chance of survival, and we tried to help them in sending their children back to school.

The latter was the most important objective of our help, because Boko Haram had forced a generation of children and youth in the northeast of Nigeria to abandon their education. The fact that some young Muslims from Dghwedè might also have become involved in this most destructive and deadly activity seems like an irony of history, considering their parents' generation had already rejected Western education, but the difference was that the older generation did not see education as forbidden or sinful, only that they feared that schools

would take their children away. After all, having numerous children was the main way to increase the workforce in their struggle for survival in a labour intensive subsistence economy of terrace farming which was hundreds of years old.

To describe these ancient ways of living and successful survival in the hills is one of the main purposes of this book, to preserve it so that future generations might learn about their ancestors' once so successful indigenous past. I feel that sense of duty quite strongly, but also feel highly inadequate, despite being known as an area specialist for the ethnography of the northern Mandara Mountains. I will come back to my inadequacies and how I am trying to overcome them in the chapter section 'For the survivors of today and the historians of tomorrow' at the end of this general introduction.

The presumed impact on the environment

Considering Boko Haram's recent destruction of many hill communities, in particular in Dghwedè, there is a huge question mark over whether the terraced agriculture will ever be as active as it was before their arrival and unfortunate establishment in 2013 and 2014. This in turn impacts on the pro and cons of an increased vulnerability of the ecosystem. The intensive terrace cultivation system not only catered for the maintenance of the stone terracing which slowed down the flow of water, but it also positively impacted the fertility of the soils, in combination with the ongoing manuring of house fields which had happened throughout the past.

For over two years we did not have any first hand news of how the massively diminished local populations were coping. Any indirect news from the majority of the population, now displaced for several years, either in refugee camps in adjacent Cameroon or other rural places and towns in Nigeria, allowed for only a little hope. While I am writing these lines, the Nigerian army has not even attempted to enter the hills, which means that in 2016 Boko Haram is still using the physically remote setting of the Gwoza hills as a fall-back position. One wonders how many useful trees have been destroyed for firewood, or how the lack of maintenance of the agricultural terraces has increased erosion of the soils, not to mention the social and physical oppression of those who were at the time still up there, most likely by now desperately trying to survive, even if they have joined Boko Haram.

The latest developments

Between 2018 and 2020 things also changed concerning the Dghwedè massif, but not much for the better. It started with a reconciliation project, which I learned was established in 2018, to address the conflict between Muslims and Christians in the eastern plains. The plan was to build more camps for returning refugees. So far there had been one in Pulka and now there was an idea to also establish one in Ngoshe. According to my sources, the reconciliation project did not take off and the plan to open a second camp in Ngoshe did not happen. Neither were the eastern plains safe, and the area around Gwoza town was not safe either. In 2019 people still did not dare to collect firewood outside of Gwoza town because they feared being killed.

Boko Haram had by then split into two factions, one which kept up the attacks and another which was more prone to surrender and accept the possibility of rehabilitation. Altogether Boko Haram attacks had reduced but not entirely stopped. The section of Boko Haram which had established itself in Dghwedè and which had survived there by making the remaining, mainly elderly, local population feed them was still resident in 2018. I had learned that they consisted mostly of strangers such as Kanuri or Mafa (the latter allegedly from Cameroon) and others who had joined Boko Haram. Then in 2019 I was told by my sources that most of the strangers had left because they had not found life in the hills eventful enough, but that

Dghwedè was still controlled by Boko Haram. I was told that it would be still far too dangerous for a Christian to go up there and visit their mountainous homeland.

It was very difficult to get to the bottom of this because my sources were mainly Christians who had been fleeing Barawa but who had local connections to Ghwa'a. Then in 2019 several of my old Dghwedè friends died. One of them was Tada Nzige, the senior rainmaker who had been one of my main protagonists, not only on the history of rainmaking but also as an eyewitness on the killing of lawan Buba in 1953. Tada Nzige had already converted to Islam when I met him in the mid-1990s. He was one of the initiators to complain to the Gwoza educational authority when the Dzga Learning Support was closed in the late 1990s. At the time he had become aware that it was in the interest of the Dghwedè of Ghwa'a to have access to primary education, which he had been supporting with his action. Now, after his death, I was confronted with the rumour that Tada Nzige had been one of the supporters of Boko Haram in Ghwa'a, but we know far too little to make a judgement. His colonial involvement in forcing down the local population had troubled him, therefore he owned up by giving a truthful account of the killing of lawan Buba, and he also showed great compassion when he supported the Dzga primary school. This all shows a complex personal background history.

In 2019 I learned some more disturbing things regarding the corrupting presence of Boko Haram in Dghwedè. I now realised who were the true local victims. When I spoke to one of my sources and was inquiring about life in the hills, I was told that someone I knew as a Traditionalist friend had allegedly also joined Boko Haram. He had been the local custodian of Ghwa'a, meaning he was responsible for many key rituals in the past. We will learn more about that traditional role in our Dghwedè oral history retold. My source believed that the main reason why our friend had converted to the radical Boko Haram ideology was that his survival was challenged. The case of two of my friends having become victims of Boko Haram by being forced to join them made me realise that elderly Traditionalists had become vulnerable survivors of the Boko Haram presence in the hills.

While putting the finishing touches on this book, I remain shocked by what has happened, and also intrigued by the contradictions and intricacies of what brought all of this about. My sources on the actual situation in Dghwedè remain very vague indeed and none of what I write in this last update of the most recent developments is written in stone. However, it makes me feel, as the writer of this book, a personal commitment to processing my field data with the greatest possible respect. The next chapter addresses this, and also explains how the methodological approach of writing developed and finally took shape.

While we develop that view, we will realise that the survivors of Boko Haram are not only all those who lost their family members, friends and their homeland, but that one of the main losses is that of a memory of a once-shared cultural past. This is particularly painful when living in the diasporas, where one's own cultural past might become idealized or embroidered very quickly. This is why I aim for the highest possible authenticity in what my Dghwedè friends told me about their cultural past, while their collective memory was still a continuous aspect of living in their mountainous homeland.

We will see in the next chapter that there is another dimension to my writing, one which has to do with indirect criticism of academic ethnographic writing in a postmodern world of social anthropology. In that more scholarly context we will learn what is meant by a fragment, and that fragments are not just parts of a bigger whole but the result of a process in which one thing becomes another by writing it down. This is the main challenge in this case, and at the same time a typical consequence of writing an oral history by developing a historical narrative from the spoken perspective of local protagonists who remembered for us their Traditionalist past.

For the survivors of today and the historians of tomorrow

I made several attempts to write about the Dghwedè and the Gwoza hills, but the process of developing a final approach happened under the impression of the increasingly devastating effect Boko Haram had on their mountainous homeland. After all, their terrifying presence had stopped me from visiting again, although at first I thought that this was only temporary. This was the time between my last visit in 2009/10 and 2012, a couple of years before the Boko Haram insurgents had managed to establish themselves for good in the Gwoza hills.

My first attempt to write was in 2010 after I had been unexpectedly forced to retire from my job as a psychiatric social worker in London, a result of the 2008 financial crisis. All the years before I had not been able to concentrate on publishing anything much, but was more concerned with maintaining a dual career in which my main focus was to collect ethnographic field data with the perspective of publishing after retirement at age 65. The premature retirement from my main breadwinning job at the age of 60 and my last visit to Dghwedè coincided, and suddenly I found myself confronted with a large corpus of fieldnotes, with no longer having the distraction of maintaining a dual career, but nevertheless with no plan of how to proceed.

The first thing I did after I found myself stripped of a regular income, but also with the feeling of being stranded as I could not make further trips to the Gwoza hills, was to type up my Dghwedè notes. I had collected them between 1995 and 2010 in a series of about eight visits. Each of them had lasted an average of about six weeks and had taken place during the rainy as well as during the dry season, but more often during the dry season. There was another set of fieldnotes from my initial ethnographic survey of the Gwoza hills in 1994. They had already been typed up in 1995 before I even started doing my first session in Dghwedè, which, as a result of that survey, I had identified as a key group of the Gwoza hills. The first set is referred to as Gwoza notes and the second set as Dghwedè notes, but before I explain how my Dghwedè notes became the ethnographic base of this book, the first thing is to explain how my Gwoza notes fit into it.

The Gwoza notes not only contain ethnographic survey data about all the other groups of the Gwoza hills, but also some first survey notes about the Dghwedè. The latter will play an important role in Part Three, in 'Dghwedè oral history retold', while a summary of the survey will be presented in Part One, in 'The Gwoza hills before Boko Haram'. It will be seen further below how Part One is structured, but I want to mention at this point that it is not only an introduction to the ethnography of the Gwoza hills, but also a presentation of the administrative structure of the Gwoza LGA. There now follows an explanation of the circumstances of how I collected my Dghwedè notes, and how I finally processed them to form the ethnographic information base for this book.

My interest in working on the ethnography of the Gwoza hills, and the Dghwedè in particular, was inspired by my previous work among the Mafa. The latter is the montagnard neighbour of the Dghwedè to the east and southeast, along the other side of the international boundary. However, unlike for the Mafa, there was no prior ethnographic literature on the Dghwedè, except for some mentions by Renate Lukas (1973) and Ekkehard Wolff (1971). I therefore consider my fieldnotes to be the first truly substantial ethnographic research ever conducted among the Dghwedè. There were nevertheless quite a few colonial reports, to which we will refer in the context of Part Two, in 'Key sources towards a shared subregional past'. Among the colonial reports it is A.B. Mathews' work from 1934 which stands out, and which I used a lot during my fieldwork to compare oral historical traditions, and we will refer to his data in all three parts of this book.

My research assistant for my Dghwedè fieldwork was John Zakariya from Barawa but with roots in Ghwa'a. He was a student at the University of Maiduguri and about to complete his degree in economics when we become close friends in the process of working together for so many years. He features quite a lot in this work. He lost his home in Barawa as a result of Boko Haram and remains deeply traumatised, and now lives in the outskirts of Abuja. We are

still in contact and I will often refer to him simply as John. His importance was manifold. He was crucial in interpreting for me and also in discussing open questions and planning our ongoing research process. John not only patiently translated my questions into Dghwede and back into English, but also relayed and often summarised what our Dghwede friends answered while I was taking notes. John was also fundamental in transcribing the many Dghwede words for me, and when we translated taped interviews he was the semantic interlink. John is, therefore, the most crucial interpretative connection between our oral protagonists in the field and the written version of the Dghwede notes that I typed up during 2010.

Processing my handwritten fieldnotes into typed field documents was a very important first step to bring them together in one format. Turning them into a substantial corpus of fully accessible and searchable data allowed me to see for the first time the results of our research in Dghwede in its entirety. I indexed them and also produced an annotated list of about 1000 Dghwede words and concepts which I had separated. Many of those words appeared to be double or transcribed in different ways but formed a point to refer back to when needed. I also had a significant number of photographs from documenting material aspects of Dghwede culture. One part of the corpus of photographs was in the form of slides and another large part consisted of digital photos. I scanned all the slides in and numbered them to make them available for choosing those suitable for illustration and printing.

Another very important part of the corpus of my written historical sources consists of the corpus of archival notes I collected in the National Archives of Kaduna in 1998. I spent a week in Kaduna, concentrating on the Gwoza hills in general but also on past key events in Dghwede during colonial times. The 'Gwoza Affair', of which I had already documented an oral account by Tada Nzige of Ghwa'a, was one of them. I photocopied a selection of various archive materials during that week, to have them available for my future writing about the colonial history of the Dghwede, especially while under British indirect rule. In 1999 I also went to the German Colonial Archives in Berlin, where I studied and collected materials from the beginning of the German colonial rule from 1902 onwards. That set of data will be elaborated further below when describing the main chapters of Part Two.

Between 2001 and 2004 I was involved in the archaeological work on the DGB sites, a set of ancient stone platforms, which brought me back to my former research area in Mafa land. The DGB complex will feature a great deal in this book, and so do the ancient Wandala rulers of Kirawa and much more will be heard about them later. It was in 2011 after I had organised my Dghwede notes that I started to write about the pre-colonial and colonial background history of the Dghwede. This was when I explored for the first time what became later the essence of my approach of setting the pre-colonial background scene, by seeing the Gwoza hills as being geographically sandwiched between the early Wandala state in Kirawa and the early terraced platform structures of the DGB sites. At the time I explored quite extensively pre-colonial and colonial key sources, and elements of Part Two are shortened versions of that, but in 2011 I was still thinking that I would be able to visit Dghwede again soon.

Then, in 2012, the killing of many of my friends in Dghwede began, and it was then that I realised that I might never be able to go back to the Gwoza hills. Only a few months earlier I had begun to look at my typed Dghwede notes and had started with a historical ethnography, written from the perspective of the social transformations of Dghwede society. While events unfolded I realised that I would have to go back to Dghwede to carry out more fieldwork on the question of how my Dghwede friends interpreted their social transformation against the background of my previous research. Because a study of the social transformation of the Dghwede in their homeland was no longer possible, I changed my approach and instead began to write about the Gwoza hills as a sub-region of the northern Mandara Mountains.

The reason for the new approach was that I thought I could no longer write about the Dghwede while not seeing a future for them in their mountains. I possibly also struggled with being too much of an outsider. However, only shortly after I had started writing about the

Gwoza hills as a sub-region, I felt unhappy and realised that everything I wrote was somehow too detached from the reality of what happened at the same time in Dghwedè. We have seen above how this was the time when the situation deteriorated and that the whole of the Gwoza hills came under the control of Boko Haram. For months on end there was only very little hope. The Gwoza LGA, one of the poorest regions of Nigeria, became even more neglected by the Nigerian government during that time, and as a result the Nigerian army felt incapable of accessing the hill area. So I went back to reviewing what I had written about the colonial past, but while I was doing that I could not stop myself thinking of my Dghwedè friends who were about to lose their homeland for good.

At that point I was writing about the unsettling effect of the late colonial period, a time when the Dghwedè of Ghwa'a, under the newly formed local Muslim elite in Gwoza town, were forced to leave the mountains and settle in the adjacent plains. In my head, I started to make links between the past and present, and wondered how the survivors of the Boko Haram attacks and their future descendants as historians of tomorrow would want me to write about their forefathers' history. This happened while I was writing about the arrest of Hamman Yaji in 1927 and the killing of Iwan Buba in 1953, events that presented an ideal scenario of writing history from below by comparing the official colonial and the oral witness accounts from Dghwedè. I realised at this point that I should leave much of the oral accounts intact in the way they had been interpreted for me by John. When I then began to plan Part Three, and looked at the corpus of my Dghwedè notes, I had to make up my mind how I wanted to process them from field documents into a Dghwedè oral history retold.

As a next step, I decided to filter out a list of topics, purely guided by the thematic structure of my Dghwedè notes. I then gave each topic a name derived from the main theme, and then ordered them by starting with those topics which would relate most to the settlement history of Dghwedè. I began with the oral history of names and places, which lead over to the oral history of local warfare linked to those names, followed by traditions of origin linked to a reconstructed Dghwedè lineage tree, which we again attempted to reconnect back to the oral history of place names. Because I had filtered out about 25 thematic ethnographic topics, it was not possible in the beginning to get the sequential order of their presentation right. I had to start to write up a few initial topics first, to see how to arrange the rest of the topics in such a way that would be thematically suited. By then it was 2016 and the Dghwedè as I had known them did not exist any longer in the Gwoza hills.

A history in fragments from the grassroots

My first working title for my final approach to writing Part Three was 'A Dghwedè oral history in fragments', which was inspired by a book called *Fragments of History pertaining to the Vill of Ramsgate* (1885), in which the author presents the history of Ramsgate in Kent according to available historical and geographical sources of the time. I thought that I could also treat my Dghwedè notes as historical fragments by presenting them with the greatest possible local authenticity, simply by not filling in missing information by any theoretical or comparative methods, but just by letting my fieldnotes speak for themselves. The plan was to see whether an underlying narrative would evolve, which I could then hopefully contextualise further, perhaps into a comprehensive Dghwedè oral history.

While I was following this preliminary approach, I came across a book by William Tronzo called *The Fragment: An Incomplete History* (2009). It consists of a collection of essays on art history and criticism by scholars of numerous disciplines. Tronzo summarises his book in the form of an intellectual advertisement as follows:

Almost everything we know about the past comes from physical and narrative fragments. Yet a fragment is not simply a static part of a once-whole thing. It is itself something in motion over time, manifesting successively as object, evidence, concept, and condition.

This sentence inspired me to be more confident about my approach and to take a closer look at what a fragment is. I also realised that my Dghwedè notes were not potential elements of an incomplete whole – and that they were not static either, but rather incomplete by their very nature. I became aware that as a result of my processing them in the way I did they already had my intellectual fingerprints all over them. This insight was reinforced by the violent circumstances in which the Dghwedè culture was disappearing in front of my eyes.

It is therefore important for me to treat my Dghwedè notes with the greatest respect, while we continue to reshape them into a Dghwedè oral history retold. This also includes resisting the temptation to fill local knowledge gaps with comparative ethnographic material from other groups. As a result of this approach, the concept of the Dghwedè as being survivors receives an additional dimension, since we do not want them to fall victim to ethnographic comparison, but to retain their originality.

It is of the utmost importance to acknowledge the fragmentary nature of any historical discourse, and the incompleteness it produces in the form of an informed scholarly discourse can only be laid open but cannot be avoided. I experienced this and freely admit that I have been hypothesising and speculating, the more I thought an underlying conclusive narrative of who the Dghwedè were was coming out of my writing process. I have therefore tried to keep the presentation of my Dghwedè notes and their discussion separate, especially when it comes to any conclusive suggestions from my side. I do use the fieldnotes I collected over the years among the neighbouring Mafa and also the neighbours of the Dghwedè in the Gwoza hills themselves, but am very selective when I do. The reason for that is the intention to create an image of the late pre-colonial Dghwedè in their subregional embeddedness, but at the same time to preserve from the oral sources what it is that gives the oral history authenticity.

It is that striving for ethnographic authenticity, which cannot come out of comparison but only from presenting and attempting to transmit the circumstantial background sound of our oral protagonists, to present their views not just as responses to my questions, but rather as voices from the past. It is in that sense that we see the qualifying expression 'A history from the grassroots' in the context of our fragmentary history of the Dghwedè as a precondition, namely not to forget that here the oral came before the written. This circumstance is also expressed in the title of Part Three when speaking of a Dghwedè oral history retold.

It is a typical dilemma we find ourselves in because we are translating oral into written and are retelling in writing what was once only retold by word of mouth. To only compare ethnographic data with other ethnographic data would be comparing already written ethnographic data. We see ourselves as a primary source of historical fragments of an oral culture that lost its original voice. This brings us to our next section where we explain why in our main title we are pretending to be them, what we are not, but we want them to be heard!

Azaghvana - 'I say'

Before going through the three parts of our fragmentary history of the Dghwedè in greater detail, it is necessary to briefly introduce the reader to the meaning of the main title of this book. After what is stated above, it sounds presumptuous to entitle it *Azaghvana*, meaning '*I say*', and pretend that I speak for the Dghwedè. After all, I am a complete outsider, not even a local outsider but an outsider from Europe. However, if we look at the history of the Dghwedè, the integration of outsiders always played a role, as described in the chapter 'About outsiders as founders'. Now, I am certainly not a founder in that sense, but in another odd way I am, because if I did not write the oral history of the Dghwedè, those grassroots fragments I collected and processed into writing would disappear from history. The expression '*I say*' as the main title is a literary device to emphasise our desire for ethnographic authenticity in the face of violent loss. It is the presenting style I chose, and using an inclusive 'we' when describing and interpreting our Dghwedè notes is also a indirect reference to John Zakariya as my research assistant and local translator.

I am not saying that Dghwedé survivors might not write down their oral history, but to my knowledge no one ever documented so many collective memory data as John and I did between 1994 and 2010. I would like to earn the entitlement of speaking on behalf of those who told us their stories by entitling this book: *Azaghvana*, meaning literally 'I say', and it is important to me not to speak of my Dghwedé friends as my informants, an expression still used by ethnographic writers, but instead to call them protagonists. This also includes John.

Plate 4a: Group of bulamas and elders of Korana Basa during my first visit



Plates 4a to 4n present pictures of my Dghwedé protagonist friends. They and many others were the voices behind what I learned and present here as a generalised version of a Dghwedé oral history retold. I am aware that many of the historically minded Dghwedé will not agree with a few of my interpretations, but hope that they can still see them as useful ethnographic sources of their once shared collective past.

Plate 4b: We do not know which ward we visited that day. John is sitting in the centre front.



The photos in Plates 4a to 4d were taken in the second half of the 1990s. Plate 4a is the very first photo I took in Dghwedé to show who was participating in our research. It was during

the rainy season when I also got to see Gaske rainmakers in action. In the front is John to the left and Buba from the Gwoza LG to his right, but he did not stay. Next to John is bulama Ngatha of Hudimche who we recognise by his beard. Unfortunately I cannot identify anyone else by their names although one of them might well be a bulama or one of the local elders John and I also spoke to over the years.

The following pictures also show group scenarios, and again I do not recognise the people by their names, but I can remember some of the faces because they look familiar. Still, I am not entirely sure where it is, but presumably in Korana Basa. Plate 4c is also a group of our Dghwede protagonists, representing the local voices introduced mainly in Part Three.

Plate 4c: Again we do not know the location in Dghwede, but can see John (bottom right).



Plate 4d: This is in Kwalika and the man in the middle is Chika Khutsa.



The picture above (Plate 4d) is in Kwalika (see Figure 3), and the man in the middle, wearing the war helmet, will later tell us about the oral history of this place. Within the later text we

often mention the name of protagonists together with accompanying elders. We can safely imagine that quite a few of them are in this picture too.

More familiar faces are in Plates 4e to 4h, with Tada Nzige who died a couple of years ago while parts of the Gwoza hills were under Boko Haram occupation. Also, bulama Ngatha died some time between 2006 and 2009, shortly before Boko Haram. We also draw the reader's attention to the fly flaps made out of fan palm fiber, which many of the men carry (Plates 4c and 4d).

Plate 4e: Senior rainmaker Tada Nzige to the left of John	Plate 4f: Tada Nzige
	
Plate 4g: Bulama Ngatha of Hudimche to the left	Plate 4h: John Zakariya
	

Plates 4i-4n below show photographs of Dghwedè protagonists from Ghwa'a. We see Zakariya Kwire, John's father, who became a Christian very late in life and was a mine of ethnographic information. We often interviewed him together with his friend dada Dga who was still a Traditionalist. Dada Dukwa was my main protagonist on the birth of twins, being himself a father of twins. He was also still a Traditionalist, and so was Ghamba Vunga, who was at the same time the leading earth priest of Ghwa'a.

We are very grateful to Abubakar and Kalakwa, and learn in the chapter about the architecture of the Dghwedè how fragmented the material remains of traditional houses already were during my time in 2005. That had nothing to do with Boko Haram but was a result of socio-cultural transformation since colonial times. We visited two more houses, that of Buba Nza'awara of Dzga in Ghwa'a and bulama Ngatha's house. We show a picture of

Buba in the chapter about the house as a ritual place, and will show more pictures of other Dghwedé friends throughout Part Three.

<p>Plate 4i: Zakariya and 'Dga of Ghwa'a together with John</p> 	<p>Plate 4j: Zakariya & Haruna</p> 
<p>Plate 4k: Dukwa of Ghw'a, a father of twins, and myself</p> 	<p>Plate 4l: Ghamba of Ghwa'a</p> 
<p>Plate 4m: Abubakar of Ghwa'a (with sunglasses) invited us to document his house.</p>	
	<div>  <div> <p>Plate 4n: Kalakwa of Ghwa'a also invited us to photograph the inside of his house in 2005.</p> </div> </div>

In the next section we will introduce the reader into all three parts of our book, by laying out its comprehensive structure.

A comprehensive summary of the three parts

Because of the different historical and source-related content, this book about the Dghwede is structured in three main parts. Part One is about the Gwoza hills before Boko Haram, and aims to describe how I remember them during my time. It covers the years between 1994 and 2010 and also provides us with a summary of the ethnolinguistic complexities of the Gwoza LGA. Part Two is concerned with the pre-colonial and colonial background history of the Gwoza hills as part of a wider sub-region by relying on the various key sources available. Part Three is an attempt to retell the Dghwede oral history based on ethnographic field data.

Part One consists of two chapters. In the first chapter, we want to introduce the reader to the geographical setting of the Gwoza hills by going on an imaginary journey around the foothills and then across the heights of the hills. We start our journey in Pulka by first going down the western plain as far as Limankara and then travel from Pulka down the eastern plain as far as Barawa. From there we take a hike up to Ghwa'a in Dghwede and continue from there via Korana Basa southwards to Gvoko. Next, we look at the issue of mountains versus plains, so typical for the Gwoza LGA. We introduce the reader to some of the local geographical and administrative intricacies and how they were linked to the already existing social conflict between Muslims and Christians in the plains. We close that chapter with a short description of how conversion to a more fundamentalist version of Islam also started to become an issue of conflict in parts of the hills from 2005 onwards.

Chapter Two of Part One is more substantial in terms of data presentation because we want to take a closer look at the local administrative, ethnolinguistic and demographic complexities of the Gwoza LGA. This is achieved by introducing the reader to three thematic maps I designed from my 1994 ethnographic survey results, by applying the boundaries of the administrative settlement units of the time as a cartographic background. We describe the ethnolinguistic situation by comparing languages and ethnicities and connect them with the various administrative divisions as they were in 1994. We finally present population and resulting population density estimates in the light of the geographical divisions between mountains, western plain and eastern plain. In the context of that, we identify the eastern plain as more conflict-prone due to having been further away from the centre and therefore more remote in terms of a less developed infrastructure.

In Part Two, we attempt to construct a subregional background scenario of a shared past which Part Three will use as a hypothetical pre-colonial and colonial historical setting. Much of the oral history about the Dghwede traditional way of life goes back to pre-colonial times and we want to propose a diachronic framework in which we plan to see and describe those oral historical traditions which would otherwise just be tales of an atemporal ethnographic past. To use the ethnographic present by presenting oral data as if they were synchronic has a long tradition in ethnography. We too will write in the ethnographic present but only while quoting from fieldnotes, not when we re-examine them.

We start Part Two by introducing the reader to the early written sources about the foundation of Kirawa as the first Wandala capital in the region and the first mention of the Wandala, also known as the Mandara. These early written sources go back to the 15th and even 14th centuries AD, and we link them with the radiocarbon dates of the already mentioned DGB sites. The latter is a complex of terraced platforms with underground passages, stairs and chambers situated in a significant number along the northern slopes of the Oupay massif, just to the south of Dghwede. From there one can overlook the Gwoza hills and the eastern plains, with the Kirawa and Moskota rivers as the main dividing watercourses. A Table of Contemporaneity will be produced by using palaeoclimatic dates from the expanding and retreating flat waters of Lake Chad to the north of the Mandara Mountains. To do this a list of Wandala kings will be produced, taken from latest translations of what became known as the *Wandala Chronicles*, an Arabic source from the early 18th century. We will suggest that Ghwa'a, as the earlier part of Dghwede, already existed during the 16th century AD.

Dghwede legends which claim a mountainous origin of the Wandala of Kirawa will be compared with legendary tales from the *Wandala Chronicles*. We also present Dghwede oral historical traditions to illustrate how the Wandala and the Dghwede most likely had a tributary relationship, at least during late pre-colonial times. A possibly earlier pre-colonial relationship between the Gwoza hills and the Wandala will be explored by referring to Leo Africanus as another early source. In 1529 he described the topographical dichotomy between mountains and plains, typical for the region south of Lake Chad. Leo also mentions the exchange of horses against slaves. In the context of that we explore the possible setting of early trade relations, also by attempting to portray the Gwoza hills as a superior early place of safety in comparison to the adjacent plains, where slave-hunting on horseback was common. We subsequently present Dghwede oral historical traditions of most likely late pre-colonial memory by showing how the eastern plains in particular were seen by our local protagonists from Ghwa'a as the most dangerous place to farm.

The above late pre-colonial context is important when we introduce the reader in Chapter Two of Part Two to the unsettling times of the colonial years. We start by explaining what impact the First World War and with it the Treaty of Versailles had, not only on the wider region but specifically on the Dghwede massif. We acknowledge how the southern part of Dghwede, which we got to know as Korana Basa, came during this earlier colonial period under the influence of the Fulbe district heads of Madagali, while the northern part of Dghwede which we know as Ghwa'a continued to maintain links to the Wandala of Mora (now in Cameroon). This geopolitical divide had already started to exist before the arrival of the Germans in 1902, and we underpin this view with our oral accounts from Ghwa'a by presenting them as part of collective memories about late pre-colonial boundaries.

We mentioned the arrest of Hamman Yaji and the killing of lawan Buba as the two examples of local history told from below, where we compare the relevant colonial records with the oral memories of our Dghwede protagonists. In the first scenario, we show how the relative safety which still existed during the later pre-colonial period was violated by Hamman Yaji of Madagali who was raiding the hills for slaves, corn and cattle. He did not attack from the east but from the western side of the Gwoza Hills, and there was no tributary relationship in place either. We will present the Dghwede version of his arrest in 1927 as an example of Dghwede history from the grassroots. We will do the same in the example of the killing of lawan Buba in Ghwa'a in 1953, a case for which we have much written and oral evidence to make a convincing historical point.

The killing of lawan Buba is also a good example to show how determined the Dghwede were to keep their independence as terrace farmers of the Gwoza hills, and to illustrate how during late colonial rule the new local elite had by then established itself in Gwoza town. This new elite had developed Gwoza during the previous two decades into a new centre on the western foothills, replacing Ashigashiya as the old centre near Kirawa in the eastern part of the Gwoza LGA. We discuss the whole problem of the failure of the 1950 resettlement scheme after explaining the newly emerging conflict between hills and adjacent plain populations, and how 'pagan re-organisation' failed here as an issue of 'self-governance'. Even though the British administration tried to give the hill population a say about their political destiny in the hills, the newly forming local elites in Gwoza had another agenda.

The Gwoza hills remained an Unsettled District more or less from the beginning to the end of British rule, which resulted in Christian missionaries gaining access to the hills only very latterly. We close the second chapter of Part Two by presenting the route to independence in the context of two plebiscites of 1960/61. They ended the official Mandateship period and finally divided the Gwoza hills and neighbouring French Cameroon, with the river Kirawa still forming today the international boundary. The division finally casts the cultural similarities between the two sites into a permanent state of separation. This was in the interest of the newly emerging local elites in Gwoza, who had been promised independence from Adamawa with Yola as the centre. Unfortunately, this turned out to be very bad news for the

eastern plain of the Gwoza LGA, and as a result it was left behind in terms of modern development.

We begin Part Three with the chapter heading 'Names and places', by first listing our available historical sources, in particular Moisel's map from 1913, and also captain Lewis's first colonial report from 1925. We then compare them with the results of my survey of 1994 and other oral accounts from Dghwedè, to see how far back certain place names go. We are then able to establish which place names must have already been there, at least during late pre-colonial times. It turns out that quite many of the ward names were, but there is one in particular which no longer appears in captain Lewis's list but was still mentioned by Moisel as 'Hirguse'. We identify 'Hirguse' as 'Gharguze' and we will explore further how the oral historical meaning of 'Gharguze', which was according to our oral sources congruent to the four wards known as Gharaza, Hudimche, Korana Basa, Korana Kwandame, should be interpreted in the context of our other oral sources about the development of what would later become administrative Korana Basa.

In the next chapter, we leave written history and with it much of colonial history more or less behind in order to explore pre-colonial settlement history under the heading 'Warfare and settlement', by relying solely on oral sources. For example we examine what we know on war alliances and introduce the distinction of northern and southern Dghwedè, which is almost congruent with the two administrative village units Korana Basa and Ghwa'a. Based on such an artificial geographical template, we explore how potential war alliances formed and how locality could override descent in the case of smaller lineages. We then come to a first understanding of how the most recent pre-colonial settlement development must be seen in the context of the formation of the Vaghagaya lineages. They most likely increased in number and expanded in late pre-colonial times and changed the balance of power in Dghwedè. In the context of this, we acknowledge that the place name 'Gharguze' is also congruent to the wards occupied by the descendants of Vaghagaya. We can establish that the main oral historical tradition to explain how modern Korana Basa came about was war between the descendants of Vaghagaya and those of the Gudule. The descendants of Gudule were considered as the previous settlers and we will hear more about their various roles throughout Part Three.

The discussion of oral sources regarding settlement development and warfare brings us to acknowledge the importance of patrilineal descent for the membership of what we refer to as clan and lineage groups. We also explore the Tur tradition as the most important south-to-north tradition of origin for most groups of the Gwoza hills, and recognise that the Wandala too were seen as being part of it. A wider subregional discussion of the Tur tradition then leads us to include parallel traditions of origin found among the Mafa of the DGB area, such as the Wula-Sakon and the Godaliy traditions. We can establish that there were presumably several such side by side migration routes along and around the high massifs of the northwestern Mandara Mountains. To historically further underpin the hypothesis, we link cyclical pre-colonial climate change by comparing those traditions of origin with scientific evidence of the changing Lake Chad water levels developed in Part Two.

Based on palaeoclimatic sources about periods of aridity and humidity in the area south of Lake Chad, we identify the 17th century as the by far most humid century since the beginning of our suggested contemporaneity between the DGB sites and the Wandala state in Kirawa during the late 14th and/or early 15th century. Due to the very long period of high rainfalls, we hypothesise that the 17th century is the likely time frame for the most prominent south-to-north tradition of origin in Dghwedè. Under this presumption of contemporaneity, we explore how oral sources refer to population pressure as the most important impulse for local warfare in southern Dghwedè. This leads to the hypothesis that the Mughuze-Vaghagaya lineages became not only the most recent patrilineal expansion but also the most numerous one in comparison to all others. We subsequently discuss, in a chapter called 'The Dghwedè house of Mbira', how Mbira was the mythical ancestor believed to have originated from Tur, and show how controversial some of the local traditions of origin potentially are, and how difficult it is to construct a convincing version of a Dghwedè lineage tree.

By further contextualising this controversy, we recognise that local outsiders often played an important role as founding ancestors, and discuss the different views of our Dghwede protagonists on how Mughuze-Ruwa, father of Vaghagaya, started as a local nobody. While Mughuze-Ruwa lineages became the largest clan group not only in southern but the whole of Dghwede, the less numerous descendants of Thakara of Ghwa'a remained the oldest local clan group. However we realise that many founding legends, in particular of apical ancestors, have very little historical value in the strict sense. For example, we conclude that quite a few of the other associated lineages were conveniently included in the Dghwede house of Mbra as a shared mythological ancestor from Tur. Despite this problem we think that we have enough oral historical evidence to infer that Ghwa'a existed before the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineages. We suggest in Part Two that Ghwa'a already existed during the 16th century, and will revisit that hypothesis later across Part Three.

Before we move on to discuss the Dghwede relationship terms, we want to briefly reiterate that the chapter about outsiders and founders was the first time I became fully aware of not wanting to summarise fieldnotes to filter out the ethnographically most convenient aspects. We therefore left the founding legends more or less as they had been written down in the first English translation of my fieldnotes. The reason was to relay as much of the authenticity of the field circumstance to our potential readers as possible. John Zakariya, my friend and research assistant, translated the various Mughuze versions to me and I wrote them down. John spoke reasonable English, and English is a second language for me also. I made the imperfections of our original translation transparent here, and hope that the mindset of our Dghwede friends as narrators still shines through. This is also why we present fieldnote quotations only very little edited and in the ethnographic present, but use the historical present when we subsequently discuss and attempt to ethnographically contextualise them.

The next chapter deals with relations and relationships, and we provide a provisional list of social relationship terms. They consist of Dghwede words for local group formation, exogamy rules and concepts of generational grouping across extended families, with the nuclear family as the corporate base unit. However, we exclude one important term, which is that of *thagaya* (the seventh born) who functioned as custodian of the earth or lineage priest, because we have a dedicated chapter to that in Part Three. This chapter on relationship terms seriously challenged me in that I had to struggle with translating kinship terms, which are a very important key fragment in understanding how Dghwede social organisation and local group formation once unfolded. Despite the patchiness of our knowledge we can hopefully avoid going into any theoretical discussion about the history of applying kinship terminology. Instead I tried to stay with the field evidence given to me by my local friends.

In this comprehensive summary I am not going to go through every single one of the twenty chapters of Part Three. Instead we want to invite the reader to start reading and to learn which aspect of Dghwede culture each chapter is trying to preserve and relay. Every thematic fragment of the oral field data presented as a chapter heading is unique and throws up its contradictions and versions, leading to new contextualised answers or questions, which often have to be left open. Some chapters pull loose ends together more than others, such as the chapter on the complexities of the ritual calendar of the Dghwede. Other sections have many lists, such as in the chapter 'Working the terraced land'. Additionally, that chapter informs us particularly of how changing agricultural techniques became relevant in modern times, and how they contributed to the transformation of Dghwede ritual culture. One of the most significant technological changes in that context seems to have been the introduction of chemical fertilisers as opposed to animal manure. We learn here that the agricultural importance of animal manure for terrace farming is an underlying narrative in our analysis of the oral historical importance of manure in the Dghwede ritual culture.

For me, the two chapters presenting the architecture of a traditional house are very important, and I am very pleased that I spent so much time writing them. In particular, the issue of illustration became crucial in this chapter, which brings me to the point of how much I also aim to present material culture as an important way of explaining how ritual culture once

unfolded in the most compact space. This becomes evident in the chapter about the house as a place of worship. We learn how religious rituals once unfolded in the context of the seasonal calendar, starting with the house as the base unit of ritual life, and then reaching out into the wider local community. We learn about the cosmological dimension of manure production as a symbol of fecundity for successful food production.

The ritual importance of manure production also becomes obvious in the chapter on the bull festival, while the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) highlights the ritual context of the long-term agricultural success of the individual in a competitive environment of extended family connections. The four stages of *dzum zugune* unfolded along kinship lines, and we try to underpin its visual presentation with sketches and photographs of body adornment. We show how important adult initiation once was as a cultural expression of crisis management in the face of potential crop failure, an experience linked to cyclical aridity as an environmental condition of the past. Neither the bull festival nor the adult initiation rituals, the latter extending over several years, was in existence any longer when I worked there, and I had to reconstruct both from the collective memory of my local protagonists.

After our chapter on adult initiation, we change course by writing less from a perspective of Dghwedè social and ritual organisation and its manifestations in material culture, and more from the view of the world of the individual as agent. This change of focus is specifically expressed in the chapter about the Dghwedè concept of existential personhood, where we present some of our protagonists' ideas about the structure of the mind and the worldview inherent in that. In this chapter we also address the Dghwedè idea of witchcraft and sorcery, and describe them as internalised ideas of personhood. I found this the most difficult chapter to write since it confronted me with my own preconditioned mindset.

Our modified approach of looking more from the perspective of an imaginary agent when analysing and contextualising our field data is maintained to reconstruct the model of a late pre-colonial cosmological worldview from the oral memories of our Dghwedè friends. We start with our description of a flat-earth cosmography as the underlying cognitive orientation of their belief system. To cosmologically contextualise the traditional concept of divinity (*gwazgafte*) and the belief in God as Supreme Being is part of this also, as is the role of mythology to explain cultural inventions such as guinea corn and fire. We show that God has a gender and lives a mirror image of life in this world, and such an image also exists inside the earth where the ancestors live and where the sun passes through in the night, rising again into this world out of the earth's backside. In readdressing the idea of worlds above and below this world as an interchange of terrestrial and celestial supernatural forces, for example rainmakers and cornblessers who as representatives of specialist lineages function on behalf of divinity, the concept of existential personhood remains indicative.

The chapter on Durghwe as a mountain shrine will demonstrate how the cosmological ideas of our Dghwedè friends are manifested in the three pillars marking the summit of Durghwe, and also in the underground structure of Durghwe. The pillars that represent three granaries are connected to the interior of Durghwe which has a connection to a permanent water source, and there are three bulls living underground, which we see as a cosmological expression of the mixed farming system on terraced hillsides. Apart from making an ethnoarchaeological suggestion to better understand the cosmological meaning of the DGB sites, we show how the Dghwedè and their montagnard neighbours of the wider sub-region used Durghwe as the most northerly shrine for rainmaking. We further suggest that Durghwe was perhaps identical with Mt Legga which Heinrich Barth saw in June 1851 while travelling down the western plains.

Altogether, very little regional comparison is used but questions are rather left open. However, we will use some for comparison, such as in the chapter about the bull festival, where we take a wider regional view related to the geographical position of the Dghwedè bull festival in comparison to their neighbours. In that context Gudur plays a role, a place of legendary reputation on the eastern side of the northern Mandara Mountains. We rely here mainly on our previous ethnographic research among the Mafa to explain the link between the

already mentioned Gudule clan group and Gudur. We also use Mafa sources to improve the ethnography of our chapter on cosmology and worldview, because many of the questions I originally asked about that subject had been inspired by my previous work among the Mafa. Therefore we will use our Mafa notes to show that some of the cosmological and related mythological views held in Dghwedè also existed among the nearby Mafa. This is to support our Dghwedè oral sources with oral data from their largest montagnard neighbour.

There is one very important chapter to refer to, which is the chapter about the significance of the seventh- and eighth-born child. The ritual role of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) has been mentioned. He was seen as the lucky one because he inherited the house and most of the land from the father. The role of the seventh born can be found in almost every aspect of Dghwedè ritual culture, while that of the eighth born is negative because in the past they were either cast out or could even fall victim to infanticide. This was changed to adoption by the British in the mid-1920s. The past rejection of eighth-born children can be seen as a cultural expression of the fear of catastrophic crop failure, because the explanation of the idea behind the history of infanticide was the belief that it made all previously born children survive.

Another chapter that demonstrates the importance of the Dghwedè worldview of the past is the one about the rituals around the birth of twins, which were seen as local reincarnations of previous twins. We will show how the earlier mentioned cosmological pairing of blessings from above and below, as examples of celestial and primordial earthly worlds, connects with that of twins who were seen as reproductive reincarnations. We will hypothetically connect this concept with the ritual and agricultural control the Dghwedè liked to exercise by keeping their terrace fields fertile, and show how cosmological control over fecundity was expressed in the rituals around the birth of twins as manifestations of localised socio-economic reproduction. This includes the fear of potential chaos and disorder which twins might cause if they are not ritually treated and managed appropriately.

Towards the end of Part Three the chapters become more and more fragmented, and some of them might almost appear disconnected from the previous ones. This for example is the case with the chapter about decision making and the chapter dealing with the marriage system of the Dghwedè. We hope that by then we will have already sufficient ethnographic insight into the Dghwedè cultural practice of the past, and can indulge in a more conclusive presentation of previous contextualised views learned from earlier chapters. Still, the reader might feel a bit lost at times, and if this happens we advise going back to previous chapters to reconnect with our underlying, though admittedly very fragmented, ethnographic narrative.

It is also possible to read Part Three in a different way, for example to just read one or two chapters of special interest without reading the others. Each chapter includes an introduction and a conclusion. This way we regularly review and summarise our views and interpretations in individual introductions and conclusions, rather than mixing them in with the evidential presentation of oral data. At the end of Part Three there is a chapter about the ritual importance of the plant *Cissus quadrangularis*, often owned by the Dghwedè peacemaker lineage to regulate local conflict. We try to connect this plant with the ethnonym Godaliy, and see it as a late pre-colonial development, and also show how it exemplifies the ritual density so typical not only for the Dghwedè but also for other groups of the region.

The most important Dghwedè and other lingua franca vocabularies used in this book are brought together in the Glossary at the end of the book, and contain references to the relevant chapters, while the list of Figures, Tables and Plates is at the beginning. The Bibliography contains published and unpublished works, and an extensive list of archival materials related to the Dghwedè and the Gwoza hills. Some of the more detailed references related to the colonial history appear as footnotes. The list of Dghwedè oral protagonists is also added to the Bibliography to underpin their importance. My unpublished fieldnotes are often referred to in the text as Mafa notes, Gwoza notes or Dghwedè notes, and are also part of the Bibliography.

As I consider myself to be an area specialist on the northwestern Mandara Mountains, I have intentionally not attempted a subregional comparison with other published ethnographies, in particular from the Mafa area. For this I apologise to my academic ethnographer colleagues, but such a subregional comparison would have watered down the essence of what I am trying to achieve with this book. I finally want to say that this is not a book about Boko Haram, but about the Dghwede who lost their cultural heritage as a result of the invasion of Boko Haram. The fact that I have presented their oral history as being embedded between the DGB sites and Kirawa as the early Wandala capital, is to encourage future Dghwede historians to view the history from a wider subregional perspective. Consideration of the mountain and plains environment of the semi-arid zone, so typical of the Gwoza LGA, is crucial in this context.

The other main purpose of this idiosyncratic ethnography of the Dghwede is to fill a regional knowledge gap by integrating the Gwoza hills into the international cross-border history of the northern Mandara Mountains. This is very important for me, and was the reason the German Research Foundation gave me the original grant to carry out an ethnographic survey of the Gwoza hills, which had been neglected by ethnographers for decades. We will learn that the reason for that neglect lies in the impact of World War One.

Why we use the ethnonym Dghwede

Even though *Azaghvana*, meaning 'I say', is the title of the book, we have chosen not to use it as the main ethnonym, although it was used as toponym and self-reference by the Dghwede in the past. Colonial sources used it as an ethnolinguistic reference, but this trend was no longer adopted by modern linguistics, where Dghwede is the official term used as an ethnic and linguistic reference. We can only speculate what the exact time frame for the emergence of a Dghwede identity might be, but doubt that this was only a result of colonial times. Moisel's map of 1913 is the first to mention the name 'Dohade'. Although it only appears as a place name among other Dghwede place names, it still points to the existence of this name in later pre-colonial times.

There is the reference by Hall in 1934 to a 'Duhedde clan', which includes many settlements of administrative Korana Basa and Ghwa'a. Hall's reference is presumably the earliest one pointing to the right direction. Mathews (1934) refers to an apical ancestor by the name 'Dofede' and we interpret this to be a reference to Dghwede. The name Dghwede is indeed the name of the founding ancestor of all Dghwede which is also the generally accepted ethnic toponym as well as the politically correct reference to their language. Wolff (1971) is the first to apply the term Dghwede as ethnolinguistic toponym and we stick to that too. Also, Frick (1978) speaks of the Dghwede people. Her work is presumably the most important on the structure of their language, but we will not discuss Dghwede linguistics in a deeper way here, although we present an extensive cultural vocabulary.

There are also some other toponyms which remind us of what is described in the literature as 'joking relationships'. We list them below for historical reasons, but avoid them for reasons of political correctness. For example, the Lamang could refer to the Dghwede as *ghad kha*, meaning 'dogs' in Dghwede, while the Dghwede could refer to the Lamang as *ksghwaha*, meaning 'Lamang pancreas' ('Waha' is how the Lamang referred to themselves, while *ksgh* is the Dghwede word for the pancreas). The Dghwede referred to the Zelidva as *kraha* which is the word for 'dogs' in Lamang. The Chikide could refer to the Dghwede as *gavgaha* which means 'faeces' in Chikide, while the Dghwede would have referred to the Chikide as *raha* which is the Dghwede plural for 'fool'. As mentioned, these terms carried an affectionate connotation and were not just meant to be derogatory.

PART ONE

THE GWOZA HILLS BEFORE BOKO HARAM

Introduction

When I first came to Gwoza in November 1994, a man in a bar asked me whether I was not scared to visit the people living in the hills. It turned out that the man was not from Gwoza, and I wondered where he had got this idea from. It somehow seemed an anachronism to still think that way. I later came across similar ideas, about the people of the hills being viewed as dangerous, something which fed into the well-known ancient prejudice of plains people believing mountain people to be primitive or backward and therefore unpredictable, which would render them potentially rebellious.

I soon forgot about this, but two decades later during the Boko Haram period, one of my academic colleagues said that his Gwoza collaborator believed that the Dghwede of the hills were potential recruits for Boko Haram, because of the perception that they were 'backward'. The idea that people of the hills were backward and primitive has been prevalent in the Mandara Mountains since the time of slavery, and is linked to the history of Islam and the trans-Saharan trade. Over several centuries, non-Islamic populations had fallen victim to the aristocratic societies south of Lake Chad. The Wandala had been vassals of Borno¹, and the non-Islamic populations of the plains and foothills were more exposed to slave raiding, as were the montagnards. It seems that the later period had become fixed in the collective memory, also in terms of the resilience of the montagnards. Interestingly, the prejudice of backwardness survived into the Boko Haram period, with the assumption that the Dghwede were easy prey for radical preaching. The reality is, of course, a different one, and we have to resort to montagnard history to understand it, and in order to develop a historical understanding we have to work our way back in time.

Part One deals with how I experienced the Gwoza hills in hindsight, that is before the arrival of Boko Haram, by relying on information I gathered as a result of my regular visits between late 1994 and early 2010. Now, following the period of that still peaceful recent past, the remoteness of the mountainous setting provides a safe hiding place for the Boko Haram terrorists. As a result, some of its ecological sustainability might have changed as well, such as for example the agricultural terraces which are presumably eroding faster since they have been kept in disrepair. The same applies to the remaining vernacular architecture, which might well have been destroyed or neglected beyond recognition. The cultural landscape in the Dghwede area had already changed significantly before Boko Haram took control, and we will learn more in Part Three about the various aspects of its immaterial and material traditional past.

Also, the administrative structure has more or less completely broken down, and we don't yet know what the current situation is in the hills. It would still be far too dangerous to go up there and see for ourselves. We will learn below that the division between the eastern and western part of Gwoza was already an issue long before Boko Haram. The intramountainous eastern plain, with the international border going through the middle, has been until very recently a Boko Haram roaming area. Even at time of writing towards the end of 2020, there is no military security in place. Nevertheless, in late December 2017 I heard that Boko Haram had started to run out of resources, including munitions. We thought that they might soon have to start farming for themselves in order to survive, but then learned that they were exploiting the remaining local Traditionalists. The question is, for how long will they be able

¹ The pre-colonial 'Bornu' empire split up in 1902 when Dikwa became part of the German colony of Cameroon and it became the Borno emirate/Borno sultanate and the Borno state after independence.

to sustain this, and will the people who will hopefully eventually return be able to reconstruct their livelihoods in the hills?

Despite the concern of the man in the pub in Gwoza in 1994, I never experienced the Gwoza hills as a threatening place, in fact the opposite was the case. I was welcomed and the Dghwede people in particular embraced my presence. However in 1994 I was still somewhat fearful of going up there, presumably because it was not common for someone like me to want to live in the hills. Luckily I met John, and he introduced me to his people and to his family, and his father Zakariya Kwire became like a father to me too. It is still a shock to me how quickly things have changed in the last ten years, and how a place I considered a second home fell victim to the most brutal atrocities of a terrorist invasion. Chapter 1.1 in particular aims to give the reader an impression of how freely the Gwoza hills and the surrounding foothills and plains could be travelled before Boko Haram, and I have written it in the ethnographic present to heighten the dramatic change that took place in such a short time.

Our imaginary journey is supported with a set of pictures, which illustrate how the Gwoza hills appeared, not only by looking up from the plains, but also by looking down across the plains from the hills. The latter was the view the montagnards had most of the time, and later in Part Three, in the chapter about the significance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine, we will come back to the topographical worldview aspect of living and farming in the hills. Chapter 1.1 will also highlight some of the environmental intricacies that were already present long before Boko Haram, and also the mountains versus plains situation regarding the unequal distribution of infrastructure, and the aspect of Christianity and Islam relative to that, which led eventually to the sudden rise of Islamic conversion from 2005 onwards.

Chapter 1.2: 'Mapping ethnographic complexities', presents a summary of the survey I conducted in late 1994, by visiting all the places described in Chapter 1.1, apart from the walk from Ghwa'a to Gvoko that I did for the first time in 1995 when starting to work exclusively in Dghwede. The survey presents three maps showing the boundaries of villages and wards as they were administratively in place at that time, as well as a map of the linguistic and ethnic relevances down to the administrative ward level. The question of population density will also be discussed, based on estimates made upon the background of past national censuses.

While reading our imaginary journey of Chapter 1.1, we particularly recommend the reader to consult Figure 3, as it represents a detailed map of the village and ward boundaries as they were in 1994. Figure 3 will also aid in understanding the geographical situation presented in the pictures shown in Chapter 1.1. It will presumably take some time, at least for a reader not familiar with the complex geography of the Gwoza LGA, to become familiar with the many place names in Dghwede, and the links to the descent groups who once derived their indigenous sense of belonging through the oral history we retell throughout Part Three.

Finally, in Figure 4 at the end of Part One, we present an orientational map of the northern Mandara Mountains and surrounding plains, by presenting an overview of relevant ethnic groups, subgroups, and place names of the wider region, and advise the reader to become familiar with it. We equally recommend consulting Figure 1 and Figure 2, which present overview maps of the geographical position of the Mandara Mountains that are situated between Lake Chad and the Benue river, with the Gwoza hills as their most northwesterly extension.

Chapter 1.1

The Gwoza hills between 1994 and 2009

Introduction

The Gwoza hills along the Cameroon border form a part of the larger granite chain of the Mandara Mountains, stretching like a peninsular beyond the eleventh latitude northwards, deep into the dry savannah of the Sudano-Sahelian transition zone, with Lake Chad only about 150km away. They are about 25km long and between 5 and 10km wide, narrowing towards the north, from where they appear far on the horizon (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). A mountain saddle only about 700m high divides the Gwoza hills in the middle. The narrow northern massif, the Zelidva spur, at 1345m forms the highest elevation of the Gwoza hills, though the peak of the southern massif at 1250m is almost equally high. The wider southern section is referred to here as the Dghwedé massif, which leads across a deep valley to Ngoshe Sama on the Gvoko massif. The latter belongs topographically to the heights of Tur, leading at about 1000m to the Sukur massif and the central plateau of the Mandara Mountains. The international boundary runs along the heights of Tur, and on the Cameroonian side, Mount Oupay can be seen residing at 1494m as the highest elevation in its immediate neighbourhood. When the weather is clear the volcanic plugs of Roumsiki are visible from as far as Dghwedé. Because Ngoshe Sama belongs to the Gwoza LGA, it is considered to be part of the Gwoza hills (see Figure 3).

Going around the foothills

At the northern foot of the Gwoza hills is Pulka, a little market place and crossroads from where passengers often change taxi if they are coming from the eastern side of the hills. Here we do not turn east but continue our imaginary journey along the main road southwards, leading along the western side of the chain, and we can see the steepness of the Zelidva massif. After Pulka we arrive at Warabe and Wala, where the majority of the Zelidva people live today after they descended from the fertile valleys high up on top of the spur. Only Divili, at about 1000m, has a few inhabitants left, forming a very small remote community. The attraction of Divili is a little lake which never dries out, but this is no longer what attracts people, especially considering the long climb of several hours which starts in Wala.

Plate 5a: View from Fachekwe in Wala, with hillside and valley leading up to Divili.



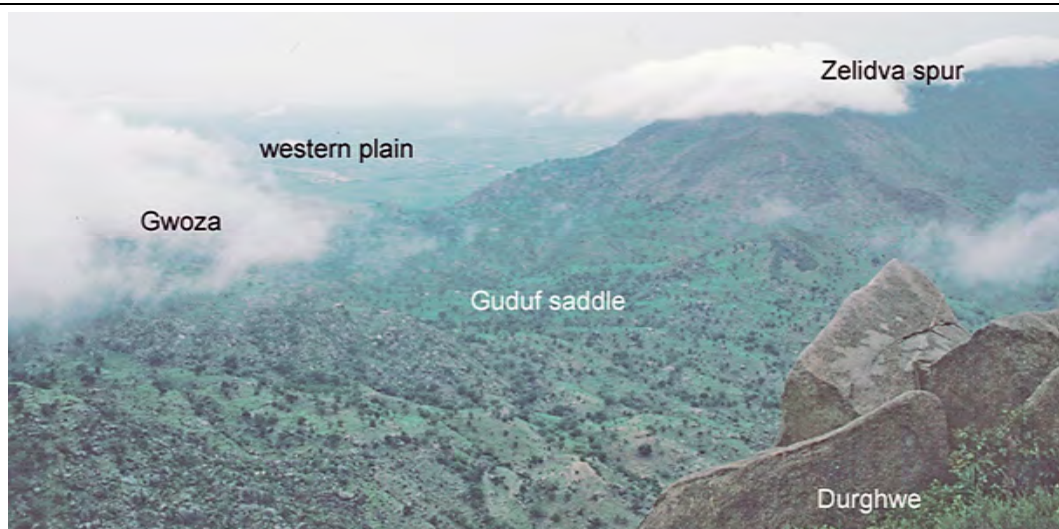
As we travel down the western chain we soon reach Gwoza, which is the administrative centre of the Gwoza LGA. Gwoza is only a small town and consists of an ethnic mix of locals, Hausa, Fulbe, and Kanuri. A large section of the population is Lamang and Guduf as they come from nearby. The Guduf maintain their beautiful traditional settlements in the already mentioned mountain saddle, which is comparatively easy to climb on a footpath leading up from east of Gwoza town, but they also settle extensively in the adjacent plain. The Lamang-speaking groups have presumably occupied the western foothills and plains the longest, but there is evidence of linguistic similarities with other Montagard groups.

Plate 5b: Little lake in Divili on top of Zelidva spur.



To the immediate southeast of Gwoza town, high up on top of the southern massif, we can see Durghwe, consisting of three granite pillars reaching up into the skies. Durghwe is an ancient landmark and each of the pillars stands for one of the three ethnic groups around it. The northernmost pillar is for the Guduf, while the two others are traditionally owned by the Chikide and Dghwede. The latter still have their settlements on top of the southern massif, and at that time it was quite densely populated other than on the Zelidva spur.

Plate 6a: View of Guduf saddle, Zelidva spur, and Gwoza town in the western plain.



If we want to climb up to Dghwedè from the western side of the hills, we might want to hire a motorbike in Gwoza town to take us to the mountain foot. To get there we have to travel through Vile, one of the three Lamang villages of Hidkala, forming a semicircular valley wide open to the western plains and a range of foothills along the inner valley floor. Plate 7b shows an oral-historical key site in Vile, called *bebe*, while Plate 10a shows the upper slopes of the Hidkala valley that belongs to administrative Korana Basa in Dghwedè.

Hambagda and Hudugum are the other two Lamang settlements, but the administrative name for these three villages is not Hidkala but Hambagda. We decide not to climb from this side since it looks rather steep, and instead continue our journey south by following the main road, and after about 10km from Gwoza town we get to Limankara. Here the mountain foot reaches out a little into the plain (see Plate 7a) and the main road passes very close by. We look up to our left and see the Gvoko massif equally steep and high but we know there is a dirt road leading up to Ngoshe Sama. As we don't have a four-wheel-drive car or a heavy powerful motorbike we can't make it up to Ngoshe Sama and decide to head back to Pulka.

Plate 7a: View of Gvoko and Tur heights from Uvagha foothills of the western plain.

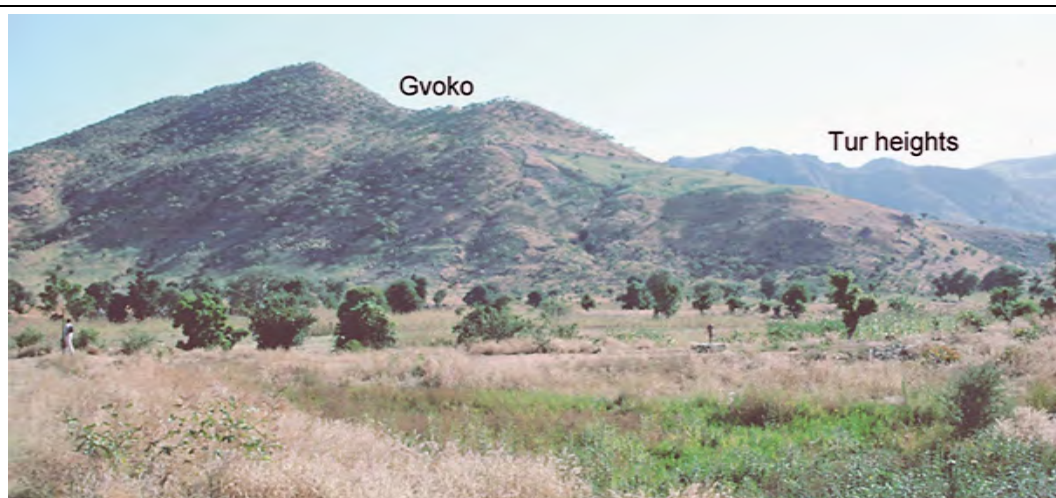
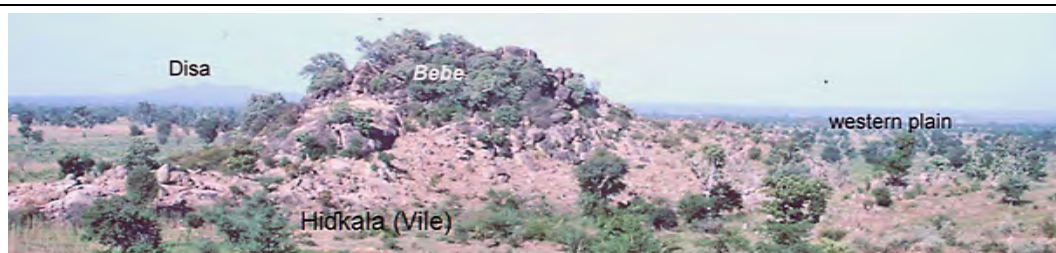


Plate 7b: *Bebe* (legendary foothill and shrine) of Vile, with foothill of Disa in background.



To get to the eastern side of the Gwoza hills we have to leave the tarmac road in Pulka and find ourselves on an extremely badly-maintained dirt road leading towards the Cameroonian border. As the weather is fairly clear we can see the distant Mora hills rising out of the northern plain when looking across from Ghwa'a in Dghwedè (see Plate 9b).

They are about 40km away, and represent the northeastern limits of the Mandara Mountains. Straight ahead of us, only about 15km away, we see mount Kirawa jutting out of the plain, and to its eastern foot is Kirawa town, the old capital of the early Wandala state (Plate 9a). The international boundary divides Kirawa into Cameroonian and Nigerian parts, but we don't want to travel to Kirawa, and turn south at the earlier mentioned crossing, shortly after Pulka. Only a few kilometres later we arrive in Bokko, where we see to our right the Zelidva spur rising steeply from this side of the Gwoza hills (see Plate 8b).

As on the northwestern side, here the majority of the population is Zelidva, though the southern part of Bokko is mainly occupied by Glavda. Similar to the Lamang, the Glavda are

mostly foothill and plains people, but they have traditions of origin which link them to the Gvoko. However it seems that none of this is any longer of great importance. The main settlement of the Glavda is Ngoshe Kasa, while that of Gvoko is Ngoshe Sama. Ngoshe Kasa is situated at the southern end of the Zelidva spur. To the southwest of Ngoshe, inside a valley at the eastern foot of the Guduf saddle, is Gava. As there is no road across the saddle, one has to drive all around the northern end of the Gwoza hills to get there.

Plate 8a: Intramountainous eastern plain photographed with a wide-angle lens.

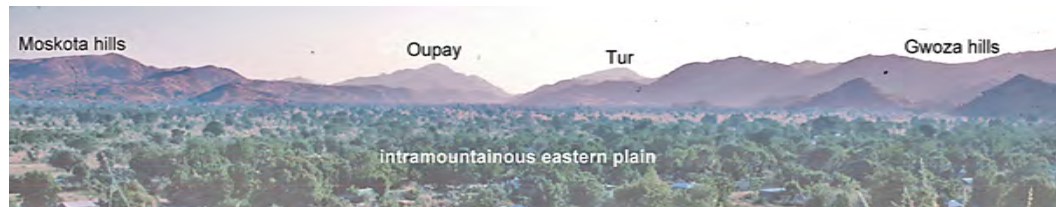
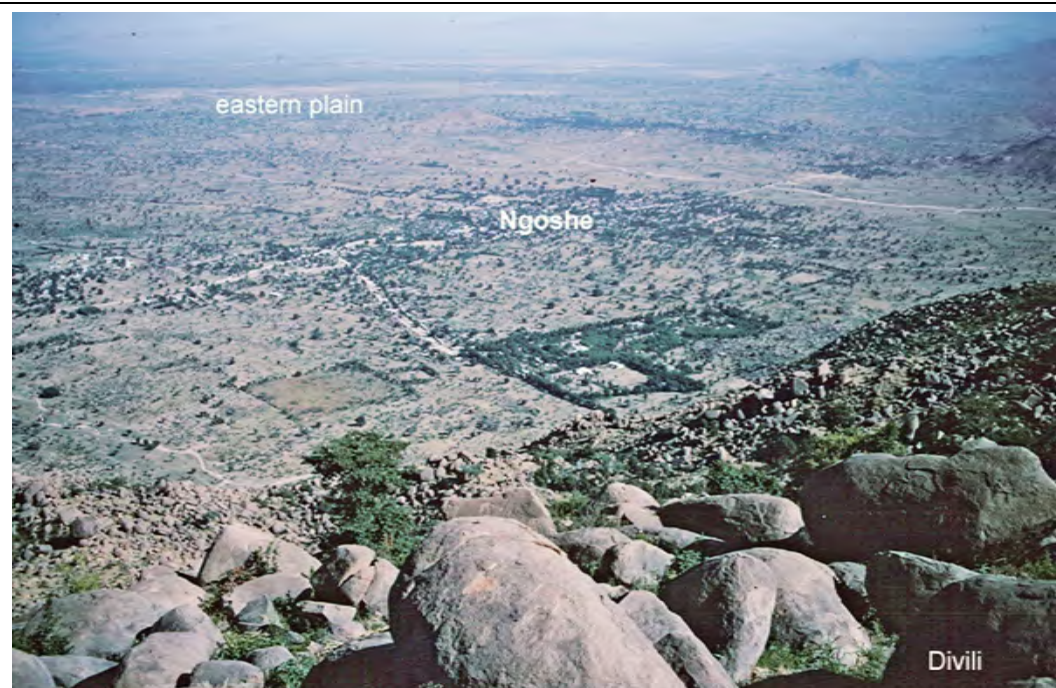


Plate 8b: Eastern plain with Ngoshe, photographed from Divili.



To the east of Bokko and Ngoshe we can see the nearby Moskota hills (only about 15km away) obscuring the view further east. As we have now entered the intramountainous plain of Kirawa, with the Kirawa river forming the international boundary, we are no longer able to see the eastern chain of the Mandara Mountains, at least not from the bottom of the plain. The Moskota massif nearby is inhabited by Mafa, which is the largest ethnic unit of the Mandara Mountains. The Mafa are competitors over land, since the narrow plain between the Moskota and the Gwoza hills provides only limited resources.

Before we drive south from Nghoshe, we turn east and visit Atagara and Agapalawa, the two main Glavda settlements in the plain on the Nigerian side of the Kirawa river (see Figure 3). We drive on as far as Ashigashiya, which is an alternative international border crossing to Kirawa town at the northern foot of the Moskota hills. The majority of the inhabitants of Ashigashiya are also Glavda, which makes them a cross-border population. As it is the dry season we can see that the Kirawa river bed has dried out, however we don't want to visit Cameroon, and decide to return to Ngoshe.

From Ngoshe we continue south, leaving the Guduf saddle to the right behind, and arrive at Amuda, which is where the southern massif begins with a range of foothills stepping out into the eastern plain. We carry on southwards and pass the foothill of Arbokko, a Glavda enclave,

and eventually arrive at Chikidè from where the southern massif rises sharply to the right. We now see that the Kirawa valley is becoming narrower as we enter deeper into it, possibly not wider than 5 or 6km. From Chikidè in the plain, one can climb up to Chikidè on the top. The Chinene lived on top of the southern massif in the past, but they live completely in the plain nowadays, while there are still a couple of Chikidè settlements up in the hills.

Plate 9a: View of Kirawa foothill from Ghwa'a, across the eastern plain.

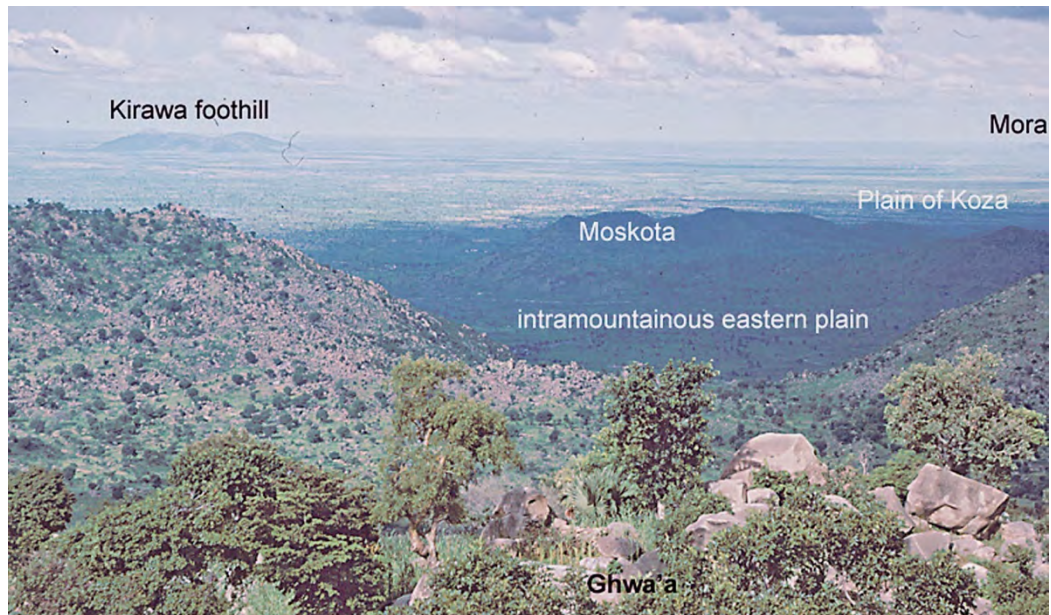


Plate 9b: View across the eastern plain with Moskota hills and Mora hills in background.


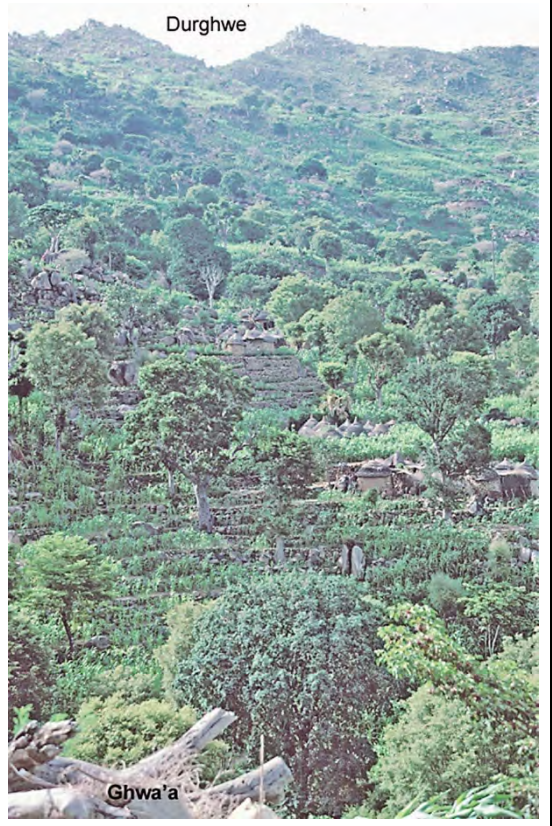


Next we get to Barawa, which is a fairly large Dghwedè settlement in the eastern plain of the Gwoza hills. Barawa also has an inter-boundary market and many Mafa come to this market from the Cameroonian side of the hills. From Barawa we have comparably good access to the Dghwedè massif and later we will make our way up there. Before doing so we continue south to Kughum, which is the only Mafa settlement on the Nigerian side of the Mandara Mountains. Shortly after Kughum the Kirawa valley ends in a mountain fold which leads up

to the heights of Tur, while the river turns sharply into the eastern plain descending from Ngoshe Sama in the west, separating the Dghwedé massif from the already mentioned Gvoko massif. The international boundary follows the Kirawa river up to its source on the Gvoko massif, which then connects with the heights of Tur, leaving parts of Gvoko in its east to Cameroon.

Visit to Dghwedé and Gvoko

From Barawa we climb up to Ghwa’a, which is the northeastern part of Dghwedé. Apart from on the southwestern side the climb is fairly gentle and not so sharp. We see the terrace fields and we follow different mountain paths, sometimes steep through boulders and sometimes flat along the rim of a valley, until after two and a half hours and at about 1000m, we reach the ward of Dzga. From 1996 onwards I had a research station here, consisting of a couple of huts between large boulders under a mahogany tree (Plate 1a). My neighbours were Dghwedé, who already knew me from my first visit. From Dzga one can walk north around the rim of another high valley to get to Chikidé, but we spend the night in Dzga and early next morning we climb further up to about 1200m to visit the market place of Ghwa’a, situated on a flat place called Klala.

Plate 10a: View across the western slopes	Plate 10b: Terrace platform in Ghwa'a
	

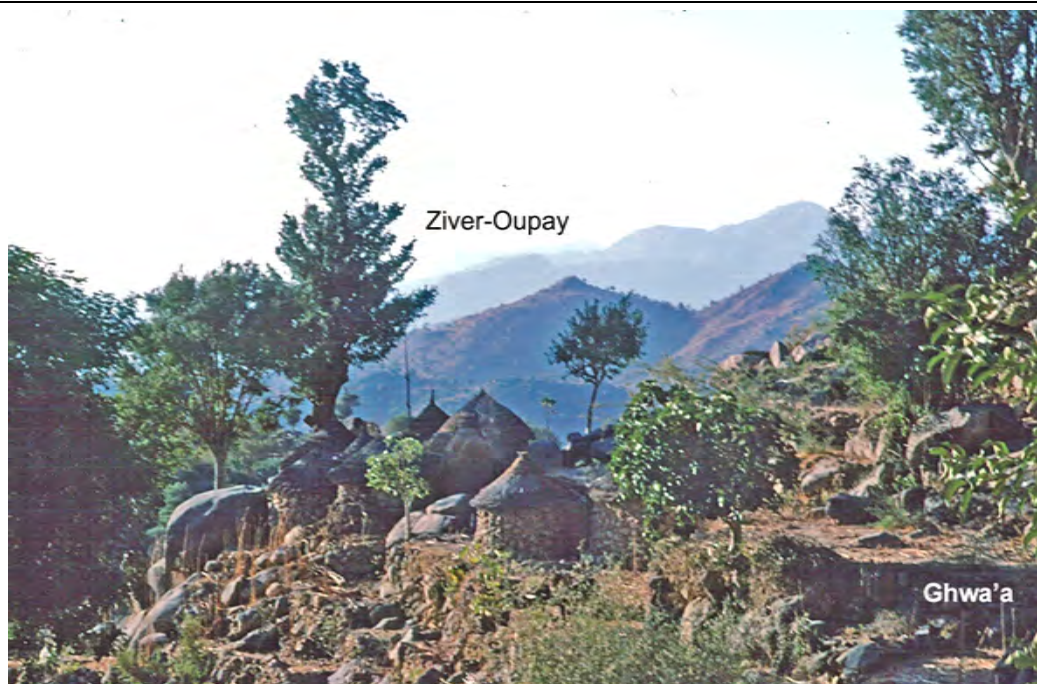
On our way we see the settlements, with the houses and terraces all nicely set in stone. We feel removed from the busy plain, the cars and the noise, but also from facilities such as shops. To the northwest, even higher up, we see Durghwe (Plate 10b). We have tea at Klala market and discuss where we should go next. From Klala, one can either go down to Guduf, or across to Korana Basa, the latter being the administrative name for what I refer to as the southern part of Dghwedé. We go to the eastern corner of Klala, only a few hundred metres away, to check the way to Guduf. From there one can descend into a lower valley, stretching down towards the Guduf saddle. However we decide to go to Korana Basa, so head south from Klala across a ridge connecting Ghwa’a and Korana Basa (Plate 10d). To our right we

see the summit of Tokweshe, marking the top end of the already mentioned valley, which leads through Taghadigile down to Guduf A (see Figure 3).

Plate 10c: View from Gharaza during the rainy season, with Ziver-Oupay in background.



Plate 10d: View from Ghwa'a across Dghwedé towards Gharaza in southern Dghwedé.



The hike takes us about two hours and we realise that there are no houses on the ridge, only terrace fields. We see the Moskota hills down to the east, and as they are not too high we can again see the eastern chain of the Mandara Mountains in the distance (Plate 9b). To the immediate left we have a complete view over the lower valley of Kunde with its houses, which is also part of Ghwa'a. After about an hour we find ourselves close to the western rim, and we look down to the foothills of Hidkala and see Gwoza town further north in the western plain. Next we reach Korana Basa where we turn east to visit Gharaza, and see the Ziver-Oupay massif far in the background (Plate 10c). After another sweet tea at the market of

Hudimche, we check the time and realise that it is still quite early, and therefore decide to hike on to Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko, hoping that we might be able to make it back to Dzga the same evening.

We leave the settlement of Hudimche behind and soon wind our way along a little plateau covered with fields of tiger nuts, until we see the upper deep valley separating the Gwoza hills from the Tur heights (Plate 11a), which we have to cross at about 900m. To the west we see Kwalika, which is the most southwesterly settlement ward of Dghwedé, and to our left, on the southeastern side of the upper valley, we see the massif of Huduwa, which is Mafa land and in Cameroon (Figure 3). Looking back to our left we see the massif of Gharaza and Gudule, the latter forming the most southeasterly part of Dghwedé. We can see from afar the areas with the house fields indicated by greener fields, and more trees nearby being cultivated for roofing the houses and other useful purposes.

Plate 11a: View from Korana Basa, across the valley and up to Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko.



We continue south and cross the watershed to descend into another lower valley which then falls sharply down into the western plain. On the other side of this valley we see the Gvoko massif, and after crossing it we have to climb a steep hillside to get up to Ngoshe Sama on top of the massif. We are now in Gvoko country, and we instantly realise that the architecture of the houses is different, in particular the roofs are more pointed, which reminds us of Mafa houses. We now walk a little further across the Gvoko massif where we soon join the road coming up from Limankara. Next we get to Ngoshe Sama, and there we find shops open to buy something to eat and to drink. It is early afternoon, meaning that the whole hike from Hudimche has taken three hours.

We discover that walking on to Tur would be another two or three hours, and that one would have to follow a well-maintained dirt road which forms the international boundary at the same time. One could also have taken a motorbike to get from Ngoshe Sama to Tur, or to get back down to Gwoza town. However we want to go back to Dghwedé, which leaves us no choice but to hike. When we eventually arrive back at our research station in Dzga the night has fallen, and because the moon rises very late we have to use our torches to get across the ridge

connecting Korana Basa and Ghwa'a. We are completely exhausted, but also satisfied because we managed to walk from Ghwa'a to Ngoshe Sama, which is the most southern administrative village of the Gwoza LGA, and back, in only one day.

Mountains versus plain

The Gwoza hills give the GLGA its typical shape. We realise that the international boundary formed by the Kirawa river makes for very limited land resources in the eastern plain, while the western plain, with Gwoza town as the administrative centre, has far more potential for expansion and development. We also realise that the Guduf saddle and the Dghwede and Gvoko massif are still quite densely populated, while the Zelidva spur is almost completely abandoned. The demographic situation in the hills also ties in with its geography, considering that the Dghwede massif is easier to access from the eastern plain. This makes not only the eastern plain, in particular in its narrower southern part, but also the Dghwede and Chikide massif, the most disadvantaged parts of the Gwoza LGA. The only tarmac road (see Figure 3), which connects Gwoza town with Bama and Maiduguri in the northwest, and Mubi and Yola in the south, makes the adjacent western plain of the Gwoza hills the main place of transit for people and goods. This gives Gwoza town quite some advantage as the central place within the Gwoza LGA, which is further enhanced by the fact that it also has a hospital and a secondary school.

Gwoza is the only LGA along the western chain of the northern Mandara Mountains with an intramountainous eastern plain, and it includes an international boundary which does not allow for any expansion. Madagali, about 25km down the main road and situated at the foot of the Sukur massif, is the administrative centre of the next LGA, which appears equally impenetrable from the west, at least along the heights of Tur. Further south, around Michika (Figure 1), the hills stretch much further into the western plain, and they are also easier to access, for example the Futu massif. As soon as we get to Mubi, the hill area to its east is lower and easier to access altogether. Although Mubi is only about 100km south of Gwoza town, we have by now left the Sudano-Sahelian transition zone and can therefore count on regular higher rainfalls.

The above adds environmental and climatic factors to the understanding of the general situation in and around the northwestern range of the Mandara Mountains. The fact that the Gwoza and the Madagali LGA are part of the semi-arid zone makes the plains more vulnerable to desertification. This means that the terraced slopes of the Gwoza hills have an important ecological function in retaining water, though downhill migration has been rapidly leading to their erosion, especially in the northern and western parts of the hills. Those terraced mountain areas which are still occupied, in particular the Guduf saddle and the Chikide and Dghwede massif, must be considered a valuable local resource, but unfortunately in terms of the traditional past only. There is no developmental policy in place which would pick up on this and try to encourage development in the hills and its adjacent eastern plain.

The demographic situation in Dghwede proves this point. Most people who were still living up there during my time were women, children and older people, while most younger and many middle-aged men were away earning money elsewhere. Tourism was not considered an option for sustainable development in the Gwoza hills, a very unfortunate circumstance since for example Sukur, with its famous stone enclosure and paved pathways, had become a world heritage site. The Gwoza hills, together with the heights of Tur and the equally intact cultural landscapes further across into the Cameroonian parts of the mountains, would have provided a truly unique environment for recreational tourism. Sadly, the lack of policies and investment into the appropriate infrastructure didn't provide for such opportunities which could potentially have maintained the existing cultural landscape and created income for the hill population. This is why young men continued to find alternative income in the cities of the northeast or even further afield, where they were exposed to the radical ideas of Boko Haram.

While Gwoza is part of Borno state with Maiduguri as its capital, Madagali belongs to Adamawa state. Despite the fact that Yola is the capital of Adamawa state, Madagali is in terms of the regional infrastructure orientated towards Maiduguri. This means that there is considerably more traffic coming up from Mubi (via Madagali) and through Gwoza town than the other way around. Maiduguri is the fast-growing urban centre of northeastern Nigeria and as such commands a considerable migratory pull factor for plain and hill areas alike.

Also, the infrastructure in the eastern plain of the Gwoza hills had been much neglected. Electricity had recently been introduced, but only as far as Ngoshe, and the road was in a bad state and hardly useable during the rainy season. However there was a hospital in Ngoshe, though this was more a first aid centre since no permanent doctor was attached to it, only a nurse. People were mostly referred to the hospital in Gwoza town or Bama. Many people went straight to Maiduguri to see a doctor at the Teaching Hospital there. Maiduguri also has a university, and students liked to study there when they had completed secondary school. Ngoshe had a secondary school for girls, but Gwoza town remained the centre where boys attended secondary school, at least until very recently. A new secondary school opened in Barawa during my time, which boys and girls from Dghwedè could attend.

In the hills there were only primary schools. Many of these primary schools deteriorated during the military regime in the 1990s and were re-vitalised only in the ten years before Boko Haram. There was an old primary school in Hudimche (Korana Basa), which physically collapsed during the 1990s. Hudimche also had a pharmacy, and since the end of the military regime the pharmacist came up from Gwoza town several times a week. Ghwa'a had a primary school with Dzga, but only since the late 1990s.¹ Kunde had a Christian-run private primary school and a linked pharmacy. Teachers had to climb up the hills every day to deliver their lessons. Children who wanted to attend secondary school had to leave the hills, although with the new secondary school in Barawa this had become easier.

Gvoko was generally better equipped than Dghwedè. Ngoshe Sama had a well functioning primary and secondary school besides a pharmacy. The reason behind this was historical. Ngoshe Sama had a long tradition of Christianity, which must have had a positive impact on its infrastructure. The other reason was that it was connected by the already mentioned dirt road. There were also some shops in Ngoshe Sama, it was on the dirt road leading to Tur, and it had a lively cross-boundary market on the Cameroonian side of the international border. Tur was also connected with Mokolo, and during my time taxi-loads of international tourists came up to Tur to visit the picturesque mountain market. As previously mentioned, tourism was not at all developed on the Nigerian side of the hills.

There were two important cross-boundary markets in the eastern plain of the Gwoza hills, the one in Kirawa and the one in Barawa. Kirawa is a border town at the northern entry area of the intramountainous eastern plain, with a connecting road to Mozogo, Koza and further on to Mora, as well as Maroua in the plain of Diamaré. The latter is the eastern plain of the Mandara Mountains (see Figure 4). Most visitors to the Kirawa border market were from the Cameroonian side, in particular from Koza and surrounding hills. The Koza plain is the large intramountainous plain between the Moskota and Mora hills. Kirawa market consisted of a Cameroonian and a Nigerian part, and visitors liked to cross the border to have access to the cheaper Nigerian goods. Kirawa market did not have the same regional significance for the inhabitants of the Gwoza hills. They were more inclined to attend the market in Gwoza.

The other important cross-boundary market was Barawa, at the southern end of the eastern plain. This market was also used by Cameroonians from the hills, mainly Mafa from across the border who wanted to buy cheaper Nigerian goods. They trekked or arrived on motorbikes

¹ In 1996 Stella Cattini (see Cattini-Muller 2000) established that, of the over 500 children and young people of the ward of Dzga, only fourteen had attended primary school. Stella subsequently founded Dzga Learning Support, a small London-based charity, which became instrumental in bringing non-denominational primary education to Dzga. In 2005, after almost ten years of primary education in Dzga, more than 250 children were registered to attend the new primary school there.

and there was no border post. Motorbikes or four-wheel bush taxis could drive on a dirt road from Barawa to Koza directly across the mountains without having to go all the way around the northern end of the Moskota hills. Since the mid-1980s I had been working in the Mafa area of Gouzda, which is to the immediate east of Koza, and I knew from experience that the infrastructure in the hills was more developed. This was particularly the case concerning roads in the hills. The Gwoza hills, except for the one going up the Gvoko massif, had no roads. Also, many Dghwede from the eastern side of the hills attended Barawa market, and one could see them climbing back up to Ghwa'a carrying goods on their heads.

Christianity and Islam

Though it was not backed up statistically, I was often told there were a higher number of Christians living in the eastern plains, while the number of Muslims seemed to be higher in the western plains. Many Christians even claimed there to be an overall majority of Christians in the Gwoza LGA as a whole, but this might not have been true, especially as there was a visible increase of conversion to Islam between 2005 and 2010, especially among the younger generations in the hills. However this was not the case everywhere, and particular not in Ngoshe Sama which for years had the highest number of Christians among the mountain communities. The traditionally-strong Christian presence meant that Gvoko was the most developed hill community, though in 2001 the village head of Gvoko was still a Muslim. This shows that the politics within the Gwoza LGA were controlled mainly by Muslims. To my knowledge there has never been a Christian chairman of the Gwoza LG, but there was a Christian deputy chairman from Gvoko a few years ago.

The historically induced political inequality between Christians and Muslims often created problems, especially in the eastern plains of the Gwoza hills. For example, Ngoshe (Glavda), Gava (Guduf), Amuda, Chikide (Chikide and Chinene), Barawa (Dghwede), and Kughum (Mafa) were all village communities in the eastern plains which had a majority of Christians, and yet most of the village heads were Muslims. Attempts to split the GLG into two by making the eastern district of it a separate LG had failed, even though the plan to achieve this had been around since 1994. The reason was not only rooted in political inequality as a result of religious affiliation, but was also due to other geographical and historical factors.

It seems that Christianity had taken deeper root in the eastern plains in the first place because it was geographically more remote and further away from Gwoza town than the traditional Muslim-dominated headquarters. The influence of the Basel Mission in Gava goes back to the late 1950s, especially among the Glavda. The Glavda traditionally occupy large portions of the northern part of the Kirawa plain with Ngoshe as their centre. The influence of the Basel Mission led to the foundation of schools and a hospital in Ngoshe. During my time the old Basel mission station in Gava served as a place for literacy courses, in particular Hausa. The courses were open to Christians and Muslims alike.

The Dghwede were confronted with Christianity quite soon after independence in 1960/61 (the process of Christianity is presented in greater detail at the end of Part Two, see Chapter 2.2), and with the two plebiscites leading up to national independence. The New Testament was translated into the Dghwede language in the second half of the 1970s, however while I was working there the Hausa bible was mainly used. The translation of the New Testament into Lamang was never completed because Hausa had taken over as lingua franca. Missionary and medical work both began quite early in the western plains. The Gwoza hospital was founded in 1958 with the help of the Sudan United Mission, and the mission school of Limankara had its first COCIN teacher in 1963, while Gwoza town remained the power base for the Muslim elite of the Gwoza LGA.

Not only were the most influential positions within the Local Government's headquarters occupied by Muslims, often of Lamang, Zelidva, or Guduf descent, but also the emir of Gwoza and his district heads were all Muslims. In 1994, when I did my initial ethnographic

survey of the Gwoza hills, the Gwoza LGA was divided into three districts, but we will learn more about that in due course. At this point it is only to highlight the fact that the Christian elite of the eastern plain felt politically dominated by the Muslim elite of the western plain of the Gwoza LGA. The following example illustrates this, but also shows that the system of traditional rulers being of mainly Islamic denomination, typical for northern Nigeria, was at that time still capable of containing potential conflict between Christians and Muslims.

The emir of Gwoza, who was a Lamang man from Hambagda (Hidkala), seldom came to the eastern plains, only visiting if there was a conflict that could not be resolved by his village heads. One such conflict was when the Muslims of Barawa stopped buying meat from the Christian butchers there, claiming the meat was not slaughtered the correct way and was therefore impure. The Christian butchers contested this claim, but without success, and as a result the Christians of Barawa responded by refusing to buy meat from the far fewer Muslim butchers. Due to the Christian majority which then existed in Barawa, the Muslim butchers suffered the greater loss. The conflict almost triggered civil unrest, and the emir had to come to appease the local population. This highlights the overall sharpening of controversies between Muslims and Christians in the Gwoza LGA, which had become more fundamentalist in tone since the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre.

Rise of Islamic conversion in the hills from 2005 onwards

As already mentioned, there was a rise in conversion to Islam in the hills, especially of younger men who were returning from Maiduguri or Yola to visit their families. I was talking to some of them in 2005 and discovered that they held quite strong views about the proper way to behave and dress. As previously stated, I had also raised the issue of inheritance, at which they told me that they would be prepared to give up their rights for the sake of their belief, should their fathers not convert to Islam. They also appeared quite intolerant towards other religions, or even people with no specific religious convictions. They found the latter particularly upsetting, but that didn't worry me at the time. These young men drew a lot of self respect from their new convictions, and although they took notice of my liberal views, they adamantly maintained that there was only one correct and acceptable answer to it all, which was their version of Islam.

As I worked out later, it was the Izla version of Islam that had begun to take over as the main global denomination in the hills, at least in areas where there wasn't an existing Christian majority, which was the case in most parts of Dgwhede. In 1996 we had carried out a little unpublished survey in the ward of Dzga. This survey concluded that of the 162 households of Dzga, only 10% were Christian while 30% were Muslim, and the rest: 60%, still practiced traditional religion. It appeared to me that the balance of 1996 had shifted quite massively over the last ten years, and that there were now many more followers of Islam in the hills. This trend was presumably supported by the fact that it was older people in particular who remained traditional, while younger men and women increasingly converted to radical Islam, and quite a few of the traditional elders had died over the last ten years.

It's not possible to tell how things were in the other areas of the hills, but we assume that a similar trend was happening elsewhere. When I visited Divili in the mid-1990s I saw that this small community on top of the Zelidva spur had quite a strong Christian church. This might have been to do with the geographical isolation, but we wonder whether it still pertained in 2005. On the other hand Gvoko, which was not isolated at all despite being in the hills, had a historically large Christian majority that was still thriving. The Guduf saddle also still had a fairly high population density. Unfortunately we don't know what the proportions in terms of religious affiliation were in Guduf. The statistics on this are not only very sparse but also rather unreliable. We know, for example, that the 1991 and 2006 Nigerian census excluded ethnicity and religion from its questionnaire.

Chapter 1.2

Mapping ethnographic complexities

Survey circumstances and acknowledgments

I want to thank Ulrich Braukämper, who was then still at Frankfurt University, for asking me to take this survey in the first place, and all the following friends, colleagues and officials who were supporting and helping me: Jim Wade, a Fali specialist from the University of Maiduguri, introduced me to Ishaka Zadvā at the Gwoza LG. Ishaka made a first sketch of the then administrative structure of the Gwoza LGA, consisting in 1994 of Gwoza Central District, Tokombere District, and Ashigashiya District. Jim also introduced me to Umaru Ibrahim, a Lamang man from Luvua, who as the senior registrar provided me with my first research permission. During the survey I lived at Daniel and Mary Gula's house in Gwoza. There I met their neighbour Ibrahim Vile, who became my main research assistant and Lamang interpreter at the time of the survey. In the initial phase of the survey, to obtain a first impression of the complex ethnolinguistic situation, I relied a lot on the already mentioned colonial report by A.B Mathews from 1934. I had received a copy from Nic David and Judy Sterner, who were both working in Sukur and had already retrieved such reports.

The survey took two months, and in the course of it Ibrahim Vile also introduced me to John Dabawa as my Glavda interpreter, and to John Zakariya for Dghwedè. I am very grateful for this. Without them I would not have been able to conduct the survey. We often used Hausa as an intermediate language. We had a motorbike and travelled all around the foothills, starting in Hambagda, then going up to Luvua, Wala, Warabe, Pulka, Wize, Bokko, Nghoshe Kasa, Chikidè, Barawa, and as far as Kughum on the southeastern side. We also went to Kirawa, Ashigashiya, Atagara, Arboko, up to Zelidva to visit Divili, but not to Ndololo as it had been completely abandoned decades ago. We also visited Guduf and Gava as well as Ghwa'a and Korana Basa, and even went to Ngoshe Sama. Over the two months the survey lasted I became very familiar with the geography and ethnolinguistic situation of the Gwoza hills.

In every village we visited, we recruited, with the help of the village heads, local guides who knew all the various places of interest, in particular ritual sites, which meant the guides not only had to be familiar with the administrative boundaries, but also with the traditional places of interest of those settlement units. After we had mapped boundaries and places of interest of a village by using a 1:50,000 topographical base map, we organised focus groups in which we interviewed small groups of locally known oral historians. This was done in the presence of a public audience, which brought about controversial oral historical versions in many of the villages. I already knew from my work in Mafa land that there were often underlying unofficial versions of such oral traditions, and we tried to capture as many oral historical layers as possible, which we taped and later translated into English. In the course of our work we discovered and successfully documented the ethnic and linguistic complexities of the Gwoza hills, and I thank everybody who helped and contributed to this initial part of my research.

The administrative background structure of Gwoza LGA in 1994

In 1995 I produced a survey report¹, but at this point I will only provide a summary of the administrative background structure as I found it in 1994. We aim to place the Dghwedè into a comprehensive ethnolinguistic context using the ethnographically neglected subregion of the Mandara Mountains. I also use ethnographic material from that survey report later in Part

¹ I deposited a copy of the survey report under Gerhard Kosack (1994): *Fieldnotes from the Gwoza Hills (NE Nigeria)*, 145 pages, with the library of the Frobenius Institut at Frankfurt University.

Three, particularly concerning the Tur tradition, and other oral historical fragments if relevant, for a better understanding of the Dghwedè. The case of the legend of Kumba Zadvà, who was the founding ancestor of the once Lamang-speaking Zelidva, is an example, and the roles Amuda and Ganjara took as cornblessers and rainmakers. Other relevant examples are the role of the Gudule in the context of the bull festival, and their link to Gudur (Mofu-Gudur), which can only be understood in comparison with other regional groups, or the Podoko, who also lived there but left the Gwoza hills in pre-colonial times. Figure 4 at the end of this chapter gives an overview of how these links need to be seen geographically as key parts of the northern Mandara Mountains as a whole.

When I carried out the ethnographic survey of the GLGA in 1994, I was intrigued by the complexity of the situation, although at the time this did not seem to matter a great deal. Take alone the linguistic situation: There were eight languages spoken in the Gwoza hills, but since Hausa increasingly took over as the lingua franca, many of the cultural aspects embedded in a local language appeared historical. This might not be entirely true however, because some of the contentious issues mentioned earlier, such as the mountains versus plains controversy, continued to draw from past social imagery, and a language change alone does not make this disappear. An example is the fact that people of the plain tended to perceive those of the hills, at least since colonial times, as socially inferior. However it seemed that this had more or less shifted too, and had at least partially become a matter of disadvantaged mountain groups and eastern plain groups conspiring together against a historically more advantaged western plain. How all this will play out in the future remains to be seen, when the process of reconciliation following the Boko Haram invasion will hopefully succeed.

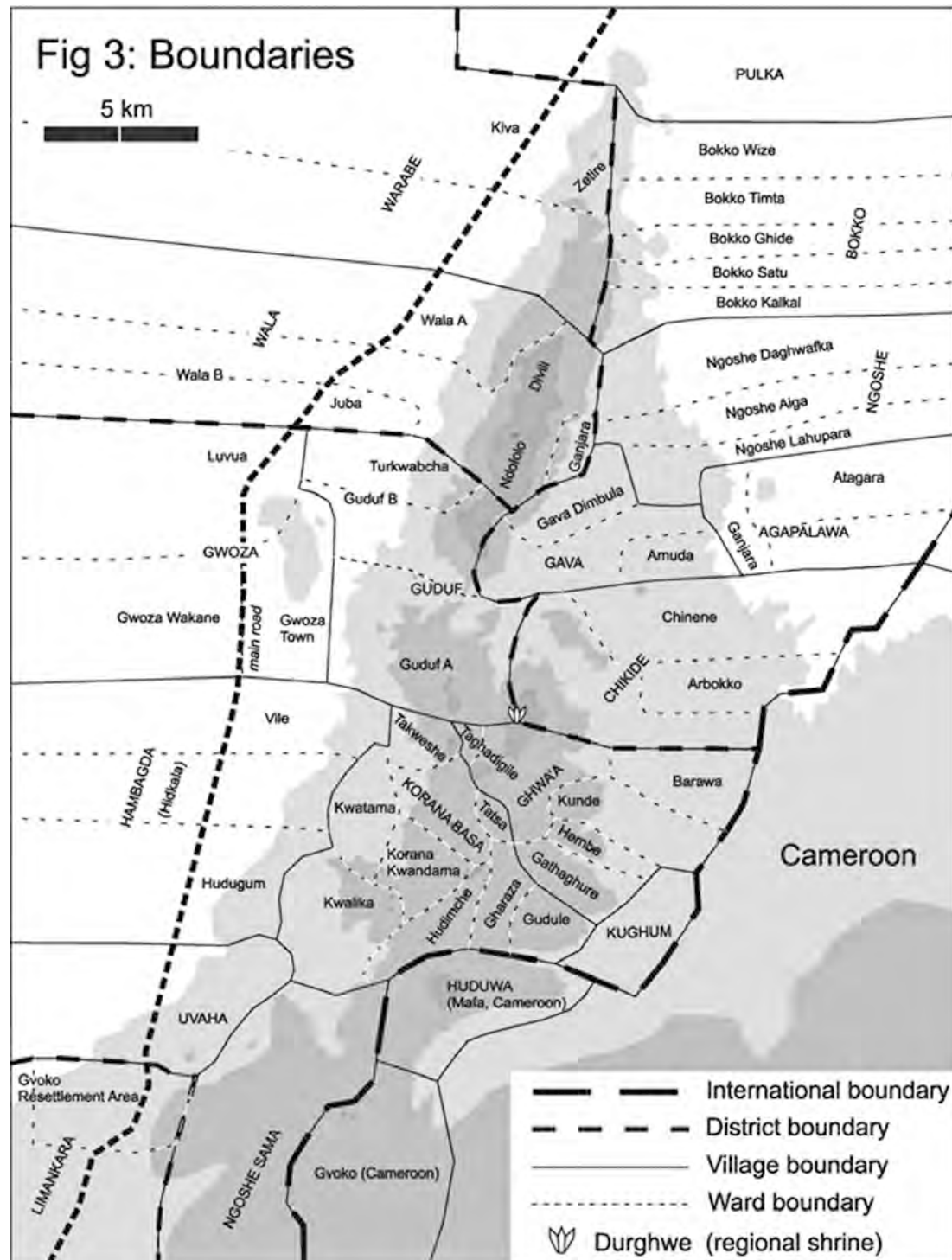
To better understand the driving forces behind these ongoing conflict issues, we will have to go into the colonial history of the Dghwedè. Mathews (*ibid*) already perceived them as an oral historical key group of the Gwoza hills, but before exploring this in Part Two and Part Three, it is necessary to outline its administrative structure, and highlight some of the problems inherent before Boko Haram. By doing so we will refer back to what we said earlier, and add more detail, and aim to better underpin our claims with ethnolinguistic and demographic background data as far as they are available.

Before examining our mapped summary results below, we need to explain that we did not include the whole of Tokombere District, only the villages along the western foot of the Zelidva spur. I regret this in hindsight, especially since Tokombere was situated in between the northwestern foothills of the Gwoza hills and Sambisa forest. We know that it functioned as a place of transition for Boko Haram, as they were able to move undisrupted between the forest area and the Gwoza hills by travelling through Tokombere. We know that they also used the Gwoza hills as a base to carry out cross-border attacks in neighbouring Cameroon. Years of insecurity of the intramountainous eastern plain and the inability of the Nigerian army to strategically rise to this challenge led to the loss of hundreds of lives and the displacement of thousands.

The boundaries of villages and wards

The Gwoza LGA had undergone quite a few administrative changes since the previous local government reform of 1976, but here we will use only the structure of 1994, being the most recent spotlight of local history. According to this, in 1994 Gwoza LGA consisted of three districts. They can be divided into fifteen villages, which in turn were subdivided into over fifty wards. The administrative structure at that time overlapped with other structures, to which we refer here as linguistic and ethnic units. They were further divided into ethnolinguistic subunits, according to the administrative structure of villages and wards. Figures 3, 3a, and 3b, as well as Table 1, are an attempt to cartographically capture the complexity of the situation in sequence.

Figure 3 shows the administrative boundaries of our survey area, consisting then of Gwoza Central District (Gwoza, Guduf, Korana Basa, and Ghwa'a), Ashigashiya District (Pulka, Bokko, Ngoshe, Gava, and Agapalawa), and Tokombere District (Limankara, Wala and Warabe). We can see that Gwoza Central includes most of the southern massif and the southern part of the eastern plain, while the area to the immediate east of the Guduf saddle and the Zelidva spur belong to Ashigashiya district. The division of the eastern plain into two districts, with one district head in Gwoza town (in the west) and the other in Ashigashiya (see Figure 2), in 1994 highlighted an ongoing conflict over equality in terms of administration.



If we take a closer look at Figure 3, we can see that Dghwedé is divided into two administrative villages, called Korana Basa facing the western plain, and Ghwa'a facing the

eastern plain. The village name Korana Basa is a bit confusing since it is taken from the ward Korana Basa. As already stated in our general introduction, Korana Basa, Korana Kwandama and Hudimche were formerly known as 'Gharguze', and in 1913 Moisel mentioned 'Hirguse' (Gharguze) on his first map of the region. Moisel also mentioned 'Goso', which would later become Gwoza, and the second part of Moisel's 'Hirguse', that is *guse*, must be seen as being at the root of the etymology of Gwoza. We will explain the historical connection between 'Gharguze' and Gwoza in our chapter 'Names and places' in Part Three, and also in Part Two when we describe the unsettling colonial years. What we want to note at this point, is that in 1994 both the administrative villages of Dghwedè were under the district head of Gwoza, even though Ghwa'a was not only geographically but oral-historically orientated more towards the eastern rather than the western plain.

The other aspect we need to mention here is the two resettlement areas of Dghwedè. Figure 3 shows Kwatama to the west of Korana Basa and Barawa to the east of Ghwa'a. The western resettlement area cuts historically into the Lamang village of Hambagda, which expands naturally much further into the western plain than Barawa, because the latter is limited by the river Kirawa, which marks the international boundary with the far north of Cameroon. The fact that Kwatama, as Korana Basa resettlement area, has much better access to arable land, has been a cause for conflict since its creation during late colonial times. Alternatively, from a topographical perspective, Ghwa'a is more easily accessible than Korana Basa because the Gwoza hills are generally much steeper on the western side. From a historical perspective, Gwoza developed as the main central place during German colonial times, which was further promoted by the shift of the administrative power structure from Ashigashiya to Gwoza under British rule in the 1920s. We learn more about how the British indirect rule further accelerated this process in our colonial history chapter of Part Two.

Language distribution based on village and ward boundaries

Figure 3a below shows the linguistic divisions of the Gwoza LGA. While Dghwedè is a linguistic unity in this respect, many other administrative villages have language diversity. Altogether there are eight languages spoken, which all belong to Central Chadic or Biu-Mandara, a term introduced by Paul Newman (1977). Central Chadic is subdivided into Biu-Mandara A and B, consisting of altogether sixty languages. Dghwedè is a language of Biu-Mandara A, but its linguistic sub-classification remains controversial. This is especially the case with Newman's Biu-Mandara A4, which is the Mandara group. Paul Newman (1990:1-5) classifies A4 into (a) Mandara, Dghwedè, Glavda, Guduf, Gvoko, Podoko, and (b) Lamang and Mabas. Ekkehard Wolff (2007) accepts this classification but adds Hde to Newman's Mandara group (b) and refers to it as 'Wandala-Lamang Group' (ibid 133).

According to Wolff (ibid), Richard Gravina (2007) made the latest attempt to reconstruct the classification of Chadic Biu-Mandara A, by pointing to a geographical dichotomy, which leads him to distinguish between a north and south major group. Gravina further sub-divides the north group into three major sub-groups, which puts Lamang and Mandara in the same group. Wolff (email communication 2012) is unhappy with Gravina's result and wants to maintain a separate 'Lamang group', which he refers to as the 'Lamang-Mandara convenience group' to accommodate their similarity from a perspective of geographical vicinity.

I am in no position to argue over the linguistic controversy between Wolff's desire to keep Wandala-Lamang as a 'convenience group' due to their geographical vicinity, against Gravina's view that is purely based on phonological, morphological, and syntactical similarities, which led to a split of Mandara into a south and north major group. However, Wolff and Gravina seem to agree that Dghwedè, Glavda, Guduf, and Gvoko are grouped, while Lamang appears more related to Hde (Tur), with which we tend to agree. Wolff's more historical view, based on geographical vicinity, supports my idea that Lamang was possibly spoken in the Gwoza hills before the establishment of the Gvoko, Dghwedè, Guduf, and Glavda speakers.

It is not exactly what we want to discuss here, but there is a traditional belief among the Zelidva of Divili that they adopted Lamang when Kumba Zadvā became their founding ancestor, but kept Dghwede for rituals. We discuss the role of Kumba Zadvā in the chapter 'Outsiders and founders' in Part Three. Also, the Tur tradition as a key pre-colonial tradition of origin, embracing all groups of the Gwoza hills including the Wandala, suggests that perhaps Lamang might have also once been more prominent in the hills. This view is also supported by the similarity between Lamang and Hde. We therefore like to stick with Wolff's 'Lamang-Wandala convenience group' for geographical and oral historical reasons.

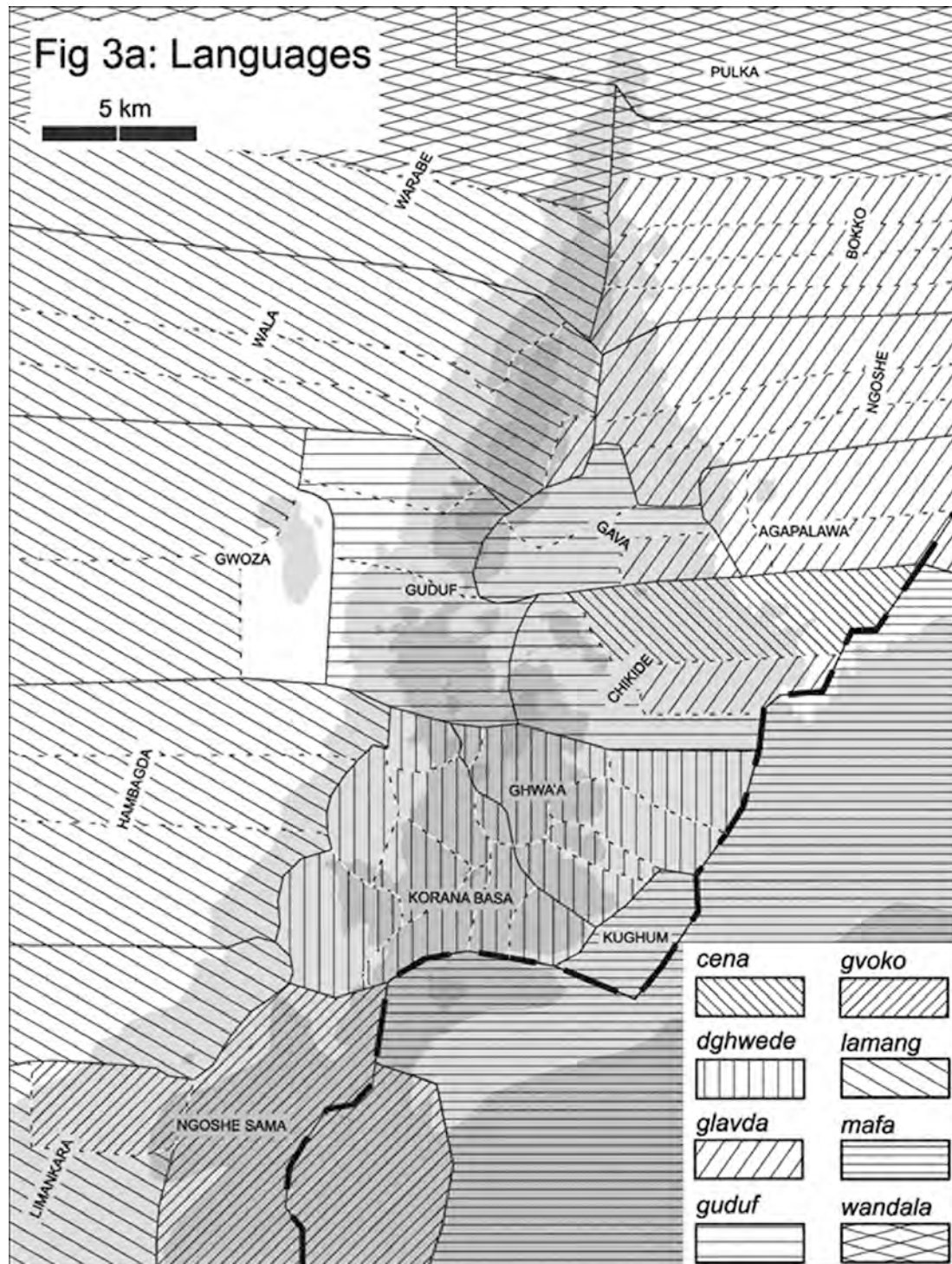


Figure 3a shows that Lamang was spoken in 1994 in most villages along the western foothills of the Gwoza hills as far as Warabe. In northern Warabe, Wandala begins to be spoken as the

main language. In 1994 it was explained to me that it was more a dialect of Wandala proper that was spoken there, referred to as *Abaiwa*. We see that Wandala was spoken all around the northern foothills of the Gwoza hills, which is in Pulka, and half of the village of Bokko. The other half of Bokko was then inhabited by a majority of Glavda speakers.

We also see that the languages spoken in the village of Chikidè overlap. While the Chikidè speak Guduf, which is locally often referred to as *Afakbiya*, the Chinene speak *Cena*, also known as *Nakacha*. We also see that a section of Chikidè village is inhabited by Glavda speakers. I was told locally that *Cena* is a mixture of Guduf and Glavda, but we do not know when it came about. However, the existence of *Cena* is perhaps another good argument as to why the historical and geographical aspect of language development is so important among the ethnic groups of the Gwoza hills, as they are in such close vicinity to each other.

Ethnicity based on village and ward boundaries

If we compare Figure 3a and Figure 3b, we can see how ethnicity and language overlap in the administrative villages of the Gwoza LGA. Perhaps at this point we need to remind ourselves that each administrative village is marked as such, by having its own village head, who in 1994 in turn reported to their district heads either in Gwoza town or Ashigashiya.

We remember that Dghwedè was at that time entirely part of Gwoza Central District. This brought about a conflict of interest between the inhabitants of Korana Basa, whose village head lived in Vile (Hambagda), while the village head of Ghwa'a lived in Barawa in the eastern plain, but still had to report to his district head in Gwoza town. We can see that the dominating ethnicity along the western foothills and adjacent plain is Lamang. This extends as far north as Wala, where only one ward is still occupied by Lamang, but due to the majority of Zelidva in Wala, the village head was also a Zelidva man. In 1994, Zelidva was still the dominating ethnicity in Wala and Warabe, and we can only assume that this is still the case now.

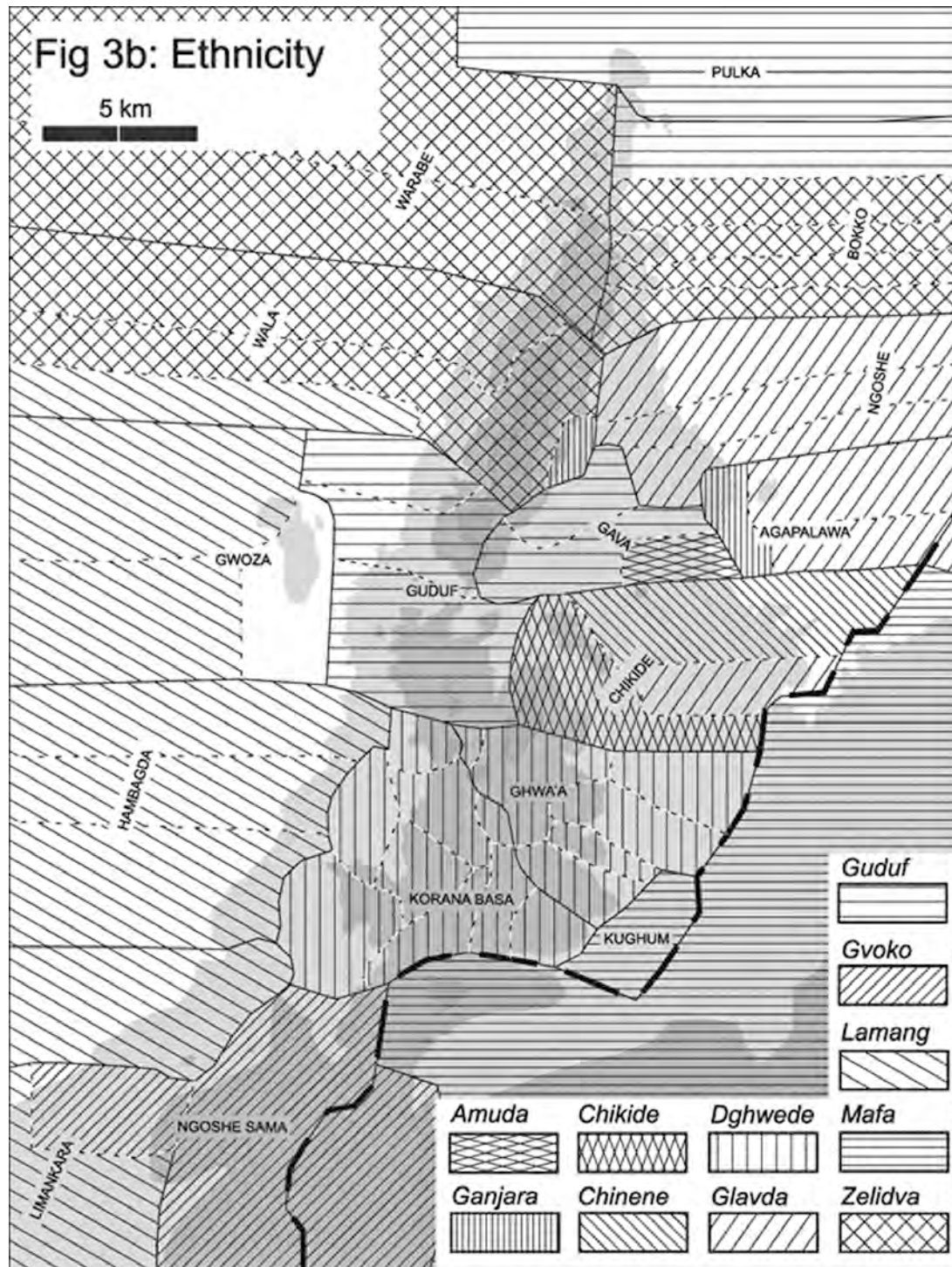
In Pulka there was historically a Guduf ethnicity, but my survey shows that the spoken language was perhaps more important to the local identity than ethnicity. We remember that Wandala was spoken in Warabe, Pulka, and Bokko. There had been a south-to-north migration during pre-colonial times, which according to oral history brought Guduf speakers to Pulka, perhaps even before the Zelidva. The latter came originally from Dghwedè to settle in Ndololo and Divili, where they adopted Lamang. We point this out to hint at the oral historical complexities of the ethnolinguistic situation of the Gwoza hills. We can see that it appears geographically extremely nested, like in Bokko also, where the greater part had a Zelidva ethnicity, even though they were Glavda speakers.

A similar situation occurs in the village of Chikidè. The Chikidè as an ethnic group speak Guduf, while the Chinene, who were in terms of their tradition of origin closer to the Chikidè than to the Guduf, speak a language called *Cene*. Finally, both the Amuda and Ganjara, who were oral-historically cornblessers and rainmakers, speak Glavda. We learn more about their ritual function in the chapter on specialist lineages in Part Three. The Glavda themselves have in ethnic terms Ngoshe and Agapalawa as their main villages, however the Ganjara occupied a small portion of Agapalawa, but also speak Glavda (see Figure 3a).

This is all very diverse, but it might be that none of it is relevant any longer. It was already more or less historical when I carried out the survey. I am also convinced that it would not be possible to carry out the same survey again, now that the Boko Haram atrocities have led to the dispersion of the local population. To again retrieve the same level of information from the collective memory of our oral sources, would be an impossible thing.

I mentioned earlier how we organised focus groups in every village, together with Ibrahim Vile, my main research assistant during the survey. These days have gone and the local mix of people of the eastern plain of the Gwoza LG are displaced, and more preoccupied with

returning and hopefully reconciling. We do not know how many of them died as a result of Boko Haram invading the Gwoza hills and the eastern plain, after the killing of so many of them. For example, in June 2014 dozens were killed in a church in Atagara² which is a village ward of Agapalawa, by a Boko Haram gunman disguised as a Nigerian soldier (see Figure 3).



So many local people fled and have not returned even now in late 2020. I have not worked out how all this might have affected the population estimates I will use in the next section, but I kept a chronicle of events on my web pages³, starting in December 2012 and ending in 2017. These five years must have been the most severe period during which the Gwoza LGA was

² <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27690687>

³ <https://www.mandaras.info/InformationToShare.html>

mostly under attack, and thousands must have fled, and hundreds and if not more been killed during this time of the most terrible devastation.

Working out population estimates based on ethnolinguistic belonging

The population estimates in Table 1 below, total 194,450 inhabitants for the Gwoza hills and neighbouring plains, for 1996 (please read the explanatory note to the right of the table):

Table 1: Population estimates of ethnic groups and languages for 1996

Admin. Unit (Village)	Ethnic Sub-unit	Ethnicity / Ethnic Group	Language / Dialect	Popl. Estm.	Explanatory note	
Korana-Basa Ghwa'a	Dghwede	Dghwede	<i>dghwede (azaghvana)</i>	20,000	Nigeria had four national censuses: 1963, 1973 (was cancelled), 1991 (considered unreliable), and 2006 (only the total was available to me). The 1989 re-publication of the 1963 census also contains an update on new settlements and generally allows for very good identification of ethnic groups through the listed settlement units. The 1991 census is not only considered unreliable but the listed settlement units are often incorrect and confuse names of main units with those of sub-units. I have used the 1991 census in some instances for sub-units. I neglected estimates by SIL (please see www.ethnologue.com) since they are not based on ethnic, but solely linguistic affiliations.	
Guduf A Guduf B	Guduf	Guduf	<i>guduf (afakbiya)</i>	30,000		
Gava	Gava Kusarha					
Chikide	Chikide	Chikide- Chinene	<i>cena (nakacha)</i>	3,000		
	Chinene			300		
Gava	Amuda	Amuda- Ganjara		100		
Agapalawa	Ganjara					
Ngoshe Agapalawa Atagara	Glavda	Glavda	<i>glavda</i>	30,000		
Limankara	Waga	Lamang	<i>lamang</i>	1,000		
Uvaha	Uvaha			15,000		
Hambagda	Hidkala					
Luvua	Luvua					
Warabe Wala A Wala B	Zelidva (west)	Zelidva (Pulka and Wize claim Guduf ethnicity while Juba claims them to be Lamang)		<i>wandala (abaiwa)</i>		30,000
Wala B	Juba					
Pulka	Pulka					
Warabe	Kiva					
Bokko	Wize					
Bokko	Zelidva (east)					
Kirawa	Vale	Vale	<i>wandala</i> or <i>glavda</i>	50		
Kirawa	Wandala	Wandala	<i>wandala</i>	20,000		
Ngoshe- Sama	Gvoko	Gvoko	<i>gvoko</i>	20,000		
Kughum	Mafa	Mafa	<i>mafa</i>	5,000		
Gwoza	<i>Mixed population (incl. Hausa and Kanuri)</i>			20,000		

The estimates presented in Table 1 are my estimates, which I projected with an annual growth rate of 3% from *Population Projection of Borno State* (1989), a republication of the 1963 census (see explanatory note). I decided to exclude the settlements still belonging to the Tokombere District further out on the western plains since my ethnographic survey of 1994 had not included this part of the Gwoza LGA.

We used the structure of villages from the 1994 survey as administrative base units, and then differentiated between ethnic sub-units of the administrative village structure, which we subsequently linked with ethnicity and language. We see for example that both Guduf A and Guduf B as well as Gava are three such administrative base units or villages, but that all three speak Guduf. When we then look at Chikidè as an administrative village, we recognise that it consists of Chikidè-Chinene in terms of ethnicity, but realise that they need to be seen differently in terms of languages spoken.

When we follow the above example we also recognise that we tried to differentiate as much as possible concerning population estimates. For example, altogether we have 33,000 Guduf speakers, but they include 3000 Chikidè and 300 Chinene in terms of ethnicity. The latter demonstrates how few Chinene, in particular, there were.

If we project my 1996 estimates further to 2006, but with a slightly lower annual growth rate of 2.7%, we arrive at a total of 253,916 inhabitants for the Gwoza hills and adjacent plains. If we now compare this with the total of 276,312 inhabitants given by the 2006 official census result for the whole of the Gwoza LGA, we see that my original estimates are fairly valid. However I have not projected the individual ethnic groups forward to the 2006 census since we do not know how much and from whereabouts downhill migration took place. Therefore we leave our estimates at the projection of 1996 since they are much closer to the time of the 1994 survey.

Localised issues of population density and resulting conflict areas

We now want to briefly examine the population estimates for the individual ethnic groups listed in Table 1, and how I arrived at certain estimates concerning population density. Estimating population density in the Gwoza hills is not an easy task. We know from the Cameroonian side, where quite an extensive literature is available to us (Hallaire 1991), that population density in the northern Mandara Mountains along ethnic identities varied between 100 and 200 inhabitants per square kilometre. Unfortunately there are no such data for the Gwoza hills, and here we have to rely mainly on my experience by comparison from a rough field estimation, combined with the counting of houses I performed in parts of Dghwedè.

For example, by multiplying the number of houses with an average of five members per household, in Hudimche and Dzga I estimated 150 inhabitants per sq km. Since one sq km is about the equivalent of 100 ha and one ha is about the size of a football field, I managed to interpolate on the basis of physical observation. Fortunately all groups of the Gwoza hills live in nuclear families as the residential unit. This way I estimated in the late 1990s that the average population density in Dghwedè and Guduf was between 100 and 150 inhabitants per sq km. We need to keep in mind that this figure is only an informed guess and that it applies solely to the hill settlements. If we divide the population figure given in the 2006 census by the Gwoza LGA of 2,883 square kilometres, we arrive at an overall population density of about 95 inhabitants per sq km. This figure suggests that the density in the hill settlements of Dghwedè and Guduf, and also Gvoko, was significantly higher than in the wider adjacent plains.

The latter point brings us to the questions of resettlement areas for those hill settlements. We know that the Dghwedè have two resettlement areas: Barawa for the inhabitants of Ghwa'a in the eastern plain, and Kwatama for those of Korana Basa in the western plain. Barawa is in the southern part of the eastern plain, where arable land is limited by the international boundary and the nearby Moskota hills. This means that the resettlement area to the eastern

side of Dghwede could not be extended any further. There was the additional factor that Mafa from the Moskota side also suffered from chronic land shortage, which led to conflict. One conflict stemmed from the fact that the Kirawa river migrates, which makes the international boundary potentially unstable. Another cause was that an increasing number of Mafa from Cameroon attempted to settle in Barawa due to the suitability of the Barawa land for onion cultivation. Onion cultivation is highly profitable, which made this land particularly valuable. Population pressure from the hills of Ghwa'a could only be absorbed in a very limited way by the resettlement area of Barawa.

The potential for conflict manifested differently in Kwatara, the resettlement area of Korana Basa. The originally designated resettlement area of Kwatara was originally limited to the foothills area of Hambagda, but due to ongoing population pressure from the hills, people from Korana Basa also settled in Vile. Because the Vile people had been settled in the western plain for much longer than the Dghwede, they claimed that the Dghwede had started to settle outside their designated resettlement area. This was disputed by the Dghwede, who counterclaimed that the original settlement area was larger in the first place. As a result of this conflict, a court case between Vile and Korana Basa was ongoing during my time. The issue was that the village head of Korana Basa allegedly collected taxes from Dghwede families outside the designated resettlement area. The main underlying reason for the expansion of the resettling Dghwede was that the Vile people were a fairly small group but controlled a comparably large portion of arable land. Although the Vile appeared quite happy for the Dghwede of Korana Basa to settle and farm outside the original resettlement area, they still wanted to collect the taxes themselves. I do not know whether the conflict was eventually resolved, but it does illustrate that conflict over land in the western plain did not necessarily occur due to lack of land, but had more to do with original owners of land and to whom taxes should be paid. Considering that the population density in the western plain was generally lower, such conflicts were taken to court to find a solution to the ongoing population pressure from the Dghwede massif.

Since there was no international boundary in the western plain, land belonging to the Gwoza LGA stretches quite far westwards, though this did not necessarily mean that all groups of the hills had equal access to it. This was a problem not only for the Dghwede, but also for the Chikide and Chinene, as well as the Gvoko. While the Dghwede bordered the plains at both sides of the hills, Ghwa'a in the east and Korana Basa in the west, Chikide and Chinene and Gava (Gava is part of Guduf) only had access to the intramountainous eastern plains, and the Gvoko only to the western plain. This meant that they had only access to the plains on the side of the mountains where their hill settlements were found. The further one gets to the north on either side of the Gwoza hills, the easier it seemed for groups of the hills to settle in the plains. As mentioned above, the Zelidva for example had already almost completely abandoned their settlements in the hills decades ago, and conflict over resettlement land seemed to have been much less of an issue there.

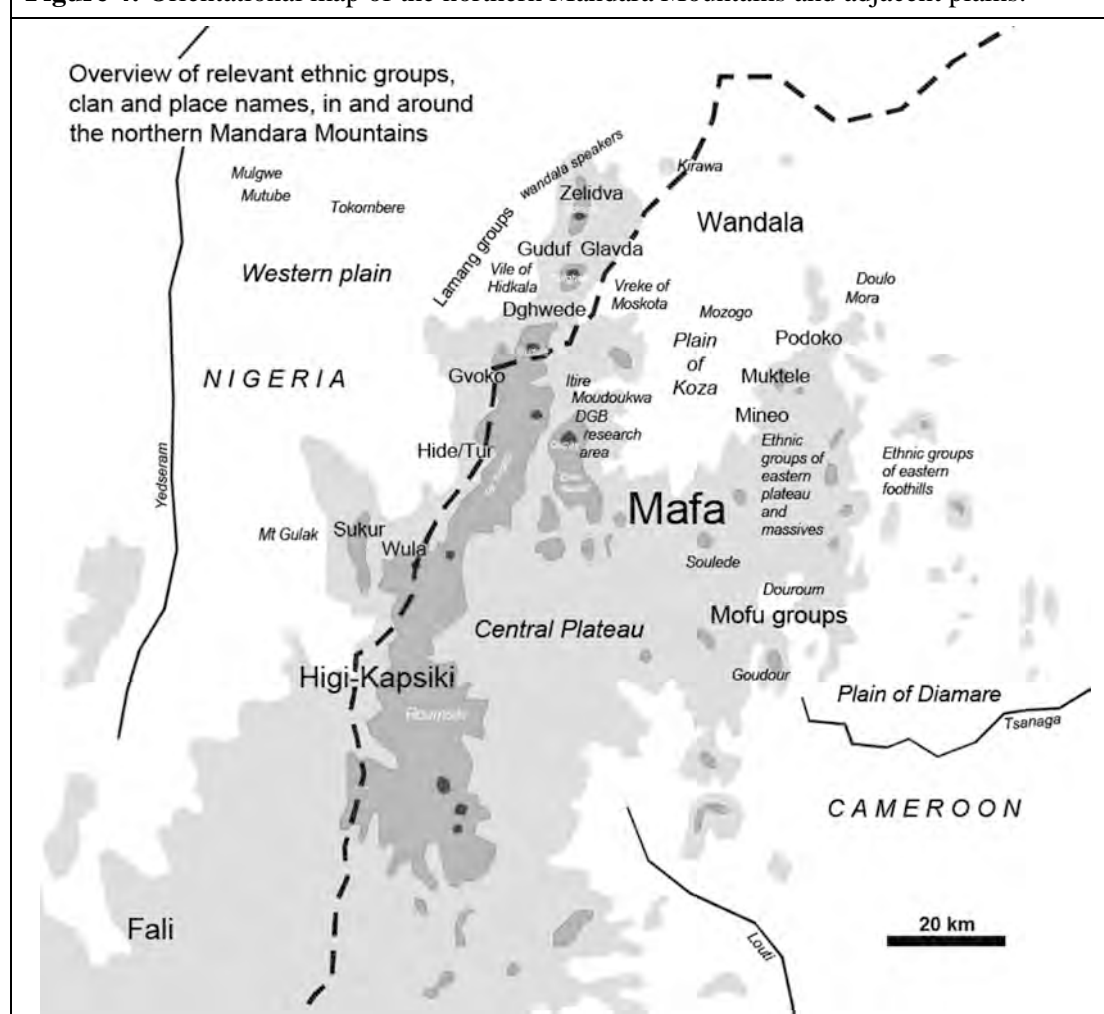
Conclusion and orientational map of the wider region

This chapter has shown that the Gwoza hills had already significantly changed by the time I started working there in 1994. We realise that something very new took root in the hills, something that hinted towards a qualitative turnaround, and was linked to the introduction of radical Islam. That I became aware of that change only in 2005 does not mean it was only then that it all began, but shows also that it somehow coincided with a generational change. A new generation of Dghwede grew up in the aftermath of the September attacks of 2001 and the subsequent 'war on terror' led by the US and other western powers. The overall religious climate in Nigeria was affected by this and it appeared to be connected to the spread of Izala Islam. However this was far from being something entirely new, since there had been a previous history of Islamic sectarianism, as the Hamman Yaji case will tell us later.

The last word on how global change impacts locally on a remote area like the Gwoza hills has yet to be written, and to aim for that is not the purpose of this book. I am only trying to weave together historical loose ends, loose ends which might hopefully help the survivors of Boko Haram to recover their cultural past and also encourage future historians to better understand what followed. What seems certain is that small remote places can be affected by global changes not only brought about by the introduction of the mobile phone and the Internet. The case of the Gwoza hills shows that something similar happened when Germany lost its colonies as a result of the Great War, when the Treaty of Versailles divided their former possessions into mandated areas. The history of the Dghwede people is a good example of that, and not only then, but still today and perhaps even again tomorrow!

Before we start Part Two, we want to present this overview map for the general orientation of relevant groups and place names of the northern Mandara Mountains and their adjacent plains. For more detailed views of the subregion please also refer back to Figures 1, 2, and 3.

Figure 4: Orientational map of the northern Mandara Mountains and adjacent plains.



Part Two will set the pre-colonial and colonial background scenario to our Dghwede history in fragments, going back about 600 years to a time before the Dghwede as we knew them existed. We will see how the mountainous environment and the invention of a very sophisticated terrace culture helped them survive periods of extreme environmental emergency. In the context of that, we will embed the northwestern Mandara Mountains as a subregion, where early state formation and population movements, triggered by intervals of aridity and humidity, set the scene for their development. In the light of that we will see how the two main administrative parts of Dghwede, Korana Basa and Ghwa'a most likely did not come about together, but in two steps, which we will attempt to link to palaeoclimatic

changes. We will show how, in this context, the Dghwedè had most likely gained an enduring advantage of security and food safety over the adjacent plains, which only ended during a very unsettling colonial period, perhaps even for Ghwa'a.

We will then illustrate in Part Three how our Dghwedè oral history retold reveals step by step fragments of an oral narrative of a likely late pre-colonial past, by contextualising the various aspects of Dghwedè culture and showing its intrinsic complexities. As mentioned earlier, we will stick as much as possible to the authentic views of our Dghwedè protagonists concerning their own culture as it was relayed to us by them. In doing so we will also have a scholarly discussion about the various ethnographic intricacies and their possible meanings, but attempt not to go into any comparison for further academic illustration of such scholarly points. I will leave that to my academic colleagues and the historians of tomorrow, of which we hope some will be the grandchildren of my Dghwedè friends to whom I passionately dedicate this book. I ask their forgiveness for all the mistakes I have made, but unfortunately there was no longer anyone else to ask for a more truly authentic local clarification!

PART TWO

KEY SOURCES TOWARDS A SHARED SUBREGIONAL PAST

Introduction

In Part Two we will attempt to construct a pre-colonial and colonial background scenario to explain how the Dghwede might be historically connected to a shared subregional past. This part is divided into two chapters, in the context of which the second chapter becomes increasingly historical as a result of the source situation.

We start with the pre-colonial Wandala, and the contemporaneity between them and the DGB (*diy ged'biy*) sites on the northern slopes of the Oupay massif (see Figures 2 and 4). The DGB sites are the most important archaeological sites with radiocarbon dates, and their distance from Kirawa, the capital of the early Wandala state, is no more than around 25 kilometres. The Gwoza hills are geographically sandwiched between, and are connected with, the Tur heights and the Oupay massif to the immediate south. This makes the northwestern Mandara Mountains specific, and suggests a possible shared past with the DGB complex, not only with the Gwoza hills but also with Kirawa and the surrounding foothills and plains. We have therefore defined the whole area as our investigative subregion. The Dghwede form part of that subregion and we document them here in great ethnographic detail so that future historiographical research will be able to constructively include them. We will see below that Dghwede oral historical traditions include the Wandala in their original traditions, and that they share legendary tales about a conflict over the ritual power concerning rain. In addition to this they have a collective memory of former tributary relationships with the Wandala, which are most likely rooted in late pre-colonial times. There are significant similarities in terms of aspects of material culture and archaeological key finds from the DGB sites which provide evidence for a link between early terrace cultivation and stone architecture, and we will explore this further in the context of our Dghwede oral history retold throughout Part Three.

Our second chapter describes changes not only in subregional terms, but also in the overall political and administrative situation which occurred during the colonial period, which were very unsettling times for the Dghwede. Regarding key sources, we begin with Moisel's cartographical material from the early German period, and describe how the circumstantial effects of the First World War brought about essential change, which eventually led the Dghwede to come under British mandate rule. At that time Kirawa as a centre of Wandala power had long gone, even though the northern part of Dghwede, with Ghwa'a at its centre, still saw itself under Wandala rule. We describe the arrest of Hamman Yaji, and how the Dghwede remember that they had initiated his arrest by sending a delegation to Maiduguri after they realised that the Wandala could not protect them. We later demonstrate how Dghwede increasingly lost its standing as an independent montagnard group, to the newly developing Muslim elite in Gwoza town. We already mentioned the killing of Iwan Buba in the context of the enforced resettlement scheme of the 1950s. At the end of this chapter we describe the circumstances of the two Plebiscites on the road to independence, in which the Gwoza hills finally became part of modern Nigeria.

We very much hope that by connecting all kinds of sources going back about 600 years, which relate to written, archaeological, palaeoclimatic and material cultures, an appropriate background will be set to our Dghwede oral history retold. We will use some of the oral data in Part Two, such as legends which claim to represent early pre-colonial and oral memories concerning late pre-colonial times and the colonial history period. In the context of this, the oral data we will use to underpin our colonial archival records are in a way the tail end of our Dghwede oral history, while the bulk of our ethnographic data will relate to the pre-colonial

period. This makes the Dghwede colonial period not only the most recent but also the historically most convincing period of a reconstructed Dghwede past. Archival and oral eye-witness accounts from the early 1950s, such as in the case of the killing of Iwan Buba, are much less apocryphal than the journey to Maiduguri leading to the arrest of Hamman Yaji in the late 1920s, as they carry the immediacy of the emotional involvement of the teller of the story. The further back in time we go, the more legendary the Dghwede oral accounts seem to become, something we consider to be one of the main challenges in making sense of them. One of the reasons is presumably because they were constructed closer to the Dghwede belief system of the pre-colonial past, for instance when the main actors of the legendary journey from Ghwa'a travelled to the resident of Borno in Maiduguri they were still using pre-colonial methods of traditional peacemaking, such as the use of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) as clan medicine.

Much of our attempt to present the underlying complexities of the oral source situation, and to integrate them into our Table of Contemporaneity with the *Wandala Chronicles*, proves difficult, as the latter source was written down in Arabic. However we will not discuss the history of the various attempts to translate them, but will use the most recent translation, which is by Hermann Forkl (1995). He has a long record of working on the pre-colonial history of the Wandala state, and did much ethnographic comparative work of the whole region south of Lake Chad. His ethnographic writings are mostly in German, as is his book about the various Arabic manuscripts forming the *Wandala Chronicles*, the history of which he documents. We are using here his German translation of a copy of one of the same manuscripts that Eldridge Mohammadou translated into French in 1982. Forkl (ibid 84) found an almost identical copy to the one Mohammadou had used, and he compares the two and retranslates them in tandem. Our presentation of his German transcription will be in English, for which I take responsibility.

Forkl presents a relative chronology of the various rulers. We are particularly interested in the dynastic history of the rulers of Kirawa, and we represent an alternative chronology by linking it to the various other sources. This includes the radiocarbon dates from the DGB sites, as well as paleoclimatic data linked to the dynastic chronology of the Wandala rulers of Kirawa. In this context we make a further attempt to connect much earlier Arabic sources by Ibn Furtu, concerning the siege of the foothill of Kirawa by Sultan Idris Alauma of Borno. While the *Wandala Chronicles* are from the early 18th century, Ibn Furtu's account is from about 150 years earlier in the late 16th century, and the other difference is that the late 16th century was a very arid period that had lasted at least 25 years. We have allocated the latter to the rule of the siege of Kirawa by the Borno empire, while Kirawa seems to have asserted its pre-Islamic heritage, and we ask whether this period of Traditionalist 'resistance' against the Islamic influence from Borno might have been accompanied by a revitalisation of ritual relationships between the montagnards of the Gwoza hills and the Traditionalist Wandala rulers of Kirawa.

The question of whether there was such a ritually defined pre-colonial link between the montagnards and the Wandala ruler of Kirawa during the late 16th century, stems from our unfolding Dghwede ethnography. We presume that the Dghwede ritual interventions in managing environmental crises were triggered by extreme aridity, and as such were common, and that the geographical closeness of Kirawa to the Gwoza hills was not only useful for a potential retreat, but also related to the montagnard culture of rainmaking and cornblessing. We hypothesise that this subregional circumstance was linked to a long mutual relationship of interaction and exchange, which was not only based on tribute or trade relations, but had a more essential aspect to do with a pre-Islamic culture of promoting strategies of good luck and hope for divine intervention in order to survive potential food shortages during times of severe environmental crises. We hypothesise that this was culturally linked to the invention of terrace cultivation, for which a mixed farming system was pre-conditional, and we would like to interpret the DGB complex as a subregional manifestation of this.

Chapter 2.1

Between the pre-colonial Wandala and the DGB sites

Introduction

As mentioned above, this chapter draws from a diversity of source materials, including oral sources from Dghwedè. We start with the primary written sources linked to the Wandala and Kirawa, to mark the historical significance of Kirawa as their most important early capital. They are Fra Mauro (1450), Leo Africanus (1529), Ibn Furtu (1576), Lorenzo Anania (1582), and the *Wandala Chronicles* (1723/24). From the latter we draw a list of early Wandala kings, with king Agamakiya as the most important, and show how Kirawa emerged, but was later moved to Doulo at the northeast of the Mandara Mountains. We avoid going into the history of the wider region in that context, but stay concentrated on Kirawa and its presumed role for our subregion. We think that this early period of the Wandala state started in the 15th century and lasted until the mid-17th century. The later period of the Wandala state began in Doulo and then continued in the early 19th century with Mora as their last capital.

One main objective of this chapter is to produce a Table of Contemporaneity, with the DGB sites as the earliest evidence for terrace cultivation in our subregion. DGB is an abbreviation of the Mafa word *diy ged'biy*. It means translated 'eye of the chief on top' and it was originally my suggestion to use DGB as general site name. The main reason why we link them to the list of early Wandala rulers and the history of Kirawa is the radiocarbon (C14) dates gained from the sites. We will connect the DGB and Wandala of Kirawa dates with palaeoclimatic dates of the changing Lake Chad water levels, to see the contemporaneity between the early Wandala rulers and the DGB complex as evidence of early terrace cultivation in our wider subregion. This in turn allows us to later connect some of our Dghwedè oral history traditions by attempting to interpret them in the same palaeoclimatic framework. This will lead us to the hypothesis that the Gwoza hills were influenced since earlier pre-colonial times by the wider subregional importance of both the DGB sites and Kirawa as the first capital of Wandala.

Concerning the DGB sites, we have immaterial and material aspects of Dghwedè culture to demonstrate a possible link. The first is mainly connected to traditions of origin, while the second consists of comparing similarities in stone architecture, and a type of ritual beer pot with a small aperture. The latter was used in Dghwedè for sorghum beer to celebrate family ancestors, but we will have to wait until Part Three to appreciate the potential implications of our suggested connections. We are however already starting to present the hypothesis that the early terrace cultivation of the DGB sites was related not only to sorghum but also to manure production, and that this most likely included the discovery of how to make guinea corn beer for extensive ritual use in communal celebrations. This view is supported by the fact that the early Wandala rulers of Kirawa were dynastically still pagan rulers, which allows for the possibility that there might have been a ritual link between the pre-colonial Wandala and the intensified terrace cultivation of sorghum during times of increasing aridity.

In terms of links with the Wandala of Kirawa, there are no material but only legendary links on the Dghwedè side, and we will present one in the story of Zedima and the 'roots of the sun' as an expression of rainmaking and as a ritual asset for successful terrace cultivation. Another legendary account we want to present is that of Katala-Wandala, a daughter of Wandala, who is linked to the tradition of origin from Tur. We will also consult legendary accounts from the *Wandala Chronicles* about Katala as the first Wandala female ruler, while their capital was still in Ishga-Kawe. We also use those legends to attempt a reinterpretation of Nicholas David's ethnoarcheological narrative (David 2008), by suggesting that not only rainmaking but also manure production was of great ritual importance. We will present those legends at the end of this chapter, because first we want to look into the sources related to the history of trade and tribute arrangements between the pre-colonial Wandala and the Dghwedè.

Before we explore such possible trade relations, we are going to present Leo Africanus, who in the early 16th century describes the regional dichotomy of mountains and plains, and who is the one who introduces the word 'Montanari' for montagnards. His description of the lifestyle of montagnards highlights for the first time the prejudice of the montagnards as being 'primitive' from the perspective of the inhabitants of the plains, and he gives us information about their socio-economic way of life. Like Fra Mauro (1450), almost a hundred years before, he mentions the Wandala but not Kirawa, and we can only assume he is talking about the Gwoza hills. It is only about 50 years later that Ibn Furtu (1576) and Anania (1582) speak of a hill area near Kirawa. It is Anania in particular, who discusses Kirawa as a centre of early trade in iron, while Leo speaks about slaves being exported in exchange for horses from Tripoli. Horses played an important role in the history of slave hunting, but presumably more along the foothills and plains than in the hills.

We are going to connect the more arid and humid phases of climate change with our early written sources, and show the limits of how much it is possible to know about that early phase of trade relations. Before we address our oral sources from Dghwedè regarding the issue of slave raiding in the hills, we summarise our key sources of contemporaneity between the Wandala and Kirawa, the DGB sites and the Gwoza hills in between. By doing so we concentrate in particular on the second period of aridity of the 16th century. We will suggest that during this phase Ghwa'a might already have existed, while Korana Basa most likely developed as a result of the sharply rising Lake Chad water levels during the 17th century, which might have also led to the end of the ritual importance of the DGB sites.

We subsequently demonstrate how we use archive materials from German colonial times to find a historical transition from the early colonial period into late pre-colonial times. We show that this can be done by looking at the history of place names. This leads us to discuss tribute arrangements, and we connect them to the vulnerability of the hills to slave raiding, by presenting them in the historical context of the expansion of the Wandala state during the 18th century. This is the time when the capital had already moved to Doulo and the Wandala had become an Islamic dynasty. It is the same period as is presented by the legendary background of the Wandala of Kirawa in the *Wandala Chronicles*, and we compare some of its narrative aspects with our Dghwedè legendary accounts. Concerning oral historical traditions about tribute arrangements and slave raiding in the hills, we conclude that the Dghwedè oral memories belong oral-historically to the same late pre-colonial period.

The role of Kirawa in early written sources

The first mention of Kirawa is by Ibn Furtu in 1576 (Lange 1987), who describes how Idris Alauma, Sultan of Borno, sent troops to the 'large' town of Kirawa to dispose of the 'usurper' and 'pagan' ruler of Wandala. This ruler was an uncle of the prince of Wandala, who had taken refuge at the Sultan's court. The uncle, who had 'robbed' the prince of his kingdom, retreated to the 'large rocky mountain' to the west of Kirawa (see Plate 9a), but who surrendered following its siege due to lack of food and water. As a result, he gave himself up to the Sultan, who reinstated the prince and son of the original ruler of Wandala. We can be fairly certain that the 'large rocky mountain' Ibn Furtu is referring to was the foothill next to Kirawa town and not the significantly higher Zelidva spur which has permanent water on top (see Plate 5b). A successful siege would have been very difficult if not impossible.

The second mention of Kirawa is by the Italian Giovanni Lorenzo Anania (Lange & Berthoud 1972), who wrote in 1582 AD that the main city of the 'Madra' (Mandara) was 'Craua' (Kirawa), where 'we also find a big mountain rather rich in iron minerals'. Anania never visited Africa but relied solely on the reports of others. He also mentions other places in the wider region, and talks about trade relations which must have existed at that time, most likely via Tripoli where his main source had once lived (ibid). Venice was already a leading international trading city before Anania's time, and he also relied on other earlier sources, in particular on Leo Africanus, a Christianised Moor, who while still a Muslim had visited the

Borno empire for about a month in 1513 (Rauchenberger 1999). Leo's account was published in Italian in 1529, and he mentioned the 'Medra' (Mandara) but not Kirawa. Leo was the first to write about the geographical dichotomy of Borno, consisting of mountains and plains, but we will hear about that a little later.

For the next 150 years, no further sources refer to Kirawa, which makes the above two sources very significant, since they establish that Kirawa was then the capital of the early Wandala state. The next source which mentions 'Krawa' (Kirawa) is the *Wandala Chronicles*, a series of Arabic manuscripts, which were written in the early 18th century (after 1723/24 AD) when the ruling Wandala dynasty officially converted to Islam (Forkl 1995).¹

By then the Wandala had already transferred their capital from Kirawa to Doulo, near Mora, presumably under the pressure of the Borno empire, against which the Wandala had struggled to stay independent. The new Islamic rulers of Wandala wanted a pre-Islamic narrative of their pre-dynastic origins. This early narrative is historical only in the sense that it describes the legendary origin of the Wandala state based on oral accounts the Wandala scribes recorded in the first half of the 18th century. The part dealing with Kirawa goes as follows (ibid):

Because Agamakiya had no other children Zegda became their queen and she was very much loved. Zegda went to Krawa to rest. Krawa was in possession of a man by the name Agakuma Gatu. After 40 days Zegda returned home to Ishga-Kawe and left Agakuma in Krawa behind.

According to the *Wandala Chronicles*, Agamakiya was the first king of the Wandala, but he still lived in Ishga-Kawe (between Bama and Dikwa, see Figure 1) while his daughter Zegda possibly had a child with Agakuma Gatu, the chief of Kirawa. The name of that child might well have been Abalaksaka Gile, although the *Chronicles* speak of the father of Abalaksaka Gile as a hunter from Yemen by the name Gaya, whom Zegda invited to sit next to her on the throne. This was most likely an invention by the newly established Islamic dynasty, who presumably ordered their scribes to construct an acceptable narrative of their rulers' pre-Islamic origin. The *Chronicles*, therefore, continue by saying (ibid):

After Gaya's rule was fully secured he changed the title of his wife Zegda to *nuhundi* of all women of Mandara. After this Gaya and Zegda moved with their entourage from Ishga-Kawe to Krawa where they stayed with Agakuma, together with their son Abalaksaka Gile. After some time they returned to Ishga-Kawe but left Abalaksaka Gile in Krawa with Agakuma. Abalaksaka was their chief in Krawa. Eventually Zegda and Gaya died in Ishga-Kawe, where they were buried and Abalaksaka Gile became king in Krawa.

The *Chronicles* tell us that after 'Abalaksaka', the succession moved to his son 'Bira Misi', and then to his son 'Zare'. Next were his two sons 'Aldawa Barara Kinimu' and 'Agaldawa', and after that Agaldawa's son 'Akutafa Tahe' became king. Then the succession continued for a while from father to son, first to 'Aguwa Fagula', then 'Ankre Yawe', next 'Akutafa Dafla' and 'Aguwa Gaku'. The latter had three sons, who all succeeded, first 'Aldawa Wandala', next 'Akutafa Kataliyawe' and finally 'Sankre' (see list of rulers in Table of Contemporaneity).

These are twelve Wandala rulers altogether (excluding Zegda) that we can establish for Kirawa, since Sankre's marriage to a Maya princess, in the first half of the 17th century, made him move the capital from Kirawa to Doulo. Unfortunately we cannot link any of those rulers with certainty to the date that Ibn Furtu's writing indicates for king Alauma's siege of Kirawa, but we infer that it was Ankre Yawe's brother who was the 'usurper', and that it was Akutafa Dafla who was reinstated in Kirawa during the second half of the 16th century. Ankre Yawe, also known as 'Umar', had converted to Islam, and perhaps this was the reason his brother had taken over, because he might have wanted Wandala to remain a pagan kingdom.

This leaves us with the reinstatement of Umar's son, eight Wandala rulers before the date of Ibn Furtu's report in 1576, and four (including Akutafa Dafla) after it, when the capital was

¹ We use Forkl (1995:84ff) as base for the dynstic sequencing of our list of Wandala rulers of Kirawa.

moved to Doulo under Sankre during the early 17th century. Official Islamisation took place about 100 years later, during the early 18th century under king Bukar (Forkl *ibid*).

It is not known how long the various rules of our twelve Wandala kings of Kirawa lasted, and we do not make extra allowances for those who succeeded as brothers, so we can only guess. Between Akutafa Dafla and Sankre there are three rulers, which allows for only very short ruling periods, perhaps no more than between ten and twenty years each. Unfortunately we cannot be sure, but can make an informed guess that Kirawa might well have existed with eight kings (four of them brothers) for between 150 and 250 years before its siege by the Borno king, which Ibn Furtu reports in 1576. This would bring us to at least 1400 or even earlier, perhaps the mid-14th century, which would be around 1350AD.

There is another important early source we need to mention in this context: the Venetian mapmaker Fra Mauro, who, shortly before 1450AD, was the first to mention the name 'mandera' (Mandara) on his *mappa mundi* (Falchetta 2006). This was 125 years before Ibn Furtu and 75 years before Leo Africanus. Neither Leo nor Fra Mauro mentions Kirawa, but we assume, based on the kings' list extracted from the *Wandala Chronicles*, that both refer to the early Wandala state with Kirawa as its capital. Kirawa, located to the immediate northeastern foot of the Gwoza hills, was, therefore, perhaps throughout the 15th and much of the 16th century, a not unimportant regional centre of trans-Saharan trade. Why else would Fra Mauro include them on his *mappa mundi*, together with other early mentions, like 'mergi' (Margi) and 'bagemi' (Bagirmi), which Falchetta lists as important places south of Lake Chad?

The above raises the question of the nature of the relationship of the early Wandala state to the populations of the Gwoza hills, but before we do that we want to introduce the DGB sites and show that they could well have developed historically in tandem or shortly before the Wandala decided to leave Ishge Kawe and make Kirawa their capital. Our sources suggest both the foundation of Kirawa as Wandala capital and the development of the DGB sites as early evidence for terrace agriculture, sharing as they do a subregional and historical past. They were most likely affected by the same climate emergency: great aridity during the first half of the 15th century, following a very long period of humidity (see also Figure 16).

The contemporaneity of the DGB sites

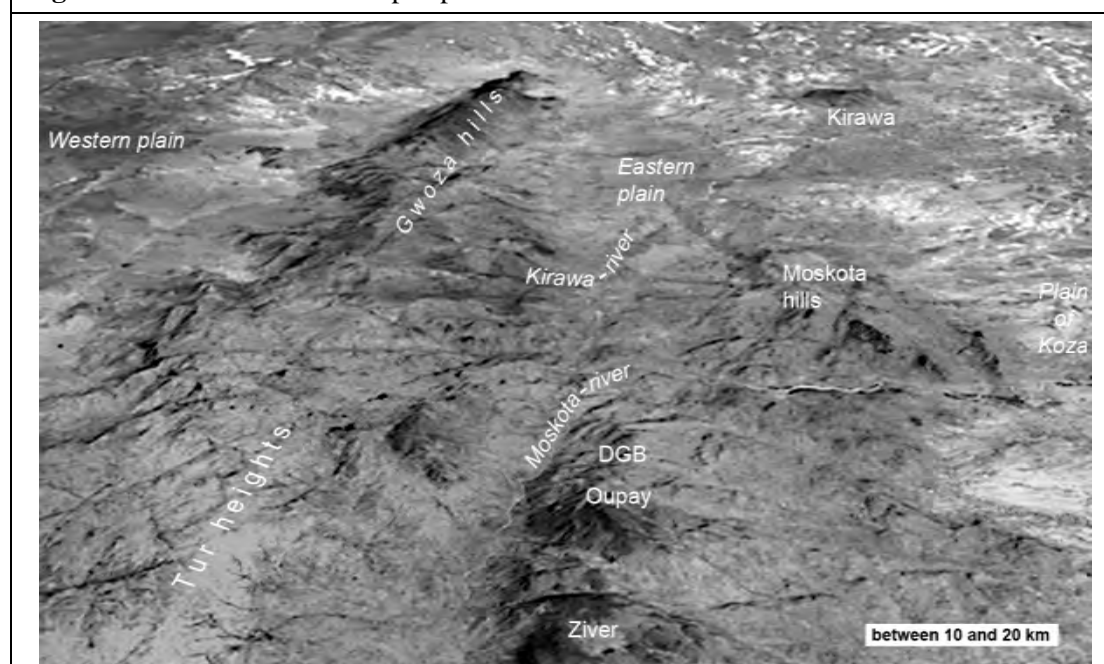
The first mention of the two main DGB sites (DGB1 and DGB2) was by the French geographer Christian Seignobos (1982), but during one of my main field periods (1987), I discovered several more, albeit smaller ones, and collected local legends about their origins. One of the main points my Mafa friends made in that context was that they were not of Mafa origin, but belonged to the people who lived in the area before their arrival. I also established that they were generally referred to in the Mafa language as *diy ged' biy* (*diy*=eye; *ged*=head; *biy*=chief), meaning 'eye of the chief on top', and we have already mentioned that DGB is an abbreviation of this. The word *diy* in this context, is most likely a reference of supernatural 'overseeing', similar to *diy mbulom* (*mbulom* = shrine) as a general word for an ancestor shrine, which refers to a ritual function. The reference 'overseeing' as it is here represented by *diy*, in addition to *ged'* for 'being on top of the mountain' and for *biy* or *bay* for 'chief', suggests a role as a site of former chiefly significance in the action of ritual overseeing.

The Mafa of the DGB area claim that the 'Godaliy' were the people who built them. Godaliy is the Mafa ethnonym for the Dghwedé, but as we will discover in Part Three, they had even less of a chiefly tradition than the Mafa, who had at least some of that tradition (Muller-Kosack 2003). We will however discover that the Dghwedé have a tradition of origin, which sets out that like them the Wandala originally came from Tur. However, neither the Godaliy nor the Tur tradition seem to be early enough to justify a connection with the early DGB sites. As we will learn in Part Three, the Dghwedé claim that the Wandala once lived in Kunde, which is a subunit of Ghwa'a, but again this is all very apocryphal and does not support any

early involvement of the Wandala of Kirawa in the development of the DGB sites as chiefly places. There is also the forementioned aspect of a ritual overseeing, which shows itself topographically in that all sites are positioned so they can oversee each other, and at the same time all are positioned on the northern slopes of the Oupay massif (Figure 5). The latter implies a general orientation towards Kirawa, but still, whether the once pagan rulers of Wandala received a ritual blessing from them, we do not know.

We do wonder here, whether the expression *diy ged biy* represents a linguistic survival of a Wandala chiefly involvement from early Kirawa, but we have only circumstantial ethnographic evidence for such a hypothesis. Our Dghwedè oral history retold aims to contribute to that circumstantial evidence. There is also the architectural centrepiece of the DGB complex, represented by the two main sites, DGB1 and DGB2, together with the high retaining wall interconnecting them (Plate 12b). These are impressive as an architectural expression of status, and it is very difficult to imagine that the labour needed to build them was not inspired by some form of chiefly input, locally or regionally. Considering that the Gwoza hills are geographically sandwiched between Kirawa and the DGB complex, we will learn that the Dghwedè have not only strong legendary links to the Wandala, but that they also have strong material similarities with some of the key findings from the DGB sites.

Figure 5: A three dimensional perspective of the northwestern Mandara Mountains



During a shared field visit in 1986, I introduced Nic David from the Mandara Archaeological Project (University of Calgary) to my discovery of smaller DGB sites, which developed it into a DGB complex rather than just two main sites. In 2000 Nic and I did a plane table survey of DGB1 and DGB2, and we discovered additional smaller sites together. At the time, we were able to establish that every site had not only very smooth dry stone walling, but also that each of the sites had surface finds of broken necks of pots with small apertures. In 2002 I participated in the first excavation as ethnographer and area specialist, which concentrated on DGB2 in Mondouza, and DGB8 in Mtskar. Nic David published the results in 2008, to which I also contributed.

Figure 5 above, and Plates 12a and 12b below, try to give an overview of the topographical situation, and show the architectural remains of the two largest DGB sites with the interconnecting terrace wall. Figure 5 shows the Oupay massif, and north of its summit, just south of the Moskota river, the area of the DGB complex. We can see that they face the intramountainous eastern plain, with the Gwoza hills to the west and the Moskota hills to the east. The Kirawa river cuts northwards through the eastern plain, with Kirawa and the

adjacent foothill as the ancient centre of the early Wandala state, visible at its northern entry. The source of the Kirawa river is at the northern end of the Tur heights, and in the east it separates them from the southern end of the Gwoza hills, where the Dghwedè are found. If we consult Figure 2 we can see that the international boundary is identical to the course of the Kirawa river. The upper Kirawa river is also identical with the state boundary between Adamawa and Borno, merging on top at a waypoint with the dirt road leading to Tur, shortly after Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko.

Plate 12a View of entrance area of DGB1 with Oupay in background, photographed from DGB2, visible in the foreground at the bottom left

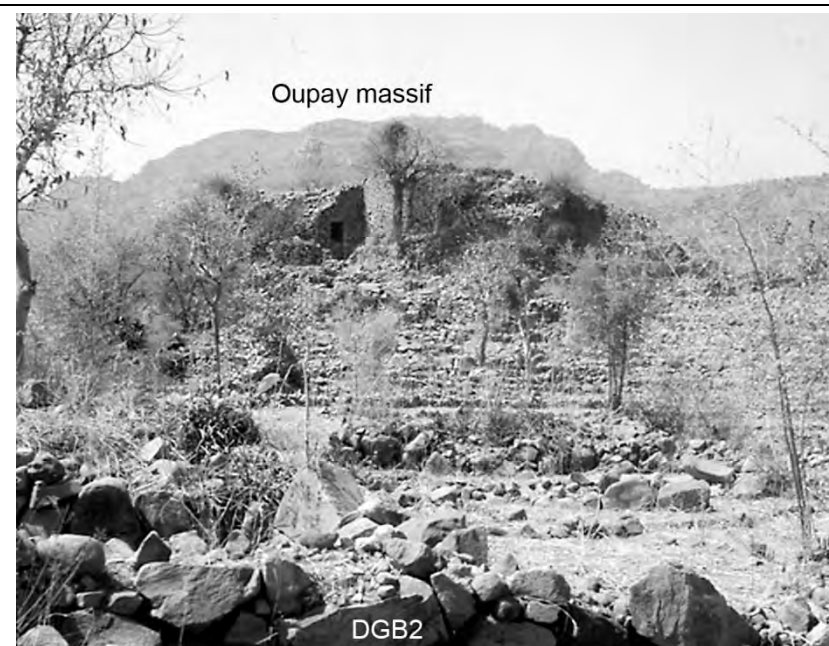


Plate 12a and 12b show the two largest DGB sites, of which DGB1 turned out to be the more recent one, while DGB2 was significantly older but earlier abandoned (see dates in Table of Contemporaneity). The ancient terrace wall in between is significant, and we think it shows that the DGB complex was linked to the terrace cultivation of sorghum on an almost industrial or chiefly scale.

We have of course no proof for this hypothesis, but have decided to maintain the view throughout the book, to trial the idea that Ghwa'a in particular already existed before the DGB period came to an end, and before Kirawa was replaced by Doulo as the Wandala capital.

Plate 12b: View of an ancient terrace wall at the bottom right - photographed from the bottom end of DGB1 and with the remains of DGB2 visible at the top left of the picture



This book is explicitly about the temporal embeddedness of Dghwedè oral history, and not about the DGB complex or the history of the Wandala of Kirawa. Therefore we want to keep this section short, and introduce the reader to the importance of the DGB complex in terms of its contemporaneity with the emergence of Kirawa as the early capital of the pre-Islamic Wandala. The main purpose of this is to position the Dghwedè as a key group of the Gwoza hills in between the two, guided by the hypothetical attempt to link the development of the two parts of Dghwedè, Ghwa'a in the north and Korana Basa in the south, to a shared contemporary past of extreme cyclical subregional climate change. For this reason we move on to discuss the way we have constructed the Table of Contemporaneity below.

It is apparent from the structure of the table, that we have combined early written and oral historical sources from 1724/23, with results from archaeological radiocarbon dates, together with palaeoclimatic data. Our palaeoclimatic data, for which Maley's (1981) work from Lake Chad is used, will be the most important general background source to connect and compare Dghwedè oral history sources. The table starts at the left side with a list of pre-Islamic Wandala rulers of Kirawa, who we already discussed in the previous section. We see Agamakiya, the son of Zedva and Gaya, still living in Ishga-Kawe (see Figure 1) and we mark him as the son of a stranger. We will return to that in Part Three, when we compare this fact with the Dghwedè tradition of outsiders as founders. Similar to the Dghwedè tradition, Gaya is a stranger who came from the east, which is most likely an invention in order to begin the dynastic line of the Wandala rulers in 1723/24 as a result of Islamisation.

Table of Contemporaneity - combining written, oral, prehistoric and palaeoclimatic sources:

Pre-Islamic Dynastic Relationships	List of Wandala rulers	Pre- Islamic Capitals	C L I	Lake Chad Levels	Level years AD	D G B	Source years AD	Early written sources
First ruler was son of stranger	Agamakiya	Ishga-Kawe	W	285 m	~1375	?	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son	Abalaksaka	Kirawa	S	283 m	~1400	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son	Bira Misa	Kirawa	A	280 m	~1425	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son	Zare	Kirawa	A	281 m	~1450	C	1450	Fra Mauro
Son	Aldawa Barara	Kirawa	A	282 m	~1475	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Brother	Agaldawa	Kirawa	S	283 m	~1475	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son	Akutafa Tahe	Kirawa	S	283 m	~1500	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son	Aguwa Fagula	Kirawa	A	282 m	~1525	C	1529	Leo Africanus
Son (known as 'Umar')	Ankre Yawe	Kirawa	A	281 m	~1550	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Brother of 'Umar'	'Pagan usurper'	'Under siege'	A	280 m	~1575	C	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Son of 'Umar'	Akutafa	Kirawa	A	280 m	~1575	C	1576	Ibn Furtu
Son	Aguwa Gaku	Kirawa	A	282 m	~1600	C	1582	Anania
Son	Aldawa Wandala	Kirawa	W	286 m	~1625	?	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Brother	Akutafa Kataliyawe	Kirawa	W	286 m	~1650	?	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
Brother	Sankre	Doulo	W	286 m	~1650	?	1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
		Doulo	W	286 m	~1675		1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
		Doulo	W	286 m	~1700		1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
<i>Islam becomes the official religion of Wandala state</i>		Doulo	A	282 m	~1725		1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>
		Doulo	A	280 m	~1750		1723/24	<i>Chronicles</i>

In the same table row, further to the right, we see the Lake Chad water level very high at 285m, and we have to its left a column called CLI, meaning climate, which has 'W' for 'wet' linked to Agamkiya's time. This means that we have allocated to him the tail end of an enduring wet period which lasted for hundreds of years (see Figure 16). This very long humid phase extended from 1200AD onwards, then was interrupted, and led during 1300AD to a

semi-arid period, with Lake Chad water levels dropping to 284m. Further down, we see in our climate column 'S' for 'semi-arid', with water levels at between 282m and 283m, and 'A' for 'arid', referring to water levels between 281m and 280m or lower. We mark most arid periods in a darker grey with white text.

We have allocated the year ~1375AD, a date based on Maley's palaeoclimatic studies quoted in David (2008:112), to mark the above mentioned short wet period, which lasted only about 50 years.² We have put '*Chronicles*' for Agamakiya, as the first king of Wandala, under 'Early written sources', while we see under 'Source year AD': 1723/24. Both are in italic, which is a reference to the time when this oral historical tradition was written down for the first time. We also see that there is a '?' under 'DGB', which means that we do not have enough reliable radiocarbon dates at this time, while 'C' for his son Abalaksaka refers to a period when the DGB complex started to yield a high concentration of such dates. We note that Abalaksaka is seen as residing in Kirawa, which is the beginning of a short but truly extreme period of aridity in the subregion.

All the rulers in the table are pre-Islamic until 1723/24, which marks the time of Islamisation of the Wandala state and the time the Wandala chronicles were written. By then it had had its centre in Doulo for almost a hundred years. The table covers 400 years altogether, from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 18th century, of which at least 300 years were located in Kirawa. We can see that some areas of the table are marked light grey or dark grey, while others have remained white, representing different periods of climate change. We also see that most of the early written sources and source years are from the Wandala chronicles. We have marked '*Chronicles*' as a source in italics because they are oral history, referring to a time before 1723/24, which is also in italics. After 1723/24 they are no longer in italics.

This means that our early sources, which are not in italic, are all the actual dates when those written sources were first published. We see in our table that the first one is Fra Mauro, the Venetian mapmaker, who represents the first historical mention of the Wandala/Mandara in 1450AD. The next one down is Leo Africanus in 1529, then Ibn Furtu in 1576, and Anania in 1582. At the bottom are the '*Chronicles*', marking the time when they were composed. Our early written sources, together with the date of their appearance, are marked in grey because they are references to written sources, and we can see that there is an overlap with some of the legendary accounts in our list of pre-Islamic rulers.

The crucial point in the latter context is that there are altogether twelve rulers, which are listed in the *Chronicles* of 1723/24, and we rely on Forkl (1995: 395-403), who critically reassessed all the kings we used in our list translation, as we consider his list the most reliable to be hypothetically linked to Kirawa. Among those, we have identified Ankre Yawe to be most likely 'Umar', who was according to Ibn Furtu (1576) disposed of by his brother who was known as the 'pagan usurper'. We are not sure how long after the event Ibn Furtu wrote the account, but it was definitely during the lifetime of king Idris Alauma of Borno (1564-1596).³ Therefore we infer Ankre Yawe's rule to be the mid-16th century, that is around 1550AD, and we have accordingly linked the year ~1550 as the year of the relevant Lake Chad water level.

We need to note at this point that the 'pagan usurper' is not listed as a ruler, but only Akutava, the son of 'Umar', and we have used ~1575 as the next Lake Chad water level measurement. We can see from our Table of Contemporaneity that this is a very arid period indeed, lasting only about 25 years in its most extreme form. We also see that 25 years before and after that period, high aridity continued, with the Lake Chad water levels being at a historical low, which lasted altogether about 75 to perhaps 100 years. We have another shorter but arid period before that, lasting from ~1400 to ~1475, and a semi-arid period between those two periods of high aridity. This means that between 1400AD and 1600AD we have a very arid

² This was preceded by a slightly dryer time after a very long wet period before 1200AD.

³ Dierk Lange's translation from 1987 is considered the most reputable one from the Arabic.

period in our subregion of potential mountain/plain relationships. In the context of this, the earlier of the two extreme draughts was the most severe.⁴

We assume here that Kirawa, at that time generally under pre-Islamic rulers, developed during the whole arid period as the first true capital of Wandala. We also assume that during that time a north-to-south migration took place, which might have also had an impact on the populations of the Gwoza hills and the pre-DGB area. We know that the DGB sites have yielded a series of radiocarbon dates with a concentration of dates from AD 1400-1600 (see MacEachern 2012:52) for that most arid period, and assume that not only a north-to-south but also an increased uphill migration took place during that time. That uphill migration might well have initially been triggered by a climate emergency because rainfalls are higher in the mountains, but it was presumably also influenced by increased slave raiding in the plains. We think that Kirawa had most likely established itself by then as the main centre of the emerging Wandala state at the northeastern foot of the northwestern Mandara Mountains.

Our main hypothesis here is that the DGB sites must be linked to that development, and that they mark the discovery and technological invention of labour-intensive terrace cultivation in the northwestern Mandara Mountains as a result of the same early climate emergency, which also induced the Wandala to move their capital to its northern foot. We can only speculate on how the contemporaneity of the DGB sites and the formation of the early Wandala state during this period of great aridity must be understood. One possible hypothesis is that it had to do with food production, not only for the mountain populations but also for the Wandala of Kirawa, and perhaps even for early trade. We infer in that context that it was the cultivation of sorghum that was at the root of this, and which might have become connected with increased animal husbandry for manure production. We elaborate further on that preliminary hypothesis in the context of our Dghwede oral history retold, later in Part Three.

We see in our Table of Contemporaneity, that after 1600AD, more or less suddenly, a rather wet phase began, which lasted throughout the 17th century. During the early part of this much wetter period, the capital of Wandala was moved under Sankre to Doulo. We assume here that this wet period triggered a south-to-north migration, and also from the DGB area into the northwestern part of the Mandara Mountains. At the same time the DGB sites ceased to exist, and new immigrants moved into the DGB area from the east, which became part of a bigger ethnic melting pot, developing into what would become the Mafa of today.⁵

We will come back to that second hypothesis again later in Part Three, and invite the reader to refer back to our Table of Contemporaneity, especially in the chapter about the Tur tradition in its wider subregional context. This means we have two hypotheses, the first of which is related above to the early period of extreme aridity during the early 15th century, leading to a north-to-south migration. It seems that only the second hypothesis, which is the one we linked to the lasting humid period of the 17th century, has left a lasting trace in the collective oral memory in terms of traditions of origin. The Tur tradition is the most prominent one among them, at least from the perspective of the ethnographic data we collected in the Gwoza hills.

Both hypotheses have climate change at their base, and although testing them in the context of this book is not our main objective, it is still a result of circumstances stemming from the fact that we have such a variety of valid subregional key sources available. The richness of our written and archaeological sources to describe a likely shared background history to our Dghwede oral history retold also allows us to make an ethnoarchaeological attempt by using some of our legendary sources from Dghwede. We are aware that our attempt is a little bit far fetched, but we cannot resist, especially since ethnoarchaeology is one of the traditions linked to the archaeology of the DGB sites (David *ibid*). Those Dghwede traditions of legend allow us critically not only to use rainmaking, but also manure production, as key features of early

⁴ According to Maley and David (*ibid*), Lake Chad had more or less completely dried out between 1400 and 1450AD, which was according to David the first period when the DGB complex was active.

⁵ I describe this process in empirical detail in *The Way of the Beer*, Muller-Kosack (2003).

terrace cultivation of sorghum. Our documentation of the Dghwedè past ritual culture makes them an ideal case study to illustrate how our assumed shared pre-colonial past might once have ethnographically appeared in the mountainous part of our subregion.

Before we present our legendary accounts to ethnoarchaeologically support our first hypothesis of a connection of the Wandala with the early development of terrace cultivation of sorghum, and then at the end of this chapter link it with intensified manure production, we will present Leo Africanus as another early written source. He was the first to mention the hill populations of Borno and describe their way of life. We then connect Leo Africanus and the already mentioned Anania, and discuss possible suggestions for early trade relations, and subsequently compare them with some oral Dghwedè accounts. By doing so we continue to concentrate on the distinction between early and late pre-colonial times when discussing the historical relationship between the Wandala and the Dghwedè, which represents also an important key to understanding the pre-colonial way of life in the Gwoza hills as a whole.

Mentions of hill areas by Leo Africanus

In 1529 Leo Africanus not only mentions the 'Medra' (Mandara), but he is the earliest source to inform us about the mountain populations of Borno, of which he speaks as the 'Montanari' (montagnards), as opposed to those of the plains of Borno. We have a vague idea about the zone of influence of the Borno kingdom during the second half of the 16th century from Ibn Furtu, when he describes Borno's wars against rebellious vassals of the wider region, among which the Wandala of Kirawa were only one. The other was the 'ruler of Marghi', and we remember that the 'mergi' (Margi) had already been mentioned by Fra Mauro about 125 years earlier, in the context of the 'mendara' (Mandara).

Leo, who visited Borno around 1513 (Rauchenberger 1999; Muller-Kosack 2010), in his account describes the montagnards of Borno only from hearsay, mainly the details merchants from the plains told him, which also shows that in the early 16th century, views held about the hill populations were already subject to prejudice (English translation from Rauchenberger by me):

The landscapes of this province [Borno] are quite different. Some areas are mountainous while others consist of plains. In the plains, there are big villages in which the more highly developed people live as well as the foreign, black, and white merchants. The soils there are rich and heavy. In one of these villages lives the king of Borno with his officials. In the mountains live tribes who raise goats and cattle. They plant millet and other, but unknown cereals. They all go naked during summertime and cover their private parts with small aprons or leather. During wintertime, they wear sheep hides and their beds are made of fur. Some of these montagnards have no religion, neither Christian nor Jewish or Islamic. They live like animals without faith. They share their women, who work like men. They live in villages where they live together like families. These mountain people also fight each other but they use only bows and wooden arrows, without iron, which they dip in poison...

One of the reasons for quoting this is to show how far back the prejudice about hill populations being viewed as backward and socially inferior goes. Leo had learned it from hearsay when he wrote that they would 'share their women, who work like men'. The first part of the sentence tells us more about Leo's and his informants' prejudices, while the second part presumably throws a realistic light on the social division of labour among the 'Montanari' of Borno. I have seen with my own eyes how hard women work in the hills. He also describes in a realistic way that 'they raise goats and cattle, plant millet and other, but unknown cereals', which indirectly suggests that they practiced mixed farming. We tend to think that this included sorghum, either under the translation of 'millet' or that of 'other, but unknown cereals'. He also says that 'they fight each other', which indicates that tribal warfare was seen as being typical for them. We will see later in Part Three, how war alliances reflect conflict divisions based on local clan and lineage groups among the Dghwedè.

We do not know whether Leo is referring to the Gwoza hills, but we do know that he is talking about mountains in Borno. The Gwoza hills as a topographically very prominent mountain range, reaching with the Zelidva spur deep into the semi-arid plains of Borno, must have also then been an impressive sight. It was first referred to as such by the German explorer Heinrich Barth in June 1851 (Barth 1857-II:369), who describes them looking like a 'distant view of the Tyrolian Alps', which is of course an exaggeration. It is however difficult to imagine that Leo did not refer to them, especially considering that Kirawa, as the then capital of Wandala which he mentioned, was situated at its northeastern foot. Leo speaks in another paragraph about the wealth of the king of Borno, and that he traded slaves against horses, but again, we are not being told where the slaves were captured.

Concerning trade relations between the Gwoza hills and the Wandala of Kirawa, we do not know for sure whether they existed at the time. Considering that half a century after Leo's visit, Anania mentions a big mountain near Kirawa as rather rich in iron minerals, we can perhaps make an informed guess that perhaps iron was produced in the Gwoza hills. We need to remember here that throughout the 17th century, the Wandala rulers of Kirawa were still non-Islamic (perhaps with one or two exceptions, which might have induced revolt, as Umar's case demonstrates). This fact might have also impacted on the security needs of its rulers, who might well have considered the mountains as a potential security zone for themselves throughout its early history, but there is no historical proof for such a hypothesis.

The contradiction between Leo's and Anania's accounts can potentially be explained by the fact that the Wandala rulers of Kirawa of the time might not have shared such views at all, but that it was an elitist view of a merchant class linked to the Borno empire as an aristocratic society. They would have been more interested in exchanging slaves against horses in the context of their long-distant trade interests with Tripoli, while the iron trade of Kirawa was perhaps more a regional affair. Such an interpretation puts a different historical stance on the relationship between the hills and plains at that time. It leads us to view the mountains more as a privileged slave trade exclusion zone, in the interest of the production of iron. It would also make the Gwoza hills the earliest interaction zone between early state formation in our region, including the whole of the northern Mandara Mountains. None of these connections were very important for Leo, even though he visited Borno, while Anania did not.

There was also the DGB complex, which coincides, according to our Table of Contemporaneity, under King Aguwa Fagula of Kirawa with the beginning of a more arid period. We can see that the Lake Chad water levels fell about 3m in 75 years between 1500 and 1575, before they suddenly rose about 6m again over only 50 years to an unprecedented high by 1625. Over the whole of those 50 years, between 1600 and 1625, our subregion experienced the sharpest rise, with 4m over only 25 years. According to our table, Leo's account from 1529 coincides with the beginning of that arid period, with a water level of 282m in 1525, while Anania's account was published 50 years later, shortly before it ended again at 282m. Also, Ibn Furtu's account from 1576 falls into that arid period, actually when the water level was, with 280m, at it's lowest, and so does, as already mentioned, the short rule of the brother of 'Umar' as 'pagan usurper', resulting in the siege of Kirawa by Idris Alauma.

We wonder whether, during this period, sorghum as tribute payment for the Wandala was an issue in the Gwoza hills, and whether Umar's brother, the 'pagan usurper', was a ritual representative in the context of the DGB sites. If that was the case we perhaps need to think of it in the form of a revitalisation period. When we look at the time between the first extreme draught about a hundred years earlier, we recognise that there was about half a century of a wetter period with 283m lake levels in between those two arid periods. That wetter period lasted no longer than the two arid periods, and had at its maximum, during the late 15th century for about 25 years, no more than 3m difference in terms of a rising water level. We tend to think that by then the DGB sites might have remained less active as ritual sites, but the practice of intensive sorghum cultivation and associated manure production would have most likely spread into the Gwoza hills in the meantime.

This is of course speculation and there is no mention of a climate crisis in any of our relevant early written sources, except perhaps indirectly by Ibn Furtu, who tells us that king Idris Alauma of Borno had to come back a second time with enough provisions for his troops to successfully carry out the siege. It is nevertheless reasonable to infer that even though Umar's 'pagan' brother was hiding on top of the Kirawa foothill, and finally surrendered to the king of Borno, the previous pagan rulers of Kirawa had a relationship with the people of the Gwoza hills which was not just based on iron. Whether it was a tribute relationship, in which perhaps sorghum and iron were paid to keep them safe from slave raiding in the hills, we do not know. Neither do we know whether Ghwa'a for example already existed at the time, but we will demonstrate in Part Three that Korana Basa most likely developed later, in the context of the long wet period of the 1600s, when the DGB sites finally came to an end and the Wandala capital was moved to Doulo.

Tribute arrangements and the link to slave raiding in the hills

Before we lay out the appropriate time frame for this chapter section, it is necessary to summarise and recapitulate our chronological approach. We can conclude from the previous section, that all our early written and other scientific key sources only provide us with a relative time frame to draw chronological conclusions from our oral sources, of which the latter consist of two types: first our actual ethnographic oral history accounts from Dghwedè, and second those of the *Wandala Chronicles* from the early 18th century. Concerning the latter, we attempted to filter out a list of Wandala pre-Islamic rulers from Forkl's critical review of original Arabic key sources, and used Umar's brother as a historical figure because he was mentioned by Ibn Furtu. We then connected the absolute date of Ibn Furtu's account and connected it with Jean Maley's palaeoclimatic dates from the Lake Chad water levels. We subsequently arranged the kings before and after Umar and arrived with king Agamakiya's son Abalaksaka as the first Wandala ruler, who lived permanently in Kirawa.

We did this in a form of relative chronology by giving every Wandala king an average of 25 years of rule, and by linking them equally with an average of 25 years of change in Lake Chad water levels. We arrived at a relative date of contemporaneity between Abalaksaka and the beginning of extreme aridity in the region. We then linked our list of Wandala rulers and our palaeoclimatic dates with the DGB sites, and by relying on MacEachern (ibid), we identified about 200 years, from 1400 to 1600AD, as pre-historically the possibly most active period of contemporaneity between the DGB sites and Kirawa. We finally predicted that Ghwa'a might have already existed during the second part of that period, while we assumed that Korana Basa most likely developed after the DGB period ceased. We pointed out that we underpin this hypothesis later in Part Three, in the context of our Dghwedè oral history retold.

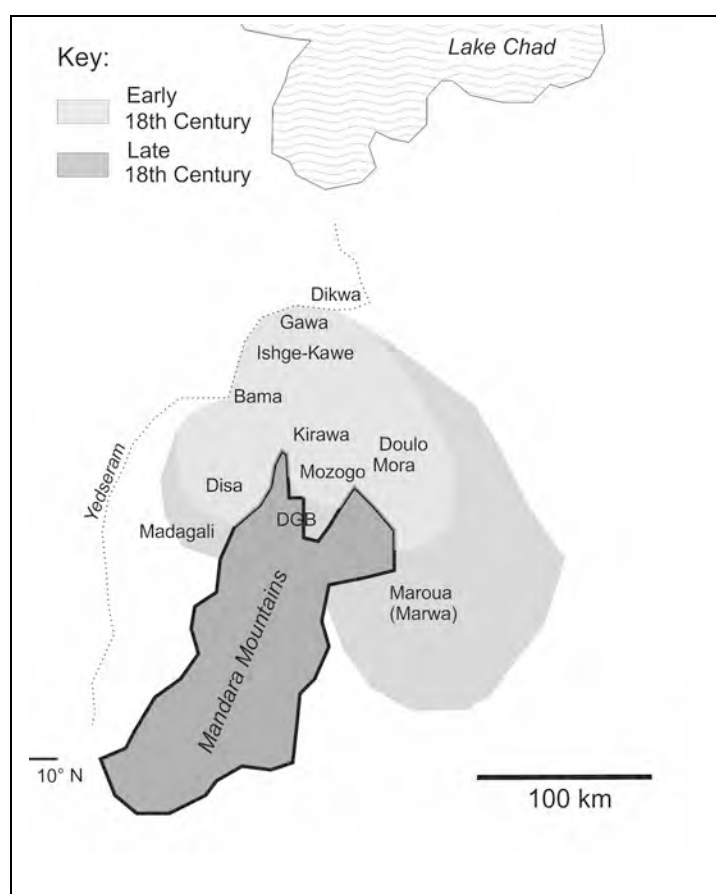
To find a historically sound starting point for a diachronic time frame for our Dghwedè oral history accounts of tribute arrangements and slave raiding in the hills, we have decided to first consult the earliest colonial key sources. By doing so we can identify that the period starting about 1902 was key, because this was the date when the first mention of names and places in Dghwedè could be established from the maps of Max Moisel (1913). We elaborate on this in the first chapter of Part Three, which allows us to establish that most of the names of Dghwedè settlement units we presented in our ethnographic survey of 1994 already existed at that time. To present the oral historical evidence of the chronological sequence of a northern (Ghwa'a) and southern (Korana-Basa) division as the main geographical manifestations of a pre-colonial Dghwedè, remains an important objective. To achieve this, we go backwards in time by relying more or less entirely on our Dghwedè oral sources, and in this way discover the traditional mechanisms, which explain how Korana Basa emerged while Ghwa'a already existed. We already suggested the period of the very humid 17th century as the most likely palaeoclimatic time frame, during which Doulo came about as the new Wandala capital.

In the context of this chapter section, we will, however, start with the 18th century, and show the importance of the late pre-colonial Wandala, who in the early years had converted to

Islam. We have learned that they had produced the *Wandala Chronicles*, which involved constructing a pre-Islamic legendary history. We will refer back to legendary similarities with those of the Dghwede later, and also again in Part Three, but this summary is written as an introduction to the current chapter section, to set a historical background scenario for the late pre-colonial relationship between the two, especially when it comes to tribute arrangements and the link to pre-colonial slave raiding in the hills.

Oral traditions on tribute relationships I collected from the Dghwede tell us that they were under Wandala rule during pre-colonial as well as during early colonial times. Unfortunately, oral traditions do not have the historical depth of the absolute chronological type, and when I collected them around the turn of this century, Dghwede had already changed to a point that pre-colonial memories were retold more or less from hearsay. This means that their oral traditions on tributary relationships are most likely a reflection of communal experiences of the late 19th and early 20th century, which was the end phase of the pre-colonial period. That period was marked by the expansion of the Fulbe of Adamawa into the Wandala sphere of influence along the western Gwoza plain, until shortly before the establishment of German colonial rule in Dikwa in 1902 (Barkindo 1989).

Figure 6: Relative expansion of Wandala state during the eighteenth century AD



In Figure 6 we give an overview of the Wandala state following the earlier-mentioned very wet period of the 17th century, and before the Fulbe expansion of the 19th century. We see that the Wandala state expanded significantly throughout the 18th century, and that the Gwoza hills had been under the influence of the Wandala state throughout. This was despite the capital now being in Doulo, and we see that it triggered a further expansion deep into the eastern plain of the northern Mandara Mountains, where Marwa (Maroua) became a new centre.

We have also marked the position of Ishge-Kawe on the map, and see that it is about 50km north of Kirawa, between today's Bama and

Dikwa. We remember our original hypothesis of a possible north-to-south migration during the first phase of aridity around the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, following a long period of high humidity. In light of that, it is perhaps not a historical coincidence that the DGB complex developed along the northern slopes of the highest elevation of the northwestern Mandara Mountains. This circumstantial palaeoclimatic assumption reiterates our view that the Gwoza hills, as the most northwestern extension of the Mandara Mountains, might indeed share a long subregional historical past with the Wandala.

If we further explore Figure 6, we see that Madagali was in the late 18th century under Wandala control. We can also see that the plain of Koza had in the late 18th century come

increasingly under Wandala influence, as did the plain of Diamare (see Figure 4), leading to the already mentioned foundation of Maroua⁶. This was a result of the Wandala state having become much more effective in its military operations after Islamisation. The latter presumably also impacted an increased threat of slave raiding around the foothills and plains of the Gwoza hills. The Mandara influence then reduced again with the expansion of the Adamawa Emirate from the early 19th century onwards. The Fulbe also successfully crossed the central plateau of the Mandara Mountains and established themselves in Maroua, while the foothill of Disa in the northwest (see Figure 6 and Plate 7b) would become the boundary between the late Wandala state and Madagali.

The late 19th century was also marked by Rabeh's raids.⁷ Rabeh was killed by the French, just before the establishment of German rule in Dikwa in 1902. Although he never entered the Gwoza hills, he disempowered the Wandala by destroying Doulo, although the Wandala had already been significantly weakened by the Fulbe *jihad* not long before. Towards the end of pre-colonial times, Mora was the capital of Wandala, and Kirawa had long lost its function as the centre. It is also important to acknowledge, that the Fulbe *jihad* did not directly impact the Gwoza hills, but only further south, where the western Mandara Mountains connect with Adamawa, in the area of Michika (see Figure 1). We have the late pre-colonial sources of Denham, from 1823 (Bovill III 1966), which describe Mora and its surroundings before Rabeh. At the time Mora was exercising tributary control over the Gwoza hills via Mozogo (Figure 4) as a subregional centre. Mozogo is not only mentioned by Denham but also by my Dghwede sources concerning their late pre-colonial tribute relationships with the Wandala.

The few oral accounts I collected on that subject suggest that the paying of tribute was closely related to slave raiding. It seems that there were intermittent periods of either more or less slave raiding by the Wandala, and that the Dghwede and other groups of the Gwoza hills paid tribute to them to avoid it. We do not think that the Fulbe expansion led to slave raiding in the hills before the raids of Hamman Yaji in the early 20th century.

The threat of late pre-colonial slave raiding according to Dghwede oral accounts

The few collective memories I hold about slave raiding in Dghwede, first of all tell us that its intensity was linked to the paying of tribute. Doubt is also cast over the question of whether there was ever much slave raiding by the Wandala in the Gwoza hills. In this late period of slave raiding, we need to distinguish between a pre-colonial and a colonial period. In this chapter about the pre-colonial history of tribute arrangements and slave raiding, we only need refer to the pre-colonial relationship between the Dghwede and the Wandala. The Hamman Yaji period of intense slave raiding in the hills had nothing to do with pre-colonial tribute arrangements, but was just as brutal and invasive and left the Dghwede traumatised. We will deal with that in a separate section in the next chapter about the unsettling colonial times.

What we should refer to at this point is the earlier mentioned division between the two parts of Dghwede, Ghwa'a and Korana Basa. Ghwa'a is, according to oral history, the earlier northern part, and Korana Basa the more recent southern part of Dghwede. The traditional southern and northern division of pre-colonial Dghwede played a role during early colonial times when Hamman Yaji's carried out his attacks and relates to how the Dghwede dealt with it. We will address the late pre-colonial division of Dghwede in the southern and northern parts from the perspective of our Dghwede oral sources in the following subsection, which we

⁶ Maroua was originally known as Marwa.

⁷ Rabeh was a declared Madhist who came originally from the area of Karthoum but had served in the Egyptian army before he became a soldier of fortune and later turned westward with a few followers. His forces subsequently grew by incorporating slaves in newly established regiments. He finally managed to establish his own capital in Dikwa but was killed by the French shortly before the arrival of the Germans in 1902. We will not go deeper into that here (see Barkindo 1989 for more).

are also able to link to our colonial sources, but now we are going to concentrate on retelling only the oral history of Wandala slave raiding in Dghwedë.

Before we quote our main oral source from Ghwa'a, it is necessary to point out that the word for slave in Dghwedë was *vāda*, which also means blacksmithing or forging, at least this is what Chika Khutsa from Kwalika told us (see Plate 4d). We will see that iron products played quite a large role in tribute arrangements with the Wandala.

Our main local sources on pre-colonial slave raiding in the hills, and its link to the various modes of the payment of tribute to the Wandala, were Zakariya Kwire, 'Dga Pardā from Ghwa'a, and Baba Musa from Barawa. All three were in their 80s when they spoke to me about it. They informed me that:

When the Wandala were still slave raiding in Ghwa'a and Kunde, they were more orientated towards the east because there was no international boundary or any colonial power.

At this time the Dghwedë people negotiated with the Wandala that they would pay tribute to the Wandala of Kirawa. After they had agreed on this, the raiding of people and property stopped. Later on, the Dghwedë decided to stop paying tribute, and the Wandala started raiding again. This made the Dghwedë people put watchmen to observe movements in the adjacent eastern plain. The names of two of the watchmen were Bayawa Thanuwa and Bdakwana. As soon as they saw that the Wandala were approaching by horse from Kirawa, they warned the people to quickly climb the hills. Within a very short time, the Wandala would arrive and catch people.

On the other side [of the Kirawa river], it was visible how the Matakam [Mafa of the Moskota hills] started shooting with bow and arrow against the approaching Wandala. The Wandala were using spears and killed many of them, while others were carried away as slaves, but the Dghwedë had already taken refuge due to the watchman system.

The word the Dghwedë used for tribute payment to avoid slave raiding was *hamada*, which is also the word for tax. The main items paid were *vardinga* [iron from used hoes], *taghwa* [ground tiger nuts], and *balghaya* [mountain yams].

Our Dghwedë friends said that these things were collected by two men and then brought to the Wandala by a third man:

Ghute and Tangwaya collected them, while Zaka Sawire carried them to Mazagwa [Mozogo], and after that the raiding stopped again.

They also told me about an incident which happened to the Chikidë:

The Chikidë once took cows and goats to the Matakam [here the Mafa of Moskota], to exchange some of their fellow people who had been captured by them to be sold into slavery. While trying to cross the [eastern] plain, they were attacked by the Wandala and taken into slavery themselves. The Wandala also took their cows and goats. Quite a few people were killed during this incident, while others managed to escape back into the [Chikidë] hills.

Our friends added:

Although the Wandala, in general, did catch women, men, and children, they did not normally kill. The killings described above were because the Chikidë had refused to go back. This then led to a fight, in which Chikidë, as well as some Wandala and their horses, were killed.

This example shows an intertribal conflict caused by slave raiding, and that the Chikidë were not prepared to allow the Wandala to control their way of retrieving captured people from the Mafa. It also shows that the main physical conflict area might not have been the Gwoza hills themselves but the adjacent eastern plain.

They explained further, that:

It was not only the Wandala and Matakam [Mafa] who were raiding the Dghwedë, but also the Glavda. If the Glavda captured someone, they just took that person and sold them straight on to the Wandala. As for the Matakam, the Dghwedë could still go and get people back by paying three cows, nine goats, and one *zinga-zinge* [*zhengzhe* in Mafa, which is an iron throwing knife], but sometimes they arrived too late and their people were already sold. The Matakam also kept people

they had captured, and they became Matakam as a result, something that happened to many Dghwedè, Chikidè, Chinene and Glavda. With the Wandala, it was never possible to buy people back. They sold them straight on without exception. The slaves were sold along a chain of [slave] traders. They were beaten and they had to work for them. Some people crossed the sea and died on the way, but the Europeans already wanted slave raiding to stop before it ended [which might be a reference to the ongoing slave raiding in early colonial times, related to Hamman Yaji].

I also asked our Dghwedè friends whether at any point Shuwa Arabs were involved in slave raiding:

The only *Suwa* [Shuwa] their great grandparents ever experienced, came together with the Wandala from Mozogo.

The Shuwa Arabs, as collaborators of a Wandala slave raiding, are also mentioned in Major Denham's account of 1823 (Bovill III 1966:333). Our friends concluded that the raiding by the Wandala started at the time of their forefathers (*jijha*) and ended at the beginning of colonial times, but then continued under the *Plata* or *Plat-ha* (derived from 'Fulata'), of which the latter (Plat-ha = *-ha*, suffix for plural) is the Dghwedè reference to the Fulbe of Madagali under the leadership of Hamman Yaji, who is often referred to as 'Plata' (singular). Equally, Madagali itself was in the past referred to as 'Plata'.

The oral accounts above clearly show that the collective memories of our Dghwedè friends concerning the Wandala slave raiding were all linked to late pre-colonial times. It seems that the Wandala of Kirawa still came with their horses from Kirawa, but that tribute to appease them had to be taken to Mozogo, which is in the Koza plain, and relates to Mora and presumably not even to Doulo. Whether the Wandala horsemen really came from Kirawa, or had only entered the intramountainous eastern plain from that direction, remains uncertain. Also, the fact that the watchmen's names were remembered, as well as the man who collected the tribute, and the one who took it to Mozogo, confirms the above conclusion.

We can also infer here that most of the above memories about slave raiding during that late period were related to the traditional northern Dghwedè (Ghwa'a), rather than to those of traditional southern Dghwedè, which was almost identical with administrative Korana Basa. The latter faced the western plain and not only the eastern intramountainous plain, like Ghwa'a. We have however one oral account by our friend Chika Khutsa (1995) from Kwalika, which highlights an aspect of an oral memory concerning the history of slave raiding facing the western plain:

Normally the slave raiders arrived at the foothills and then the people of the foothills ran uphill to hide. This did not cause fighting between the hill populations. They only fought when there was a misunderstanding between them. Such a misunderstanding could have appeared if somebody went downhill and was beaten and things were taken away from them. Then people went to rescue, and that finally led to war.

Chika Khutsa's statement not only confirms that slave raiding was mainly limited to the foothills and plains, but that the populations of the foothills took refuge in the hills. He adds that this was not seen as an intrusion, but acceptable, even though there might have been a fight with someone from the hills who had gone down to the plains and been robbed by the locals there. Chika Khuta's statement highlights a potential explanation for a common Dghwedè narrative about the role of outsiders as founders, which we will discuss in a separate chapter in Part Three. Individuals who escaped a slavery attack in the adjacent plains could become such new founder personalities in the hills. This was common, not only in Dghwedè, but also in other parts of the Gwoza hills, especially in the western foothills and plain areas.

We were told in Kwalika, and also other oral sources, that the Dghwedè never sold brothers into slavery. A source from Kunde informed us that the risk of being captured and sold into slavery in the plains increased under population pressure in the hills, because it made the hill population farm in the adjacent plains. This statement suggests that shortage of arable land in the hills was already a big problem during pre-colonial times, and that farming in the adjacent plains was a risky business, something we already concluded from the Ghwa'a watchman

system discussed earlier. This raises the question of whether population pressure and cyclical climate change were linked to the increased risk of being enslaved in foothill areas.

The following section shows how the Dghwede remember the withdrawal of the Wandala in the western plains, and the progress of the Fulbe of Madagali towards the plain of Gwoza by establishing a boundary at the foothill of Disa (Figure 6). We will return to the continuing internal divide of Dghwede in our chapter on the early period of colonial history.

The pre-colonial boundary between Fulbe and Wandala according to oral accounts

We learned from Chika Khutsa of Kwalika, that there was once a fence of very thorny shrub, called *madza*, along the foothills, to prevent the Wandala from entering the Fulbe-ruled area, and that it had been built by the Fulbe (Plata) themselves. We think that he meant the late pre-colonial boundary line, separating the Wandala from the Fulbe, and infer that it was close to today's Adamawa and Borno state boundary that runs between Madagali and Disa. This was indirectly confirmed by the following oral account from Ghwa'a:

There was a boundary between Plata and Wandala, which was very close to Plata itself [meaning near Madagali]. There were certain trees and thorny shrubs put there by the Plata to protect the Plata from the Wandala reaching them. This was considered as a boundary.

Here is another example of the oral historical perception of my local friends, about the late pre-colonial boundary between the Fulbe and the Wandala along the western plain of the southern end of the Gwoza hills:

Wandala [Kirawa], Dikwa, Bama, and Yerwa [Maiduguri] came together to raid the hills. Therefore the Plata protected themselves as well. After the Plata had planted the trees and thorny shrubs for a boundary, the Wandala hid there, and while the Plata were rearing their animals they were unaware of the hiding Wandala. The Wandala launched a surprise attack and the Plata started to settle closer to the hill of Madagali.

I subsequently asked about the pre-colonial boundary between Wandala and Plata in the hills, which inspired my Dghwede friends to say:

The Wandala only came into the hills to collect tribute, but not to raid, and they only raided in the adjacent plains [that is the eastern plain between the Gwoza hills and Moskota hills].

This oral fragment indirectly suggests that there was no clear boundary between Plata and Wandala in the hills or the eastern plain, but only in the western plain. The reason might have been that not only the entire eastern plain (across the Kirawa river which is now the international boundary), but also the Gwoza hills continued to be controlled by the Wandala long into the late pre-colonial period.

It remains uncertain how much slave raiding actually happened in the Gwoza hills, or whether it was mainly the eastern plain where Dghwede were captured by the Wandala. We also learned from our Kwalika sources that slave raiding was happening along the western foothills and plains, and that there was a tradition of taking refuge in the hills. However we do have one oral account which was remembered by Zakariya Kwire, who was told by his father that there was once a form of retaliation by the Wandala:

The people of Kunde once killed one Wandala man, and as a result the Wandala came to capture a man from Kunde. Kwir ga Wasa [Zakariya Kwire's father] had spoken to the captured man himself, while on his way back from Chinene, but managed not to be captured as a result.

The story tells us that the Wandala had indeed come to the hills to capture a man to retaliate, but did not take Kwire ga Wasa, who spoke to the man while he was carried away. This indirectly confirms that even in the late 19th century, when quite extensive slave raiding is reported from other parts of the Mandara Mountains, the Gwoza hills, at least the Dghwede massif, appears to have been less affected. My local Dghwede friends also adamantly denied ever having sold their people to the Wandala or Fulbe, as this was reported to me by the Mafa of Gouzda for example. We therefore wonder whether the population of the Gwoza hills had a

different historical relationship with the Wandala, and ask ourselves whether this difference was rooted in a shared pre-colonial past?

The above example of an eyewitness account from Kunde, which was situated in a lower valley of greater Ghwa'a (see Figure 3), shows that the Wandala still controlled, via the eastern plain, parts of at least northern Dghwede during the tail end of the pre-colonial period. That our Dghwede friends were also aware of Disa as the contended boundary area between the Fulbe of Madagali and the Wandala perhaps highlights their fear that the 'Plata' could also come up into the Gwoza hills. We will see later, in our chapter about the unsettling colonial years, that German colonial sources mentioned the same circumstance in 1906, and that Madagali exercised colonial control in southern Dghwede during these early years.

Before we present our colonial sources, we will show with two legendary accounts how deeply engrained the Wandala, as a ruling group of our subregion, was in the Dghwede collective memory. We begin with the legend about a conflict between Zedima and a Wandala chief, followed by the legend about Katala, a daughter of Wandala.

The roots of the sun and the moon legend

According to this legend, at the very beginning the Wandala settled at the foothill of Ghwa'a called Guda Zgwimaha (between Arbokko and Barawa), and the Dghwede settled close to them at a hill called Vagha Dongwe, at a place called Gud Ftsu'a, which is a lower hill east of Durghwe. The legend was presented to me by Zakariya Kwire and Dga Pada (to whom we also refer as dada Dga) of Ghwa'a, in 1996 after I had asked them about the very beginning of the relationship of the Dghwede and the Wandala:

During that early time, the Dghwede had a chief called Zedima, who had married a daughter of Wandala, but Wandala had given a certain poison to his daughter to kill the people of Zedima. Zedima prepared a beer for people, to help them to put manure on his farmland. People drank the poisoned beer, but because Zedima's beer was not poisoned, all the others died. Subsequently, Zedima accused his wife, and she said that it was her father who told her to do so.

Zedima was very disturbed. After burying the dead, he entered a hole in the ground and went on a journey inside the earth until he found himself very close to the sun and the moon. There he cut some of the roots of the sun and the moon. He returned with these roots and placed himself in front of his house. People didn't recognise him due to the masses of body hair he had grown while away, except for the dog who recognised his master. After people had shaved the hair off his body, they saw that it was Zedima.

Now Zedima carried out his revenge on the Wandala chief. First, he told his wife to take a bracelet called *dawana* and give it to her father and tell him to put some water in a jar. He should then place *mbitha* [presumably gourds grown at the house] into the water, and position the bracelet on it. After that was done, Zedima used the roots of the sun and moon to cause drought, so that water could only be found at Durghwe. The Wandala suffered thirst and started dying, except for three who arrived with their horses at Durghwe. One of them was called Malawide.

After a long period of suffering, Zedima produced a heavy storm which blew the hair off the heads of the dead people, and their clothes were blown in front of Zedima's house. Now Zedima made four types of rain. The first was made of blood, the second of pus, and the third was made of both blood and pus, while the fourth rain was made of pure water.

During the drought, the chief of Wandala had taken the bracelet from the gourd in the water jug and had put it on his chest, because he was feeling thirsty. This had made him survive the drought, but after the drought was over, the chief of Wandala left Guda Zgwimaha to settle in Kirawa, where he started raiding. This happened so long ago, that no one could tell anymore how long.

The ethnoarchaeological potential of the tale

The tale tells of an early relationship between the Wandala and Dghwede in which an extreme drought was caused by Zedima to carry out revenge for the Wandala chief's attempt to kill the

Dghwede people. At that time they were immediate neighbours, with the Wandala living at a foothill near Ghwa'a, and intermarried. Zedima's control over rain finally caused the Wandala chief to realise that he lacked such control, which is why he moved away and settled in Kirawa. Durghwe, the most northerly rain shrine of our subregion, is mentioned in the tale as the only place where water could still be found during that extreme drought. The other important detail of the narrative is that Zedima had to travel inside the earth to harvest the roots of the sun and the moon.

There are several motives in the legend which also appear in other legends of the Gwoza hills (Muller-Kosack, Gwoza notes 1994), such as for example the dog being described as the only one to recognise his former master whose hair had grown so long. There is one part of the tale we need to elaborate on, which is the 'roots of the sun and moon' that Zedima brought back from deep inside the earth to control the rainfall. However, we need to raise a doubt as to whether the moon is not an addition which does not belong to the legend, and that it is only the roots of the sun and not the moon, if we follow Tada Nzige of Ghwa'a.

Tada Nzige, who was the senior rainmaker of Dghwede, explained that some people were born with certain gifts, while others had to work hard for them. For example, some of the rainmakers were born with rainstones in their hands, while those rainmakers who owned the 'roots of the sun' had to suffer to obtain them. He explained that the 'roots of the sun' were called *thlace fice* (*thlace* = root; *fice* = sun) in Dghwede, and that they were red, and someone would have to go very deep down into the earth to the water table. There the 'roots of the sun' would be cut when the sun was rising, and if these 'roots' were taken out of the house, the rain would stop forever.

We will hear in Part Three more about the specialist rainmaker lineage Gaske, but only refer here to the roots of the sun story, which plays such an important role in the legend presented above. What does 'roots of the sun' actually mean, especially that they are cut in the morning when the sun is rising? After all, the sun is up in the sky and not down inside the earth! In Chapter 3.16 about the cosmological worldview of the Dghwede, we will learn that the sun moves during the night through the world of the ancestors, a place perceived as being deep inside the earth. Considering that Tada Nzige explained that a hard-working rainmaker would have to cut the 'roots' when the sun was rising, might well be an indirect reference to that belief.

The legend not only points to the ancestors, but also to the earth. We will learn in the next legend about Katala-Wandala from the hills, who was, according to the Gudule, the ancestral mother of the Gaske rainmaker lineage. We contextualise in several chapters of Part Three, how the main cornblessor through the Gudule lineage was seen as Gaske's brother. We will learn how descent from the same father and mother, and also twinship, was used by specialist lineages to construct ritual entitlement for giving blessings from a celestial above and a primordial below, in the form of cosmological pairing based on descent. Cutting the roots of the sun, at the moment when the sun was setting in the other world, only to rise again in this world, is an image which could well be perceived as a legendary expression of that link.

We will discuss the role of specialist lineages in a separate chapter, and how important they were for the Dghwede culture of ritual blessing, not only to promote fecundity but also to maintain peace and unity or to avoid attacks from outside. In the context of this, specific clan medicines played a role, owned by the various specialist lineages. In the context of collecting oral data on that subject, I also came across the belief that Zedima had been a Gaske rainmaker, a view which underpins the legendary importance of Zedima as the one who controlled rain and fecundity on the Dghwede massif.

The story made me think of the ethnoarchaeological narrative my colleague Nicholas David constructed, because he wanted to give some social context to the archaeology of the DGB sites. David invents his tale in face of the unusual large stone structures of DGB1 and DGB2, and how a new hierarchy might have established itself by using them as platforms for ritual interaction. He invents a leader who calls for special action because of the desperate need for

rain (David 2008:136ff). The reason behind this was that the earliest concentration of the C14 dates put DGB2 into a period of extreme drought, at the beginning of 1400AD.

David's tale does not allow for a link between the emerging Wandala of Kirawa and the montagnard population of the northern slopes of Mount Oupay (Figure 5). Instead he constructs his tale purely from the perspective of the local montagnards themselves, brought about by a newly emerged ritual leader, subsequently resulting in extraordinary stone structures serving as very large rain shrines. We do not want to reinvent David's tale by suggesting a link to the emerging Wandala of Kirawa, but feel that there is a missing link in cosmological terms, which we find in the sun legend of Zedima who controls fecundity as cosmological blessings from a celestial above and an earthly below.

Our perspective will become much clearer throughout Part Three, when we contextualise the importance of ritual pairing as an essential part of the Dghwedè belief system. We will better understand why the cosmological essence of the concept of ritual blessings, not only from above in the form of rain but also from below in the form of animal manure, can be interpreted as an expression of their mixed farming methods. We will learn that the intensive cultivation of sorghum behind terrace walls is unimaginable without animal husbandry. This is why first of all we feel that David, by only concentrating on the ritual importance of rain, missed the point of the cosmological dimension of dung production being the ritual embodiment of a cosmological blessing from below.

David (2008) describes the underground structure of the DGB sites, and we can also visit a webshow⁸. It is not our objective to discuss the DGB architecture here, but to use the Dghwedè example of their most important rain shrine: Durghwe, to which our story of Zedima refers. We have dedicated a separate chapter on the ritual importance of Durghwe as a subregional mountain shrine in Part Three, and want here to give only a summary of its cosmographic underground structure. Durghwe, a natural structure of imposing formation consisting of three monolithic rocks jutting out in the air, served in the past as interethnic shrines for the Dghwedè, Chikidè, and Guduf. The stone pillars can also be seen as granaries, which reach through a rock plate representing a grinding stone deep inside the mountain, to a storage place for water, with three cosmological bulls there to produce dung for successful terrace farming (see Figure 27).

We remember that Zedima's people were poisoned by Wandala's daughter while they were putting the dung on his fields for fertilisation. Zedima had entered the earth through a hole, to cut the roots of the sun, and then used them to cause a severe drought. Only Durghwe still had water during that period, but this was not accessible to his father-in-law the chief of Wandala. That his wife had poisoned his people while they were about to distribute Zedima's manure onto his terrace fields, is in our opinion cosmologically significant.

The whole tale of Zedima and the roots of the sun illustrates the relationship of the Dghwedè to the chief of Wandala, who had no control over the rain without the Dghwedè. The chief of Wandala did not poison Zedima, and neither did Zedima kill the chief of Wandala, but only forced him to leave for Kirawa. This suggests that they needed each other, and perhaps it was not just about rainmaking, but also about food production and subregional cooperation.

We therefore suggest that the technology of terrace cultivation should not just be linked to rainmaking, but also manure production in terms of a working ethnoarchaeological narrative. The two are also interlinked in terms of the social division of ritual labour between rainmakers and cornblessers, as the two sides of fertility from above (rain) and below (dung). As a cosmological pair of reproduction by descent, they were not only embedded in the Dghwedè worldview, but also in their social structure in the form of specialist lineages where the ritual management of fertility was seen as a pair of brothers descending from the same parents, of which one was the son of the legendary daughter of Wandala.

⁸ http://www.mandaras.info/DGB_NCameroon/index.htm (David & Muller-Kosack 2002)

Our second legend further illustrates our ethnoarchaeological presumptions, by comparing two versions of Katala and the role of outsiders in creating powerful new lineages. One is about the Dghwede and their claim that Wandala originated from the hills, while the other one is from the *Wandala Chronicles* and introduces us to four noble strangers. The latter functions as a legendary motif for the early emergence of the Wandala in Ishga-Kawe, which is where they resided before Kirawa, most likely as the result of a severe drought. In the case of Katala from the hills, we will also show how she was seen as the ancestral mother of the forementioned pair of rainmaker and cornblesser specialist lineages of Dghwede.

Katala-Wandala of the hills is also linked to the Dghwede house of Mbira as part of the Tur tradition, via her father Wandala-Mbira and Tasa-Mbira, whose first wife was Katala and who was the daughter of Wandala, according to Dghwede sources (see Figures 9 and 12). We need to wait for the contextualising details to be revealed when we arrive at the relevant chapters in Part Three. In the next chapter section we highlight that ethnoarchaeological narratives should perhaps not be too minimalist or abstract in ethnographic terms.

Katala-Wandala of the hills

The *Wandala Chronicles* mention Katala as the mother of Wandala as part of the early history of the Wandala dynasty, while in Ishga-Kawe, south of Dikwa, Forkl (1995:200) counts seven chiefs before Agamakiya: Dafla, Wandala, Katala, Faya, Bakar Aisami, Kawe, and at the beginning, Malgu. Katala is the daughter of Faya (ibid:106), who is the son of Bakar Aisami, the last of the four noble strangers from the east. The other three settled in Wadai, Bagirmi, and Ngazargamu⁹, while the last one made a promise of allegiance to Malgu of Isga-Malgu. He married a daughter of Malgu and subsequently settled in Isge Malgu, where he increased in number with Malgu as their chief. Malgu had two sons: Wandala and Kawe, but Kawe and not Wandala became Malgu's successor, and moved the capital to Isgha-Kawe. After Kawe died, Bakar Aisami became their chief.

After Bakar Aisami's death, Malgu's son Wandala claimed the chieftaincy, but Faya turned out to be stronger (in number) and Wandala fled with his people to a place called Tsa (according to Eldridge Mohammadou 1982:214, endnote 12), a former Malgwa village south of Dikwa near Gawa (see Figure 1). When Faya died he did not have a male successor, and his daughter Katala became chief, and when she died her son Wandala (a different Wandala) became chief. He was followed by his son Dafla who in turn was followed by his son Agamakiya. It was Agamakiya who reunited the two Wandala factions, those of Tsa and his own in Ishga-Kawe. He achieved this by offering the descendants of Wandala-Malgu, due to their genealogically more senior position, the ritual custodianship of the land (*tliga*). Agamakiya became king of Wandala and owner of the land from Isga-Kawe to Kirawa and Tsa, because he represented the majority of the descendants of Malgu in terms of number.

This is how Katala appears in the *Wandala Chronicles*. She is the granddaughter of a stranger from the east, and she has a son by the name Wandala, while the original Wandala, the son of Malgu, had to surrender his senior position of descent to the more numerous line descending from a noble stranger. This stronger line eventually brought about king Agamakiya who was seen as the first Wandala king, because he reunited the two factions by giving the more senior Wandala lineage the position of custodianship of the earth for the kingdom as a whole. We will see, in our chapter about outsiders as founders, how Mughuze-Ruwa became the most numerous maximal lineage in Dghwede, but kept, in terms of locality, the more senior Gudule lineage as a reproductive guarantee of communal custodianship. The legend of Gudule and

⁹ Situated 150 km west of Lake Chad in the Yobe State of modern Nigeria, the remains of the former capital city are still visible. The surrounding wall is 6.6km long and in parts it is still up to 5m high. It was the capital of the old Borno empire from about 1460 to 1809 and became the leading centre of Islamic education under Sultan Idris Alauma. In 1808, Ngazargamu was taken by the Fulani *jihad*.

Ske as cornblessor and rainmaker lineages are, in Dghwede, linked to an alternative legendary story of Katala-Wandala of the hills as their mother (see Chapter 3.13).

It is difficult to see how Katala became part of the Tur tradition in Dghwede. Here Katala is the daughter (not the mother) of Wandala who once lived in Tala Wandala, a place which would later become known as Kunde (part of Ghwa'a). Wandala-Mbra was seen here as a son of Mbra, the great apical ancestor of not only the Dghwede, but also many other groups of the Gwoza hills. We discuss Mbra extensively in Part Three, and here only summarise that there are contradicting opinions as to whether he left 'Fitire' (Tur) himself, but there seems to be a general agreement that the cause was overpopulation in Tur. We do not know what exactly happened to his son Wandala, but he was seen as a contemporary of 'Dofede' (Dghwede), who was another son of Mbra. Wandala's daughter Katala subsequently married Tasa who was recognised as a son of Dghwede, and out of that marriage came Ske and Gudule. Ske, also known as Gaske (descendants of Ske), was the ancestor of the Dghwede rainmaker lineage, while the descendants of Gudule were seen as the representatives of the original inhabitants of Dghwede.

In particular, the role of Gudule raises complex questions with which we will deal repeatedly in the context of Part Three. At this point we only want to raise two aspects which seem to be important. The first is that both lineages had ritual functions related to the production of fertility, one from above (rainmaking and ritual planting), and the other from below (starting with the bull festival then cornblessing to increase the yield). Their roles were also mirrored in the pairing of those functions by descent. The other was related to the already mentioned role of outsiders as founders, who became important by the marriage to a local girl and by having many descendants, which eventually rendered them much more numerous than the original settlers. We will see, in our chapter on the oral history of local warfare, how the Gudule were defeated by Vaghagaya. The latter was the son of a local nobody by the name Mughuze. He had become houseboy to an autochthonous founder by the name of Hembe, who had only daughters. Mughuze and his descendants later became so numerous that they defeated the Gudule who had decreased in number over time. After their defeat, the descendants of the Gudule wanted to leave but were asked to stay by the victors, most likely because they were still needed as custodians related to the ritual maintenance of the fertility of the land.

The fact that the account of Katala, which speaks of noble strangers from the east rather than of a local nobody as an outsider, is a written claim from the *Wandala Chronicles*, gives our Katala-Wandala from the hills legend an oral historical cloud. The legend does not have to invent a noble stranger, because it is not about creating an Islamic dynasty in hindsight, which covered up a former ritual practice of dealing with the reproductive capacity of descent. The *Wandala Chronicles* deal twice with a situation where a conflict linked to genealogical seniority and greater reproductive number is resolved by inventing a noble outsider. The first is Baka Aisami, who marries the daughter of Malgu and then replaces Kawe, the younger brother of Wandala, because the first one could not provide a successor and the Wandala lineage was not prolific enough. When Baka Aisami's died, Wandala as the more senior lineage representative returned and contested the succession, but he could not succeed because Faya's descendants were too numerous, and Katala became the first female ruler of the still non-Islamic Wandala dynasty. At this time they were all still in Ishga-Kawe.

The more senior lineage of Wandala-Mulgu, which had left for Tsa, is in a way comparable with Gudule who left for 'Gudulyewe' (Gudur). Unfortunately we cannot go deeper into that at this point, and advise the reader to consult the chapter about the Dghwede bull festival. The descendants of a less successful, in reproductive terms, Wandala-Mulgu lineage, were finally reconciled by Agamakiya as custodians of the earth for the whole of the Wandala kingdom. In Agamakiya's case, we have again the invention of a noble stranger, but this time it is a hunter from Yemen known as Gaya. The problem was that Agamakiya did not have a son, and to continue the dynastic line his daughter Zegda had to follow him, but it is much more likely that Agakuma Gile, the chief of Kirawa, had an illegitimate son with Zedga. His name was

Abalasaka and we have established that he became the first Wandala king residing permanently in Kirawa. The rule of Abalasaka's son Bira Misa was the period we have marked in our Table of Contemporaneity as the beginning of an extreme arid period, which not only resulted in the development of Kirawa as first capital of Wandala, but also brought about the beginning of the DGB complex. We used the earliest written source of the Venetian mapmaker Fra Mauro to underpin our hypothesis, since he is the first to mention the Wandala in the mid-15th century.

We do not know the age of the legend of Zedima and the 'roots of the sun', and the legendary account of Katala-Wandala, but they are both linked to Ghwa'a. The first one about the role of Durghwe as the main most northerly mountain shrine in our subregion, and the second one citing Tala Wandala as an early place where the Wandala allegedly settled, was apparently before the formation of Korana Basa. We hypothesised earlier that Ghwa'a might have already existed during the second severe arid period of the late 16th century, when Umar's brother is mentioned as 'usurper' by Ibn Furtu. We pointed out that it is difficult to imagine that the DGB complex was not known by Umar's brother, and the idea that he might have revitalised or even enhanced it is suggested by the impressive remains of DGB1, while DGB2 was more likely linked to the first severe drought about hundred years earlier. We also hypothesised that perhaps during the second period of aridity, the sophistication of early terrace cultivation connected to sorghum and dung production had by then reached the Gwoza hills, and that a ritual link between Kirawa and Ghwa'a might have existed.

We are painfully aware of how speculative our hypothetical suggestions are. Nevertheless, our two legends support the attempt to retell a legendary oral history from the grassroots. For example, in the light of her reproductive bond with Zedima, the loyalty of Wandala's daughter to her montagnard husband is important to acknowledge. We do not know whether our Katala-Wandala from the hills was in legendary terms a representation of Katala, or perhaps Zegda. According to the *Wandala Chronicles*, the Katala legend was the older one, and we realise that her story goes back to a time long before the Wandala moved their capital to Kirawa and before the first DGB site was constructed.

There is one final point we want to make. We know that, according to our Table of Contemporaneity, this early period of the Wandala was most likely during the long wet period that was coming to an end in the late 14th century. Still, perhaps the legend of Katala survived as a legend of the hills independently of the *Wandala Chronicles*, and somehow became incorporated into the traditions of origin from Tur. It might have been renewed, and as such was orally linked to the latest south-to-north migration in our mountains/plains subregion of the northwestern Mandara Mountains of the 17th century.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that the early written sources on the importance of the Wandala fail to give us any reliable hint concerning a possible historical relationship between the populations of the Gwoza hills and the emerging Wandala state, except perhaps that the Wandala state had its capital in Kirawa at a very early time. This does not mean that there were no such early relations between the two. The written sources place such a possible scenario in the 16th century, but there is strong circumstantial oral historical and archaeological evidence that such a relationship might well already have existed considerably earlier. We can even speculate that Kirawa was not only conceived as a place from preexisting places in the plains further north, but also to its mountainous south. The Ziver-Oupay massif and the Tur heights as well as the Gwoza hills with its foothills and adjacent plains, all being affected by similar regional climate emergencies, sets the subregional background scenario of our Dghwedè oral history retold.

We have produced a Table of Contemporaneity to illustrate this, but so far have only touched on legendary narratives from Dghwedè, which show that perhaps any ethnoarchaeological

interpretation of the DGB sites would need to be seen not only in the light of rainmaking, but also of cornblessing. The first is related to planting and growing while the second is linked to dung production and the increase of the yield in terms of soil fertility. We will illustrate this on several ethnographic levels in greater detail later, not only by showing how patrilineal pairing works in the context of traditions of origin, but also in the context of population pressure and the oral history of warfare and war alliances. Another ethnographic level is to understand the cosmological worldview underlying ritual culture, and how it was embedded in material culture. The chapters on architecture and the house as a place of worship are a good example, as is the chapter on adult initiation, which we reconstruct from the collective memory of our local protagonists. All these detailed descriptions will not however enable us to provide historical proof that the Wandala of Kirawa were once ritually involved in bringing about the invention of an intensified terrace agriculture of sorghum in the hills, but only present circumstantial ethnographic evidence by outlining a possible shared subregional cultural historical past.

This entails the acknowledgment that the Wandala of Kirawa, during early pre-colonial times, was still a pre-Islamic entity, perhaps with the odd ruler who converted to Islam. The latter theory is supported by the narrative of Ibn Furtu about the siege of Kirawa under Idris Alauma, king of Borno, during the second half of the 16th century. That the *Wandala Chronicles*, which were written in 1723/24, show structural similarities to some of the Dghwedé legendary tales, for example the role of outsiders as founders, is also of great interest. Still there are no direct historical conclusions to be drawn concerning such a subregional relationship between the Gwoza hills and Kirawa during these early pre-colonial times.

In that context we referred to Ghwa'a as the older settlement part of what should later become Dghwedé. We then preliminarily linked Ghwa'a to the 16th century with its significantly lower Lake Chad levels of 280m, indicating about 50 years of severe aridity. The legendary story of Zedima points to Durghwe as the place from which the climate was controlled by a terrible drought, which he had caused by collecting the 'roots of the sun' from deep inside the earth. Our Katala-Wandala story points to Tala Wandala in Ghwa'a, which allegedly existed before the formation of southern Dghwedé, which led to what would later become known as administrative Korana Basa. We also showed how we made a historical link backwards from early colonial times, to the tail end of what we refer to as late pre-colonial times, by referring to cartographic sources going back to the first decade of the 20th century.

The oral history accounts on the relationship with the Wandala refer more to the tribute and slave raiding of that late pre-colonial period. Some of this can be underpinned by Denham's visit to Mora in the early 19th century, shortly after the Wandala capital had been moved from Doulo to Mora. The Dghwedé watchman system, overlooking the intramountainous plain, suggests that it might still have been Wandala from Kirawa, and not Mora, who controlled the eastern Gwoza plain. However, the fact that tribute had to be taken to Mozogo, which belongs to the plain of Koza on the Cameroon side, suggests that by then Mora was most likely in charge of collecting tribute and not Kirawa. The fact that my Dghwedé friends remembered names of watchmen, and names of those who carried tribute, underpins this point.

During that period the Fulbe *jihad* had already taken place, and the old Borno empire had increasingly lost power in the wider region. This is represented by the boundary between the Fulbe of Madagali and the Wandala, near Disa in the western adjacent plain, to which our oral protagonists were referring. At the same time, the eastern plain remained under Wandala influence, and it seems that the Gwoza hills themselves were relatively free from slave raids, even in that late period. This only changed during the Hamman Yaji raids from the German colonial period onwards, a conflict that extended after World War One into the early British mandateship period. We will learn in our next chapter how Hamman Yaji attacked from the western plains. This terrifying period only ended with his arrest in August 1927, of which the Dghwedé have a legendary version, highlighting their oral historical ways of dealing with outside attacks of that kind.

Chapter 2.2

Unsettling colonial years

Introduction

There seem to be two historical events marking the colonial years as rather an unsettling period in the collective memory of many Dghwede. The first is represented by the threat of Hamman Yaji, during the late German colonial period and the early part of the subsequent British mandateship period. Both were consequences of World War One. The second is the memory of the killing of lawan Buba in Ghwa'a 1953, as a defensive reaction to a forced downhill policy, in which he had put himself on the front line by representing the district head of Gwoza. Lawan Buba was also an early representative of the rising Muslim elite, fostered by the British colonial administration under United Nations trusteeship. For both events we not only have archival and other written records, but also oral accounts which I collected in Ghwa'a from an eye witness during one of my short Dghwede fieldwork sessions in the late 1990s.

The Hamman Yaji period extended over 25 years, from 1902 when he was made emir of Madagali by the Germans, until 1927, the year of his arrest by the British. His ongoing raids were surely encouraged by the disruption of colonial order triggered by World War One. The oral narrative we present below shows how the Dghwede first tried to call for help from the Wandala of Kirawa, because they were their ancient pre-colonial overlords. Hamman Yaji had come up to Ghwa'a to raid its people, but the Wandala of Kirawa did not respond. The delegation now moved on, first to Mora, then to Dikwa, and finally made contact with the resident of Borno in Maiduguri. The Dghwede oral account of how they showed the British the way to find Hamman Yaji, leads up to a narrative of his arrest and subsequent death.

The Dghwede version differs from that of the colonial office, not only regarding the circumstances, but also the reason given for his arrest. The Dghwede see it more from the perspective of a traditional peacemaking operation to end the devastating attacks, and they finally rely on the help of the British. Contrary to this account, the British version of his arrest makes no mention at all of any peacemaker delegation led by traditional Dghwede. For the British it was not so much his viciousness towards his subjects as his alleged allegiance to a regional Mahdi movement (Vaughan & Kirk Greene 1995) which led to the decision to arrest him. The British saw his ongoing slave raiding as the secondary reason for his arrest, and we ask ourselves why the colonial office had not been interested in removing him earlier. After all, the League of Nations mandateship had already been in place for at least five years by then.

By examining the German and British colonial records of that early period, we understand how the Gwoza hills emerged as a definable administrative unit. We will learn how German colonial mapmaker Max Moisel drew, in 1912-13, the first boundary across the Gwoza hills. This included Hambagda and today's Korana Basa as being part of Adamawa, while the northern part already belonged to 'Deutsch-Bornu'. We recognise a decision-making process linked to the geographical situation, lasting until when it was finally officially changed in 1922. We will see how the late pre-colonial boundary issues between Adamawa and Wandala and/or Borno did not disappear so easily. Ongoing colonial difficulties in the administration of the area led to the Gwoza hills being declared an Unsettled District from quite early on.

Ideas of resettlement to solve the difficulties rising from an emerging Gwoza town and the hills had long been discussed. In 1953, Ghwa'a, the northern part of Dghwede, became known for the 'Gwoza Affair' or the killing of lawan Buba. The incident allows us to compare official colonial reports with the oral memory collected by myself. We will see the different perspectives, the colonial one and the local view of the event, not only concerning the killing itself but also regarding the perceived reasons behind it. The main participants in the conflict

were the still very traditional Dghwedé montagnards of Ghwa'a, and the increasingly established new local Muslim elite in Gwoza town. It was now all about forced resettlement in the plains, since the attempts by British colonial officers to initiate a successful process of self-governance in the hills had admittedly failed.

Coming under German and British rule

As a result of Colonel Pavel's expedition to Dikwa¹, which started in Garoua, and moved, in March and April 1902, up the western chain of the Mandara Mountains, Madagali became the centre from which that part of northern Adamawa was ruled. In August that year Hamman Yaji's father, Ardo Bakari, the lamido of Madagali, was killed by two German bullets. It was during the German attempt to capture Zubeiri (former emir of Yola) at Bakari's residence (Dominik 1908:208-214), and shortly afterwards his son Hamman Yaji became the new lamido.

In 1906, Zimmermann² made an expedition up the western chain of the Mandara Mountains, and he tells us that Hamman Yaji was a very positive example of a ruler, someone who always paid his tribute, kept his lamidat in order and kept the mountain population under control. Zimmermann also informs us that the boundary between the lamidat of Madagali and the Sultanate of Wandala was between Madagali and Disa, a small 'Inselberg' to the southwest of Gwoza town. While Zimmermann allocates Disa to Wandala, he states that the 'Lufua, Goso, etc' (ibid) would pay tribute to Madagali.

We can therefore conclude that at that time the lamidat of Madagali controlled the area along the western foothills, including what today is Gwoza town, but not Disa which is a bit further out on the western adjacent plain (see Plate 7b). Madagali had successfully infringed on the Wandala dominance along the western foothills during late pre-colonial times, an influence which survived into the colonial period. The place-name 'Goso' for what would later become Gwoza, gives us another hint. Originally 'Goso' or 'Guze' was an old name for a place in southern Dghwedé, also orally referred to as 'Gharguze', meaning Goso/Guze in the hills (*ghar* = mountains) and so formed part of what would later become Korana Basa (Figure 8).

Zimmermann also tells us that the 'Seledeba pagan' (the Zelidva) were under Wandala rule, and that they conflicted with the 'Wuahas' (Lamang), despite their otherwise close relationship. We know that sections of the Zelidva further north of Luvua still speak Lamang today, for example in Wala and Warabe, but speak 'Abaiwa' (a dialect of Wandala) around the northern tip of the Gwoza hills and Glavda to its east (see Figure 3a), indicating a long pre-colonial relationship between Wandala and the northern Gwoza hills.

The map of the German cartographer Max Moisel (1913) gives us some idea of a potentially preconceived boundary across the Gwoza hills (see Figures 7 and 7a), and we will come back to that in greater detail in our chapter: 'Names and places'. We want to mention here that the *Bezirksgrenze* (district boundary) on Moisel's map indicates that the southern part of the Dghwedé massif and the Hidkala valley (bordering on what should later become Gwoza town) consisting of Vile, Hambagda and Hudugum, was seen by the German cartographer as being under Madagali. Ghwa'a ('Dohade/Johode'), meaning the northern part of Dghwedé, and Guduf, Chikide, and Glavda, as well as Mafa, belonged to the Wandala sphere of influence. They had their headquarters in Mora. Moisel's district boundary also marks the division between Adamawa and Borno.

Hamman Yaji took advantage of the years of colonial uncertainty during the Great War. While Garoua was taken by the British very early on, Mora in the north remained a problem, but after it fell at the end of 1914, both Madagali and Mora came temporarily under French

¹ Eldridge Mohammadou gave me in 1994 a copy of Pavel's original report from 1902, which was marked with the Archive reference: 'Abschrift zu K.10853'.

² Zimmermann's expedition report from 25 Jan. 1906, German Colonial Archives, Berlin: FA1/120.

colonial control. However, the French held this control only as a bargaining chip, until the Treaty of Versailles decreed that the Gwoza hills and Madagali would become British. This came into effect in 1922, but the British had started already exploring the Gwoza hills before that, from at least 1920 onwards.

Because the Germans had already handed the control over the mountain population to Hamman Yaji in 1902, we presume that the British continued to rely on him in that respect until the First World War created a new situation. The question arises how Dghwede up in the hills perceived this change. Some of the answers are given by their oral history. We will learn below that the Dghwede had a very clear view of the division of their tribal land into a northern and a southern part. After Hamman Yaji had not only raided Korana Basa but also Ghwa'a, they felt a great sense of injustice, because the people of Ghwa'a perceived themselves to be traditionally under Wandala. They might not have understood the geopolitical implications of the Great War, but they presumably felt that they had to act in tune with their cultural traditions, which implied that Ghwa'a was a central place, as it was for the other affected groups as far south as Tur.

The Germans made at least one excursion up into the Dghwede area, according to Moisel's map (ibid) by Stephani in October 1903 (see Figure 7a), but his report could not be traced. Luckily there is an indirect confirmation of it in the British colonial records. German rule in Adamawa was, after the killing of one of their residents in 1904, very much a mixture of a more or less heavy-handed military presence combined with some indirect rule, for which Hamman Yaji was one of their most reliable allies. A tax or land reform was not proposed before 1913 and was therefore never implemented due to the First World War. German military excursions only happened along the trade routes in the plains, while Hamman Yaji controlled the 'peace' in the hills.

Hostilities between German and allied British and French troops had already begun in 1914, but it took almost two years for Germany to surrender. Before that, and presumably even more during that period and at least until 1920, Hamman Yaji ranged freely in the area. Whereas before he was carrying out raids to pay his annual tribute to the Germans (he started to document his raids in the hills from 1912 onwards), he could now relinquish any such responsibilities and 'hunt' only for himself. He was in possession of guns, which gave him great physical superiority. Unfortunately the diary he kept (Vaughan and Kirk Greene 1995) does not give direct evidence of any raids in Dghwede itself, but our Dghwede oral accounts presented below show clearly that such raids did take place, although we do not have an exact date for them.

Readjustments under British Mandateship

The first official British report on the inhabitants of the Gwoza hills was by captain P.E. Lewis in 1925. Lewis was an assistant district officer based in Dikwa, under whose colonial administrative auspices the Gwoza hills had now come. As already mentioned, there had been a brief French colonial interim rule of the Gwoza hills which ended 1920, shortly after the Treaty of Versailles, but no records say that the French ever made it up there. Lewis and his colleague, Featherstone, went there from 1921 onwards. One of Lewis's main purposes was to explore the willingness and ability of the montagnards to pay taxes. He produced the first list of local officials that represented indirect British rule in each of the villages belonging to what he calls 'Gwoza and Ashigashiya', which were then the two main districts covering the Gwoza hills administrative area (see Table 3).

Archival sources inform us that in the early days when Gwoza was taking shape, there was quite some opposition from the villages and groups on and around the Zelidva spur, who were not happy coming under Gwoza. This led in 1924 to the 'Raid of Gwoza', which Lewis reports on the 1st of September. In his mind, the raid was most likely launched from 'Guduf North'. He further tells us that what should later become Gwoza town, then only consisted of seventy

households, while Ashigashiya allegedly counted 4000 (see Figure 2). At the time, Lewis felt sufficiently concerned about a possible attack to order the installation of a defensive thorn hedge around Gwoza. For the first raid, Lewis mentions 1000 fighters who attacked at dawn, but they were repulsed after two hours of fighting. Later that day a second attack occurred. This time it was supported by several thousand attackers, enforced with additional contingencies from the Ashigashiya district. The district head in charge decided to flee from Gwoza to Hudugum (south of Gwoza, see Figure 3), and Lewis tells us that the district head sat on a rock after his horse was killed under him. The following morning the fighters returned from around the hills and stripped the town bare, smashing everything they did not want (Lewis, colonial report 1924).

It was Zantama, a relative of the shehu of Dikwa, who was district head of Gwoza at the time. Lewis (*ibid*) writes that he did not want to hold Zantama ultimately responsible for the raid, and says that the district head still had strong support from the area south of Gwoza. He refers to the Hambagda and Hidkala area and the Lamang. That Zantama had fled in 1924 to Hudugum indicates that, still in the mid-1920s, the populations of the northern and eastern parts of the Gwoza hills and neighbouring plains felt less loyal towards the newly forming Muslim elite of Gwoza town, of which the paying of taxes was presumably only one of the more contentious issues.

After the incident, Zantama retired and Yerima Jato became district head of Gwoza. He was a younger brother of Hamman Yaji, but because he had been brought up by the Wandala, he was no longer associated with Madagali. Lawan Jato was still district head in 1939 when Gwoza and Ashigashiya became a combined district, and he only retired in 1947. Subsequently, Galdima Boyi from Guduf became the first district head of Gwoza to have not been of Fulbe or Kanuri origin. We note in this context, that Lawan Buba had been village head of Gwoza for many years, when he went in 1953 as representative of Boyi to Ghwa'a. He'd had to retire in 1950, and was originally from Korana Basa which he had left by 1925 to convert to Islam. This was around the same time Lewis wrote his above report.

The dividing line for the unrest in the hills in those early days appears to have been north of a still small Gwoza town, and north of the Dghwedè border with Chikidè (see Figure 3), who were involved in the fighting while the Dghwedè were not. This is also confirmed by an early note by touring officer Featherstone, who writes in 1921, in a report to Lethem, that the Dghwedè were altogether very cooperative. It seems that the Chikidè had a particular reputation of being rebellious, and later in 1924 had refused to give back the loot while the others involved handed most of it back. We do not know whether the fact that they spoke Guduf made them feel they belonged more to the rebellious northern section.

Whatever the reason, it seems that the main issue at stake was that the northern and eastern parts of what later would become the Gwoza LGA, had united in this raid because they did not want to be part of a new district administered from Gwoza town. According to Lewis, 'Johode' (we are not sure whether he only refers to Ghwa'a here) had already been under Gwoza since 1922, although the ward head Baima of Ghwa'a had said to him during a visit that he (Baima) had no contact with the district head of Gwoza. After all, Gwoza town, the newly emerging administrative centre, might have been less of a threat to the Dghwedè, and any internal division in terms of loyalties might not have been affected by the raid of Gwoza in August 1924. This would only become an issue a couple of decades later.

There is uncertainty in my records about the sequential order of Gwoza district heads. My Dghwedè notes link the arrest of Hamman Yaji to Zantama and not Yerima Jato. There was also Sarking Yaki, and we are not sure where he exactly fits in either, but it says in one of my records that he retired in 1927, and was then replaced by Yerima Jato. Whoever was district head in 1927, we do not know whether Hamman Yaji was still raiding Dghwedè at the time, but most likely he was not. We do know that his diary ends in 1920, but this might have been simply because he had been told to stop raiding. This puts the Dghwedè narrative of having led the British to arrest Hamman Yaji in a bit of an obscure light, but more about that later.

What we have established though, is that the first ward head of Ghwa'a quoted by Lewis as Baima (see Table 3), was the same as the Dagha peacemaker Vaima in the oral narrative, who became the leader of the Dghwede delegation. Perhaps the fact that there was no communication between him and the district head explains why he now acted as a traditional peacemaker for a delegation that represented montagnard communities affected by Hamman Yaji's raids as far south as Tur.

The potential for conflict in the Gwoza hills was presumably not just about under which part, Gwoza or Ashigashiya, one would fall, but had other internal reasons. For example, the Zelidva had a history of not wanting to be under Wandala control, and there was altogether a desire to be independent in the hills. After all, the hills had long served as quite a safe place against slave raiding in pre-colonial times. Under the Germans not much had changed in the Gwoza hills, and now the British were trying to establish a tax system. It seems that the British colonial officers became aware quite early on of the potential problems involved, which is why the Gwoza hills was declared an Unsettled District.

Lewis does not make any reference to the Dghwede as an ethnolinguistic group, but when we examine the names of the settlement units listed in Table 3 in the part of our chapter: 'Names and places', we can identify them all as Dghwede villages. The table also shows the names of the village officials he identified as 'chima' and 'bulama', and the number of houses in each of the villages they represent. This is the beginning of British colonial administration in the Gwoza hills. It was the first time the people of the Gwoza hills were so intensely exposed to any colonial system. It is perhaps no wonder that the British found it difficult to manage the Gwoza district solely through the new local elite they were about to create in Gwoza town.

As far as the new international boundary was concerned, French technical interim rule officially ended for the Gwoza hills in 1922. The boundary was henceforth the Kirawa river south of Kirawa town, encircling the southern Dghwede massif and then following westwards up the Kughum river and reaching the Gvoko massif, turning south again along the top of the Tur heights. Dghwede was now entirely under Gwoza town, which was controlled through Dikwa, while Madagali stayed under Yola. The earlier Wandala connection with Dghwede via Mora was finally cut, since Mora was now officially in French Cameroon. During the referenda, on the eve of Nigerian and Cameroonian independence in 1960/1961, the question of national identity would again come to the historical foreground. We know that the Gwoza LGA eventually voted to stay with Nigeria.

In the following section we will present the Dghwede version of Hamman Yaji's arrest. The narrative belongs to the 1920s, and as part of the creation of Dghwede oral history it has legendary features such as the use of a clan medicine owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage. This was about a decade after Hamman Yaji had become district head of Madagali, then under German rule. The British as mandatory power had not acted fast enough against his regime of terror over the populations of large parts of the western hills, in the context of which the Dghwede of Ghwa'a became the northernmost victims of his brutal raids. We tell the story according to how John and I recorded it during my time between 1994 and 2009, only a decade before Boko Haram would unfold its terror regime in the region. This again, ironically, had a particularly nasty presence in Ghwa'a, which used to be, with its subregional mountain shrine Durghwe, ritually one of the most ancient and precious places not only of the Gwoza hills, but of all the northwestern Mandara Mountains.

The Dghwede version of Hamman Yaji's arrest and death

Hamman Yaji kept a diary in rudimentary Arabic, which was confiscated by the British on his arrest in 1927 and published in English by Vaughan and Kirk-Greene in 1995, and included an introduction about the circumstances of his arrest. The diary makes no mention of any raids in the Gwoza hills, but the following Dghwede oral account tells a different story. Throughout his rule as district head of Madagali, from the short German period interrupted by

the years of World War One, followed by the beginning of the British mandateship, there had not been much direct colonial impact in the hills. This historical background presumably made the memory of Hamman Yaji in the public imagination of the Dghwede even more prominent as an extremely disempowering experience. Throughout much of this period, from 1902 until 1927, Hamman Yaji had been emir of Madagali 'keeping order' in the hills. The few times he made it to Dghwede certainly left a lasting negative impression.



Plate 13a: Hamman Yaji as a young man in Wanday (Strümpell 1912:87)

When I first arrived in Korana Basa in 1995, an old man thanked me for having freed his people from Hamman Yaji. I stood for the image of 'the white man' to whom the Dghwede, in their account about his arrest, had finally turned. According to the legendary narrative, this was after an unsuccessful attempt to call on the Wandala of Kirawa and Mora who were their former pre-colonial overlords.

In the context of this, it is important to note that the delegation gathered in Ghwa'a and not in Korana Basa. The narrators of the oral account, who were from Ghwa'a, refer not to Korana Basa but 'Gharguze'. Zimmermann refers in 1906 to 'Goso' and Moisel (1912/13) and lists on his map 'Hirguse' in the hills. It was common for the older generation of Ghwa'a to refer to administrative Korana Basa as Gharghuze, which was a reference to the expanding Vaghagaya lineages among whom 'Korana' was the founding ancestor of Korana Basa. We will understand in due course, how Korana Basa took shape as the latest pre-colonial change. That our Dghwede friends from Ghwa'a still referred to it by its pre-Korana name could indicate the survival of late pre-colonial sentiments.

The fact that Hamman Yaji was only arrested in 1927, at least five years into British rule, does not seem to matter. The Dghwede account of his arrest appears to be chronologically telescoped from their feeling of being devastated by his visits, most likely before 1920 or even earlier, perhaps still during the hostilities of the war, which had left not only Dghwede itself but the whole of the Gwoza hills somewhat untouched. We do not know when the oral narrative was shaped, but presumably it was after 1927, when they must have heard of his arrest. Does Hamman Yaji therefore also stand for something else, and if that is the case, what could it be? We will first present the narrative, and then discuss possible interpretations.

Below we find an English translation of the most significant passages of the Dghwede oral narrative, as told to us by Zakariya Kwire and Dada 'Dga of Dzga in Ghwa'a in 1996:

Plata's [Hamman Yaji's] downfall began when he raided Kasaghwa [Hidkala]. Next he invaded Kwalika and from there he came to Korana Basa. It was three men from Lamang, Ndaz Gawiche, Kadu Gakwinze and Vazile, who had guided him up to Kwalika. From Kwalika he was guided to Gharguze [Korana Basa from Ghwa' perspective]. As a result some people fled from Gharguze to settle in Ghwa'a, Raha [Chikide] and Gudupha [Guduf]. People now heard rumours that he also planned to invade Ghwa'a, and one early morning at dawn they could hear the sound of a gun heralding his arrival. When he arrived at the border of Ghwa'a, he was confronted with a magical storm which beat his people so strongly that he had to flee, but he was followed by the people of Ghwa'a and some of his people were almost killed.

When Plata came a second time, the people of Ghwa'a could again hear his gun and they went to get their weapons ready to fight. They moved towards him, and he fled towards Gharguze, but then turned around for a counter-attack. It was Dgule ga Gudza, from Ghwa'a, who died first, followed by Kalakwa ga Gdasa, Ghuna ga Dawishe, Madakwa ga Dzuwadize, and Hzak ga Meghwe. After the people of Ghwa'a had buried their dead, they sat down and discussed what they could do about the Plat-ha. They decided to hide their animals at Durghwe [see Figure 3], but the Plat-ha arrived a third time after they found people who guided them. Their soldiers went to

Daw ga Htsile's house to take the bull which was kept there for the bull festival, although Plata himself had advised them not to take such a bull dedicated to sacrifice. When the people of Ghwa'a realised what was happening, they dressed up for serious war and successfully stopped the Plat-ha taking the bull away.

After the soldiers returned empty-handed to Plata [Madagali], they were told by him that their defeat was a result of having taken a sacrificial bull. When they returned for the fourth time, they went straight to Durghwe and took all the animals the people of Ghwa'a were hiding there. The people of Ghwa'a felt seriously defeated and discussed what to do next, and decided to get the colonial powers involved. They knew that Ghwa'a, and also Kunde, was traditionally under Wandala, and that the Plat-ha had not informed the Wandala of his planned attack [implying that the people of Ghwa' had already told the Wandala of the attacks]. They now collected items, such as *tka* [iron diggers], *vardinga* [worn out iron hoes], *tghwa* [tiger nuts], and *bala wurighe* [part of palm tree] to get ready to contact the colonial powers.

While a gathering of the Dagha-ha [Dghwedè peacemaker lineage] was taking place at Tap ga Viva's house because of *har ghwe* [regular sacrifice of a he-goat], the Dagha were asked to find out how to re-establish peace in Ghwa'a. They found out with the help of their *vavanza* [Cissus quadrangularis used for divination], whom they should send to the British to launch an official complaint. Next, they prepared a pot of beer from Tap ga Viva's house, and added three pieces of *vavanza*. Someone's name was called out and beer was poured from the pot into a calabash which the person had to drink. A man by the name Vaima [the ward head mentioned by Lewis as Baima] turned out to be the one who swallowed the three pieces of *vavanza* which made him the man to guide the subsequent delegation to solve the problem with the Plat-ha. Finally, all the other lineages of Ghwa'a were asked to find as many cockerels as possible, which were gathered together and sacrificed at the place where a special *vavanza* grew. The *vavanza* was now harvested and brought together in one place.

Vaima, himself also a member of the Dagha lineage, was called and had to sit down nearby this *vavanza*. The Dagha elder hit Vaima with his flat hand three times on the top of his head, and the three pieces Vaima had swallowed came out of his nostrils. They took these three pieces and combined them with the ones they had just harvested and handed them over to Vaima to take them with him when leading the delegation. They said to Vaima: 'Go and don't fear anything!' and Vaima went, leading the delegation on his journey. They first went on to Ghute's house in Chikidè and from there on to Arboko and further on to Agapalawa where they went to Kalangwaya's house. Next, they went to Zaka Shawire in Ashigashiya.

On leaving Ghwa'a, Gwavarke, who was one of the members of the delegation, had been given a stone. They were instructed to put this stone on the ground when they reached a place called Yagwa [not 'Yerwa', which is Maiduguri]. First Gwavarka should kick the stone towards Vaima, who would kick it back, and after they had done this three times, the stone was supposed to disappear into the ground. They now did this and what had been predicted happened. After the third time of being kicked, the stone magically disappeared into the ground.

They were instructed to continue their journey after they had done this, until they would reach a place where they would find fertile land nearby a *gagha* tree [Acacia albida]. It was predicted that they would see a ladder up this tree and they should climb up this tree to place a *vavanza* there. This happened and they continued their journey. Next, they were supposed to move on and find a grindstone. They found the grindstone and as they had been told, they put a *vavanza* underneath it. They continued their journey. Now they were expected to find a termite hill. They were supposed to kick the termite hill to find adult termites. As predicted, when they kicked the hill a second time, they found adult termites only. Kicking a third time would produce white termites and they had been told that this would mean that they would find *yude* [white man, the British]. All this happened.

They continued their journey to Bama and from there to Dikwa and from Dikwa via Marte to Maiduguri where they asked for *yude* but were taken to the shehu's house. The shehu asked them why they wanted him to contact *yude* and Vaima explained to the shehu, how Hamman Yaji was troubling them. The shehu directed them to the governor's house, whose name was Kafrusa. They went to see Kafrusa, but were told that he was out playing *tur rura* [which might be cricket]. Eventually, Kafrusa arrived, and they told their story and Kafrusa said that they should wait

because he had to see his mother and ask her what to do.³ When he went to see his mother and explained to her, she said to him: ‘Who allowed that child to trouble others like that? A child is a child to every woman and a mother is a mother to every child. Take this corn stock and give it to him [Hamman Yaji] and he should not trouble anybody again. Go and make sure that such a thing will not happen again.’⁴

Kafrusa came back after three days and told them what his mother had said to him and he climbed on his horse to begin the journey to see Hamman Yaji, together with Vaima and his friends. When they reached Plata [Madagali], they went to Hamman Yaji’s house, and also to his other house in the hills, but he wasn’t there. The bird who had been leading them right from the place where the stone they had kicked had magically disappeared in the ground, led them to *kwir uvawa* [presumably the central plateau of the Mandara Mountains], where Hamman Yaji was hiding. Before they left for *kwir uvawa* the Dghwede delegation went to the market place of Madagali, where they found people selling *suya* [Hausa: skewer kebab]. There the Plat-ha tried to get hold of them, but when they saw Kafrusa, they got frightened, kneeled, and then ran away. Now Vaima took all the *suya* for them to eat, just like that.

On the way to *kwir uvawa*, they found Hamman Yaji hiding in a cave. When Hamman Yaji saw Vaima, he jumped on Vaima’s back and licked him. When Kafrusa wanted to kill him, Vaima said: ‘Please don’t kill him. He has already climbed on my back and licked me. If you kill him I will die as well’.⁵ Kafrusa agreed to this and Hamman Yaji was arrested. Back in Madagali, people were now freed from slavery and advised to identify their cattle and then to go home, but Vaima accompanied Kafrusa back to Maiduguri where he witnessed the execution of Hamman Yaji. The first attempt by the colonial powers to execute him was with guns, but the bullets could not harm him. Next they tried to burn him, but they could not succeed. Now dry potassium was ground and put on the ground. They stripped Hamman Yaji naked and poured water over him and the potassium, and he dissolved in the potassium, just like that. This is how Hamman Yaji died.

We know that the Dghwede account of the killing of Hamman Yaji does not meet the historical truth, as Hamman Yaji died a natural death in 1927 while in exile. They chose Vaima, also known as Baima and first ward head of Ghwa’a, but we do not know whether Vaima was already ward head when that happened. Lewis mentions Baima in 1924 but Hamman Yaji had already stopped writing in his Arabic diary in 1920. The narrative is embroidered by magical events linked to the application of *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) of which the Dagha peacemaker lineage are ritual owners (see Table 12b). The successful outcome of the narrative could be interpreted as a result of a successful peacemaking mission, in which the Dghwede are the survivors, while Hamman Yaji dies a painful death. Vaima had to beg the British representative not to kill him, and that Hamman Yaji had licked his back, which meant that he had surrendered and Vaima was the moral victor.

There is nothing in Lewis’s or Featherstone’s reports to indicate something like this happened, but some individual reports by British touring officers in Adamawa province, as already quoted above, suggest that it was known to the British that Hamman Yaji continued raiding the hills south of Dghwede. This happened despite him having been warned, however great doubt remains as to whether Hamman Yaji continued raiding in Dghwede after 1920. One might conclude that the Dghwede experience actually relates to an earlier period, and that the narrative about the Dghwede delegation to Maiduguri, leading to Hamman Yaji’s arrest, is perhaps the result of the legendarisation of oral history at a later stage.

What possibly needs to be added, is that if the British authorities had acted at a much earlier point and stopped Hamman Yaji, such a legendary tale might never have been constructed in the first place. The meeting of all the different delegates from further south to Tur might have taken place, considering that Durghwe was reportedly used as the most northerly rain shrine

³ Because the British representative was seen as *thagaya* (seventh born/custodian), his mother loved him very much, since the eighth born was cast out at this time. Saying that he would have gone to see his mother presumably meant that the delegation hoped for a favourable outcome of their request.

⁴ The corn stalk signifies peace since a woman cannot fight. To give a corn stalk to Hamman Yaji would turn him into a woman and disable him from troubling people again.

⁵ In Dghwede tradition, one didn’t kill an enemy who was licking ones back during a fight, because this was seen as a sign of submission.

in the past by other ethnic groups as far south as Tur. We also remember the role of Durghwe in the legend about Zedima, in the context of the Dghwedè asserting themselves against the attempt of an early Wandala chief nearby to undermine their ritual independence. In our tale about the arrest of Hamman Yaji, we are confronted with Hamman Yaji's soldiers breaking into the ritual life of the Dghwedè, and even intruding on Durghwe for the main hiding place for their cattle. We learn later, in the context of the killing of lawan Buba, how the colonial report failed to address the ritual insult of lawan Buba's entourage, and that this was actually, from a Dghwedè perspective, a reason to defend themselves.

An entirely different explanation could be that the gunshots heralding Hamman Yaji's arrival were the gunshots the hill populations heard from afar during the war hostilities. At the same time, Hamman Yaji might still have used the opportunity and come up to Dghwedè, and as far as Ghwa'a to raid them too. We will never know what exactly inspired the Dghwedè to create the narrative of a delegation to the residence of Borno to help them get rid of Hamman Yaji. What the narrative does prove, however, is an oral declaration of acceptance of being under British rule, even though the British acted late. At the time of the arrest, the issue of taxation had already been addressed, and ward head Baima would have been in contact with his district head in Gwoza town. We know that Lewis tells us he was not. All this happened while Gwoza had just started to develop as a new centre to replace Ashigashiya. That Vaima's delegation made a stop in Ashigashiya shows the pre-colonial attachment to the Wandala of Kirawa, who had not been able to protect them.

In the next two sections we will describe how the British attempted to introduce what they understood to be good self-governance in Dghwedè, but failed, while the newly emerging Gwoza elite successfully received Western education in Hambagda. The two developments were mutually counterproductive and eventually led to the colonial power's conclusion that the Gwoza hill area should remain an Unsettled District. Next, a resettlement scheme in the western plains became the best possible option, for the British. We subsequently describe the failure of this resettlement scheme, which led to the killing of lawan Buba in 1953, and we will retell the event as a piece of late colonial local history from below. Other than the Hamman Yaji example, the colonial reports of the killing of lawan Buba are in much clearer contrast to the oral narrative of our Dghwedè eye-witness, and there is no legendary aspect to it, except perhaps if one were to call the official colonial report 'legendary', at least in parts. It is Tada Nzige, the once senior rainmaker of Dghwedè, who was a bulama (ward head) at that time and who told us his version of the killing of lawan Buba, and how it was linked to the failed resettlement scheme.

Mountain versus Plain: pagan reorganisation and the issue of self-governance

I am not certain when exactly Gwoza was declared an Unsettled District, but it is mentioned in the early 1920s as a desirable option, and we see throughout the 1930s an increasing tendency of the British authorities to take particular care of the hill population, especially in their ability for self-government, with the ultimate goal of paying taxes. During that period, the British carried out several ethnographically informed studies, generally referred to as the issue of 'Pagan Reorganisation'. MacFarlane's (1932) was the first, followed by that of Mathews (1934), but we will draw mainly here from the one by Eustace (1939), since his, being the last report, expresses an explicitly negative view of the montagnards' ongoing failure to practice self-governance in the British way. It also appears that the newly emerging local elite at Gwoza town had a different agenda from that of the British colonial officers.

Such a hidden agenda cannot be concluded alone from the colonial reports, but Dghwedè oral accounts around the killing of lawan Buba tell that story, especially concerning the question of whether there was a plan for an enforced downhill migration. This is at least what the comparison of oral and archival records of an increasingly sharper conflict over downhill migration suggests. The following describes how, during the 1930s and 1940s, the British tried to cater for the 'special needs' of the hill population, but failed, and seemed at the same

time oblivious of any such hidden agenda coming from the new Muslim elite whom they had established as indirect rulers in Gwoza town.

The issue of 'Pagan Reorganisation'

The issue of 'Pagan Reorganisation' was an ongoing administrative challenge for the British. The fear of political discrimination prompted them to allocate touring officers, and the plan was that they would mediate between newly created 'tribal councils' in the hills and the district head at Gwoza town. At the same time, a chima or 'messenger' was supposed to function as liaison officer between the bulama in the hills and the district head. Unfortunately, the idea did not work very well in reality, and the hope remained that downhill migration and conversion to Islam would eventually resolve the problem. For example, a memorandum from 1936⁶ calls for the abolishment of the position of chima altogether, since the 'village heads and elders of Johode' allegedly had not the slightest idea of some of the most elementary principles of tax collection, indicating that they left this task to the chima. Also, the taxes raised and the expenditure needed to cater for the 'special needs' of the montagnards did not add up. It included the cost of a permanently allocated British touring officer (Eustace, *ibid*). The longer term idea of establishing 'tribal councils' was also dropped, since it was soon realised that it was not something which could be achieved, as the hill population would not engage in administration.

Eustace (*ibid*) provides us with population figures in 1937 for the newly amalgamated Gwoza and Ashigashiya districts, with Yerima Yato in Gwoza now being the only district head:

Hill Pagans. 54,837 - 88%
Plain Pagans. 2,341 - 3.8%
Muslims. 4,928 - 8.2%

It is difficult to judge how realistic these figures are, but they do give us some impression of the situation at the time, with a proportionately very high percentage of 'Hill Pagans' in comparison to the 'Muslims', whom we infer lived mainly in the plain, presumably by then most of them in Gwoza and also in Kirawa and Ashigashiya. Also, Eustace's tone of engagement changes, as unlike Mathews or MacFarlane before him, he characterises the montagnards in rather derogatory terms (*ibid*):

The people are hill pagans, naked and uncircumcised, they are extremely backward and primitive. Untouched by Christianity, they remain unaffected by Islam, which has made no progress among them. Being incompatible with their mode of life - uncivilised and unashamed existence - its practice is not allowed in their communities. Pagans who have left the hills to see the world or obtain employment must, if they wish to return and live at home, discard their clothes and revert to paganism, acknowledging the sanctions and obligations of their clan.

Eustace finally presents a 'plan for the future' based on the conclusion that the 'Hill Pagans' were not able to self-administrate: in place of 'Tribal Councils' he proposes a 'Hill Pagan Advisory Council', relying mainly on developing a local elite via education, plus a 'Clan Council' based on a traditional institution known in Dghwede as *gidegal*. We will discuss the institution of *gidegal* later in a separate chapter of Part Three, but as it turns out, Eustace's idea of the 'Gidegal' was that of a pseudo-chiefly institution, while it was, according to our Dghwede oral sources, a kind of a majority based egalitarian institution of lineage elders, which had no chiefly functions whatsoever.

It seems that the plan to include the hill populations in the decision-making process of the administration of the district never really took off successfully. There were no traditional chiefly structures, not even on the level of clan leadership, which could have been used for 'Pagan self-government' in the British sense, and the bulamas (ward heads) remained the main administrative interface between Gwoza and the hill population. That this is a fair assessment

⁶ See Kaduna National Archives, reference: MaidProv-1035D

of the situation is also demonstrated by the fact that peace between the different ethnic groups remained a very fragile issue, particularly on the eastern plain. One can only speculate over the reasons, but one possible reason might have been that as a result of the combination of Gwoza and Ashigashiya district, with the new main headquarters now in Gwoza, the western plain was developing faster, and was, therefore, less vulnerable to conflict.

It is important to remember that Ashigashiya had been the main centre, and that Gwoza only took over from Ashigashiya during the 1930s. We should perhaps also remind ourselves that Gwoza only became independent from Madagali as the new centre in the western plain in 1922, and that it found support from the Lamang area to its south during the Gwoza raids of 1924. This new orientation presumably explains why the only suitable place to safely start a school to promote Western education for a new elite in Gwoza was Hambagda. Another point to make in this context, is that as a result the relationship between Korana Basa and Hambagda became quite close, which might explain why lawan Buba became village head of Gwoza quite early on. We also know that 'Gharguze', as a synonym for Korana Basa, was the name given for Gwoza, first mentioned by Zimmermann (1906) as 'Goso', which was then still under Madagali and Yola, with Hamman Yaji as district head.

Western education for the development of a new colonial local elite

The above shows how complex the history of Gwoza is, and how the division between Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, both under Gwoza, was affected by it, with a long history of links not only to what should later become Gwoza, but also Hambagda. If we take a look at Figure 3, we can see that Hambagda as an administrative unit shares a long boundary with Korana Basa, while Ghwa'a is orientated towards the eastern plain, but both had come under Gwoza. That the large parts of the hills north of Dghwede and the eastern plain remained unsettled meant that the school of Hambagda remained the only one in the district. This turned out to be of great advantage for the formation and subsequent recruitment of the newly emerging elite in Gwoza town. According to Eustace (1939), the school was founded in 1931, was staffed by Muslim Kanuri teachers, and was attended by about 40 boys from the foothills near Gwoza town. Eustace (ibid) points out that:

...there seems to be no danger of undue Muslim influence however, since there is no evidence to show that Islam holds any appeal in the hills. The relatively more enlightened pagans round Gwoza are not averse from sending their sons to school where they get a free meal, rather than they should be troublesome at home. Three of the boys have been sent to the Christian Mission Training Centre at Garkida, and when they return next year to be employed as local scribes or teachers, an increased desire for 'schooling' should result. The desirability of employing local talent for subordinate posts in the Native Administration has been accepted, and though these hill pagans can hardly be expected to appreciate the advantages of education as yet, increased educational facilities would not be redundant among such a large population. The common focus for all is the market or administrative centre, and it is there that education is most popular and has the greatest chance of success among these very independent hill pagan clans. Moreover it is readily accessible, and the schools belong to all the clans and not merely the clan where they are situated. This consideration also applies to medical work which is being carried on successfully by one Native Administration Dispensary near Gwoza.

Eustace subsequently reiterates how desirable it is to have locally educated elites to develop self-government via 'Clan Councils' and a 'Hill Pagan Advisory Council' in future, rather than recruiting staff from Dikwa. Considering that the Hambagda school was founded in 1931, while Eustace's negative outlook on establishing self-governance in the hills was written eight years later in 1939, we consider the 1940s as also not very successful in that respect. Nevertheless, Gwoza developed further into a prospering new centre, and people from the hills used the market. There was also quite significant spontaneous downhill migration, especially from the Zelidva spur, while the Dghwede massif, in particular Ghwa'a, remained intact as a terrace farming community, and we will see that Stanhope White lobbied intensely

for making the agricultural terraces, especially of Ghwa'a, into registered world heritage sites. Unfortunately his efforts were not successful and the drama of Ghwa'a started to unfold.

The failure of the 1950s resettlement scheme

The official planning of the resettlement scheme finally begins in 1950, though discussions about ongoing spontaneous downhill migration, with the consideration that this might facilitate administration of the hill population, was mentioned in previous reports. The scheme seems to be mainly concerned with montagnards who farm on the plains but still live in the hills, rather than officially resettling those who have already completely moved. At the same time, the British planning reports of 1950 explicitly point out that the resettlement process should be developed slowly, and that a failure should not be considered a mistake. It seems that the main objective was to bring about an organised process of downhill migration, but not to actively push the populations out of their settlements in the hills. However, it is mentioned in the planning reports that a more peaceful mode of life was envisaged, due to the chronic shortage of land in the hills. To achieve this, the development of 'tribal and village units' were projected, to begin within an area of 200 square miles to the west of the Zelidva spur. It was planned to set such an area aside for resettlement, and that it should be about three miles away from the contiguous foothills and plain area, since they were already densely populated by previous downhill migration. The clearing of bush, the building of roads, the digging of wells, and other infrastructural planning was estimated in cost, and the whole first phase of the resettlement scheme was projected to be completed within a couple of years⁷.

While spontaneous downhill migration continued, the planned activities to bring about more orderly resettlement did not happen. The migrants from the hills could not be directed, but continued to settle spontaneously. There was also the question of whether or not any person coming down to settle in the plains needed the permission of the district head of Gwoza. It seems that none of these questions could be answered to anyone's satisfaction, and in 1951 the fear was expressed by the British that the realisation of the planned resettlement project might still be a long time off. The proposal continued to remain on the local discussion level only, and the fear increased that ongoing conflict in the hill areas, due to overpopulation resulting in the shortage of land, could not be channeled into an organised resettlement scheme in the projected area to the west of the Zelidva spur. It is difficult to ascertain from the reports what the problems were, whether they were simply of a logistical or a financial matter, or whether they had to do with the fact that the montagnards just did not like to be reorganised in the way the British had hoped.

The situation had not changed in 1952 when Mr Stapleton, the chairman of the 'Northern Regional Production Development Board' (N.R.P.D.B.) visited Gwoza, and made another preliminary plan, only the area had now been reduced from the projected 200 to 140 square miles, to firstly develop a 'Pilot Scheme'. Mr Stapleton found that some of the originally projected bushlands were not suitable for agriculture, as they were waterlogged during the rainy season and had a serious lack of water in the dry season. He also pointed out that the montagnards did not like to be told where to build their houses, and that the scheme would have to be much less rigid in this respect. Mr Stapleton then recommended that instead of encouraging families from the hills, the pilot project should at first concentrate on families who were already settled in the vicinity, and encourage them to participate.

In mid-1952 it was finally acknowledged by the project planners that 'reluctance of the pagans to leave the hills' was an important reason why an orderly resettlement process could not be achieved, and that many of them would like to keep their hill farms, and considered a farm in the plain only as an 'outpost farm'. One particular reason given was the fact that the montagnards did not like to move so far out in the plains because they still had a sense of the hills being their main place of safety.

⁷ See Kaduna National Archives, reference: GwozaDistrict-176, vol. I

Before we discuss how the 1950s resettlement scheme unfolded practically, we will quote from a letter exchange known as 'The file *Gwoza Terracing*', showing how Stanhope White turned out to be one of the main voices to raise concerns about the resettlement scheme.

The file 'Gwoza Terracing' - Stanhope White and the stone wall terraces of Ghwa'a

In 1941, Stanhope White published an article on 'The Agricultural Economy of the Hill Pagans of Dikwa Emirate' (republished 1944 in *Farm and Forest*). In January 1951 he wrote a letter to The Secretary, Northern Province, Kaduna (1951), in which he expressed concern about the attempt of the 1950s resettlement scheme. The letter is entitled 'The Stone Wall Terraces of the Gwoza Area'. Stanhope White was obviously concerned about the increasing pressure to resettle the 'troublesome people' of the Gwoza hills, and explicitly warned about the environmental implications of this. He pointed out that his interest went back to the 1930s, and that he felt he wanted to start his letter, which is more like a report, with the conclusion of his article from ten years earlier, and which we quote below:

These people [of the Gwoza hills] are troublesome administratively, and it is therefore desirable [for reasons of administration] to persuade them to leave their rather inaccessible hills for the open and readily accessible plains. From a scientific point of view it is surely more desirable to take the long term point of view and to discourage the Pagan from leaving his terracing with its concomitant preservation of water supplies - preservation which undoubtedly affects a large area of the plains. Get these people on the plains and the terracing will go; bare hill sites will form; erosion will be accentuated on the plains and probably the water table will drop...

His 1951 report refers to the 'stupendous work of the Azgavana [Azaghvana] clan area is [as] probably unique'. He visited the area a second time in 1950/1951, by walking up from Vile rather than from Guduf, shortly before he wrote his letter. He also describes how much easier it was to access the hills in comparison to last time (in the late 1930s) and refers to rest houses now being built at various points in the hills. He tries to explain that the people of the Gwoza hills were very suspicious indeed and that it perhaps took a long time to engage them, but that it might well be worthwhile doing so, not only because of the environmental importance but also because of the national heritage the stone wall terraces represented. He points out that he realised during his two recent visits, that in comparison with the Guduf saddle for example, the terracing of the Ghwa'a (Johodo) massif was far more sophisticated, more so than the terracing further south of Ghwa'a, and as such of international importance, and describes it as follows from his second visit:

But, if the visitor will only climb the long and severe slope to the Asgavana [Azaghvana] clan area through Vile or adjacent villages he will realise with each upward step, the magnitude of the work which he begins to see behind him, and when he reaches Johode [Ghwa'a] the full magnitude of the work in all its breath taking splendour breaks upon him... I do not wish to be accused of exaggeration, but particularly in the Azgavana area, we have a work which may well fall into the class of the wonders of the world... But as I have said, it is only from the hilltops that this wonderful work can be appreciated and to reach there is a labour not lightly to be undertaken, by any but a Pagan or a young Assistant District Officer. I have pleaded in the past on the grounds of safeguarding water supplies and soil erosion that the terraces must be preserved, but I now consider that we may have here an eighth wonder of the world which must be preserved, while were it to be found in any easily accessible area, would be a show place.

Unfortunately, Stanhope White's appeal was unsuccessful, as the letter exchanges of what was known as the 'Gwoza Terracing' file, covering the period from 1951-1952, prove, and later letters in the same file continue until 1957, four years after the 'Gwoza Affair' of 1953.⁸

That means that the resettlement scheme went on its course as we describe below, leading, soon after Stanhope White's recommendation, to the killing of lawan Buba in the very place

⁸ Kaduna National Archives Nos: 131/2; P501/83; 463/8.6/21; 463/s.6/21; 2782/150; 2782/s.3/19; G.83/801A (the last two letters are from 1956 and 1957).

which he described only a couple of years previously as a possible eighth wonder of the world, which would be a showcase if it were not such a remote and unknown place.

In our next section we will see how things developed, and see that the attachment of the local people of Ghwa'a to their mountainous home was not just practical, but also emotional. We will learn later that the long term effect of this was very defeatist and traumatic, in particular for the people of Ghwa'a. They had experienced, a little less than thirty years earlier, how the slave raider turned district head Hamman Yaji came to their homeland, which for a long time they had thought was a fairly safe and independent place to live. The maintenance and care they had put into their agricultural terraces was more than just a technical achievement. Little did they know then of what was still to come, and that only about sixty years later the Boko Haram terror group would spread fear and death and also re-enslavement across the terraced hillsides. Again, not many took notice of that latest tragedy either!

Plate 13b: Ghwa'a terracing - still intact during my time (the photo was taken in 1998)



Limankara and Disa become the newly planned resettlement area

At the end of 1952 the original resettlement area to the west of the Zelidva spur was abandoned due to problems of flooding, and a new area was now projected to the south of Gwoza, between Limankara and Disa. The plan over the coming two or three years was to resettle between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants of the Gwoza hills to this more suitable area consisting of about 100 square miles. We are told in the report that the area would be divided into farmlands of 30 acres, each aligned in one or two rows with two acres preserved for the building of houses. The houses were planned to be at the front of the plots, so they would be opposite one another other along a long road, for easier administration. The new villages emerging from this plan were supposed to consist of homogeneous tribal units.

Unfortunately this new plan of an organised resettlement scheme did not take off either. The provision of settlers seemed to be the main obstacle, as becomes obvious in a report by the settlement officer, Mr Kershaw, entitled 'Gwoza Settlement Scheme: Provision of Settlers', written in December 1953. The report was written after the 'Gwoza Affair', which resulted in the already-mentioned killing of the retired lawan of Gwoza town in Ghwa'a. I will summarise the report as it provides an appropriate pretext for the next section.

Mr Kershaw expresses the view that the 'affair' (meaning the killing of lawan Buba) had a negative impact on all the other montagnard groups concerning the further recruitment of settlers to the scheme. His reasoning is that he disagreed with the official policy of including the 'Gidagal' and 'village councils' in the decision-making process of choosing prospective candidates for resettlement. He adds that the 'bulamas' and 'chimas' often had 'not the same official standing', and could therefore be easily sidelined by the elders. He implies that it would have been better instead to let the chimas and bulamas be instructed by the district head, concerning who should be chosen for resettlement. He believes that the 'councils of elders' were continuously in a conflict of interest with the village youth when it came to who among them should join the resettlement project. He therefore claims that the 'Gwoza Affair', back in September/October, had been a negative example to the other groups, such as the Gvoko, because they had been given too much choice via these 'councils'. He thought that the incident in 'Johode' should have remained a 'Gwoza Affair' alone, and was 'very pessimistic' as to whether they would now be able to recruit even up to 50 settlers as originally planned, to start the pilot scheme with them. Mr Kershaw explicitly points out that this is his personal view, and that he has no wish at all to object to the official policy.

Whatever the reason for the ongoing failure of the settlement scheme, Mr Kershaw presumably had a valid point to make, though we might not agree with his indirect suggestion that it would have been better to continue to recruit new settlers by 'earmarking' them from Gwoza. We will see below that the situation was much more complex than Mr Kershaw assumed. For example, at the end of 1954, after the killing of lawan Buba, a new plan had been discussed in which the foothill populations were encouraged to settle further west, and the hill populations move into the adjacent plains nearer to the hills once this was achieved. The reason behind this was the realisation that the montagnards would not agree to settle far beyond the foothills for fear of losing their links with the hills. We do not know whether this proposal took off, since this would have meant that existing traditional land ownership along the foothills would have to be renounced.⁹

However in November 1955 there were no more than 42 settlers recruited for the resettlement scheme west of Limankara. The same report also mentions an incident in which the district head of Gwoza had ordered 'mixed farmers at Limankara... to work for a day on the D.H.'s farm... no payment in cash or kind was made for this work.' The new resettlement officer, Richard Coofer, wrote that he decided not to cancel this order for the sake of the district head's prestige, but spoke to the district head about it. The district head complained about his criticism and said that other district heads were not so closely supervised.

That the resettlement officer did not take this matter further indicates that the climate had changed in Gwoza, and that the district head was no longer seen as a 'political agent' of the touring officer, but that a new elite was about to take shape of which the montagnards were likely to become the victims. In light of such a hypothesis, the killing of lawan Buba in Ghwa'a could be interpreted as a violent rebellion against the ongoing process of ethnic

⁹ We do know now that the Dghwedè of Korana Basa have their official resettlement area today near the foothills, and that such a conflict actually still existed during my time, since people from Korana Basa had moved beyond their delimited area into Vile. By then, the people of Ghwa'a seemed to have completely given up moving into the western plains, but had settled instead extensively in the eastern adjacent plain. Unfortunately, land is very limited there due to the international boundary nearby, and there were also ongoing conflicts with the Chikidè over boundaries in the eastern plain. In addition, the Dghwedè and Chikidè massif was still quite densely populated at that time, which would have defeated the argument of the British in the 1930s that the hills might be depopulated after one generation. We can assume that this idea was already defeated in the 1950s, when the hill population continued to grow in number and made the resettlement scheme more urgent. However, uncontrolled downhill migration remained the preferred option for the Montagnards, in particular their need to maintain close links with their homeland in the hills.

disempowerment by Gwoza. The originally well-meant attempt of the British to engage the montagnards into self-governance appears to have turned sour in the whole process.

The killing of lawan Buba - or the 'Gwoza Affair'

In the following, we will compare two versions of events. One is the official report of the British about the incident, and the other consists of an eyewitness account by wahili Tada Nzige of Ghwa'a from 2005, who in 1953 was one of the bulamas of Ghwa'a.

We begin with the British documentation of what is known as the 'Gwoza Affair'¹⁰, which consists of a whole range of reports and letters which I will summarise and quote as to how the whole affair was perceived, documented, and dealt with. The incident happened on Saturday the 10th of October 1953, and the divisional officer in Bama, Mr McClintock, reported two days later to the resident of Borno what he was told by the touring officer, Mr Rounthwaite:

It appears that four men of Johode [Ghwa'a] village, the highest village south [southeast] of Gwoza, were recruited for the Resettlement scheme, and duly went into Gwoza and were each given a gown by the District Head as a token of recruitment. They returned to Johode and nothing more was heard of them. In consequence, two respected persons: Lawan Buba (one time Village Head of Gwoza, and now an unsalaried but respected representative of the District Head) and Baraya, official Messenger of the District Head to the clan to which Johode belongs, were sent by the District Head to Johode to make inquiries. They found one of the men, and were looking for the others when they were attacked and stoned by a crowd of two hundred. When the stoning became very severe they retreated from the Rest House where they had taken refuge, and Lawan Buba ran into a house beside the road; Baraya was trapped outside the house by the crowd who continued to stone him. Baraya however had a gun with him as he had heard that feeling was high in Johode; he does not always take this gun with him but has done so previously without troublesome results; he now fired this gun and escaped through the parting in the crowd which this caused. He was chased for some way and the crowd then returned to the house where Lawan Buba had taken refuge, and began to pull it down. Lawan Buba then, with some dignity, came outside covered with cuts and stabs, and was promptly done to death.

This first report goes on to describe that the trouble started when the prospected settlers returned to Ghwa'a with their gowns and were subsequently forced to surrender these gowns by threats from their people, and then declared that they would not join the resettlement scheme. The report also indicates that other villages had joined Ghwa'a, though only those of the same clan, and that they were trying to get arrow poison from the Mafa to prepare for the arrival of law and order. Mr McClintock points out that the attack was jeopardising the resettlement scheme since the trouble had risen directly from the refusal to join due to 'opposition of the bulk of their clansmen', and that it was important not to 'allow this attitude to pass unnoticed' in order to safeguard the future success of the scheme. Mr McClintock, therefore, planned to visit Ghwa'a himself to find out more. He planned to approach with a police escort from Kwalika, while another officer would block a possible escape to 'French territory' in the east.

The events unfolding now are detailed in the inquiry report of the disturbances a couple of months later, in late January 1954, which I will summarise and quote if necessary. The inquiry was conducted for fifteen days during November/December, during which evidence was also heard in Ghwa'a, where about half of the male population chose three responsible persons among them to submit reasons why the village as a whole got involved. The report consists of 25 pages, including a sketch map of the Gwoza hills. One can see from the report that the British authorities took the killing of lawan Buba very seriously and were trying to be as objective as possible.

¹⁰ See Kaduna National Archives, reference: MaidProf-1538, vol. II

A week before the submission of the report, on 17th January, 'The Collective Punishment (Johode Village) Order, 1954' had been issued, in which it was established that:

Lawan Buba was unlawfully killed by a number of persons unknown and the inhabitants of the Village of Johode in the Gwoza District aforesaid failed to use all reasonable means to bring the offender to justice: And whereas the inhabitants of the said Village of Johode themselves admit their guilt and no section of the population has sought to exonerate itself from blame, although ample opportunity has been afforded them...

A collective fine of £80 was imposed on all inhabitants, and blood money, at the standard rate of five cows, was deducted from the fine and paid to the relatives of lawan Buba.

The subsequent inquiry report begins by referring to the Gwoza hills as an 'Unsettled District' since the beginning of British administration, and then describes its peoples and their history in general, followed by an introduction to Ghwa'a, referring to it as a closely-knit community. The report says that they had always been very reliable as taxpayers, but also describes them as being 'strongly conservative in outlook':

In this hill area, whose history has always been a turbulent one, live over 64,000 volatile Pagans in a rudimentary state of development... The Azaghavana [Azaghvana] is the largest of the hill Clans, and Johode, with 478 adult male tax-payers, is the largest of its eleven villages... Johode Village itself is divided into four hamlets, each with a hamlet head. The two senior hamlet heads receive a small monthly salary and are in addition members of the Pagan Court which meets twice a week at Gwoza. ...the pagans rarely build their compounds within 50 yards of one another with the result that their dwellings are widely dispersed...

The Azaghavana Clan, unlike many of the others, has a long record of peacefulness, and indeed not since 1951 when a military patrol was sanctioned for use against it has it given trouble. In the event, the Village of Johode made its submission before the arrival of the patrol, which was then used on the east and south-east sides of the hills. Since that date the Clan has co-operated to the full with the administration; its few law-breakers have always been promptly surrendered and its annual tax paid without difficulty. It is, however, strongly conservative in outlook and efforts in post-war years to introduce vaccination campaigns, superphosphate fertiliser and the poisoning of baboons have all met with obstinate resistance.

The responsibility for the administration of Gwoza District lies with the District Head, Galdima Boyi¹¹, aided by his five Village Group Heads all of whom are Muslims... An administrative Officer is stationed at Gwoza as Touring Officer for the area, under the Divisional Officer at Bama, and has a detachment of twenty Nigeria Police to act as an escort in the Unsettled District.

The resettlement scheme is introduced next, followed by a description of the circumstances of lawan Buba's visit to Ghwa'a and an account of the events during the disturbances on the 10th of October:

In brief the scheme is designed to encourage the Pagan farmer to leave his hills, where in spite of all his agricultural ability he derives only with difficulty a living from the soil...

In September three men of Johode were selected to join... The District Head, however, subsequently learned that on their return to Johode these men had been dissuaded from joining the scheme... Because the district head and village head of Gwoza were otherwise engaged, he selected one Lawan Buba as a substitute. Lawan Buba was a fellow-clansman of the Johode people, although he had descended to the plains and embraced the Muslim faith some twenty-five years previously. He had been for many years the Village Head of Gwoza, but his dismissal from this post some three years ago for minor peculation had not affected the very high regard in which he was held by the Pagans. Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that in Gwoza District the prestige of the District Head alone exceeded his. The second representative was one Baraya. He was born in Kunde... and for the last 18 months has been recognised as the District Head's usual messenger to Johode village.

Lawan Buba, Baraya, and three followers by name Nege, Umaru and Varra, left Gwoza at dawn to climb to Johode to ascertain the reasons why the three volunteers for the Settlement Scheme had

¹¹ Yerima Jato retired in 1947 on a pension. He had succeeded Sarking Yaki in 1927, and in 1939 became the first district head of Gwoza and Ashigashiya combined.

not yet come down to the plains. It is normal practice to go armed in the Unsettled Districts, and although they were not anticipating trouble, Lawan Buba was armed with a short sword, Baraya with a Dane gun, and the three followers with bows and arrows, and one of the followers also had a spear.

On arriving at Johode the whole party sat down at the Rest House for a rest. After an interval Baraya went to call Lude [Lude Gatapa], one of the settlers who lived nearby, and the three followers were sent to call the four hamlet heads of Johode and the two remaining settlers. Of the settlers Lude duly came, but the other two had gone to work on their farms and could not be found. Lawan Buba then sent the hamlet head to call some of the elders whilst he and the rest of the Gwoza party searched again for the other two settlers. This search was unsuccessful but Dowa [Dawa Gaghuda], the brother of one of the settlers, was found and the party returned with him to a meeting place about half a mile to the east of the Rest House where the hamlet heads and some half-a-dozen elders were now awaiting them. Whilst Lawan Buba was talking to the elders, Dowa, taking fright, seized the opportunity to run away, and so it was decided to find his wife who was known to be in a house about three-quarters of a mile away (it is sometimes the practice of the Gwoza Pagan Court to apprehend the wife of a malefactor, as very frequently he will surrender himself in consequence). Two of the followers were despatched to call the woman in question, but when they arrived at the house they found a beer party in session attended by some forty persons. They approached the owner of the compound who said that if they would wait, the woman would come in due course, but that at the moment she was busy preparing food. The followers accordingly sat down and waited. After some time had elapsed Baraya and the hamlet heads arrived to ascertain the reasons for the delay; the former was anxious to set fire to the house but was dissuaded. He then called for the owner of the compound, Wasuwe, and demanded that the girl be handed over. On being given an evasive answer he struck Wasuwe several times and the girl, with a small child on her back, was then forcibly brought out from the house, and the whole party returned to where Lawan Buba was awaiting them. The girl was meantime giving the cry for help. Such a cry is a most serious matter amongst the Pagans and is never disregarded. As a result, the beer party broke up in disorder and the majority of the guests returned to their houses in a considerably excited state of mind to obtain their weapons with the intention of trying to effect a rescue. A breach of peace appeared imminent and the Gwoza party and the four hamlet heads decided to go back to the Rest House with the girl and Lude, but first Baraya tied Lude's hands to his sides to prevent him from escaping. When Lude complained he had his face slapped. As the party returned they heard the war horns being blown and a large number of men (estimated at over 200), many of whom were armed, began to pursue them shouting threats. At the Rest House a halt was made and attempt was made to parley. The two prisoners were released, but the attitude of the villagers remained belligerent and Baraya fired his gun into the air one imagines in the hopes of frightening them. Seeing, however, that nobody was hurt by this the villagers began their pursuit again and the party set off for home as quickly as possible. The pace, however, was too fast for Lawan Buba, who was very much older than any of his companions, and after about half-a-mile he seized a spear from one of the followers and said that he would take refuge in Gazawa's house (one of the hamlet heads). This he did. The pursuit swept by shouting threats particularly against Baraya, but his lead was sufficient for him and the remainder of the party to reach the neighbouring village of Kurana Basa unscathed. The villagers, whose tempers were by now thoroughly aroused, returned to Gazawa's house where Lawan Buba was known to be sheltering. An effort by Gazawa to pacify them was brushed aside, and he and the other three hamlet heads, who were on a rock a hundred yards or so away, were attacked and also forced to flee to Kurana Basa. Meantime Lawan Buba too was being attacked, and faced by impossible odds and already severely wounded he came out of the house with considerable gallantry to meet his death in the open. Later two of the villagers carried the body a short way down to the Gwoza path. There it was found by the hamlet head of Kurana Basa who had heard of the trouble and had come to investigate. The body was a mass of wounds from the chest upwards with the head almost severed from the trunk. He took it into his own village area and handed it over that evening to the men of Gwoza, who had hurriedly climbed the hill on receipt of the news, with the sensible advice that they should return immediately to Gwoza and that they should not enter Johode. This advice was accepted.

After killing Lawan Buba the villagers of Johode burned down the Government Rest House and the District Head's house there, and in expectation of early reprisals began to hide their livestock and to slaughter those animals which could not be hidden.

The report continues to describe the subsequent events, consisting of a further unsuccessful night-time attack of 'six to twelve men' from Ghwa'a on the camp of a police escort, which had arrived via Kwalika with Mr Rees joining them the same evening in Ghwa'a, where they had established themselves on 14th October at the place of the burnt down rest house. Between 15th and 18th October, it became clear 'that a state of revolt existed in some villages in the area there was a considerable danger that the trouble might spread throughout the hills'. While Mr McClintock requested police reinforcements from the resident in Maiduguri, the main duty of the force at Ghwa'a 'was to prevent the disturbances from spreading':

...the hamlet heads of all the other villages of the clan [were called] to the rest house where they would be warned that the very gravest view would be taken of any attempt on their part to render assistance to Johode. This policy was successful in that representatives of nine of the ten villages concerned reported to the Rest House... although it was suspected that passive assistance was still being given to Johode by three villages to the south-east, viz. Kunde, Hembe and Geltaure [Gathaghure].¹²

Every day various parts of the deserted village of Johode were entered by an Administrative Officer with his police escort, and as a punitive measure the grass roofs of the compounds of seven persons, who had been declared by the hamlet heads to be ringleaders of the insurrection, were burned.

The senior hamlet head of Ghwa'a, 'Bulama Fulata', was ordered to contact 'the villagers, perched on their hilltops...' and to reassure them 'that no physical hurt would result to any person who gave himself up...', but their attitude 'remained obdurate and even deviant...':

Indeed, any person venturing to leave the camp without a police escort was liable to be set upon, as is borne out by the fact that three separate attacks were made on carriers using the path to Gwoza. Nor did a police escort necessarily ensure immunity, for on one occasion Mr. Rounthwaite and four constables were the targets of a volley of stones.

On the 17th October the Resident, Mr F. Humphreys, visited Johode in person to review the situation. He had already telegraphed for police reinforcements... Twenty-five Nigeria Police reinforcement arrived at Gwoza from Jos on the 17th October... Next day they climbed to Johode where they arrived in the evening.

From the lack of progress made it had also become apparent that the hamlet heads of Johode no longer retained the confidence of their villagers. It was therefore decided to make all further surrender negotiations through the influential hamlet heads of Chikkide [Chikide], the neighbouring village to the north, and through a Native Administration policeman, himself a native of Johode. This new approach immediately began to yield dividends and the first individual surrenders were made by eleven persons on 20th October, but there was an unfortunate setback later in the day when an attack was made on a carrier [Dan Wanzami by name], who subsequently [on the 27th October] died of his wounds.

This attack had once again delayed surrender negotiations, but slow progress was still being made through the determined efforts of Gadi Maiduguri, (the N.A. policeman), who deserves the highest praise, not only for his courage in venturing unarmed amongst the villagers, but also for his tact and patience. Parallel negotiations were also proceeding through the District Head at Gwoza, and the end was in sight when on 24th October two parties totaling close to sixty persons made their individual surrenders to Mr Rounthwaite at Johode. Next day an official delegation of elders, representatives of the whole village, met Mr McClintock and the District Head by arrangement at Guduf, a village lying three miles to the north of Johode, to ask for terms. In the words of Mr. McClintock: ... "They expressed sincere and deep repentance and I then accepted their surrender on the following terms:

... [1] That everybody was to return to the village at once. [2] That they should immediately repair the Rest House and the District Head's house in Johode. [3] That next Sunday, the 1st November, all the elders would come to Gwoza and express their full repentance in front of the Pagan Court. [4] That their punishment was a matter for the Courts to decide and that they must obey the orders of the Court which would be conveyed to them in course."

¹² See Figure 8a to compare with our oral history of traditional war alliances in Chapter 3.2.

At the same time a further deputation of twenty-eight persons including six influential elders were offering their surrender at Johode. In the evening of that day half the police detachment returned to Gwoza... The remainder of the force followed early next day, their departure being watched in a perfectly cordial atmosphere by some thirty villagers who had come to the Rest House, thus indicating that affairs were rapidly returning to normal.

The report subsequently attempts a first examination of the possible reasons for the disturbances, stating that 'the full facts may not yet have been revealed... It did, however, soon become apparent that one of the main underlying reasons for their behaviour was their [Dghwedē of Ghwa'a] basic distrust of the Re-Settlement Scheme'. Interestingly, the report continues by pointing out 'that in its original form the Scheme was never intended for the Azaghvana Clan...':

It was at the outset intended for the Clans either further to the north or on the western foothills who were, unlike the Azaghavanas, descending of their own volition in large numbers to farm on the plains; but when it was found that the only suitable agricultural land lay to the south in what might be called the Azaghavana zone of influence, then it seemed only reasonable that they should be offered first refusal of it. Unfortunately, however, the true purpose of the Scheme does not appear to have been fully comprehended by them, and rumours circulated extensively throughout the hills to the effect that the Clans would be forced to descend to the plains en bloc where they would revert to slave status.

The report continues to discuss the reasons behind those 'rumours' but cannot discover any evidence for 'malicious intent'. The district head knew about the rumours and the 'widespread malaise in the hills' caused by them, and allegedly intended 'to counter this to the best of his ability during the wet season'. Unfortunately, according to the report, the district head had been ill between June and September, and when he returned to his duties he allegedly rushed the recruitment process of 35 settlers '...and as a result some of the recruits, including those from Johode, were nominees rather than volunteers'.

The report then lays most of the blame on Baraya, the chima (messenger) of the district head, and the senior hamlet head of Ghwa'a, 'Bulama Fulata', plus his three fellow hamlet heads. The report informs us that the three elected spokesmen of the Dghwedē of Ghwa'a, who gave evidence on behalf of the community, made this allegation:

...all these three men claimed that for the last three years the Senior Hamlet Head, Bulama Fulata, later to be aided and abetted by his three fellow hamlet heads and by messenger Baraya, had been levying taxes on the villagers and behaving in a generally autocratic manner. The spokesmen further stated that they had recently decided to lay their grievances before the touring Officer and the District Head, but that as the normal channel of approach was through those very hamlet heads against whom they were complaining they were in a quandary as to how to implement their decision.

The report concludes that lawan Buba was unlawfully killed whilst representing the district head of Gwoza on duty in the village. Because the villagers themselves admitted their guilt and no section of the population had sought to exonerate itself from blame, section 4(I) of the already mentioned 'Collective Punishment Ordinance' was applied, allowing for the mitigating factors of which we quote the following two:

(a) The provocation given to the villagers by their hamlet heads and Baraya both during the past months and, particularly in the case of Baraya, immediately prior to the killing of Lawan Buba.

(b) The distrust and suspicion engendered by the rumours [of forced descend] circulating about the Pilot Re-Settlement Scheme.

The inhabitants of Ghwa'a were 'fined the sum of £80' and 'blood money, at the standard rate of five cows' to lawan Buba's relatives which would be deducted from the fine. It was also recommended that:

(a) Baraya be tried before a competent Native Court for provoking a breach of the peace at Johode on 10th October, 1953.

(b) Every effort be made to bring justice to those persons responsible for the death of Dan Wanzami.

The report continues by pointing out:

...that the hamlet heads of Johode no longer retain the confidence of their villagers, and it is therefore recommended that they be dismissed by the Dikwa Native Authority and that the villagers be given the opportunity to submit names of new hamlet heads of their own choosing for official confirmation.

Concerning the continuation of the resettlement scheme, the report reemphasises:

...that in spite of the disturbances at Johode the fifteen original settlers have remained unmoved and have been joined by seven more volunteers. This recruitment is considerably less than the 35 that had originally been hoped for..., but it is not felt that it need be the cause for undue despondency. The main cause for the set-back would appear to lie in the fact that the basic purposes of the Scheme have not yet been fully understood by the Pagans. It is therefore recommended that rather than attempt the pace of recruitment, the immediate policy should be a campaign by the District Head and Touring Officer to give detailed explanations of these basic purposes. Instances have already been given of the extremely conservative outlook of the Azaghavana Clan, and unless the co-operation of the Pagans is first obtained, free and peaceful progress is unlikely to result.

Before we assess the British intervention in Ghwa'a, we will give an oral account of the events leading up to 10th October, and the circumstances of the killing of Lawan Buba as witnessed by Wahili Tada Nzige. It appears that Tada Nzige was one of the hamlet heads accused, in the report by district officer McClintock, of misrepresenting the people of Ghwa'a. Tada Nzige's account is possibly not correct in all areas, but is quite explicit on the methods used by the representatives of the district head of Gwoza when 'recruiting' volunteers for the resettlement scheme. The account alleges brutal beatings of the new 'recruits' in Gwoza town, which throws light on the nature of the methods used at the time, and are in quite sharp contrast to what is said in McClintock's report. We will retell Tada Nzige's account by concentrating mainly on those methods, followed by his memoir of what took place on the day when Lawan Buba was killed.

Tada Nzige's oral account of the 'Gwoza Affair'

According to Tada Nzige, the shehu of Bama advised the district head of Gwoza that people from the hills should be resettled in the plains for easier administration. Following this advice the bulamas from the hills were ordered to Gwoza, from where they proceeded to Bama. In Bama they were addressed by the shehu (meaning most likely a representative of the shehu). They were told that the people of the Gwoza hills should be resettled at 'Gwalaga' (near Limankara). They were asked twice whether they would agree to this, which they did through fear, so Tada Nzige said. Now each of them was given 60 Naira, with exception of three people who refused the money. According to Tada Nzige, he himself was one of the three. The bulamas from Dghwedè, who had been taken to Bama, were seven altogether, of whom two were from Kunde, two from Korana Basa, and three from Ghwa'a. Next they all came back to Gwoza and Tada Nzige continues as follows:

When we came back to Gwoza we had to sit down again. Every bulama was now asked to present a candidate for moving down to Gwalaga. Each of us mentioned one and those who refused were given lashes. It was Labula Barde [most likely an employee of the district head of Gwoza] who carried out the beatings. Two were unable to control their bowels and shovels were brought in and they had to remove their faeces. Among the names given was Pakuda Gadanga from Dzga but because he was brewing much beer for *har ghwe* [a religious sacrifice to the deceased father of a man] he was taken off the list and Kwawa Gaghuda of Dzga was listed instead. Lawa Vike Gadagwaya, the bulama of Kunde, was given lashes because he was too slow in coming up with a name. He too lost control of his bowels as a result of the beating. He then named Ndakue Gakura which caused an argument between the bulamas and bulama Hawa of Korana Basa said: 'Why do you give a name of a close relative, can't you see that the other bulamas don't do that?' The name

was subsequently changed to Nighine Gazuwire of Kunde. Next bulama Zanga Tada of Kunde was asked to give a candidate. He said he was only standing in for someone else as bulama and gave this bulama's name, which was Njada Gasagwa.

Next, we were told to go back home and tell our people to come down to Gwoza for compulsory labour. The day the people went it was raining. When they arrived in Gwoza those who had been named were singled out and the rest were sent back home because of the rain. The bulamas went down the next day and found the people who had been separated at the district head's house. Lude Gatapa and Tada Gli'a of Ghwa'a were two of them. We were asked whether those were the people we had named as candidates, which we confirmed.

Now the recruits were given clothes to wear. Tada Tarkwa refused to wear the dress given to him and he started fighting instead. Hawa, senior bulama from Korana Basa, said to him 'Who are you to fight me, you are only a slave' and then he was beaten. All three recruits from Ghwa'a: Kwawa Gaghuda, Lude Gatapa, and Tada Gli'a, and also those from Kunde, put on the dresses.

Next Musa Gadaga [an employee at the district head's house] and three policemen and prison service workers put us all into an automobile and drove us to the resettlement scheme in Gwalaga. They told the recruits that this land would be for them and after they had settled the rest of Dghwedé should follow them. They agreed and we all went back to the hills and dispatched to our various homes.

The following day a meeting took place at Bla Ganage's house in Ghwa'a. The candidates for Gwalaga told the Dghwedé people that he had agreed to settle in Gwalaga after they had been arrested. They also said that all Dghwedé must be resettled down there. Next, they took off the dresses which had been given to them and left them in Plata Gaskwe's house, who was the biggest bulama in Ghwa'a.

At the time Bla Ganage was still a 'dawkara' [an assistant bulama] and was celebrating *har ghwe* [sacrifice of a he-goat for the deceased father]. All the bulamas and their helpers [the chima and dawkara] had gone there to drink beer. Bla Ganage gave us a big pot of beer and *alla ghuz'a* [a mixture of goat blood and sour milk]. However, we could not eat and drink in peace because the candidates for resettlement came and started fighting us. Lude Gatapa was the one who destroyed the beer pot. We went to Warige Gakwaza's house, also a dawkara, to find new beer but Kwawa Gaghuda, another candidate, destroyed the beer pot. He was supported by other Dghwedé. Now we went to Lak Gajuguma's house [also a dawkara] but the candidates followed us and stopped us from enjoying the beer.

We eventually managed to send someone to Guduf to get beer and drank it but we were fed up and called Kufa Gahutsa from Gwoza to come and collect the dresses and take them back to Gwoza, also those from the candidates from Kunde. Kufa was also a dawkara and when he returned to Gwoza he explained that the bulamas were facing trouble in Ghwa'a, and that the candidates refused to go to Gwalaga. Now the district head informed lawan Buba to climb up to Ghwa'a to investigate.

Three days later lawan Buba arrived and assembled the bulamas. I was informed by Gazawa ga Lima, also bulama in Ghwa'a, that I should call Plata Gaskwa. We went up to Barike [meaning barracks and is presumably a reference to the governmental rest house in Klala, near today's market place of Ghwa'a] and lawan Buba told us to call on the elders to discuss the disagreement.

Lawan Buba had arrived with eight others from Gwoza town. They had already arrested Lude Gatapa, and Lude's brother Nzava Gadangwadha was crying 'Why have they arrested Lude?' who was tied by a rope to a tree. Among the elders they called Mbicha Gadga, Kalakwa Gadawa, Dzuguma Gahwaza, Nzawa Gazawada, Ghadak Gambiye, Yadaka Katiwire, Fik Gavamile and Nguzd Gafila.

Lawan Buba ordered us bulamas to go and find the candidates but neither of us responded to his orders. Now lawan Buba himself went to find Kwawa Gaghuda but could not find him and arrested his brother, Dawa Gaghuda, instead. Next, lawan Buba called on Tada Ghli'a but he could not be found. After this, we all gathered at Gida Madawa [a rock near Tada Nzige's house where also this interview took place, in Buhe at Ghwa'a].

Now lawan Buba addressed the elders and said: 'You know how serious this matter is? Why did you advise your children to run away and hide?' The elders responded that they had not advised them in this matter and that they were too old to go around and advise them. Some elders were

pouring sand on their backs [this meant that they were asking for mild punishment]. Lawan Buba answered that the issue of resettlement had not come from him but others. He said: 'You built the district head's house in Gwoza and now you don't want to settle in the plain. When we asked your children to go to school, you refused to give out your children. Coming up into the hills is very difficult. Do you want to live in a primitive way or do you want to be educated?' Lawan Buba put all these questions to the elders who answered that all they wanted was to be free from the Plat-ha [Fulbe of Madagali, also in memory of Hamman Yaji's raids]. Lawan Buba again mentioned Gwalaga and that they could live there very comfortably.

Next, lawan Buba was asking for water. Kalakwa Gandukwa brought water for him. After lawan Buba finished drinking, Dawa Gaghuda, who had been arrested on behalf of his brother, also asked for water but lawan Buba and his companions answered in Fulani: 'Who will give you water, are you not only a prisoner, which water shall we give you?' Dawa now said: 'Am I really a prisoner?' Since he was not tied up he ran away. Lawan Buba asked the bulamas to catch him but they didn't succeed.

Next, the bulamas went to the house of Dawa's father-in-law who was celebrating *har ghwe*. They knew that Dawa's wife was there. Baraya Ngargwa, who was part of lawan Buba's entourage, shot his powdered gun. The people inside the house, who were already in the middle of their religious celebration, were interrupted by the shooting of the gun outside the house. Some tried to jump out of the house in a panic. Baraya forced his way in and got hold of Dawa's wife in the kitchen. He dragged her out while the bulamas and the rest were waiting outside. As a result of the gunshot, everybody in the village now knew that the trouble had started.

When the bulamas and lawan Buba's helpers moved back where lawan Buba was waiting they could hear a flute. Fulata, the bulama of Ghwa'a, asked what the flute was for, and they said that it was for condolence in Chikidè [this was presumably said to distract him]. Before they knew people moved in groups towards them, calling out: '*Khina, khina, khina, khina*', meaning 'Today is today, today is today'. Bulama Fulata started to panic, and Umar Ganjikwa and Nage Gahawa, both members of lawan Buba's entourage, fled as well. They ran towards Barike, which is the place where they stayed when they came up from Gwoza and the Dghwede groups followed them, shouting '*Khina, khina, khina, khina*'.

Lawan Buba's entourage shot another powdered gun towards the Dghwede attackers but they were hiding between the fields of beans and millet. Khwisa Gadava, one of the bulamas of Ghwa'a, said to the other bulamas: 'We better find our way or else these people will not leave us'. Tada Njga Nguva from Dzga now got hold of bulama Fulata's stick and broke it. Stones were thrown at them like rain. The other Gaske rainmakers of Ghwa'a started beating Tada Nzige. The people of the Ga-Jata lineage beat bulama Fulata and bulama Gazawa because they were from their lineage. The Gangaladiwe lineage beat Dzutha Katiwa and bulama Pagha had to run into a house because he was beaten with a big stick by Gwaya Gadanga.

They encircled the bulamas and lawan Buba and his entourage, throwing stones and fighting them. Lawan Buba tried to escape into one house but before he could enter, someone threw a stick on the back of his head. He was about to fall and Tada Nzige held him up on his shirt from behind. He went with him into the house.

People were about to kill bulama Fulata but Prsa Gagaya, a man from Ghwa'a, laid on top of him to protect him. Bulama Dzutha Katiwa was almost dying. All the bulamas were naked now because their clothes had been ripped off. All bulamas escaped to Gwoza, being naked.

They also wanted to kill Tada Nzige but because he was a rainmaker they only kept him in rainmaker Ghamb Gagwaya's house. If the whole of Ghwa'a had responded to the call to attack, nobody would have survived, but it was only Dzga who carried out the attack [the reason was presumably that the arrested woman was from Dzga, including her father and her husband].

The first person to shoot lawan Buba with an arrow was Mik Gaparda from Dzga. Tada Nj'ga Nguva cut with a sword into his left arm. Ghi'a Gacemine shot him into the back. Kurima cut him with a sword. The other arm was cut into by Nukwe Gaparda. Lawan Buba injured Ruta Kalakwa on his hand and Ruta Kalakwa threw him down.

Yarima Nage Gahawa, a member of the entourage, shouted from a nearby rock towards Gharguze [Korana Basa] to Mbica Gargwa: 'They have killed us and they have killed lawan Buba, give us

water.' Next Shiwa Gakatsa in Korana Basa blew his *ghramba* [a big flute] and shouted back: 'Kill them all! Don't allow a single one of them to escape.'

The following three people, Varangwa, Hwa, and Rahafte, all members of the entourage, did not know where to run first. Galdawa Gaku'ale came over from Korana Basa and tried to spear them. Hawa and Rakafke could not come back to Korana Basa, where they had been bulamas.

Next the people from Gwoza came up to take the corpse of lawan Buba. When people heard about his death, every house in Gwoza was mourning. The bulamas too had escaped to Gwoza where the district head had to buy them new clothes. However, they had to hide there, fearing revenge from lawan Buba's family. Dr Chandler, the doctor at the Gwoza hospital, had to treat the injured bulamas.

Seven days after the burial of lawan Buba, before the seventh day, they had written a letter for soldiers and white officers to come. A total of 1060 came to be stationed at Gwoza. The bulamas and the soldiers came up to Ghwa'a via Kwalika and through Gharguze [Korana Basa]. The officers exercised the soldiers in Kwalika. When they came to Drime [a part of Hudimche] they conducted another exercise. The soldiers were told not to take side with Ghwa'a. They proceeded to Gharaza. There the officers also ensured the support of Gharaza. Now they were calling for the people of Ghwa'a but nobody was at home.

Next Gade Maiduguri, a Dghwedè man who lived in Gwoza, met Ndawa Gakhwisa of Ghwa'a who was hiding in a *tsukwana* [a ficus variety]. However, Ndawa was not arrested and therefore went home. Sangwite Gatapa was also called and asked to call back his people to which he agreed. There was a nice white officer present [presumably Mr Rees]. Sangwite went up to call for his people at Durghwe [mountain shrine in Ghwa'a], but they refused to come. The officers said to Sangwite that he would only set fire to seven houses, and that all they wanted was to know why they killed lawan Buba. Sangwite went around to call for people but they refused to come.

Now they set fire to seven houses. After that, they settled in Barike and the bulamas were with them. They killed a large number of sheep and goats to feed the soldiers. Wurawa Gandama's cow did run from the Guduf side, where it had been hidden, and it was also killed and consumed. Some of the property of the people of Klala [in Ghwa'a] were taken away by people from Korana Basa.

Around midnight nine stubborn Dghwedè men came and started shouting and threw stones at the soldiers. The whole place was in confusion as a result. Some people tried to escape to the white officer's place [presumably a tent]. The white officers now decided to set fire to many houses around.

Eventually, a few elders came with leaves on their back [indicating that they were like women and ready to surrender]. The officers addressed the elders and told them to call for their people. They warned them not to repeat such a thing again and that they should re-roof the barracks. Next, the officers and soldiers went down to Gwoza, including the bulamas from the hills. The soldiers had been stationed in Ghwa'a for 13 days.

Tada Nzige went to settle in Korana Basa for three years. Bulama Fulata spent seven years in Gwoza before he was called back home to Ghwa'a. Dzutha Katiwa spent nine years in Gwoza before he came back. Khwisa Gadawa died after two years in Korana Basa. Gazawa also died after two years in Gwoza. Only Rahafke and Fulata lived for some years before they died.

Tada Nzige's account gives us a good insight into the incident from the perspective of the involved bulamas (ward heads). We remember the official British account, which recommended the dismissal of the bulamas of Ghwa'a (Johode) because they could no longer retain the confidence of their fellow villagers. Tada Nzige was trying to rectify this view by giving a detailed account of how the bulamas had been literally beaten into submission in Gwoza. His account does demonstrate a level of complicity between the different levels of the native authority, first in Bama and then in Gwoza, which seems to remain unrecognised in the British report. We do not know whether McClintock or any other of the British officials had any idea of what was going on in the background, especially in Gwoza, or whether they simply turned a blind eye. Tada Nzige also mentioned compulsory labour, and we have seen in the earlier part of this section that resettlement officer Richard Coofer decided not to cancel a similar situation because he did not want to undermine the district head's prestige.

Tadā Nzige's account also clarifies what in the British report was referred to as: 'Rumours circulated extensively throughout the hills to the effect that the Clans would be forced to descend to the plains en bloc where they would be reverted to slave status'. He not only describes how the bulamas were severely bullied to name recruits, but also that they were told that eventually all Dghwedè should descend and resettle in the plains. He also gives direct insight into the Dghwedè's fear of being reduced to slave status, when the elders answered lawan Buba by saying that all they wanted was to be free from Hamman Yaji and his troops. It appears that the Dghwedè still had a deep seated fear of being forced down from the hills like slaves, and it seems that the British officials who were writing the report were not willing to address this, but would only refer to the montagnards as being very conservative in outlook.

The other aspect Tadā Nzige clarifies is the importance of ritual consumption of sorghum beer as part of the Dghwedè local religion. In 1953 the great majority of the hill population was still practicing their religion in the context of the traditional seasonal calendar of which *har ghwe* was a ritual key event. Tadā Nzige first describes how those named as recruits interrupted their attempt to celebrate *har ghwe* at Bla Ganage's house by destroying the beer pot. We learn all about the house as a place of worship in Chapter 3.12, and only emphasise here that the ritual beer of *har ghwe* was to celebrate the sacrifice to someone's deceased father (*dada*), and forcefully interrupting the communal consumption of beer in the context of this was highly offensive. It certainly showed that the authority of the bulamas in the hills was seriously in jeopardy. Already, in the context of the beating of the bulamas in Gwoza, one recruit, Pakudā Gadanga from Dzga, was removed from the list because he was known to be able to brew a lot of beer for *har ghwe*. This might sound not to be a very convincing point for a non-Traditionalist, but for the bulamas it certainly was. We will learn later, in the context of the description of the Dghwedè adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*), how important the economic ability of a traditional Dghwedè man still must have been in 1953 to produce a large amount of ritual beer to share with his neighbours. The ability of Pakudē Gadanga to brew a lot of beer for *har ghwe* identifies him as a highly respected member of his community, and shows that the bulamas under pressure named someone less productive as a recruit for the resettlement scheme.

The cultural significance of ritual beer consumption is further highlighted by Tadā Nzige, when he describes how Baraya forced his way into Dawa Gaghuda's father-in-law's house to arrest Dawa's wife. Dawa's wife had attended her father's *har ghwe* celebration, which was dedicated to her grandfather. Taking her by force out of the house during the ceremony was a highly sacrilegious thing to do. Although the British name Baraya as one of the main perpetrators in overstepping the boundaries of acceptable behaviour during the incident in Ghwa'a, they completely missed the point of the overall situation. Baraya was only a chima, a messenger, who originally came from Kunde, and trying him alone for provoking a breach of peace in Ghwa'a, and accusing the bulamas of being the other provoking local figureheads in the conflict, was more than unconvincing. In that way, the blame rested almost entirely with the montagnards, especially since they had beaten and subsequently banned their bulamas. The bulamas could be labelled as corrupt, and the montagnards as being backward and conservative in outlook, while lawan Buba was praised as a highly respected man. We have not mentioned yet that he had admittedly been removed from his post only three years earlier for 'minor peculations', in other words, corruption, but that was unmentioned, and his long-standing history as village head of Gwoza was emphasised instead.

The above indicates that the British authorities might not have wanted to ask too many questions, for fear of more 'rebellious' behaviour spreading across the hills. The now more or less established new Muslim elites in Gwoza remained their main political allies in the aim to successfully navigate the cultural intricacies of the mandated hill area. It seems that the effort of British indirect rule to introduce self-government to the hills and plains alike, had now finally been defeated, indicating that it was not possible to bridge those intricacies by goodwill alone, and that a price had to be paid. That price was to scapegoat the people of

Ghwa'a as perpetrators, and the representatives of indirect British rule in Gwoza, represented by the unfortunate 'unlawful' killing of Iwan Buba, as victims. However, our history from the grassroots shows that the montagnards were the real victims here, and that the new Muslim elite in Gwoza, with support from Bama, had indeed used physical force to intimidate the bulamas to earmark candidates for resettlement. The British in turn closed both eyes, as they had done before when they allowed Hamman Yaji to carry on for far too long.

The process of Christianity

Wahili Tada Nzige mentioned in his oral account that Dr Chandler treated the injured bulamas from the so-called Johode affray of 1953 at the Gwoza general hospital. Laurie Chandler was a missionary doctor who lived with his wife, Florence Chandler, in Gwoza in early 1954. During the affray, Dr Chandler was still based in Bama, and there was no hospital in Gwoza in 1953, but perhaps Mr McClintock had asked for him during the incident, in case things were to turn nasty. We also know that Chandler had an interest in the Gwoza hills much earlier. Florence Chandler describes in her *Memories* (1999) how, on tour during 1942, Dr Chandler 'had a first glance on the forbidden Gwoza Hills':

He had tried to get permission from the British District Officer to travel [from Bama] on to Gwoza but the Gwoza Hills had been declared an 'unsettled area' and he was only allowed to ride to within fifteen miles, where he camped and then had to turn back, having seen the peaks of the Gwoza range of hills in the distance. He saw a lot of diseases there was everywhere he stopped and knew that the nearest doctor was sixty miles or more away at Maiduguri. There was then only one Mission Station in the whole of Borno, our own S.U.M. Leper Colony at Molai. Six miles south of Maiduguri, the capital city serving an area of the size of England, with probably two million people, mostly Kanuri Muslims, and almost none had heard the Gospel. What a challenge that was.

The Chandlers' motives were clear. They wanted to bring the 'gospel', and developing medical services was the most suitable way to do that. One could preach and treat the sick at the same time and this is what they did. In 1950 the Sudan United Mission... (ibid 36):

...received permission to open an Outpatient Clinic for patients suffering from leprosy in the town of Bama... and Rev. & Mrs Ernest Killer were sent to start a Mission station... The leprosy work there grew steadily and a segregation village was opened to treat about thirty of the patients who were of the lepromatous (very infectious) type. Ernest was also keen that the Gwoza Hills should be reached and he obtained permission to go there once a week in the Dry Season. A large round hut, which at first had no windows, was put up on the edge of Gwoza Town near the market and visits were made taking two African 'dressers' in the kit-car with appropriate medicines. At that time the Sulphone drugs for leprosy were not known and all the treatment had to be done by injections, boiling up the needles on an oil stove in the windy climate of Gwoza. The treatment was appreciated and the numbers grew. As we heard all about the new outreach we longed to be free to go there ourselves.

Florence Chandler informs us that the mission station in Gwoza was built by Mr Peter Turner in April 1954 and writes that (ibid 51):

The Government had ordered that a strong house with iron-barred windows should be erected as a protection against the unruly hill tribes. It was the first time a white woman had been allowed to live there and they were taking no chances. I did not realise this at first but when we found we were not allowed to go more than 200 yards outside the compound unless we first went for a police escort, it made me think.

This was only a few months after the 'Johode affray' and the decision to bring medical services might well have been influenced by it. Florence Chandler also tells us that a dispensary was built as part of the station, while one had to go to Bama for hospital treatment. Florence Chandler describes how she remembers Gwoza in the mid-1950s (ibid 53):

The town of Gwoza was half a mile away from our compound and most of the townsfolk were Pagans who had embraced the religion of Islam while the great mass of the people who dwelt in

the hills and away out on the plains were Pagans or Animists, with a few Fulani cattle-keeping nomadic people who were strongly Muslims. The local town council was almost solidly Muslim and the Pagans both feared and hated these men who had the authority over them and their own village Pagan chiefs. Many refused to let their children attend the one Government Elementary School in Gwoza town and we remember seeing policemen driving some local children to the school, and then after a few hours, a crowd of village men with spears in their hands, taking them away again back to their homes. Those children who were at the school were taught by Muslim teachers and most of them were forced to become Muslims... we had to tread very carefully and prayerfully to avoid giving any offence. We knew how easily we could be sent away and so this door, just barely opened to us, might be closed to the Gospel.

Christian mission was the primary motivation for the Chandlers wanting to be in Gwoza, but Dr Chandler was also the only medical doctor, and not just in Gwoza. He not only treated the wife of Galdima Boyi, the Muslim district head of Gwoza, but also remained the doctor of the emir of Dikwa with whom he had built a relationship while in Bama. Florence Chandler points out that Galdima Boyi became their good friend, and that he also supported their missionary work. They built circular rooms on stone foundations with three beds per room for patients and a kitchen to cook for them. Most importantly, Florence Chandler's quote also mentions the formation of a new Muslim elite in Gwoza town, and how much the local montagnards were living in fear of them.

During the mid 1950s the mountains remained inaccessible for the Chandlers for medical as well as for missionary work, but from mid-1957 onwards they managed to open the first churches in the hills, following a successful emergency hernia operation Dr Chandler had performed on a man from 'Kuserha' (Guduf). Around this time the building of a first proper hospital ward with 16 beds also came into planning, since a £5000 government grant could be obtained. The Chandlers now took visitors to Guduf, always escorted by two policemen, and it seems that Guduf became their main field of missionary activity during this time. Florence Chandler tells us that after two years at Gwoza, they had an average of 60 attendants at the church hospital on Sunday, which included the ambulant patients and their relatives.

The developing Gwoza hospital remains the main vehicle of early missionary activities along the western foothills and the Guduf saddle (see Plate 6a). Florence Chandler also mentions 'a lot of fighting on the hills between tribes and villages', and that the district officer often had to call her husband 'to fetch in the wounded and to do post-mortem examinations on those who had been killed'. During 1958 their missionary work extended as far as Pulka (see Figure 3). During the same period, 'The Church of the Brethren Mission (from America) had stations south of Gwoza, in the Margi area' and they would soon form a fellowship with the Basel Mission in the eastern plains and hill areas. In December 1958 the new ward was officially opened by the emir of Dikwa. The Gwoza hospital became very busy and interpreters for all the different languages had to be found.

Following Nigerian independence on 1st of October 1960, the Chandlers continued to keep busy at the new Gwoza hospital, and a missionary station was opened in Limankara which subsequently developed into a primary school. We will discuss later the significance of the Plebiscites of November 1959 and February 1961, which brought about the end of British rule. In 1968, shortly before their retirement, Florence Chandler counts 'over a dozen Sunday services being run in the villages, some by Nigerian missionaries from the Plateau, others by a rota of our European sisters and the Christian nurses'. The Chandlers' work in Gwoza ended in 1969.

Christian missionary activity in the eastern plains began in 1959 with Reverend Werner Schöni from the Basel Mission. The Presbyterian Mission based in Cameroon had asked the Basel Mission to help out on the Nigerian side of the still mandated area, and Gava (see Figure 3) at the foot of the eastern Guduf saddle became the centre of their activities. During the first half of the 1960s, after the final Plebiscite, the Basel Mission developed a fellowship with the American Church of the Brethren, which was already active in the Margi area south of Limankara. This fellowship was eventually handed over to the Church of the Brethren in

Nigeria (Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria = EYN) in 1976.¹³ I visited the still existing station in Gava in 1994 and met a German volunteer and his family living there who were engaging in developing literacy in Hausa among the montagnards. By then the Basel mission was not doing any missionary work but was only engaging in development projects.

It took four more years, until 1963, before the first converts could be baptised, which highlights how remote Gava was, compared to the situation the Chandlers were confronted with at Gwoza town. The baptism of those first eight converts in April 1963 was the result of 68 altogether who had attended baptism class in Gava since April 1961. In the first half of 1960s, the Basel mission also founded a field hospital in Ngoshe, which still existed during my time (see Plate 8b). The presence of the Basel Mission in Gava also yielded some interesting linguistic works, such as a Glavda-English dictionary by Rapp and Benzing (1968). Scheytt tells us, in his account of 1965, how the early missionaries visited the mountain areas, in particular Chikide, to spread the gospel, but he does not mention any such visits to Dghwede. The general tone of Scheytt's text is, in comparison to that in Florence Chandler's *Memories*, less religious and more ethnographically descriptive, though both accounts are rather patronising, dwelling on an alleged innocent simplicity of the minds of the locals. However, the underlying attitude is obvious, since the whole enterprise was about spreading the gospel by all means, accompanied at the same time by an attempt to maintain a good working relationship with the new Muslim elites in Gwoza, who were administrating and governing the area.

John Zakariya, my Dghwede friend and research assistant, informed me that Dghwede first received Christianity from the Sudan United Mission (SUM) in Gwoza, due to the connection of Korana Basa with Gwoza. As a result, Yohanna Bayawa, a man from Klala in Ghwa'a, was converted by SUM in Gwoza. He subsequently attended their school in Limankara. During this period he visited Ghwa'a and other parts of Dghwede, and subsequently settled in Barawa. Once there, he left SUM to join the American church of the Brethren, since they were in fellowship with the Basel Mission. We assume that this was during the first half of the 1960s. According to John Zakariya, a man by the name Baba Mustafa, who was a brother of Yohanna Bayawa, was one of the first four Dghwede men to be baptised by missionaries of the Basel Mission of the Church of the Brethren.

From July 1971 until March 1972, Esther Frick, a linguist from Switzerland, resided in Barawa where Yohanna Bayawa became her principal language informer. In 1976 Frick produced a primer in the Dghwede language. She published the first phonology of Dghwede in 1978 and translated the New Testament which became the Dghwede bible in 1980. Frick writes in 1978 that only very few people knew Hausa at that time. This was about to change during my time in the 1990s, when Hausa became the main lingua franca, and most local Christians started to use the Hausa bible instead of the Dghwede bible, for example during their service in Ghwa'a.

EYN is today the largest church in the eastern part of the Gwoza hills, while the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) is more dominant in the western part of the Gwoza LGA. Before the destruction by Boko Haram, EYN had churches in Dzga, Hembe, Galthaghure and Klala, while COCIN was dominant in Gharaza and Tatsa. There was no church in Korana Basa. The Deeper Live Church was, according to John Zakariya, the third biggest church in the Gwoza

¹³ At the end of 2009 I had brief email contact with Dr Thomas Guy, the chief librarian of the archives of *mission21*, a joint venture of four international missions in Basel, but I did not have the time to visit the archives. Therefore my information remains rudimentary and patchy. There was a 50th anniversary of the 'Gavva' mission in 2009, and the *Nachrichtenblatt* (6/2009) of the Basel Mission describes its history. There is also a joint publication by Wilhelm Scheytt and René Gardi, published in 1965, in which Gardi provides the pictures and Scheytt the text. Scheytt was the missionary who joined Schöni in 1961. He gives an account of some of their missionary activities in his 1965 publication but doesn't mention dates. While working on the Cameroonian side, I had contact with the Eichenbergers, a Swiss missionary couple based in Mokolo, who knew all about the early cross border missionary activities.

LGA, and was active mainly in Ngoshe and Gwoza but not in Dghwedè, while the Catholic Church formed the fourth biggest church in the region.

As already mentioned in Chapter One, Christianity has not made much progress in the hills over the last ten years, while Islam has progressed massively. It appears that the population of the Gwoza hills, possibly with exception of Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko, have chosen in large part for Islam to be their more suitable religion. This has been a recent development, and I myself witnessed in 2005 (see Plate 3a) how the dress code of women had changed, and how young couples in the hills invited radical preachers to marry them. We know that there had been hardly any Islam in the hills in the 1970s, and that the parents of those young men to whom I spoke were still Traditionalist.

We mentioned in our General Introduction that it was Izala Islam that was favoured by the younger generation of seasonal workers who came back to visit their homes. We mentioned how radical preachers also started to teach Izala Islam in the hills around that time, and we showed photographs of their station high up in the hills of Ghwa'a (see Plate 2a). We also mentioned that the new Dzga primary school became a radical Islamic school after Boko Haram took over Ghwa'a with its version of Islam, only around five years ago. We also learned that most foreign fighters of Boko Haram eventually left, presumably leaving the remaining locals deeply traumatised. We have good information that the elderly people who converted to radical Islam did so under the pressure of survival, because they could no longer live as Traditionalists.

We mentioned the rumour that Tada Nzige, who was already a Muslim in 1953, and who gave us a detailed oral account as an eye-witness of the 'Gwoza Affair', had joined the religious sect of Boko Haram. We will never know the truth of such rumours, but considering he was one of the main supporters to lead a delegation to convince the Gwoza education authority to reopen Dzga Learning Support as the first Dzga primary state school, it is difficult to believe he did it for any other reason than survival. No Christian or Muslim would dare to go up to Ghwa'a now, in late 2020, for fear of being killed.

It is not the elderly Dghwedè, who were forced to convert to a distorted version of Islam, who are responsible for the situation. They are victims, as were the bulamas in 1953, of whom Tada Nzige was a living example. The responsible ones are others, such as politicians, army representatives, and national and regional elites, but these seem to have no interest in bringing peace back to that once so beautiful and prospering egalitarian mountain culture, with its once so admirable heritage of stone terraces and impressive architecture. They are, after everything that happened in the past, still too remote and unimportant to be liberated by an initiative of their own national and regional elites, and it almost seems as if history is repeating itself in forgetfulness.

Two Plebiscites on the route to independence

Before we close our chapter on colonial history, we will briefly give an account of the two Plebiscites which eventually led to the integration of the Gwoza hills, as part of the so-called Northern Cameroons, into the newly formed independent republic of Nigeria in June 1961. The rest of Nigeria had already reached independence on the 1st of October 1960. Between then and June 1961, the Northern Cameroons came under direct British rule, because the first Plebiscite in November 1959 resulted in an unexpected majority against joining an independent Nigeria, but in favour of remaining under international rule. The second Plebiscite in February 1961 then changed this, but the majority vote to join the newly independent Nigeria was only implemented in June. In the following we will lay out the circumstances of this complication, since it throws light not only on the general political climate in Nigeria at the time, but also specifically on the Gwoza hills area.

In our analysis we rely much on Umar Hamman's (2000) BA thesis from the University of Maiduguri. Although I do not agree with some of the ethnographic interpretations, such as for

example the concept of the 'clan councils' (*gidegal*) which he uncritically accepts from the colonial history records, his analysis of the Plebiscite is in my opinion very informative and sound. The source we will use, for comparative reasons, is Jacques Lestrangant (1964). Lestrangant describes the same process on the Cameroonian side of the international Trusteeship divide. There is also an eyewitness account from Malcom Cooper, who volunteered as plebiscite supervisor for the Commonwealth and Colonial Office. We introduce his *Memoir* at the end of this section.

Interestingly, Hamman describes the feelings of disappointment among the Nigerian political elite after the first Plebiscite in 1959, when a majority voted to come under British rule. He writes that missionaries were blamed. It was allegedly thought that pupils in schools had been told to instruct their parents not to vote for Nigeria, since they feared the loss of British protection. In April 1961 the Northern Cameroons became a Trusteeship province of Northern Nigeria, and was as such now under direct United Kingdom administration, headed by Sir Percy Wyn Harris. Hamman writes that it was the first time the area had constituted a separate political unit, and was governed as a 'Nation' with its own administrative machinery separate from Nigeria. This also meant that the system of Indirect Rule ended, since it was now under direct United Kingdom administration. One of the consequences was that non-inhabitant native authority officials were purged from office for malpractice, in particular district heads, *alkalis* (judges), and court clerks, but also, so Hamman tells us:

...local tyrants, such as the tax collectors and those [who] grossly abused their officers were dismissed. In effect, this introduced a new political system in the area, for local people [to] replace the men removed.

Hamman, who is himself from the area of Gwoza, then tells us further that a commission of inquiry was set up by the British because it was believed:

...generally, that there had been discrimination by the Yola and Dikwa native administration in their non-Fulani and non-Kanuri 'Pagan district' which had led to the loss of plebiscite. In the course of the commission's findings it was revealed that there had been gross intimidations, arbitrary arrests, and continuous overtaxes of the pagans in these two emirates, and as a result of these conditions [of], the relationship between the local people and ruling emirates was that of servant and master, which created fear in the mind of people.

Unfortunately Hamman does not exemplify this, but in the light of the resettlement scheme of the Gwoza hills, and the events coming to light in the context of our earlier description, we do wonder whether this could have been a possible recent historical example. However we also ask ourselves whether the replacement of non-inhabitant native authority officials would really have made any difference, as perhaps it would have turned out to be just another failure, due to being no longer constrained by indirect rule. The commission suggested that Gwoza and Mubi should form a new native authority, independent from Yola or Dikwa, and it became part of Sardauna Province with its headquarters in Mubi. Hamman claims that this was welcomed by the national political elite because 'the reforms were generally regarded as constituting a newly won freedom with some degree of local autonomy for the people'.

The second Plebiscite turned out to be successful, and in June 1961 the Northern Cameroons became officially part of Northern Nigeria. The Nigeria government had campaigned for this by the mass distribution of cloth and salt, particularly to the villagers. The newly independent Cameroon had campaigned for the hill areas to join Cameroon because of its many cultural similarities with the lion's share of the mountain area on their side, arguing that the divide had been an unfortunate result of World War One, which could now be corrected (Lestrangant 1964:266). The Nigerian political elite had been guaranteed independence from Yola, and wanted health and social amenities, particularly roads, and also schools improved, which had previously been neglected, but Hamman (ibid 112) critically concludes that this last demand was yet to be realised.

The second Plebiscite allowed men and women to vote, which had not been the case in the first Plebiscite. However, the education of men and women was of a very low standard, and

Hamman has doubts as to whether the general population knew what their choices were. He tells us that the campaign was very much based on word of mouth by local chiefs and leaders, which meant, for the Gwoza hills, the new local Muslim elites based in Gwoza town. Still today, not only are the roads in the Gwoza area appalling, but they are particularly so in the hills, and so too are formal education and health services. Unfortunately, Hamman does not differentiate between plain and hill populations, but we can assume with good reason that the hill population voted for Nigeria, because they hoped to profit from this. Interestingly, the hill areas on the Cameroonian side of the Mandara Mountains were much better developed during my time, with much better roads, better access to formal education, water and primary health services. Perhaps French direct colonial rule, during the period of mandateship, had left a more positive historical legacy?

We finally want to introduce our readers to a digital publication by Malcom Cooper (2010)¹⁴, who describes how he travelled the hills during the two plebiscites in 1960/61. It is a first call eye witness account, with maps and photos of the plebiscites, and we can recommend it to download and read. He was touring on foot particularly the Madagali and Chubunawa district, and he presents a very affectionate and extremely informative memoir that I had the honour of publishing. There are also photographs of Gwoza and Madagali market which he took in 1960, and many other very memorable things.

Conclusion

Perhaps the recent trend of increasing Islamic radicalisation among the montagnards of the Gwoza hills was a form of a misled rebellion, to overcome a history of social and political marginalisation. We conclude that this was a kind of history which intensified during colonial times, especially concerning montagnard versus plain relationships. We argued that the historical situation had reversed, and that the subjugation to enslavement was most likely worse among the foothill and plain populations in pre-colonial times, while the hills might have provided reasonable safety during the days when the Wandala still resided in Kirawa. We also made the particular point of seeing the Gwoza hills geographically sandwiched between Kirawa, as a centre of trade and early state formation, and the DGB complex to its south, as a place where a sophisticated form of terrace cultivation was developed, and in that context we pointed to the exposure to climate emergencies as being the main underlying cause of a shared subregional historical past.

We introduced our reader to early written and other key sources, to construct and underpin a Table of Contemporaneity in which we used palaeoclimatic dates from the water levels of Lake Chad as an indicator for alternating phases of aridity and humidity in the Gwoza hills. Together with other types of early sources, this provided us with background scenarios, in the context of which we allocated Ghwa'a provisionally into the 16th century, and the later development of Korana Basa into the very wet period of the 17th century. We also compared legendary Dghwede sources with those from the *Wandala Chronicles*, and argued that the belief in a Katala-Wandala of the hills had structural similarities with the early 18th century legendary accounts in the *Chronicles*. The latter assumed a connection with noble strangers from the east, and we suggested that this might have been a dynastic adaption of pre-Islamic traditions, to incorporate outsiders as founders.

The reversal in status of the montagnards, in contrast to the non-Islamic groups along the foothills and plains, began with the decline of the Wandala state and the intensification of slave raiding in the hills during the 19th century. Still, even during that late period, the Gwoza hills remained a fairly safe place against the Fulbe expansion, and the Rabeh's excursions never reached there. We hypothesised that it was most likely the traumatic experience of Hamman Yaji during the uncertainties of the early colonial interim period, which shocked the Dghwede community out of the relative security of their earlier pre-colonial rule under the

¹⁴ <https://www.mandaras.info/MandarasPublishing/CameroonsPlebisciteMemoir-Cooper2010.pdf>

more predictable Wandala. The reciting of the oral narrative of Hamman Yaji's arrest can perhaps be interpreted as a piece of Dghwede oral literature, designed to digest the sudden shock of such a disempowering intrusion, which was after all the result of a colonial instability caused by World War One.

Throughout colonial times we can see the attempt of British indirect rule to foster the rather romantic hope of the hill population welcoming self-governance, at the same time as being convinced to pay taxes. However, even though the Dghwede had experience of tribute arrangements, they would not accept taxation just like that. We learned from the late pre-colonial history that the Wandala had to regularly reinforce their tribute arrangements with threats of raids. This was not the same as the system of self-governance proposed by British indirect rule, which assumed that the Dghwede would volunteer to pay taxes, which of course was not part of their cultural vocabulary.

The well-meaning British touring officers eventually had to resign their hope, and Eustace's report shows that British officials had reached a point where they simply rejected the Dghwede as being backward and uncooperative. However, the newly emerging local Muslim elites in Gwoza 'knew' better, but as we have seen in the context of the killing of lawan Buba, the people of Ghwa'a would not allow themselves to be forced downhill by intimidating methods. When lawan Buba and his entourage intentionally violated their cultural dignity during a key ritual of local belonging, they felt that they had to actively defend their identity as montagnards. In the context of this, they also rejected their messengers (chimas) and ward heads (bulamas) as representatives of a cultural invasion from the plains, of whom they could not approve. The result was still increasing cultural stigmatisation, which might in the long term have made them feel like losers. This was perhaps one of the reasons why some younger Dghwede were vulnerable to allowing radical Islam into the hills.

We also presented the process of Christianity, and how the different missionary organisations used different methods to spread the gospel. One of them was medical support, which led to the foundation of the Gwoza hospital by Mr and Mrs Chandler. Because the Gwoza hills had a long history of being an Unsettled District, missionary activities could not access the hills before independence. We subsequently described the process of independence by briefly describing the political circumstances of the two plebiscites, of which the first one had voted to stay under British rule. Only the second one led to the people of the Gwoza hills voting to officially become part of the Republic of Nigeria in June 1961. We also highlighted again how Boko Haram took over the hills, and how easy it is to blame the Dghwede for that, but assertively pointed out that they were and still are the survivors of a long-standing history of cultural and geographical marginalisation going back to early colonial times.

We have now reached the end of Part Two, where prehistorical and historical key sources played an important role in drawing a picture of a pre-colonial and colonial background scenario of a shared subregional past. We frequently referred to Part Three as the ethnographic centerpiece of this book. We regularly pointed to chapters we would later present in Part Three, such as the chapter: 'Names and places', the one on the Tur tradition, and the one about the architecture of the traditional house and its role as a ritual place. We mentioned the chapter: 'Outsiders as founders', and the one explaining Durghwe as an important mountain shrine, and the ritual importance of adult initiation for ongoing socio-economic success during the late pre-colonial period. Cyclical climate emergencies and sustainable strategies of crisis management as part of the material and immaterial cultural history of the Dghwede is a key theme throughout Part Three, especially considering that their mountainous environment reached so deeply into the northern semi-arid plains only about 150km south of Lake Chad.

PART THREE

DGHWEDE ORAL HISTORY RETOLD

Introduction

Part Three is the longest part of this book and our main aim is to present the fieldnotes in such a way that the reader can witness the contextualisation of the fragmentary oral history of the Dghwede as it unfolds with the greatest possible ethnographic authenticity. There are 23 chapters altogether and each chapter presents one fragment of the notes as I ordered them, beginning with the bigger picture of Dghwede settlement history and ending with the role of *Cissus quadrangularis* as a representation of the high ritual density which we see as a key element of their high population density. We see the latter as a socio-economic consequence of their system of labour-intensive terrace farming, conditioned by a cosmological worldview developed as a result of historical and ongoing exposure to a semi-arid mountain environment not far from the southern fringes of the Sahel zone.

Because our Dghwede notes are embedded in the subregion between the DGB sites to the south, and Kirawa as the first capital of the Wandala state to the immediate north, in Part Two we constructed a Table of Contemporaneity which attempted to link Dghwede oral history with other key sources available to us. In the context of this we hypothesised that there were two phases in which the development of Dghwede oral history might be connected with early archaeological and palaeoclimatic sources in written form. We linked the first phase to the late 16th century, with 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) in northern Dghwede as the early arrival zone when the climate started to become humid following a period of dryness. The second phase started with the 17th century, a very wet phase lasting 100 years which led to the formation of a united southern and northern Dghwede as we came to know it during my time.

In this context we distinguished between early and late pre-colonial times, implying that the end of the DGB period might well have coincided with the formation of the Mafa in the DGB area, and also with the way southern and northern Dghwede merged into a new ethnic unity as a result of a shared south-to-north migratory tradition from Tur. We will pick up on this hypothesis in Part Three, and illustrate in a wider subregional context how the Tur tradition most likely overlapped with other south-to-north migratory traditions across the northwestern Mandara Mountains. These also included the DGB area on the northern slopes of the Ziver-Oupay massif. The exact historical periods to which my Dghwede protagonists were referring when they related their versions of a shared local past to me between 1994 and 2010 remain uncertain however, and therefore historically circumstantial in their connectedness to subregional palaeoclimatic conditions. Nevertheless we think that most of the oral traditions relayed to us belong to what we term the late pre-colonial period, and want to emphasise here that in this respect we are only referring to the northwestern Mandara Mountains as our defined wider subregion.

When we speak of oral traditions, we mean not only traditions of origin but any shared oral memory accounts concerning material and immaterial objects. Artefacts such as architecture and pottery are in the former category, and myths, beliefs, and traditions of origin are in the latter. In terms of material objects we are informed by social ones, such as the spatial aspect of shared ritual performances which can be contextualised with geographical markers in the landscape, and by the architectural design of the house as a place of religious worship. The people and their social relationships as they unfolded during such performances allow us to see the operation of localised social networks, including how they were linked to the biannual agricultural calendar of crop rotation in which the ritual handling of guinea corn played an important role.

Some rituals were shared by the community as a whole while others were only relevant within the nuclear or extended family. Certain aspects of the material culture show similarities to key archaeological finds of the DGB complex, which underpins our quest for subregional embeddedness in this Dghwedè oral history retold. However, we will not draw definite historical conclusions but will continue to be open-minded when looking for connections, and this also applies to Kirawa which in the late 16th century was the thriving capital of trade in our study area. Such connections are part of the immaterial cultural history that is of subregional interest to us, but we will mainly focus on presenting the Dghwedè oral sources and the local ethnography it is possible to comprehensively derive from them. However, we continue the thread of our conclusion from Part Two by mainly differentiating between two pre-colonial sub-phases along the lines of cyclical climate change. As stated several times before, we consider Ghwa'a to have already existed during the 16th century, and presume that Korana, a place formerly known as Gharguze in pre-Korana southern Dghwedè, developed and took shape during the much wetter 17th century.

In Part Two we tried to contextualise oral accounts of the local history of slavery, and placed them into the later period of the Wandala sultanate, long after it had moved from Kirawa to Doulo and subsequently to Mora from where Ghwa'a first came under German rule. We illustrated the early parts of colonial history and showed that tributary and taxation arrangements are in fact separate concepts, despite the Dghwedè having used the same word for both. Tributary payments were more a form of pre-colonial dependency linked to the history of the Wandala state, while colonial tax collection was based on the concept of being part of the development of nationhood. We also looked at mythological accounts, to explore whether these might represent elements of earlier pre-colonial times in our subregion, meaning linked to the early phase of the DGB period, and suggested that the possible pre-historical significance of not only rainmaking but perhaps also manure production should be included in the ethnoarchaeological narrative.

As already indicated, our oral history retold begins with the chapter 'Names and places', which finds links between place names, thereby allowing us to connect archival sources from early colonial times with late pre-colonial oral sources related to the settlement history of Dghwedè. This means that Chapter 3.1 is a transitional chapter connecting written and oral sources to a route leading back in time. As indicated, we will use Moisel's cartographic record from 1913 and Lewis's investigations from 1925, these being the earliest colonial sources to list local place names, and connect them with the oral accounts of how they came about. We will then move straight on to the question of whether the presumption is correct that Korana in southern Dghwedè came into existence after Ghwa'a in northern Dghwedè had long fulfilled its role as the early south-to-north arrival zone into the Gwoza hills from Tur. This hypothesis is not only tested by examining oral sources about war alliances and local group connections in the border area separating modern Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, but also by looking into the most vivid collective memory which was the war between Gudule and Vaghagaya leading to the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa, the largest clan group of late pre-colonial Dghwedè.

Before moving back to earlier collective memories of pre-colonial times, we begin by consulting Mathews (1934) as our main archival source, in order to compare our orally collected traditions of origin with his reports from about sixty years earlier. We will see that quite a lot of the memory traditions we collected in the 1990s coincide in essence with those of Mathews, while others do not, and we will pinpoint and critically discuss those differences. Mathews will accompany us and re-emerge as a comparative source in later chapters, such as the chapters about Mughuze-Ruwa and Gudule, the latter in the context of the bull festival, the most important communal bi-annual event of Dghwedè. We will also use Wolff's accounts of the Lamang of Hidkala which he documented and published in 1994, since there are many references to the oral historical relationship between the Lamang of administrative Hambagda, and Korana Basa as part of the Mughuze-Ruwa tradition.

As we go through all the different aspects of the material and immaterial culture of our Dghwede oral history retold we will sometimes use Mafa oral sources for subregional comparison. The reason for this is that I was inspired by my Mafa fieldwork to explore the origin of the ritual importance of sorghum and dung production, among other mythological and cosmological themes. We will therefore use Mafa sources to some extent, but will try to keep these to a minimum. For example we will compare the legendary connections of the Dghwede bull festival to those of Gudur, and by doing so will take a wider regional view in order to establish the uniqueness of the Dghwede bull festival. In that context we will use written ethnography from David & Sterner which relates to the legendary image of Gudur (known as Gudulyewe in Dghwede) at the western fringes of the northern Mandara Mountains. An important chapter will be our reconstruction of the Dghwede adult initiation rituals known as *dzum zugune*. Like the bull festival these were no longer performed, and we had to reconstruct them from the collective memory of some of our Dghwede friends. With *dzum zugune* this involved reconstructing the cycle of rituals extending over several years, by presenting each stage in its performance elements including images of the relevant material culture. Chapter 3.14 on *dzum zugune* will close a series of themes related to the socio-economic and ritual behaviour of the Dghwede society of the past. In this context we will also review changes in the ritual calendar. We will show how a major change of the Dghwede ritual cycle came about in colonial times, but we are not able to establish the exact reasons behind this element of the arrival of modernity in the subregion.

One of the more concrete reasons must surely have been the shift from animal manure to chemical fertiliser, and we will address this in Chapter 3.10 about working the terraced land, where we also show that the bi-annual calendar of crop rotation increasingly favoured millet when it came to producing a cash crop on leased land in the adjacent plains. However, rotating sorghum, millet and beans remained the main method of planting in the mountains, but the attached ritual complexities became much reduced. Certain rituals of the house which were previously only linked to the sorghum year were already carried out annually during my time. Also, the house as a place of worship no longer reflected religious requirements in terms of architecture, and we will address this in the two chapters about the house. In this context we will see how it was necessary to reconstruct a traditional house from the remains of a house whose architecture was still visible despite it being heavily neglected.

When introducing the reader to Dghwede architecture and the house as a place of religious sacrifices we will return to the discussion of the role of ancestral beer pots and the small apertures which are typical of these. We will compare them with the pottery from the DGB sites and revisit questions of a shared subregional past. We will also show how smooth stonewalling and the ritual importance of dung production can be linked in cosmological terms to the image of the stomach. The ritual importance of manure and sorghum is not only about sustainability in socio-economic terms but is also a religious expression of a pre-Copernican cosmographic view of the world. In Chapter 3.16 we will address the belief in the interaction of a celestial world above with a primordial world below, by describing how the specialist cornblessor and rainmaker lineages are expressions of ancestral pairing comparable to the process of human reproduction.

Durghwe, the subregional mountain shrine in Ghwa'a, has been mentioned several times, and in a dedicated chapter we will locate what is most likely the first mention of Durghwe as a regional landmark visible from as far as Isge in the western plain, by the 19th-century explorer Barth (1857), and we will discuss the cosmogony of Durghwe as it was remembered by my Dghwede friends. After that we will address the Dghwede belief in the importance of the seventh-born son *thagaya*, whose ritual importance as custodian of the earth we will highlight throughout Part Three. We will show how the casting out or even infanticide of the eighth-born child needs to be seen as a way of controlling good luck and bad luck in an unpredictable semi-arid environment. We will then present the importance of the birth of twins in Dghwede society of the past, and describe how they were seen as reincarnations of previous twins. We will connect all these aspects of Dghwede culture as oral historical

fragments of a pre-colonial past, which have been reshaped, not only in our action of recording them, but also by our Dghwedè friends to whom they were presumably passed by their late pre-colonial forefathers.

One of the difficult chapters has been the presentation of Dghwedè social relationship terms, but I very much hope we have found a way to avoid confusion, by distinguishing between classificatory lineal descent of local group ancestors and the genealogical descent of living members of family groups from socio-economic base units. Avoiding theoretical discussion about the history of kinship terms became somewhat problematic here, because issues such as the complexities of descent theory and alliance theory are referred to only in footnotes. Our main interest however is in exploring and interpreting our fragmentary Dghwedè notes on kinship terms, rather than highlighting aspects of universal kinship theory. We present kinship terms linked to the paternal and maternal sides of patrilineal extended families, emphasising the inclusiveness of these terms as part of the wider kindred connections created and maintained by a network of marriage alliances across exogamous lines of descent. In this context we favour the argument that the exogamous descent group structure was most likely the result of the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa during late pre-colonial times.

We will complete Part Three with three further chapters, one being about decision making, in which we discuss the concept of *gidegal* or *gadghale*, something which no longer existed during my time. We mentioned before that Eustace (1939) wanted to use *gidegal* to establish a self-governing council of elders, and we will illustrate how Reynolds (1954) also relied heavily on British lineage theory in order to achieve this. We will show that *gidegal* or *gadghale* was actually a system based on the increasing population number of expanding lineal descent groups over locally more senior but smaller or shrinking clan groups. *Gadghale* was a representation of the egalitarian structure of Dghwedè social organisation, and the elders who represented such majorities could not be transformed into chiefly councils. In the same chapter we will also present divination as a key method of individual and collective decision making, and show how this is linked to the Dghwedè concept of divinity as part of their cosmological view of the world.

There will also be a chapter on the Dghwedè marriage system, including a method known as ‘marriage by capture’. This was once an acceptable way of finding a wife, but should not be confused with the abduction of girls by Boko Haram. We will demonstrate that marriage by capture was more an emergency measure, possibly linked to an environmental crisis that had led to the breakdown of a system of marriage alliances between exogamous descent groups, and that arranged marriages were the preferred way of marrying in Dghwedè of the peaceful past. Finally, we will present the ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis*, known as *vavanza* in Dghwedè ritual culture. We have already referred to the importance of *vavanza* in the story of the arrest of Hamman Yaji, and we will mention it frequently in subsequent chapters. In the final chapter of Part Three we will show that the ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis* also had a political dimension linked to its ritual ownership. The religious/magical concept of *skwe* (ritual treatment), and the Dagha peacemaker lineage being the most frequent owners of these types of *Cissus quadrangularis*, underpins our theory of ritual density being an aspect of local crisis management.

There will be no specific conclusion to Part Three, but instead an overall general conclusion in which we will try to summarise how we think Dghwedè culture might once have appeared, and we will underline the importance of our Dghwedè ethnography as source material for a shared subregional history from the grassroots. Here we will refer to the Dghwedè as an example of montagnard terrace culture once found between the DGB complex and the Wandala of Kirawa. We aim to achieve this by re-emphasising the role of the Gwoza hills as an important piece of the ethnographic puzzle of the Mandara Mountains. We see this as a valuable task, considering that the ethnography of the northern Mandara Mountains has so far almost completely ignored the Gwoza hills for historical reasons, the primary cause of which we identify to be the First World War and the subsequent division into French and British colonial mandateships.

Part Three might not be satisfying in many ways for some of our colleagues, in particular those who rely heavily on theoretical comparison, and they will miss that aspect in this book. We can only apologise for this, but we feel that such comparison could still be made by future historians, and want to emphasise that we felt it was more important to present our Dghwedè oral history in its fragmented entirety. Therefore the methodological approach of this book is to present and discuss our Dghwedè notes as oral historical source material and to cast them into written documents, rather than attempt to unpick them for reasons of ethnographic comparison for the purpose of shaping subject-orientated universal theories. This does not imply of course that I as an ethnographer have not profited from the history of ethnographic theory, but I have decided to express my awareness of the specialisation in footnotes only, in order to maintain the narrative authenticity of this history from the grassroots.

Finally, we would like to give some practical advice on how to cope with the intricacies of the Dghwedè words presented throughout Part Three. Very often there is no possible straightforward English translation. This obviously has to do with the aspect of cultural translation of the Dghwedè view of the world which is rooted in an oral culture of the pre-colonial past. Therefore we often have several translations depending on the particular social or ritual circumstance. We have produced a glossary of Dghwedè and other words at the back of the book to which the reader can refer. There is also the aspect of learning through reading, and many of the Dghwedè words and their underlying meanings are mentioned repeatedly as part of the process of contextualising our fragmentary Dghwedè history. One might become familiar with a Dghwedè word in one chapter, but then have forgotten its meaning when it appears again in a slightly different context in another chapter. We hope that the glossary helps to resolve this problem, but want to highlight that I am not a linguist but an ethnographer, which means that I look at language from the point of view of cultural meaning rather than linguistic or phonological accuracy.

Chapter 3.1

Names and places

Introduction

This is intended as a transitional chapter between written and oral sources on the brink of the late pre-colonial and early colonial period. At the same time it is the first chapter of Part Three of our history in fragments from the grassroots, where we refer more or less exclusively to our Dghwedè notes. We have already used some of these in Part Two, to underpin the pre-colonial key sources that illustrate the pre-colonial embeddedness of the Gwoza hills as part of a shared subregional past. In the context of this we differentiated between early and late pre-colonial times, and demonstrated how the cyclical climate change allowed us to hypothetically connect Ghwa'a to the 16th century, and Korana (which would later become Korana Basa) to the 17th century.

We hypothesised that the Gwoza hills were, during the 16th century, connected not only by regional trade to Kirawa, particularly in the area of iron production, but had also been inspired by the DGB complex in terms of montagnard achievement. We connected this period with early written sources on the emergence of Umar's brother as a 'pagan usurper', early regional trade relations connected to iron, and the trans-Saharan trade of slaves against horses which led to the development of a Wandala cavalry. We surmised that slave raiding along the foothills and plains was perhaps the more viable way of capturing slaves, and that Ghwa'a might have been a relatively safe place during this period.

With the removal of the Wandala capital from Kirawa to Doulo in the 17th century, the DGB sites also lost their importance. We were able to connect the most likely end of the DGB period with the equivalent humid period in our wider subregion. We not only mentioned the Tur tradition and the formation of the Mafa within the DGB area, but also the formation of what would later become Korana Basa. Climatic conditions further deteriorated during the 18th century, when the Wandala dynasty officially converted to Islam. This brought about the *Wandala Chronicles*, the other oral historical source we used for comparison.

We discussed the epistemological implications of legendary accounts from the hills and plains regarding Katala, and hinted at the structural difference in the role of outsiders as founders between Dghwedè legendary oral history accounts and those presented in the *Chronicles*. We suggested that they presented no reliable chronological time frame, and will go on to discuss the case of Mughuze-Ruwa as being an example of a montagnard outsider, in comparison to a legendary noble one, as a founding father of the Wandala state.

We also showed in Part Two, how we connected place names from early colonial sources with place names from oral sources. We hinted that this was how we would begin Part Three, and work our way back in time. We will see how this leads us to the most recent oral history on the foundation of Korana, which eventually became the most populous part of Dghwedè. Our Dghwedè friends referred to population pressure, leading to an inner tribal conflict, which changed the settlement structure of southern Dghwedè during late pre-colonial times. In the context of this, the place name 'Gharguze' keeps popping up, as we have already referred to it several times, and we dedicate some space in this chapter to the history of the name.

Because the place name 'Gharguze' appears in oral history as well as in our earliest colonial cartographic source, it is the key name to hint at the former settlement structure of southern Dghwedè before the formation of Korana. We already noted, from the earlier presentation of the legendary account of the arrest of Hamman Yaji, that our local Ghwa'a protagonists still used 'Gharguze' when referring to that historical area of administrative Korana Basa. In our

opinion, the fact that they still used it qualifies it as a memory of the later pre-colonial period of local history that was alive during my time.

The second chapter of Part Three concerns oral sources only, and we will present our Dghwede friends from Korana Basa, in particular bulama Ngatha of Hudimche, and others, who explain how in this case warfare and settlement issues are linked. We will show how, within and between Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, some of the war alliances were formed along the lines of locality and descent, and we then introduce the oral reports of the war between Gudule and Vaghagaya. The latter became the most successful son of outsider Mughuze-Ruwa.

In Chapter 3.2 we also present local collective memories about warfare with the 'Matakam' (Mafa) who were by far the largest neighbours of the Dghwede, however the discussion of the rise of the Mughuze-Ruwa is the most important part of the oral-historic interpretation, and will lead to various other related ethnographic contexts. One of them is the importance of patrilineal descent in local group formation, labour-intensive terrace farming being another.

Two colonial sources

This section introduces the two earliest written sources to mention place names in Dghwede, and includes some early demographic numbers. It is followed by another subsection that lists the names of settlement units and the respective lineage names occupying those settlement units. The combination of both will hopefully serve as a useful reference to other settlement-related names and places mentioned in subsequent chapters.

We begin with the map by Max Moisel from 1912/13. Next we look at the list given to us by British colonial officer Lewis in 1925. In his somewhat detailed 'tax schedule' he listed the names of Dghwede settlement units for the first time. Next, we will compare Moisel's and Lewis's place names with the Dghwede list of settlement units extracted from our 1994 survey, and discuss the importance of the place name 'Gharguze', before we move on to oral sources concerning warfare and late pre-colonial settlement history.

Moisel's (1913) view of the Gwoza hills

Max Moisel produced a series of topographical maps, in the scale of 1:300,000, of the 'Deutsche Tschadeseeländer' (German Lake Chad countries). Like most of the others the map showing the Gwoza hills was published in 1913, while the data had been collected by colonial officers several years earlier. This happened ten years after Germany finally took possession in 1902. Moisel had partially listed them in an article in 1905, which included a first draft of the map. In the 1905 article Moisel describes the historical events leading up to the 'Besitzergreifung Nord-Adamauas', which is possibly best translated as 'Taking of possession of northern Adamawa', of which we paraphrase in English the following summary:

With the arrival of German administration a restructuring of the country took place, and in this context one needs to remember that this also meant that the old historical allegiances, for example the allegiance between the Wandala with the king of Borno, and the one between the Fulbe and the emir of Yola, were now finally severed. In 1903 the Governor of the German Cameroons decreed that the extreme north would be divided into two residencies. The first was to be based in Kousseri, referred to as 'Deutsch-Bornu' (German Borno), and consisted of the sultanates of Dikwa, Gulfei, Kusseri, and Mandara, as well as the Musgu and other so-called pagan tribes between Chari and Logone. The second was 'Nord-Adamaua' (North Adamawa), with its so-called 'Fulbe states', and from then on its administrative centre was Garoua. In 1904 the name 'Deutsch-Bornu' was changed to 'Deutsche Tschadeseeländer' (German Lake Chad Countries), and in 1905 these were brought together into one residency. It had its capital in Garoua and was called 'Adamaua-Bornu' (Adamawa-Borno), and German troops to guard the extreme north were based in Garoua, Dikwa, Kusseri, and Bongor (Moisel 1905:185).

This meant that in the early years of German colonial rule, the Gwoza hills were first under Kousseri, and then under Garoua. Mora and Madagali remained the most immediate indirect native authority with the boundary running somewhere across the hills at the level of Gwoza. This boundary is visible on Moisel's map as 'Bezirksgrenze' (district boundary), and lists the different place names concerning the Gwoza hill area. They are geographically not very correctly positioned, but are fairly detailed, especially those relating to the Dghwede area.

Figure 7: View of the Gwoza hills according to Moisel's map of 1913

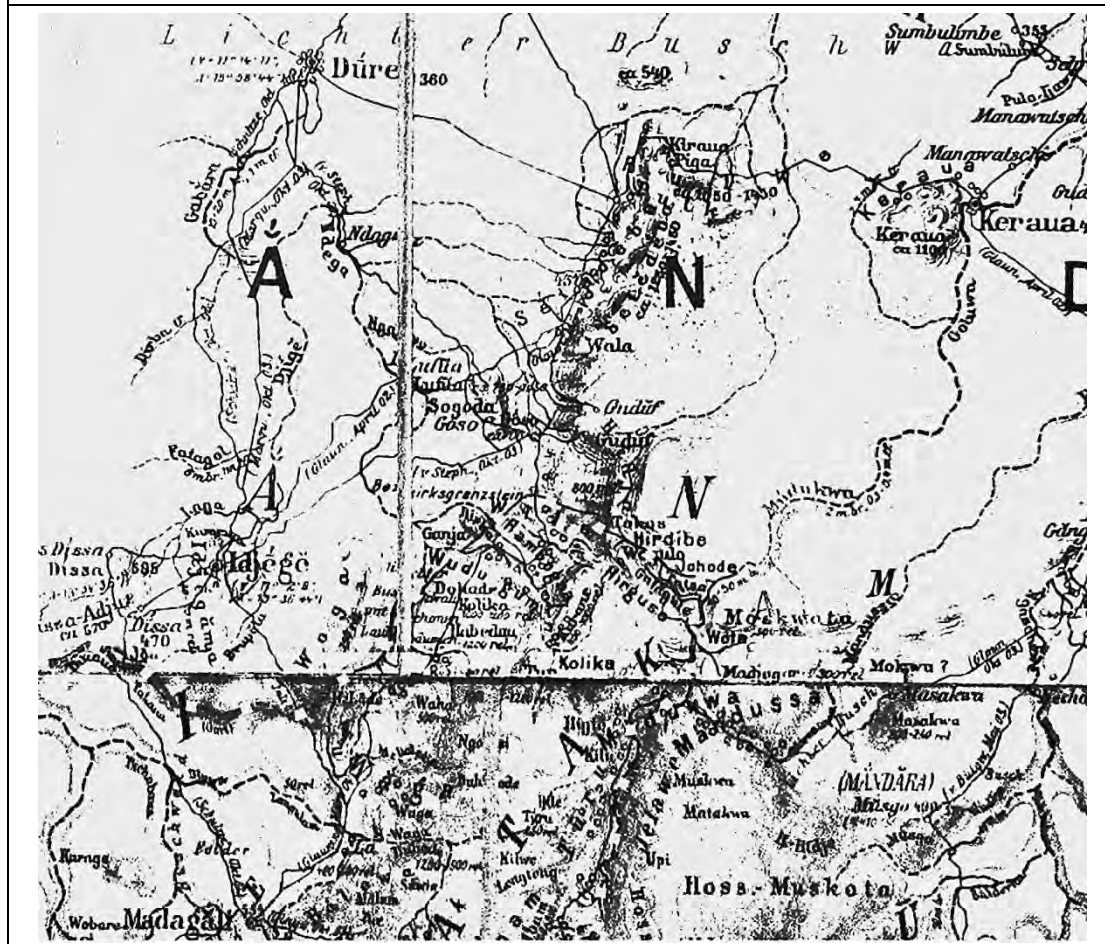


Figure 7 and Figure 7a illustrate this. Figure 7 is a copy of the original but I marked Moisel's district boundary with additional white dots to increase visibility. These appear in Figure 7a as black dots. In Figure 7a we can also see extracts of those place names relevant to the Gwoza hills. If we examine Figure 7, we can see that some of the place names appear several times, as is for example the case with 'Kolika'. I have avoided such repetitions in Figure 7a, and chose the location of the place name which appeared to be the most geographically correct. Also, in 7a, the outline of the mountains is only a very rudimentary copy from Figure 7, because Moisel does not show the various heights in correct topographical correlation.

Figure 7 also shows the various excursions made by German officers for geographical exploration in and around the Mandara Mountains. Unfortunately these are difficult to read, but by examining the original I was able extract those excursions relevant to the Gwoza hills, and marked them accordingly in Figure 7a. It seems that captain Glauning was the most travelled German officer in and across the northwestern Mandara Mountains. He not only visited the Guduf saddle, coming from Madagali via Hidkala (Hudugum, Hambagda and Vile), but in October 1903 made it up to the Tur heights. We presume that he climbed up to Vizik, most likely crossed over to Moudoukwa, and from there entered the Moskota hills (now Cameroon), leaving Gvoko to the west. Lieutenant von Stephani was the other German officer who visited the Gwoza hills, presumably via the southern side of the Guduf saddle,

then walking towards Durghwe. We can also see visits from Madagali to Disa by lieutenant Schultze in October 1902, and by lieutenant Schipper in July 1903. As mentioned earlier, I was unable to find the excursion reports of Glauning's and von Stephani's visits to Guduf, but later found an indirect reference in early British colonial sources.

Figure 7a: Extract from Moisel's map with place names, district boundary and excursions

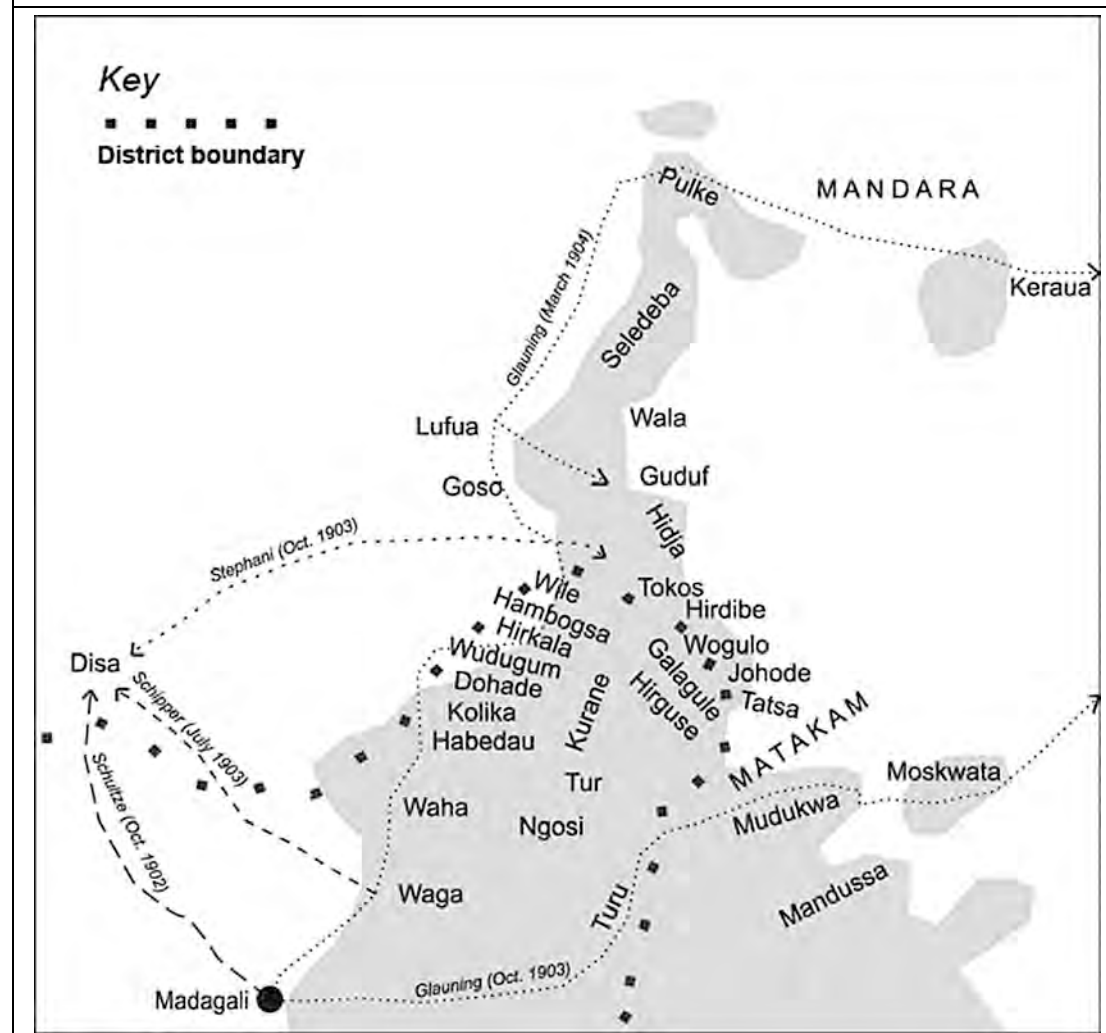


Table 2 shows that the place names on Moisel's map are amazingly complete, especially the Lamang and Dghwede place names. Interestingly, there is no mention of Gava (often spelled Gavva or Gawa) or the Glavda, but only the Guduf and Zelidva. This indicates that German officers did not visit the inner Kirawa valley and perhaps only accessed the Guduf saddle from the west, and presumably did not cross further through to Gava and into the Glavda territory. If we compare Figure 7a and Table 2 with previous Figure 3, we can see 'Kurane' (consisting of Korana Basa and Korana Kwandame) quite correctly positioned in the western part of Dghwede, bordering Hidkala (with Hambagda as the administrative unit name).

We have already pointed out that Moisel's 'Hirguse' is identical with 'Gharguze', which was, according to Dghwede oral history, in the Korana and Hudimche area. Moisel places it to the east of 'Kurana'. This would suggest a reference to Hudimche of today, which is not mentioned on Moisel's map. The place name Hirguse, or Gharguze, has administratively not survived, but it was still remembered in Gwoza Wakane and Dghwede as Gharguze. Gwoza Wakane was the oldest settlement unit of modern Gwoza, and Moisel's 'Goso' for Gwoza is indeed derived from former Gharguze on the southern Dghwede massif.

We also see two references to Dghwede on Moisel's map, namely 'Dohade' and 'Johode', the latter being the Hausa version. We already know that 'Johode' was frequently used as a

synonym for Ghwa'a. However, there is no general reference to the whole of Dghwede, but only references to individual place names among other Dghwede place names of today. Interestingly, neither is there a reference to Ghwa'a, although 'Waha' could be interpreted as such, however it is much more likely that 'Waha' on Moisel's map is a synonym for Lamang. This is confirmed by the fact that it is placed closer to the Lamang settlement area of today.

Table 2: Moisel's place names and their correct spelling

Moisel's spelling	Corrected spelling	Ethnic group	Moisel's spelling	Corrected spelling	Ethnic group
Disa	Disa	Disa	Madagali	Madagali	Madagali town
Dohade	?Dghwede	Dghwede	Mandara	Wandala	Wandala
Galagule	Galtghure	Dghwede	Mandussa	Mondosa	Mafa
Goso	Gwoza Wakane	Gwoza town	Matakam	Mafa	Mafa
Guduf	Guduf	Guduf	Mudukwa	Moudoukwa	Mafa
Habedau	?Huduwa	Mafa	Ngosi	Gvoko	Gvoko
Hambogsa	Hambagda	Lamang	Pulke	Pulka	Zelidva
Hidja	?Chikide	Chikide	Seledaba	Zelidva	Zelidva
Hirkala	Hidkala	Lamang	Tokos	Takweshe	Dghwede
Hirdibe	Hembe	Dghwede	Tur	Tur	Hide
Hirguse	?Hudimche	Dghwede	Turu	Tuorou	Turu
Johode	Ghwa'a	Dghwede	Waga	Waga	Lamang
Keraua	Kirawa	Wandala	Waha	Lamang	Lamang
Kolika	Kwalika	Dghwede	Wala	Wala	Zelidva
Kurana	Korana	Dghwede	Wile	Vile	Lamang
Lufua	Lufua	Lamang	Wogulo	?Gudule	Dghwede

There are some wrongly placed names on Moisel's map. One is 'Habedau', which we have identified as Huduwa, though the latter is in reality much further to the east (see Figure 3). The other wrongly placed name is Wala, which is on Moisel's map to the east of the Zelidva spur, but in reality it is to the west.

Finally, there is the district boundary ('Bezirksgrenze' on Moisel's map) which shows that at least the southern part of the Dghwede massif and the intramountainous valley of Hidkala were already under Hamman Yaji of Madagali, while Guduf and possibly also Ghwa'a (the northern part of Dghwede) was under Mandara indirect rule, with its headquarters in Mora. The reason I include Ghwa'a here is that 'Tokos' (Takweshe) as well as 'Johode' are most likely an indirect reference to Ghwa'a. Both are placed on Moisel's map on the Mandara side as opposed to the Madagali side. The same applies to 'Hidja' (Chikide) and Guduf further north, and also to the 'Matakam' (Mafa) area. They had all once been under Mandara tributary control.

As we have already learned, the division of Dghwede into Madagali and Mandara parts ended after German colonial power collapsed in 1916, and was readjusted during early British colonial rule in the early 1920s. Still, Moisel's map remained in use as an important geographical source during that period of colonial readjustment (Tomlinson 1916), resulting in the distribution of mandated territories which were eventually allocated to Britain and France by the Treaty of Versailles.

Dghwede settlement units according to captain Lewis (1925)

In his introductory note, assistant district officer Lewis of the Dikwa division, who forwards his 'very brief outline of the customs and mode of life among the hill pagans', also includes a tax schedule which shows:

(1) the number of compounds (2) exemptions (3) number of compounds taxed and (4) the total tax for each town ... With regard to (2) these include Bulama, his council and his ward heads and the concession has been made [still subject to approval] with the view of enlisting the help of chiefs and insuring as far as is humanly possible a peaceful taxation.

It seems that these 'exemptions' were a way of winning over the new local officials of British indirect rule, so that taxation could be introduced for the rest of the population. Therefore, the whole report is less about customs and modes of life, and more about producing a list of the new local officials in the villages belonging to what Lewis calls 'Gwoza' and 'Ashigashiya'. These are the two districts covering the Gwoza hills area over its western and eastern parts. However there is some important ethnographic material on local customs, which I will highlight below for more detailed discussion in later chapters of Part Three. Part of the way the British operated was to learn about customs, so that taxation could be introduced as peacefully 'as is humanly possible', but as we have seen in Chapter 2.2, this method was not so successful in late colonial Ghwa'a.

Lewis himself does not refer to the Dghwede as the ethnic group occupying the settlement units listed in Table 3 below, but we have identified them here as such. It appears that Lewis lists all Dghwede wards of 1925 as being generally under 'Gwoza' rather than under 'Ashigashiya', which confirms that Dghwede as a whole was already then under Gwoza.

Table 3: Dghwede settlement units according to captain Lewis (1925)

Lewis	Modern	Village officials	Houses	Customs
Haraza	Gharaza	<i>Chima:</i> Buba Matagum <i>Bulama:</i> Hoiya	163	same as Korane
Kudumsa	Hudimche	<i>Chima:</i> Allah Wadi <i>Bulama:</i> Ngilda	101	same as Korane
Gudule	Gudule	<i>Chima:</i> Jabule <i>Bulama:</i> Gojenge	70	same as Korane
Johode	Ghwa'a	<i>Chima:</i> Tada [Tada] <i>Bulama:</i> Baima [Vaima]	500 plus	methods of burial and proclaiming
Kolika	Kwalika	<i>Chima:</i> Yaga <i>Bulama:</i> Burla	303	methods of burial and proclaiming
Korane	Basa and Kwandama	<i>Chima:</i> Dalil <i>Bulama:</i> Bassa	115	methods of burial and proclaiming
Tagadigile	Taghadigile	<i>Chima:</i> Iya <i>Bulama:</i> Rua	40	same as Tokoshe
Tokoshe	Takweshe	<i>Chima:</i> Iya <i>Bulama:</i> Dawa	75	methods of burial and proclaiming

If we compare 'Johode' with all the other Dghwede settlement units in our list, it instantly becomes obvious that it has the highest population of all. This confirms our conclusion that 'Johode' is Ghwa'a (see Table 3 and Figure 8). There are also quite a few 'village officials' listed in Lewis's list, seven altogether, which is more than for all other settlement units mentioned. The listing of 'Johode' (the Hausa version of Dghwede), as separate from all other Dghwede settlement units in the list, indeed indicates that Ghwa'a was then already viewed as being apart. When we retell the settlement history from our oral accounts below, we will see that this is in tune with Dghwede oral tradition. We precluded earlier that Ghwa'a already

existed in one form or another during the late DGB period, while Korana most likely only formed after the DGB period had ended. There is of course only circumstantial proof for this, but all our oral sources confirm that Ghwa'a was a pre-Korana central place.

All the other settlement units, except perhaps Taghadigile, are today part of administrative Korana Basa, but we see in Table 3 to the left that Lewis lists them all more or less as separate units. He points out that 'Haraza' (Gharaza), 'Kudumsa' (Hudimche), and 'Gudule' follow in their customs the lead of 'Korane' (Kurana). This statement tells us that 'Korane', which are Korana Basa and Korana Kwandama, were considered as somehow influential in traditional terms. We will learn, from our oral accounts on local warfare further below, how the descendants of Vaghagaya most likely expanded from Korana to replace the older settlement of 'Gharghuze' during late pre-colonial times. 'Kolika' (Kwalika) is treated by Lewis as being a separate unit concerning customs, while 'Tagadigile' (Thaghadigile) follows the lead of 'Tokoshe', and he also points out that they are geographically together.

If we refer back to my survey of 1994 (Figures 3 and 8), we see that the then administrative settlement structure of Dghwedé shows Taghadigile as being part of Ghwa'a, while Takweshe belongs to Korana Basa. Using modern Korana Basa as a base, and calculating Lewis's estimates of 1925, we arrive at 827 houses altogether, in which 'Kolika' (Kwalika) has by far the highest number of houses of all the settlement units of administrative Korana Basa.

If we now add Taghadigile to Ghwa'a, we have 540 plus the 827 houses of Korana Basa, which totals 1367 houses paying taxes throughout all of Dghwedé in 1925, apart from the bulamas and other local 'chiefs'. If we now take an average of five individuals per house, we arrive at a population number of 6835, which is significantly lower in comparison to our estimate of about 20,000 in Dghwedé of 1996 (Table 1). If we now calculate a 3% annual increase over 70 years, we arrive at almost 22,000, which is a rough match to the above estimate. In terms of the number of houses, this would have meant about 4000 houses in the mid-1990s, and suggests that 2633 new houses were built in the 70 years previously in the whole of Dghwedé.

Of course, none of the above takes into account the increasing downhill migration, and perhaps calculating six individuals per household would have been more realistic. What remains interesting is that we can indirectly conclude from Lewis that in 1925 administrative Korana Basa counted the majority of houses in comparison to Ghwa'a. We will return to that later when we discuss the concept of majority known as *gidegal*, in our chapter on traditional modes of Dghwedé decision making. We remember that Eustace mentioned this in 1939 as a type of pseudo-chiefly institution, which he liked to describe as 'clan councils'.

The above population numbers are of course highly speculative, but not entirely unrealistic, since Lewis already pointed out in his example of 'Johode' that the bulamas tended to give the lowest possible estimates in order to reduce the tax burden. What we can conclude with certainty is that taxation started to be introduced in the hills in around 1925, and it was something to which the montagnards were not accustomed. They had paid tribute to Wandala for an unknown period, lasting most likely into the later pre-colonial times, but that system had not been consistent and had needed to be enforced whenever it lapsed. Now they were to learn to pay tax of their own free will, which they might have seen as an infringement of their much-loved independence as terrace-farming montagnards.

Concerning the customs lists, we cannot expect too much. It was a tradition among British colonial officers to list burial customs, which is something we also see in later British colonial reports on the Gwoza hills. This trend was inspired by a diffusionist tradition in anthropology, as is apparent in Meek's (1931) ethnographic studies of the region. Unfortunately we do not have much data on the burial customs of the Dghwedé with which to compare the surely valuable data the colonial officers routinely collected on the subject.

The mention of methods of proclamation is presumably associated with exploring systems of traditional law, since the British not only introduced taxation but also courts of law. Later, we

will refer to the issue of proclaiming innocence in the context of sorcery accusations, in the chapter on the Dghwedè concept of existential personhood, where we attempt to portray the belief in sorcery as an integrated part of traditional personhood.

There is one custom reported by Lewis which relates to the Dghwedè pre-colonial tradition of infanticide of the eighth-born child. Lewis's report triggered a discussion among the British officials, and subsequently adoption was introduced to prevent the eighth born being cast out or even killed. We discuss this in Chapter 3.18, by contrasting it with the significance of the seventh born who represented good luck. We already know that the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) represents a key concept of Dghwedè culture.

List of names and places according to 1994 settlement survey and oral history

Table 4 below lists all settlement units and lineage names I have identified in Dghwedè during my fieldwork, apart from the resettlement areas. The administrative allocation of settlement units, as I identified them as part of my survey of 1994, are used. The list is important in geographically identifying related place and lineage names in following chapters, and should be read together with the map presented in Figure 8 underneath.

Table 4: List of Dghwedè settlement units and lineage names

Main Units	Sub-Units	Lineage names			
Administrative Ghwa'a	Ghwa'a	Ngaladewe	Washile	Btha	Nighine
	Kunde	Leshe (Washile)	Gajiwe (Washile)	Fakuwe (Washile)	
	Hembe	Ghwire	Baza		
	Gathaghure	Balngada	Ghweske	Kudume	Yazigila
	Taghadigile	Washile			
Administrative Korana Basa	Korana Basa	Kwachive			
	Korana Kwandama	Karpa	Dagwama		
	Takweshe	Wudza	Dagha	Ghardime	
	Tatsa	Ngaladewe			
	Hudimche	Kandile	Lala	Kadzwara	
	Gharaza	Ghuna	Wuzawa	Dagha	Gaske
	Gudule	Zhiwe	Linga	Mangala	
	Kwalika	Nagaladewe	Dugh Keme and Ghadala	Kem Gula (have left)	Kadzwara (Dagha)

The lineage names listed in Table 4 are probably not complete, but they reappear again in the Dghwedè lineage tree presented in Chapter 3.4: 'The Dghwedè house of Mbra' (see Figure 12). This will allow us to connect the geographical distribution of lineages by also identifying the location of settlement units as presented in Figure 8 and Table 4. This is important for a better understanding of the oral geography of former war alliances (see Figure 8a), as it is also for many of our ritually and spatially relevant ethnographic data throughout Part Three. Figure 8 also shows the village wards of administrative Korana Basa which once formed 'Gharguze', and which later became also known as 'Vaghagaya' (see the key to Figure 8).

We note that the boundaries of the modern Dghwedè ward structure of 1994, shown in Figure 8, not only display the village boundaries between Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, but also the district boundary with Chikidè of the time. The latter belonged to Ashigashiya district, while

Guduf and Dghwede formed part of Gwoza Central district. The international boundary shows the two Mafa villages in the southeast of Dghwede. Kughum is still part of Nigeria and belongs here to the Gwoza LGA, while Huduwa is in Cameroon.

Figure 8: Boundaries of Dghwede administrative structure of 1994 (extract from figure 3)

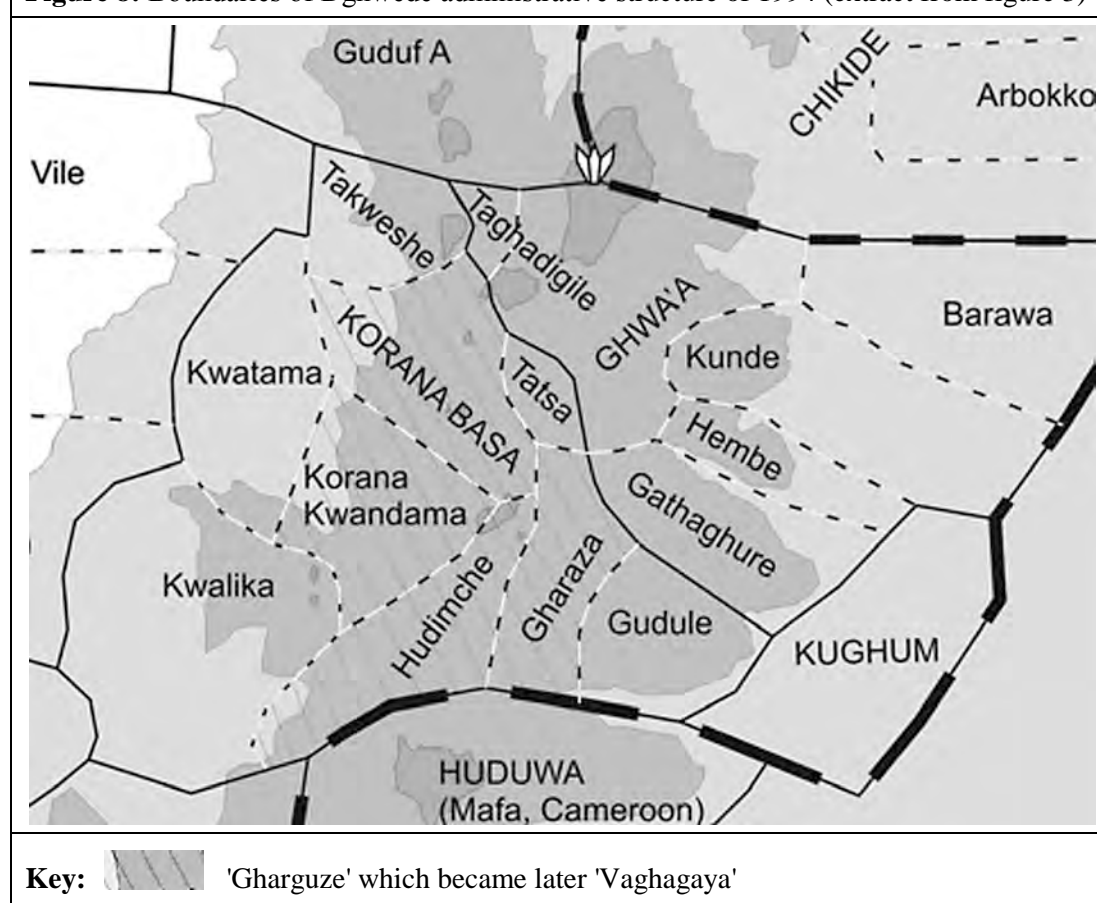


Figure 8 shows again the position of Durghwe as the most important mountain shrine at the highest elevation, marking the border between Dghwede, Gudur and Chikide. We describe the role of Durghwe from the perspective of the Dghwede cosmographic view of the world in Chapter 3.17.

Goze and Gharguze

Moisel's forementioned listing of 'Hirguse' as a settlement area in the centre of administrative Korana Basa, which we marked in Figure 8 as Gharguze, then became Vaghagaya. Moisel does not list Gharaza, Hudimche or Gudule, but lists most other modern wards. We identified 'Hirguse' to be the same as 'Gharguze' through our friends in the hills and Gwoza. 'Goso' is listed on Moisel's map of 1913, where later Gwoza town developed and where the descendants of the immigrants from 'Gharguze' were still remembered in 1994 as the first-comers of Gwoza Wakane. We know that Zimmermann in 1906 refers to 'Goso'. We came across different spellings of 'Gharguze' and wondered whether to spell it as two separate words, as in 'Ghar Guze', but chose to write it as one. The word *ghar* means 'on top' while 'Guze/Goze/Gozo' is a reference to a group that once lived in former Gharguze. We have chosen the spelling 'Goze', and in combination 'Gharguze' means: 'the Goze people from the hills' or 'Gwoza on top'.

The 'Goze' were considered by my friends in 1995 to be former settlers of Korana from the local ward of Hudimche. They particularly referred to Hudimche, Korana Basa, Korana Kwandama and Gharaza as the former settlement of 'Gharguze'. According to them, the 'Goze

people' once settled there, together with the 'Magarha' (a Margi clan who left) and the 'Fta Kra' (a former Dghwede clan who left for Zelidva), before the 'Vaghagaya' rose to power. Also, other local sources referred to the settlement units of Korana, Hudimche and Gharaza as 'Gharguze', but our friends from Ghwa'a in particular used the name 'Gharguze' as a synonym for 'Vaghagaya', being a reference to that central part of administrative Korana Basa (Dghwede notes 1995 and 2001).

We learn in Chapter 3.4 how the descendants of Vaghagaya increased during the late pre-colonial period. This led to the Goze people leaving for what would later develop into Gwoza town, subsequently becoming the administrative centre of the Gwoza LGA. Our oral sources from Gwoza Wakane explained to us in 1994 that two brothers called Dgho and Kdazuwal had first come from Gharguze to settle to the immediate south of the Gwoza foothill. After Dogho died, Lughdho his son moved to the western part of the Gada-Mayo village nearby, however the name Gwoza Wakane was a recent development as there had allegedly once been a bulama by the name Wakane.

It is difficult to establish how long ago the 'Goze people' settled in what would become Gwoza. We were told by our oral sources in Gwoza Wakane that it was during pre-colonial times, and that they still had a place in Korana Basa to perform sacrifice but had stopped doing so some time ago. Interestingly, they did not claim to have been part of the Tur tradition, and could not give the name of their original ancestor from Gharguze. However, they did have an associated lineage consisting of two brothers from Margi Mulgwe, one of whom was sold into slavery and the other one adopted because he impregnated the daughter of Dogho's son Lughdh. This story reminds us of the outsider Mughuze who impregnated Hembe's daughter and then became the father of Vaghagaya, which we will learn more about in subsequent chapters.

Most of my Dghwede sources who used 'Gharguze' as a reference to that central part of administrative Korana Basa were aged around 80 or older in the mid-1990s. This suggests that they had most likely heard it from their parents and grandparents who had lived through the late pre-colonial and early colonial transition period. We can therefore safely assume that 'Gharguze' existed as a place during pre-Korana times, and survived orally as well as in written sources. This view is supported by the fact that Zimmermann (1906) mentions 'Goso', Moisel (1912) lists 'Hirguse', and by oral evidence from Gwoza Wakane, an early part of Gwoza, which was founded by two brothers from 'Gharguze'.

Conclusion

In this transitional chapter we connected written sources from early colonial times and oral sources from Dghwede and Gwoza to show that there was once a settlement area in southern Dghwede known as Gharguze. We pointed out that our older local protagonists from Ghwa'a in northern Dghwede still used this traditional reference, while it seems that our oral sources from what had long been known as Korana (consisting of Korana Basa and Korana Kwandame) did not. We were also able to establish that Ghwa'a was the older part of Dghwede while Korana, or Korana Basa, was presumably a late pre-colonial development, and we hinted that it most likely developed in the context of the Tur tradition as the latest south-to-north migration which we linked to the period of the very wet 17th century. We connected that period with the end of the DGB period, and with the moving of Kirawa to Doulo and later to Mora as the centre of Wandala rule.

We are struggling to find a suitable place name for southern Dghwede in what we call the pre-Korana period, as the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineage changed the traditional settlement structure of what would become administrative Korana Basa. It is much easier regarding Ghwa'a, which was often referred to as 'Johode', and sometimes this appears to have been used as a reference to the whole of Dghwede and not just Ghwa'a. However, the next chapters will show that Ghwa'a and Johode are more or less identical, because in 1934 Mathews refers

to 'Johode' as the early arrival zone of the Dghwedë. But first we will explore some oral sources concerning war alliances of the late pre-colonial Dghwedë, of which the Vaghagaya appear to be by far the largest.

Chapter 3.2

Warfare and settlement history

Introduction

There are no written records of how the Dghwede settlement units first came about, but there are some interesting oral accounts on local warfare between the ancestors of Korana and the descendants of Gudule, which give us some idea. This conflict marks the southern part of Dghwede as having the most recent violent pre-colonial settlement history in comparison to the northern part. We think it marks the tail end of the Tur tradition, and the tendency of south-to-north migration sheds light on it. A prominent reason for the migration was overpopulation and shortage of land, and we will see below that the same explanation is given by our Dghwede friends, being the oral-historical reason for tribal warfare remembered in southern Dghwede.

The two most important ancestors of Korana mentioned in the context of the war with the descendants of Gudule, are Mughuze and Vaghagaya. This warfare culminated in the descendants of Vaghagaya finally driving the Gudule out of Gharaza, which, it was alleged, the descendants of Vaghagaya had occupied previously. There is a different version which attributes the event to Mughuze, who is considered to be the lineage ancestor of Vaghagaya. Interestingly, Mughuze started out as a local nobody, but both Mughuze and Vaghagaya reproduced successfully. An outsider being at the very root of population increase is a familiar theme, including other common motifs in the narrative, such as for example the importance of the seventh-born child of a first wife.

We will learn more about that in following chapters, and concentrate here mainly on the war between the Vaghagaya and/or Mughuze and the Gudule, which oral history claims to be the founding event for what would later become modern Korana Basa. As mentioned, one reason behind it was population pressure. In this context, bulama Ngatha (1995) from Hudimche said to me: 'War was about lack of land because of a growing population'. I think bulama Ngatha sums up here one of the main reasons for tribal warfare in Dghwede: shortage of land. The same assertion was made by other oral historical protagonists.

Before we discuss the war between Gudule and Vaghagaya-Mughuze, we will look at the war alliances I came across in Dghwede as a whole, and see what they tell us about Ghwa'a and what would later become Korana Basa. I sometimes refer here to southern Dghwede as pre-Korana or Vaghagaya, and northern Dghwede as traditional Ghwa'a. These qualifiers indicate that it is unclear exactly where the traditional boundaries between southern and northern Dghwede once lay, so 'pre-Korana' means before the rise of the Vaghagaya, following the oral-historical translation of southern Dghwede. We think that examining war alliances is a good route to better understanding pre-colonial settlement history.

War alliances between northern and southern Dghwede

As mentioned, Ghwa'a and Korana are respectively the main settlement units representing the traditional divide between northern and southern divisions of Dghwede. Their boundaries changed over time along the patrilineal lines of their expansion, which have respective local roots. This was the case with Korana as well as Ghwa'a, the latter being referred to as 'Johode' in archival records, but in neither case was tribal warfare mentioned. 'Johode' appears in colonial reports to be more engaged in rebellion against the emerging colonial power, rather than the conflict being a feature of pre-colonial settlement history. Our oral sources on the various war alliances across Dghwede point elsewhere when referring to the rise of the 'Vaghagaya' in southern Dghwede, the battle being a result of inter-tribal feuds.

Most of my Dghwedè friends spoke with pride about their history of local warfare, but there was one narrative that was prominent. This was the story about the violent expansion of the descendants of Vaghagaya and/or Mughuze. We collected three versions of it: one from Gudule who were the main victims of the conflict, one from Hudimche and another from Hembe. The Hembe and the Gudule stories differ from the Hudimche version since they place Mughuze-Ruwa at the centre and not Vaghagaya who is portrayed as his most prolific descendant. The Hudimche version presumably cites the descendants of Vaghagaya in leading this war because they themselves were part of his lineage.

The locality of Vaghagaya traditionally comprises the three neighbouring settlement units: Gharaza, Hudimche and Korana. Korana was where Vaghagaya and Korana lived. Oral history seems to suggest that the expansion of the Vaghagaya and Mughuze lineages took place just as Gharguze was about to disappear. The decision of the 'Goze' and the 'Fte Kra' to move on was linked to the growing influence of the Mughuze and Vaghagaya lineages. We like to think that while the descendants of the latter expanded, they incorporated pre-existing groups into the Tur tradition, such as for example the Gudule and the Hembe.

Another aspect of the expansion of the Mughuze and Vaghagaya lineages was that as a result they were known to have most often fought among themselves. This is of course not surprising, but considering they became the most numerous lineages in southern Dghwedè, they were able to form an alliance to fight any other opposing clan or lineage group. This was presumably what bulama Tada Zangav of Hudimche meant when he explained to us in 1995:

The only fights the Vaghagaya could have were between themselves.

He then added:

They also fought with Ghwa'a, Kunde, Kwalika, and Hiduwe [Huduwa].

Other oral sources confirmed that Kunde fought Vaghagaya, and added that it was Ghwa'a and Hembe who aided Kunde. On the other hand, if Kunde fought with Gathaghure, Hembe and Gudule aided Gathaghure, while Ghwa'a and Taghdigile aided Kunde.

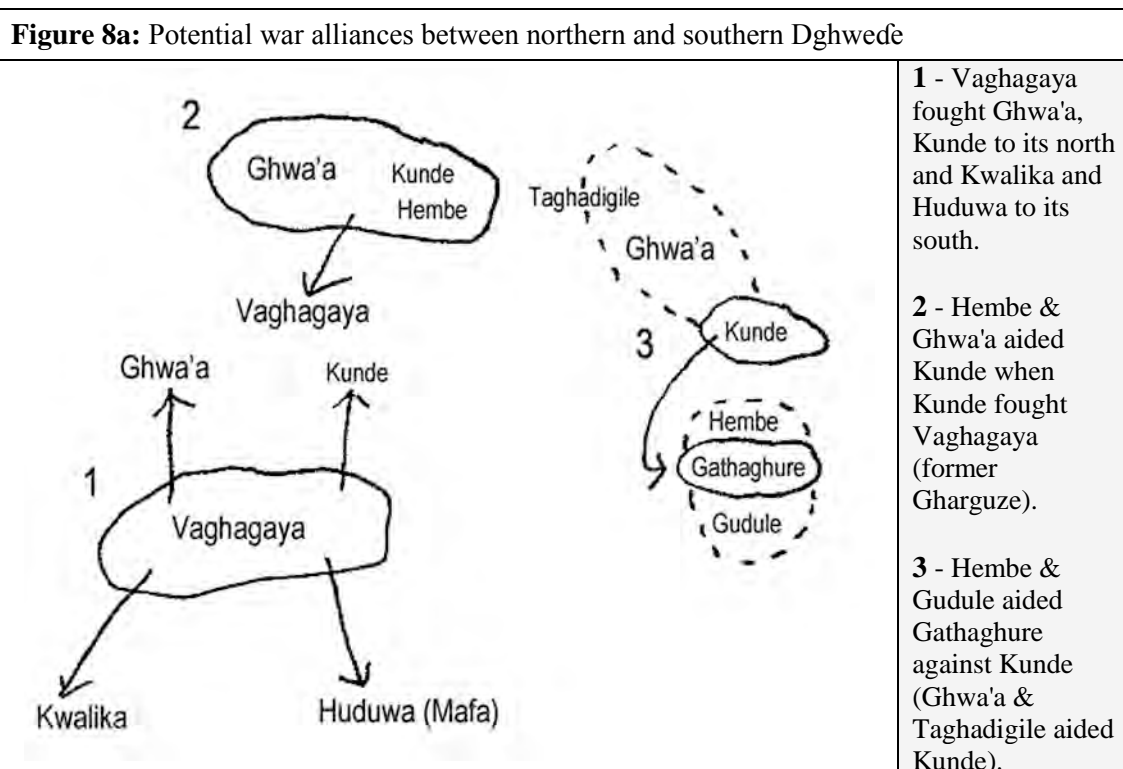


Figure 8a illustrates that Vaghagaya (1) is the largest lineage group ready to expand, while scenario two (2) shows that Ghwa'a on its own is not strong enough and needs to form a war

alliance to defend against the expansion of Vaghagaya. We see in the third scenario (3) that there were more possible allegiances of smaller lineage groups with various underlying local intricacies.

An example is that Hembe aided Kunde and Ghwa'a against Vaghagaya, despite Hembe being the former patron and father-in-law of Mughuze. This is presumably explained by the fact that the locality of Hembe belonged traditionally to Ghwa'a in northern Dghwedë. The situation becomes even more complicated when trying to understand why Hembe would fight Kunde if the latter were at war with Gathaghure. Here again lineage lines kick in, because Gathaghure was a descendant of Mughuze and as such was closer to Hembe. Kunde and Ghwa'a as well as Taghdigile were descendants of Thakara (Figure 12d), and were traditionally opposed to Mughuze-Ruwa (Figure 12 and 12c), but whenever Hembe or Gathaghure was attacked from outside they formed a war alliance with Ghwa'a. Locality potentially overrode descent in this case.

Our protagonists continued by saying that Tatsa usually did not fight at all, because it was situated in the middle (Figure 8 lists Tatsa as being part of administrative Korana Basa). It was explained that Tatsa was, in terms of local descent, from Ghwa'a (see Table 4 and compare it with Figure 12d), but was geographically very close to Vaghagaya, and therefore they did not fight at all. This exemplifies the problem of small settlement units between northern and southern Dghwedë, indicating a policy of neutrality. It suggests that we should perhaps acknowledge that the war alliances relayed to us by our local sources were no older than the inception of 'Vaghagaya' from pre-Korana times, expanding from Korana during the late pre-colonial period by gradually replacing what was formerly also known as Gharguze. In the context of this, the war between Gudule and Vaghagaya appears to represent the most recent pre-colonial step of the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa.

The war between Gudule and Vaghagaya and/or Mughuze

Dghwedë oral history informs us that Mughuze or Mughuze-Ruwa is the ancestor of the majority of Dghwedë of modern Korana Basa. His seventh-born son, Vaghagaya, is the ancestor of the largest lineage in the whole of Dghwedë, and they settle in three settlement units, namely, Gharaza, Hudimche and Korana. They share a common shrine in Korana, but there is no shrine for Mughuze. This is why we treat Vaghagaya as a special case here, and refer to it as a place and not just a lineage. This is relevant in the context of the Vaghagaya version of the war between Gudule and Vaghagaya, while the Hembe and Gudule version cites all Mughuze descendants as main actors in that conflict. Nevertheless, the Gudule version has many similarities with the Vaghagaya version, which is why we summarise both narratives together for introductory reasons as follows:

Before the expansion of the descendants of Vaghagaya to Hudimche and Gharaza, the Gudule lived in Gharaza. After three days of fighting, the Gudule could no longer withstand and decided to quit altogether. While they were starting to leave for a place called Gudulyewe [which is the Dghwedë version of a Gudur tradition], Linga and Mangale [the two younger brothers of Zhiwe] were called by the Mughuze/Vaghagaya to stay. Linga and Mangale agreed and they subsequently settled in Gudule of today, while the rest left for Gudulyewe. From a certain local point in Gudule, they beat the drums for their brothers in Gudulyewe, so they would know to start their bull festival.

Mughuze was originally alone but was then taken in by Hembe, and later became the ancestor of the most numerous lineage in Dghwedë. We will hear more about the rise of Mughuze in his role as local outsider in due course, but at this point we are only interested in the war between the descendants of Mughuze and those of Gudule. According to the Hembe narrative (1995), which we summarise next:

Gudule took Mughuze and turned him upside down only to plant him, head first, into the ground. Hembe found Mughuze stuck upside down in the ground and pulled him out. From then on Mughuze was secretly cutting grasses for Hembe, and eventually Hembe asked him to live with

him. Mughuze subsequently impregnated Hembe's daughter Bughwitha and married her. At the time, Mughuze remained fearful of Gudule, who was very strong.

Over the period of several generations, Mughuze had so many descendants that they outnumbered Gudule and subsequently killed three Gudule men in local warfare. Over the next few days, the Mughuze killed more and more Gudule men. The Gudule eventually planted their shields into the ground and when the Mughuze descendants came to fight, they found nobody behind the shields. They called upon Gudule, who answered that he could not withstand any longer and they had decided to leave for Gudulyewe, but the Mughuze descendants called to Linga, Zhiwe, and Mangala to come back and stay, while the rest left for Gudulyewe.

This version goes further back in time, telling us that Gudule was once the stronger group in pre-Korana times, but that the descendants of Mughuze eventually became so numerous that they beat the Gudule into submission. When the descendants of Gudule wanted to leave for Gudulyewe, three were called to stay behind. This is how the Gudule lost power but gained the ritual responsibility of starting the bull festival for the whole of Dghwedē. We will learn more about the unique role of the Gudule in our later chapter about the bull festival.

Mathews (1934) also mentions, about sixty years earlier, the Gudule and Hembe in connection with Mughuze, stating that he emerged as a local outsider, eventually married Hembe's daughter and subsequently increased in number, but Mathews never connects the narrative to a war between Gudule and Mughuze or Vaghagaya. He adds a few new aspects to it by saying that Hembe had originally settled in Kwalika and Gudule where Korana Basa was located now, but subsequently moved to their current quarters. Even so, he does not link their move to warfare as a result of overpopulation, but only mentions population increase.

Mathews (ibid) also tells us about a tradition in which Mughuze had a past relationship with the people of Hambadga while he had been in Kwalika. In the context of that tradition, Mughuze is described as a Mandara slave, indirectly marking him out as a stranger. We will return to some of Mathews' oral traditions in Chapter 3.4, but want to emphasise here, that based on our oral sources, it was overpopulation and warfare which had been at the root of the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa. In the context of this, we consider Vaghagaya to be the major lineage who fought with the Gudule, rather than the Mughuze-Ruwa maximal lineage.

The above explains why, with the Vaghagaya being at the centre of events, the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa had happened from Korana and not from Kwalika. This does not exclude the possibility that Mughuze had originally been in Kwalika as suggested by Mathews (ibid), but perhaps after the Vaghagaya had established themselves in Korana and Hudimche they expanded into Gharaza at a later stage. This led to the final defeat of the Gudule, which would explain why that particular war played such a prominent role as a recent collective memory in the oral accounts about warfare and settlement history.

War with the 'Matakam' (Mafa) and others

Our oral data suggest that intertribal warfare was mainly with the Mafa. All our Dghwedē protagonists refer to them as 'Matakam', and say that they all fought together against them. This was allegedly mainly to stop the Mafa from taking slaves in Dghwedē. Bulama Ayba Ngwiya of Kunde (1995) specified this even more by saying that to fight against the 'Matakam' they gathered together with Taghadigile, Ghwa'a, Kunde, Hembe and Gathaghure, but not Gudule, since they were under Vaghagaya. This indicates that northern and southern Dghwedē respectively used pre-existing war alliances to fight the Mafa.

From our friends in Hembe (1995) we learned that the Hembe and 'Matakam' were closer to one another at the beginning when they exchanged iron arrow points and iron farming implements for animals and farm products. This encouraged the Mafa to move closer to the Dghwedē area. Around the same time they started waging war and selling one another into slavery, or killing one another, and we were told that they (the Hembe) regretted having

introduced themselves to them (the Mafa) in the first place. This narrative introduces a sequence of events which belongs to the late pre-colonial period, after the Mafa had formed.

We were told in Gudule (1995), that they fought a lot with the 'Matakam' of Huduwa. When they fought with Huduwa, the Gathaghure joined in to aid them. That Gudule and Gathaghure fought together against the Mafa was presumably because they were immediate neighbours bordering the Mafa in the most southeasterly corner of Dghwede (see Figure 8).

In Kwalika (1995) they used to fight with 'Kasghwa' (an abusive term for Lamang), but also with Huduwa and 'Gvake' (Gvoko), and they also fought on one occasion in the past with 'Ftire' (Tur). This was when 'Kem Gula' (see Table 4) had multiplied in Kwalika and felt strong enough to take revenge against Tur. Our Kwalika friend added that now there were so many of their people living in the plain settlements, they could no longer fight. We will return to Kem Gula as the first settlers of Kwalika later, but can say that they were not considered to be descendants of Mughuze-Ruwa, but had come independently from Tur.

Conclusion

We demonstrated in Chapter 3.1 how the place name Gharguze survived, not only in the collective memory of our Dghwede friends from Ghwa'a, but also how it appeared on a map made by Moisel in 1912/1913 as a pre-Korana settlement unit in southern Dghwede. We will explore the term 'pre-Korana' later, but have now introduced our reader to the importance of tribal warfare in the southern part of Dghwede, in the form of recent pre-colonial events presented by the oral history of settlement.

Local warfare was a key element for pre-colonial settlement formation in Dghwede, especially when population pressure increased. This is demonstrated by the example of the conflict between the descendants of Vaghagaya and Gudule. We are certain that traditional Ghwa'a already existed in some way in northern Dghwede before the Vaghagaya brought about the rise of what would later become the centre of modern Korana Basa. Our oral sources also suggest that Gudule pre-dated the formation of the growing Mughuze-Ruwa, the largest clan group in southern Dghwede.

Mathews' (1934) references to Kwalika as the original place where the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa might have started, suggests a long process, one which implies a south-to-north and a northeast movement of settlement expansion. This is in tune with the Tur tradition, as we will learn in Chapter 3.3, and our inference that Ghwa'a ('Johode' in Mathews' 1934 account) is indeed the older part of Dghwede will be underpinned there. This chronological sequence in traditional settlement history terms is the main reason we introduced the artificial distinction between southern and northern Dghwede.¹

We exemplified, with the 'Gozo people' and 'Fte Kra', previous settlers of what would eventually become Hudimche during the expansion of the Korana and Vaghagaya lineages. There is also a strong oral claim that Gharaza was originally part of Gudule. The story that Mughuze was originally a local nobody and outsider, but later became the most powerful ancestor, is a common legendary topic that is also found in other parts of the Gwoza hills. We will examine the legend of Mughuze's rise to power in greater detail in Chapter 3.5, concerning outsiders as founders.

We were able to see that local war alliances formed themselves according to locality issues such as neighbourhood size and through patrilineal descent. The most general divide in lineage terms seems to have been between Thakara and Mughuze, but in local terms the divide between Vaghagaya and Ghwa'a was prominent. The descendants of Thakara, as the

¹ For example we have in our fieldnotes listings of traditions in Chikide (Muller-Kosack 1994) which claim to have come from Ghwa'a, but as we have not found any major tradition of intertribal warfare in Ghwa'a in that context, we do not discuss that here.

patrilineal key ancestor of Ghwa'a, Kunde and Taghadigile, were the neighbours of what would become Korana Basa, with only Tatsa in between. This is why Tatsa would under all circumstances try to remain neutral. Contrarily, Gathagure would fight with Kunde. Gathagure and Hembe would remain with Kunde if necessary, but also aid Gudule if they were attacked.

Concerning pre-colonial southern Dghwedè, our oral sources on local warfare suggest that Korana formed first, leading to the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineages, which later included Hudimche and Gharaza. This was also confirmed by the locality shrine for all descendants of Vaghagaya, which was found in Korana. We will learn more about the distribution and custodianship of local shrines later in Chapter 3.9. We will also see later (Chapter 3.4) how the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineages moved first to Hudimche and subsequently included Gharaza, and we can presume at this point that the tribal war between Vaghagaya and Gudule was not only the most recent, but also the most important collective memory of tribal warfare in Dghwedè as a whole.²

In the next chapter we will explore the Tur tradition in its wider subregional context, and show that it is indeed the most widespread tradition of origin not only for the Dghwedè but also for many other groups of the Gwoza hills. The Tur tradition might have also incorporated local groups that were originally not part of that tradition. The Gudule are such an example. On the one hand there is their role as first settlers and their link to Gudulyewe, and on the other hand the overriding legendary importance of the Tur tradition, especially after they had agreed to stay when they were themselves defeated by the Vaghagaya. In this way the Tur tradition represents an overarching tradition of origin of the greatest regional inclusiveness. Dghwedè is in that context the entry point of the Tur tradition in the Gwoza hills, and individuals and groups moved on from there further north, but never back south again.³

² Considering it is linked to the Gudur tradition also suggests that it might have happened in rather late pre-colonial times, but we will learn more about the link between Dghwedè and Gudur in the chapter on the bull festival.

³ Once they reached the northern end of the Gwoza hills, some groups most likely moved east, of which the Podoko are a good example, but there might also have been group expansion across the intramountainous eastern plain, and in and out of the Moskota hills, as is suggested by my Gwoza (1994) and my Mafa (1988) field materials. We will refer to some of these in the context of the Vreke clan of the Moskota hills in the chapter about the bull festival, and in relation to the harvest festival, and how communal festivals seem to have travelled in a reverse direction to their traditions of origin.

Chapter 3.3

The Tur tradition in its wider subregional context

Introduction

The Tur tradition is the most prominent tradition of origin for many groups in and around the Gwoza hills. During my ethnographic survey of 1994 I learned that 'Fitire' meant Tur in Dghwede, something Wolff (1994:39) indirectly confirms by translating 'Fəṭər' as 'Tur' in Lamang. Mathews (1934) also mentions 'Fitire', but wrongly places it in the 'Wula hills', although he correctly points to 'Johode' as an early arrival zone for many ethnolinguistic groups of the Gwoza hills. We think that 'Johode' is a Hausa expression referring to the prominent rock formation in Dghwede known as Durghwe, as well as the Dghwede hillside settlement of Ghwa'a facing the eastern plain of the Gwoza local government area. Durghwe consists of three rock pillars, each owned respectively by the Dghwede, the Chikide and the Guduf. In that sense we see 'Johode' as an early arrival zone not only for the Dghwede, but also for the Chikide, as we know they originally arrived with them.

In this chapter we aim to take a wider view towards a better understanding of the Tur tradition. By 'subregional' we mean the Tur tradition in the context of the Gwoza hills, and perhaps also the eastern plains and the Moskota massive, because Kirawa as the first Mandara capital was just to the north of both of them. We will ignore the international border and attempt instead to take a pre-colonial perspective. By taking a wider subregional view, we also want to look into traditions of origin from the DGB area, especially as we hold substantial field data on that subject. By doing so we will soon recognise that the wider subregional context needs to include the Wula and Sukur massif, and also the connecting western edge of the central plateau. We are tempted to further include the adjacent western plain, especially the Margi plain around Mulgwe and Mutube, and the hill Margi of Mt Gulak to the west of Sukur (see Figure 4).

We start with the Tur tradition as it appears across the Gwoza hills, and in Figure 9 present a tree of descent showing how many of the groups of the Gwoza hills share an apical ancestor called Mbra. In the context of this, we will also explore the word 'Ngra' as an alternative meaning of Mbra. We subsequently discuss the wider subregional context further south and to the east of Tur, in particular across and along the eastern slopes of the Ziver-Oupay massif. We will be able to see that the Mafa in that area have an earlier pre-Mafa southwest-to-northeast tradition of origin, which we identify as the Wula-Sakon tradition. They represent the largest pre-Mafa local clan group, but were eventually pushed further north along the eastern side of the Ziver-Oupay massif into the DGB area, by the arriving Mafa. The Mafa slowly progressed from the eastern part of the northern Mandara Mountains and eventually incorporated the Wula-Sakon.

Next, we will explore a particular outgoing migratory tradition from the DGB area even further north, which was known among the Mafa as the 'Godaliy' tradition. My oral sources from 2002 claimed that the Godaliy had been the last occupiers of the largest of the DGB sites at the tail end of the DGB period. We can show that Godaliy is indeed an ethnic synonym, not only for the groups of the Gwoza hills, but specifically also for the Dghwede, and that it was used by both the Mafa of the DGB area and those of the Moskota hills. Finally, we will discuss Mathews' 'Johode' which we identify with Ghwa'a, and label it artificially as 'northern Dghwede' to distinguish it from southern Dghwede. We use this distinction not only from a perspective of the ethnogenesis of the Dghwede, but also to identify Ghwa'a as an early arrival zone for other Gwoza hills groups. This is apart from the Chikide also the early Zelidva with their apical founding ancestor Ghwasa, who began, similar to Mughuze, as an outsider in the area. We show that the Gudule and the Hembe were early inhabitants of southern Dghwede, before the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa. Also, the Tala Wandala

(Figure 11) will be discussed in the early context of Ghwa'a, since they were sometimes seen by our oral sources as the Wandala link to the Tur tradition.

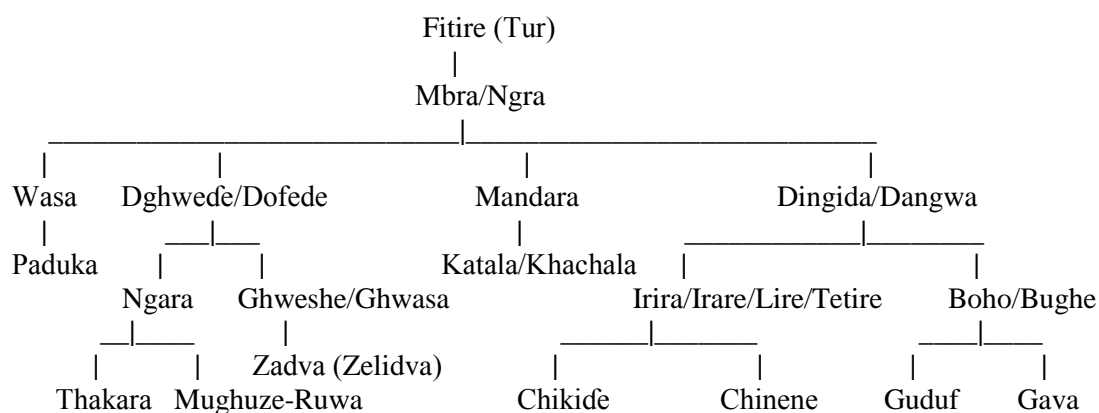
The Tur tradition deriving from Mbra across the Gwoza hills

The first mention of 'Tur' is on Moisel's map, but in the wrong place.¹ He puts it just next to 'Kurane' (Korana), which is too far north. I have shown in the previous chapter, that although Mathews does not mention warfare among the Vaghagaya, or between them and the Gudule, he speaks of Gudule and Hembe as the notoriously smallest groups while he refers to the Mughuze as those which were growing in number. Mathews does however mention population pressure as a reason why people left 'Fitire' (Tur).

Figure 9 below shows the different connections between the groups, in the form of a lineage tree of Tur traditions across the Gwoza hills which I composed from oral data. The Kwiya and Tasa are not included, but only Wasa, since Wasa was the ancestor of the ethnic group 'Paduka' (Podoko) who left for the Mora hills. Because Kwiya and Tasa were more like associated descent groups to those of Dghwedé or 'Dofede', they are included later in a dedicated lineage tree (Figure 12) in the chapter about the Dghwedé house of Mbra.

Mathews (ibid) points out correctly that the Chikidé once settled in 'Johode' (Ghwa'a), and we see below that both the Chikidé and the Chinene trace their Tur tradition via Irira (spelled 'Tetire' by Mathews). We also see that Irira and Boho appear as co-descendants or 'brothers' and that Boho was the founding ancestor of Guduf and Gava. This was also recognised by Renate Lukas (1989). We remember that today the Chikidé speak Guduf, while the Chinene speak *Cene*, which is a hybrid language of Guduf and Glavda.

Figure 9: The Tur tradition deriving from Mbra across the Gwoza hills



Our tree starts with Fitire as a place, followed by Mbra/Ngra as mythical ancestor. Mathews never mentions Mbra, but refers at one point to 'Ngra' by connecting it as a place of origin of the 'Ngoshi' (Gvoko), who he says came from 'Tur'. He however does not recognise 'Fitire' as being the same as Tur, and speaks instead of a geographical tradition of origin from 'the south'. However, my research shows that most Gwoza hill groups who connect themselves to Fitire (Tur) as their tradition of origin from the south, name Mbra as their common ancestor.

It was my oral sources from Kwalika and Gvoko who pointed out that Mbra meant the same as Ngra, and that the latter meant 'first man' and was not an actual name. They further explained that one would for example say Gvoko-Ngra or Dghwedé-Ngra, and that this meant

¹ Moisel puts 'Turu' around where the Tur heights are found, and we can only speculate as to whether Glaunig lists 'Tur' a second time near 'Kurane' during his visit to the Gwoza hills in 1904, where he might have heard about the Tur tradition the year after he crossed the heights of Tur.

that they all derived their ancestry from a mythical 'first man' from Tur. In a way, this view puts a greater emphasis on a shared geographical ancestry across the heights of Tur into the Gwoza hills, which also included the Wandala.

There is another version for Ngra, which I collected during a hiking tour across the heights of Tur in 1996. A local man wearing a typical Tur leather cap explained to me while working in his fields that he was 'Hide-Ngra', and that Ngra meant 'black man' in the sense of racial origin, and that it had nothing to do with where they came from.² Our Hide friend pointed out that what they all had in common was that they originated from 'Ghwa Gulo', which is mount Gulak (see Figure 4). He said that they were in terms of ethnicity closer to the Gvoko, but in terms of language closer to Lamang speakers. We will not go any deeper into that here, but will briefly return to the role of mount Gulak and possible early connections with the Margi of the plain of Gwoza (west of Disa), in the next chapter section.

Our tree of Tur traditions across the Gwoza hills lists Ngara and Ghweshe as link ancestors descending from Dghwedè. We will see in the next chapter that we have moved Ngara to become the link ancestor between Dghwedè and Thakara, while Ruwa appears as the 'father' of Mughuze, although we know that Mughuze began as an outsider. Ghweshe most likely left from Ghwa'a before the Mughuze-Ruwa grew into a dominant lineage. We know that Ghweshe too was an outsider in what would eventually become the Zelidva. It was Ghweshe's son Zadvā who maintained Dghwedè as a ritual language in Zelidva, a custom which survived into modern times (Muller-Kosack 1994:53,76f). However, we know that today the Zelidva speak either Lamang, Wandala or Glavda, and not Dghwedè. We have also mentioned Fte Kra as someone who moved from former Gharghuze to settle in Zelidva. Our Tur tradition group tree also includes the Wandala, who, as we have already mentioned, were believed to have once lived in what would later become Kunde.

We will learn, in the next chapter about the Dghwedè house of Mbra, how Tasa appears as co-descending founding ancestor to Dghwedè, and that he might have been included in the Tur tradition afterwards. This is of course only my view, but that possibility will be demonstrated later for Gudule in a hypothetical case scenario. We have already seen in the previous chapter how they might have become incorporated into the Tur tradition by means of inner tribal warfare. The expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa indeed suggests that the local increase in number involved the incorporation of the previously more numerous but now defeated Gudule. If we follow Mathews (ibid), the same might have also applied to Hembe.

The fact that Mughuze himself was adopted, and as such was an outsider, suggests that the Tur tradition had a very strong uniting function and should not be taken too literally in genealogical terms. As a shared tradition of origin from the south, it might have had more of an identity regarding social function, in the sense of belonging rather than descent from the same ancestor in Tur. From such a perspective, Mbra as the mythical ancestor and image of 'first man' as in Ngra, connects the tradition of a common origin from Tur, not only as a place but also as a migratory direction. The latter also points to the topography of the landscape in question, in which the Tur heights can potentially be seen as a migratory highway along which local group formation took place along the way.

If we look at the northern Mandara Mountains as a whole, we realise they are much more difficult to access from the west than from the eastern mountain range. In the east, they

² This translation of Ngra reminds me of the ethnic synonym 'Gra' for the people of Tur (Muller-Kosack, fieldnotes 1987). I subsequently found that the word 'Gra' means 'friend', and generic 'man' in Hde (Eguchi 1971:204). Eguchi (ibid:195) adds in a footnote that the Fulbe used the word *gra* to refer to the Hide as their 'naked friends', presumably because they thought *gra* meant 'child from the same stomach' in Hide. This sounds a bit confusing but it seems that the Fulbe used the word 'Gra' as a reference to the populations of the Tur heights in a derogatory way because they did not dress in the same way as they did. Our friends from Gvoko and Kwalika made no reference to the Fulbe use of the word but only said that Ngra as 'first man' was a synonym of Mbra.

consist of many more *inselbergs*, and the river Tsanaga separates the northeast from the central plateau by connecting both with the plain of Diamare (see Figure 4). By examining the topography of the northwestern Mandara Mountains we can see that they have the highest range of massifs to the east of the Tur heights. We cannot visualise the migration, but perhaps it consisted more of individuals than of small groups, who then integrated northwards along the heights of Tur. We tend to think, especially with the climate being more humid, that more people ended up in the Gwoza hills. We allocate such a possibility to the 17th century as being the most likely last intense period of south-to-north migration. This in turn might have caused population pressure, which eventually led to the formation of southern Dghwede with the violent rise of the Mughuze-Ruwa lineages, at the geographical entry point to the Gwoza hills.

All our oral sources, including those recorded by Mathews in 1934, suggest that Ghwa'a (or 'Johode') already existed in one form or another at that time. We suggested allocating the 16th century as a possible preliminary pre-colonial time frame, as it is the more ancient northern part of Dghwede. This hypothesis gave us, in our Table of Contemporaneity (Chapter 2.1), two distinct periods of climate change in which we allocated the earlier period as the one in which the DGB sites, as well as Kirawa as the capital of Wandala, were still in place. By connecting that hypothesis to our tree of Tur traditions presented in Figure 9, we can perhaps conclude that not only Dghwede, but also some of the other groups already existed as part of the Tur tradition during that earlier period. Things diversified again during the more humid second period when the Mughuze-Ruwa came about as a result of population pressure from the south, and perhaps also as a result of increasing slave raiding by the Wandala along the foothills of the western plains.

Migratory traditions and the proximity of the DGB sites

Our Table of Contemporaneity in the chapter on the pre-colonial importance of the Wandala has shown that terrace cultivation possibly developed at a very early time in our subregion, and presumably long before the Tur tradition came into existence. During that early period there might have been a north-to-south migration, which not only led to the foundation of Kirawa as the first capital of a pre-Islamic Wandala state, but was perhaps also linked to the development of terrace cultivation as a new way of food production. In the context of this, perhaps rainmaking and manure production interconnected for the first time, to bring about a mountain culture which was both inspired by early state formation at its northeastern foot, and by the achievement of connecting animal husbandry and terrace farming.

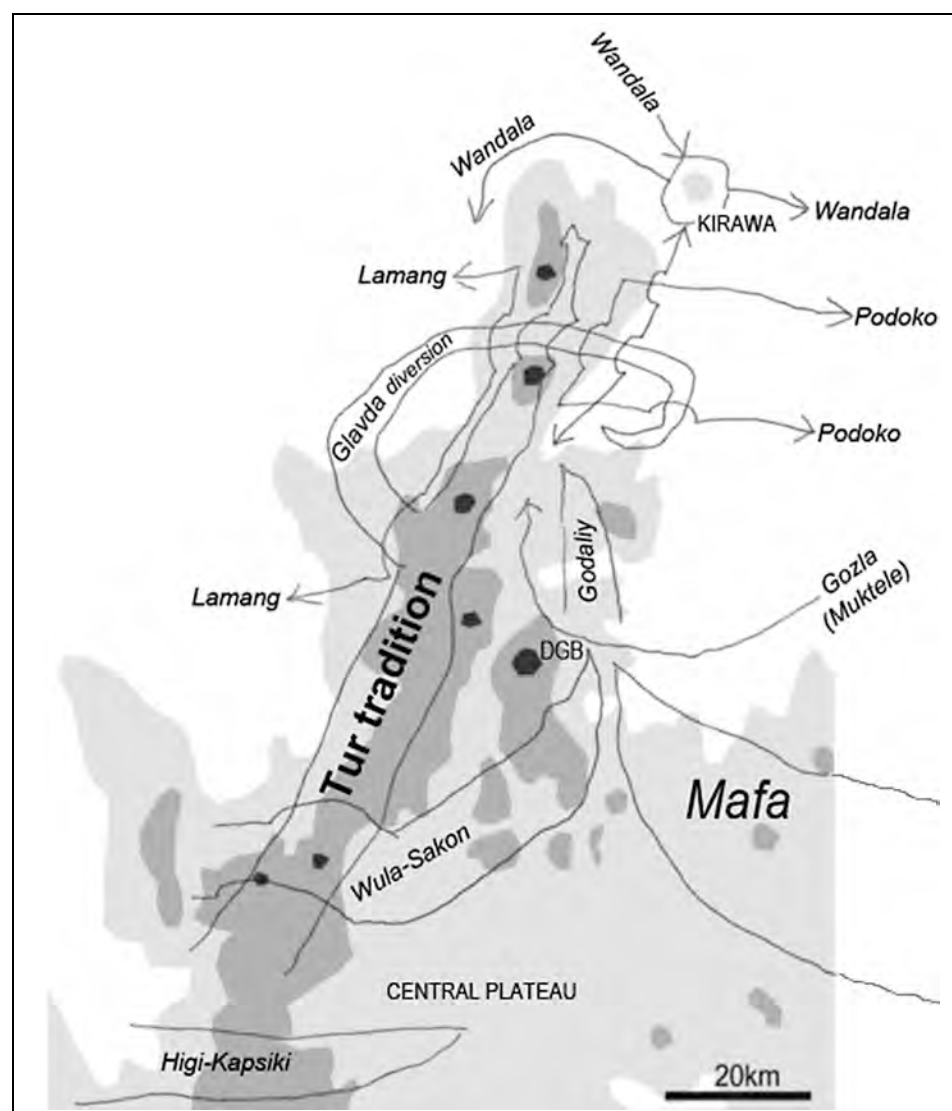
The early dates of the DGB sites suggest that this initial phase did not last very long, but it was perhaps enough to establish a new way of interacting with the environment, and, as we will see throughout this book, it most likely had an impact on the way of life for the people of the Gwoza hills. After all, they were by far the most northerly extension of the Mandara Mountains to be intensely affected by very dry periods. The Gwoza hills were also a cul de sac in terms of south-to-north migration across the heights of Tur. This gave them additional significance as a place where cultural strategies of crisis management from the distant past endured for longer. We also need to consider that coping with specific environmental threats might not only have been the result of aridity, but also of locusts or other plagues and diseases, as well as the threat of enslavement in the surrounding plains. The ongoing confrontation with potential crisis situations might have brought about methods of cultural continuity, as a way of achieving environmental sustainability that was somehow independent of ethnicity.

Therefore we think that the Tur tradition is an oral metaphor for a general south-to-north migratory tradition, and when we look at the physical geography of the Gwoza hills we see there are two possible routes as to how that tradition might have unfolded. One is from Tur to Gvoko, via southern into northern Dghwede, from where it moves on via Chikide and across

the Guduf saddle to the Zelidva spur.³ The other is from Gvoko down to the western foothills to Uvagha, then from Gwoza of today across the Guduf saddle and into the eastern plain. This is the way the Glavda allegedly moved, who then even began to occupy the northern part of the Moskota massif, from where they were pushed out and back again into the eastern plain by the arriving Mafa, eventually forming the most recent ethnic group there.

Figure 10 shows how the Glavda tradition separates from the Tur tradition as the main migratory highway into the Gwoza hills described above. We also see how the Wula-Sakon tradition overlaps with the Tur tradition in the south, which indicates that the two crossed route at this point, with the Wula-Sakon tradition going across and around the southern part of the Ziver-Oupay massif, to go north again along its eastern slopes into the DGB area. I have studied the migratory traditions of the DGB area in great detail (Muller-Kosack 2003, 2008, 2010) and we know that the Wula-Sakon were eventually pushed northwards by the incoming Mafa.

Figure 10 : Migratory traditions of the wider subregional context



The Mafa are an ethnic melting pot of many different traditions of ethnic origin and we have only marked the Gozla as one of them due to the fact that they are the most important rainmaker clan in the DGB area. We can see that they are of Muktele origin (Figure 4) and can be found as far as

Huduwe, to the immediate south of Dghwedè (Figure 8). We will discuss this further in the chapter about the bull festival and how there they refer to themselves as ‘Gaske rainmaker’.

³ Tijani (2010:23), in his PhD thesis about the Gamergu (Malgwa), mentions the colonial report of Harford (1927:21), who claims that the Gamergu came originally from 'Zaladiva Peak' [Zeliva spur]. We do not discuss this further here, but it is an interesting statement considering the close link of the Gamergu with the Wandala of Kirawa and the Montagard inclusion of the latter into the Tur tradition.

We view the Godaliy tradition as the main outgoing migratory tradition from the DGB area, and we previously referred to them as the alleged former ritual owners of the largest and most recent DGB site. Because Godaliy is an ethnic synonym for Dghwede among the Mafa of the DGB area and the Mafa of the Moskota hills, we consider it important to discuss it in a separate chapter section below.

We also find Podoko in the DGB area, but have not shown them on our map. Instead we only marked the Podoko who moved from the Gwoza hills across the plain of Koza into the Mora hills. This makes the Podoko quite widespread, and we see on our orientational map (Figure 4) that they live as an ethnic group north of the Muktele. We can see in our tree of Tur traditions (Figure 9), that the Podoko still shared a common ancestor by the name of Wasa, although they are no longer present in the Gwoza hills.

The Lamang are highlighted as the former inhabitants of the Zelidva spur, and we will explain in the chapter about outsiders as founders how Ghweshe appears as the ancestor of the Zelidva via his son 'Zadva' in our tree of Tur traditions (Figure 9) under Dghwede descent. However, the Lamang are not part of the Tur tradition, which is of interest to us, especially considering that the language of the Hide of Tur is much closer to Lamang than to Dghwede. This is why we have marked, at the southern end of our Lamang connection, a second arrow pointing down to where the Lamang live today.

We have not marked the Hide of Tur separately as we have discussed them in the context of the meaning of Mbra or Ngra as the mythical ancestry link with our tree of Tur traditions. We want to add at this point, that according to my unpublished research in Hide (Muller-Kosack, fieldnotes 1987), the Hide of Tur refer to themselves as 'Gra'. They claim to have originally come from the Margi area in the western plain of Gwoza, from where they allegedly moved to mount Gulak at the southwest of the Sukur massif.⁴ We have already indirectly referred to this earlier when stating that the Wula-Sakon connection overlaps in Figure 10 with the southern part of the Tur tradition, and if we take another look we can see that both arrows are left open at the bottom, indicating that ethnicity is presumably secondary in this region.

One very interesting point we want to make here is that a medium-sized DGB site (DGB15), is found in Nduval, on top of mount Oupay, marking at 1230m the highest DGB site (David 2008:17). During my research on traditions of origin in the DGB area, I was able to establish that there was indeed an overlap between the DGB area and the Tur tradition linked to Nduval, which was occupied by two local groups known as Sakon (Sukur) who claimed to have arrived there via Tur. They explained that they belonged to the same migratory tradition as the Dghwede-Mbra of the Gwoza hills. In referring to this, our friends from Nduval used the ethnonym Godaliy for Dghwede (Muller-Kosack fieldnotes 2002).

There are two more entries to discuss in Figure 10. The first is the open arrow we have named Higi-Kapsiki, which indicates another migratory tradition from the west onto the central plateau, which might have inspired the Tur tradition. Perhaps we should rather refer to them as 'Kamwe', since this is their shared ethnic autonym (Muller-Kosack 2003). We mention them here as the most southerly migratory tradition that can potentially be linked to the Tur heights as a migratory highway into the Gwoza hills. Some of my Dghwede friends claim to have originally come from there too. Their view was perhaps inspired by the fact that the volcanic remains of Rumsiki were visible from certain points in Dghwede.

⁴ My Tur notes speak of 'Matsak' as their apical ancestor of Margi origin. Vaughan (1970:68) refers to the Margi of the plain to the west of Gwoza, and those near the hills, as 'Marghi proper', and Strumpell (1912:57) tells us that the Margi of Gulak and Duhu experienced strong Fulbe raids as early as 1800, which might explain the reference 'Gra'. However, Ibn Furtu (Lange 1987:76,144) speaks of Idris Alauma's military campaign against the rebellious ruler Adwa of Kopci (west of Disa), at the time of the capital of the Margi-Magay, between 1564 and 1576, being a similar situation to the 'usurper' of Kirawa.

Finally, we want to mention the circular arrow distribution around mount Kirawa, showing the Wandala tradition coming in from the northwest to Kirawa, indicating Ishga Kawe (Figure 1) as their place of origin, at least according to the *Wandala Chronicles*. There is another arrow going in both directions into the eastern intramountainous plain, towards the DGB area and back. This acknowledges that the Wandala were also part of the Tur tradition, as our Dghwede friends of Ghwa'a relayed to us. We see further that the Wandala of Kirawa spread their influence around the eastern and western parts of the Gwoza hills, as well as to the northeastern part of the Mandara Mountains.

The significance of the Godaliy tradition

The Tur tradition is not the only south-to-north migratory tradition into the Gwoza hills, as there is also the Godaliy tradition from the northern end of the DGB area. We see, in Figure 10, that it points towards the Gwoza hills and the Dghwede, but we do not know the stations of its migratory path. We know that the only other evidence for the word Godaliy being applied as an ethnonym for the Dghwede is from the Vreke clan of the Moskota hills (Figure 4). The Vreke claim to have intermarried with the Godaliy in the past. We discuss the ritual role of the Mafa chief of Vreke (*biy Vreke* = great Vreke) in the bull festival chapter further on. We will show how the *biy Vreke* started the harvest festival for the Mafa and also for some groups of the Gwoza hills area, in particular the Glavda, but not for the Dghwede. This raises the question of whether Godaliy was more of a general ethnic toponym used for all montagnard groups of the Gwoza hills. As far as we could establish, the Dghwede themselves were not familiar with the Godaliy tradition of the Mafa.

The etymology of Godaliy can only be a matter of speculation, but my best bet is that it is a transformation from the Fulani word *gaadal* for *Cissus quadrangularis* (Blench 2020), which plays a huge role in the ritual culture of all groups in and around the Gwoza hills. The Fulani word *gaadal* is also very close to the Fulani word *godali* for *Urginea maritima* (ibid), which also had ritual uses in Dghwede. We describe both plants in greater detail in various contexts later, and learn that they could also be mixed as medicine to ritually enhance the growth of crops (Plate 20a). In particular, *Cissus quadrangularis* was used in Dghwede by the specialist peacemaker lineages, and we remember that Vaima swallowed a powerful variety of *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) before leading a montagnard delegation to Maiduguri in the 1920s, as described in Chapter 2.2.

The earliest mention of the above is as '*gadali*' by Mathews in 1934, where he names the Amuda in the eastern plain, and also the Hidkala clans at the western foothills as important ritual owners of the plant. Mathews might not always refer to *Cissus quadrangularis*, but sometimes to *Urginea maritima*, but translates *gadali* incorrectly as 'cactus'. He was not aware that the word might have a Fulani root. Therefore it is possible that the Mafa adopted the word from the Fulani as an ethnic toponym, and applied it to the people of the Gwoza hills who were known for their highly developed ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis*.

This view is also indirectly confirmed by another example, in which a Fulani word presumably led to the ethnonym Glavda.⁵ We will list and discuss many of the ritual varieties of *Cissus quadrangularis* in Chapter 3.23, but explore its role as popular clan medicine in chapters leading up to that. For example, Mathews (ibid) claimed that the outsider founder Mughuze received a powerful version of it from one of the Hambagda clans (Chapter 3.4).

In 2003, when I collected evidence of the Godaliy tradition in the DGB area, I was told that they had left the DGB area before the Mafa arrived, and that they were considered to be the

⁵ It is interesting to note that the ethnic name Glavda can be derived from the Fulani word *ghavda* for *Ficus platyphylla* (Blench 2020). *Ficus platyphylla*, Ganji tree in Hausa, plays an important role in the tradition of origin of the Glavda (Muller-Kosack 1994), and can be referred to as their identity tree, as their local ancestor lived under a Ganji tree, which served him and his wife as shelter after their arrival near Gava (see Figure 3), at a foothill of the intramountainous eastern plain of today's Gwoza LGA.

last to have been in charge of DGB1. We know that DGB1 was excavated by Scott MacEachern (2012:52), who reports archaeological evidence of activity there as far as into the early 17th century. This would make the late 1600s, and perhaps the early 1700s, a possible time frame to be considered, not only for the Godaliy leaving the DGB area, but also for the Mafa spreading in our wider subregion. Fulani pastoralists were present in the area south of Lake Chad throughout the 17th century, while the Fulbe jihad began to take place the following century. The expanding Mafa may have adopted the word Godaliy from the Fulani pastoralists.

To recapitulate, we think it is reasonable to infer that a hundred years of consistently higher rainfall in the more arid north triggered a south-to-north migration, which presumably led to population pressure, not only in the Gwoza hills but also in the DGB area. We would like to suggest that one of the oral historical results of that population pressure was not only the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa in southern Dghwede, but also that of the Mafa in and around the DGB area. This long wet period also marked the end of the DGB period, in which DGB1, as the by far largest site, survived the longest, leading to the Godaliy leaving northwards.

Although there is very good oral evidence that Ghwa'a as an early arrival zone might well have existed in one form or another during the 16th century, there is none for the Godaliy tradition in that early period. The only oral evidence we have for the Godaliy is from the Mafa, who see them as the last ritual owners of DGB1. Considering that such an earlier phase of what would become Ghwa'a might not have allowed for a Godaliy tradition to exist, as this was a pre-Mafa era, it is very difficult to see how the name could have existed during the 16th century. In Chapter 3.13 we will discuss how the bull festival of the Dghwede connects them with the already mentioned Gudur tradition, which seems to have spread with the expansion of the Mafa. In the context of this, we will revisit some of the contradictions in connection with our discussion of the Godaliy tradition of the Mafa. What we acknowledge here, is that the ethnonym Godaliy is perhaps a more recent development, but the connections between the Gwoza hills and the DGB sites are likely more ancient. One of the purposes of this book is to describe the underlying circumstantial oral history of that hypothesis.

In our next and final chapter section we will make the case for 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) of northern Dghwede, to be seen as an early arrival zone in the context of its connections to the Tur tradition within and around the Gwoza hills.

'Johode' as an early arrival zone for migrants coming from 'Fitire'

Mathews (1934:2) writes of: 'The Azorvana [Azaghvana] speaking people [who] consist of four groups, two of which are descended from a common ancestor, Dofede [Dghwede]. The other two, the Hembe and Gudule, like the Dofede, came from the south, and think that there is some kind of distant common origin between them and the others. But if this is the case, it is very vague.' He says that 'They are often known as Johode, but not by themselves' and he claims that 'this is really the name of the hill on which the Wa'a [Ghwa'a] live.' Mathews also points in the same context to the 'Zlediva' (Zelidva), who 'came originally from Johode.'

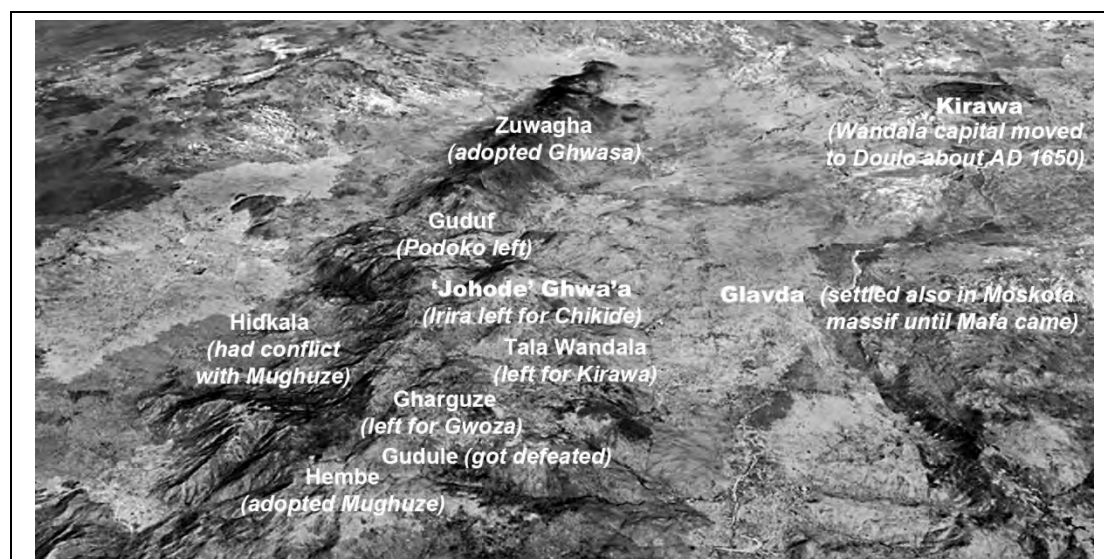
Mathews only speaks of 'Fitire in the Wula hills', but never equals it to Tur. Mathews also speaks of the 'Wula hills' as the place where his 'Fitire' is allegedly found. We know that he means the Mafa when he speaks of the 'Wula', which is underpinned by the fact that he refers at one point to the Moskota hills as 'Wula hills'. Mathews was most likely wrongly informed there, and I was able to firmly establish that 'Fitire' did indeed mean Tur in Dghwede, and that it was not a reference to the Mafa. We pointed out earlier that Mathews mentions 'Ngra' in the context of the 'Ngoshi' (Gvoko) as having originated from 'Tur' (ibid), but unfortunately in our opinion he misses identifying 'Fitire' with Tur, especially in the context of 'Johode' as an early arrival zone for many groups of the Gwoza hills.

That Mathews fails to identify 'Fitire' as Tur becomes obvious where he mentions 'Fitire' in relation to the Chikide and Chinene, by saying that: 'Werere' [Rire], who was 'being forced to leave there [Fitire] owing to over-population ... They accompanied the Johode people and left them at Johode, where there was not room for both, and under the leadership of one Tetire [Itire] settled on the two Chikide hills.' Mathews' take from the oral tradition relayed to him in the mid-1930s was that not only the Chikide but also the Chinene left the 'Johode' (Dghwedè) behind. This means that they migrated together from Tur to Ghwa'a, and then left the 'Johode', but moving on only next door, so to speak!

Here I am not going into all the different oral narratives of how and why the various groups who came from Tur moved or settled, but only want to illustrate that Mathews takes the view that after Tur, Ghwa'a was a transitional station for migrants to arrive and separate again further north into the Gwoza hills. We wonder how its role as an early arrival zone contributed to Durghwe becoming a major interethnic mountain shrine. Although Mathews does not refer to Durghwe, we know that Ghwa'a means mountain in Dghwedè, and Durghwe possibly already played a role as an important rain shrine during the dry 16th century, especially considering that it was the most northerly one in our subregion. We infer that during that time, southern Dghwedè was still a pre-Korana place, something which only changed with the rise of the Mughuze-Ruwa during the much wetter 17th century.

Figure 11 below aims to give an informed geographical picture of what was to become Dghwedè might have looked like, with Mathews' 'Johode' as an early arrival zone. Here we apply our artificial distinction between southern and northern Dghwedè, and the first thing we see is that Gharguze is where Korana will eventually emerge, while Gudule is perhaps where Hudimche will appear. Our assumptions are certainly extremely vague in terms of the geographical placement of potential settlement areas. We see Mathews' 'Johode' is the same as Ghwa'a, while Tala Wandala is where Kunde will eventually come about. What we marked as 'Johode' or Ghwa'a in Figure 11, will mark the area we describe in an oral-history sense as the core of northern Dghwedè. We see that Iira is at this time still in what will later become Ghwa'a, but Iira will eventually move on to where the hill part of Chikide is found today. We have not marked Durghwe separately from 'Johode' or Ghwa'a, but must consider it as a ritual key element of 'Johode' as Mathew's early arrival zone.

Figure 11: Northern Dghwedè as early arrival zone and connections within the Gwoza hills



We do not know whether Tala Wandala really existed as a pre-colonial settlement, and whether it was there before the formation of the Chikide. We remember the legend of Katala-Wandala of the hills, and how her montagnard husband had found the 'roots of the sun' from deep inside the earth, and how he also controlled Durghwe as an important rain shrine, eventually leading the Wandala no other choice than to leave for Kirawa, because they could

not control the rain. Of course, we cannot take that legend at face value, but Tala Wandala might still have existed as a place where the Wandala might have sometimes taken refuge when times were hard, either for environmental reasons or as a result of a threat of warfare from early competitors of the plains.

We put the Guduf to the north of early Ghwa'a, but are not sure whether the Podoko still lived there then. Also, we infer that Ghwasa had already left 'Johode' and moved to what would later become Zelidva, where he was adopted by the Lamang-speaking Zuwagha clan. We see the Glavda to be still occupying not only the eastern plain, but also the Moskota hills, before the Mafa arrived and drove them out.

We see Hembe where Kwalika is now. We are using Mathews (ibid) as a source, who tells us that Gudule once lived not far from there. This is why we put Gudule next to Hembe and consider both as early settlers in pre-Korana southern Dghwedè. We strongly assume that Dghwedè was already spoken during that time, when, according to our oral sources, the Gudule were considered to be the most numerous group in southern Dghwedè. However, the Gudule must have also risen to that status, but we do not have a time frame for it, only that they were eventually replaced by the Mughuze-Ruwa.

Another reason for listing Hidkala in Figure 11 is because we think it was already exposed to Wandala slave raids along the foothills before the Mughuze-Ruwa formed in southern Dghwedè. However we do not have any oral evidence from Dghwedè that they ever settled in the hills, but we know about the linguistic connection with the Hide of Tur and their claim to have come via mount Gulak, which suggests that they were once Margi speakers. That Hde is in linguistic terms closer to Lamang than to Gvoko, does suggest some kind of pre-Korana connection between Lamang speakers and the hills.

Unfortunately, all our oral data are extremely fragmented, and there are many narratives but not enough connecting evidence. Also, the details were already preshaped by the collective memory of our narrators before we even wrote them down. Reshaping them any further by too much ethnographic decontextualisation is very seductive, but perhaps not what we want, considering they are in the first place unsatisfyingly suggestive and incomplete. This is why we will not indulge any further in the migratory traditions of our wider subregion, and concentrate instead on our oral sources and what they tell us about the local formation of what we have decided to call the Dghwedè house of Mbira.

Conclusion

The Tur tradition is a well known oral tradition of origin, naming Tur to be the place from which many groups of the Gwoza hills claim to have once originated. Mathews is the first to mention, in 1934, 'Johode' as a place in the Gwoza hills where other ethnic groups also claimed to have come from, before they moved on to their final destination. Although 'Johode' was the Hausa version of Dghwedè, it was originally also used in reference to Ghwa'a. Mathews tells us that the Chikidè claimed to have previously settled in 'Johode'. He however fails to identify 'Fitire' as Tur, but acknowledges, by referring to the Gvoko, that it was population pressure that had made them leave Tur. He was also the first to mention that the word 'Ngra' was the place the 'Ngoshi' (Gvoko) had come from, something that was confirmed to us 60 years later in Gvoko and Kwalika, namely that there were Hide-Ngra, Gvoko-Ngra and Dghwedè-Ngra. We also concluded that Mbira and Ngra meant the same, namely a manifestation of the wider shared belief in a widely shared ancestry from Tur, which also included the Wandala, and could even be found in Nduval on top of the Oupay massif.

In the case of Dghwedè, we think that this belief intensified as a result of the rise of the Mughuze-Ruwa, being the latest integration into the Tur tradition, and to create a sense of ethnic belonging, but we want to raise doubt as to whether this belief was there before. During colonial times, the Dghwedè were often referred to as 'Azaghvana', while 'Dofede' was

seen more as a common ancestor. Also, 'Johode' was used regularly, indicating that Ghwa'a was indeed the early arrival zone of what would later be referred to as Dghwedé. We are therefore more or less certain that Ghwa'a started as a pre-Korana settlement from where other migrants from Tur moved on, to later form the Chikidé and the Zelidva, and perhaps even the Guduf. Whether there was a pre-Korana settlement called 'Tala Wandala', where Kunde later formed, or whether there was intermarriage between the Wandala of Kirawa and pre-Korana Dghwedé, is much less certain.

We also tried to link the Tur tradition of the Dghwedé and the Gwoza hills with the wider subregion, by looking at the Ziver-Oupay massif and the heights of Tur as a topographic unit. In the context of this, we considered the proximity of the DGB complex along the northern slopes of the Oupay massif, overlooking or perhaps 'overseeing' the northwestern Mandara Mountains as far as Kirawa. The eastern intramountainous plain between the Gwoza hills and the Moskota hills might have once represented an important connection leading to the DGB sites from Kirawa, although we have no more than circumstantial proof of such an ancient link. One potential factor for such circumstantial evidence is the migratory traditions of the wider subregion, which all point to strong south-to-north routes, in the context of which we referred to the Tur heights as a migratory highway.⁶

The Tur heights and the Ziver-Upay massif are embedded between an earlier western migratory uphill tradition from the southern end of the Tur heights, and later immigration as far as the top of the Ziver-Upay massif and the DGB area from the east. This led to the Mafasation of many smaller groups there, and also to the integration of the Wula-Sakon as a major earlier immigration originally from the west. Also, we identified the Godaliy tradition as the only emigration from the DGB area into the Gwoza hills. This was seen as the last group to have been ritually in charge of DGB1, being the most recent and largest site of the whole DGB complex. The earlier uphill migration from the western plain onto the Tur heights point to Margi and Lamang roots, both uphill and along its western foothills.

In terms of a temporal frame, we used our Table of Contemporaneity (Chapter 2.1) and pointed to a palaeoclimatic contemporaneity between the very humid 17th century, not only for the end of the DGB era, but also regarding the move of the Wandala capital from Kirawa to Doulo. Besides this, we attempted to link our wider subregional migratory traditions with that wet century, and suggested that the Godaliy tradition would have been most likely more of that period, while we consider the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa to be at a later point in the same period, perhaps at the same time as the Wula-Sakon becoming Mafa. We showed that the expansion of the Vaghagaya into what was previously known as Gharguze was presumably the most recent oral memory event we recorded, a view supported by our Ghwa'a protagonists who still referred to it that way.

We derived from the above scenario that the pre-Korana Dghwedé speakers had their headquarters in Ghwa'a and that Durghwe most likely already played a key role as a mountain shrine during the earlier last arid period of the mid- to late 16th century (about AD 1550 to ~1600). We previously suggested that this period could be hypothetically linked to the 'Pagan usurper' brother of Umar, perhaps revitalising the DGB area with a particular interest in the impressive DGB1 site. Looking at our Table of Contemporaneity, we notice that the previous hundred years, that is the period from 1475 to 1525, had been less arid, but there is no specific migratory tradition from our oral sources which we could connect to that early period.

Still, assuming that the heights of Tur were an ancient migratory highway, we infer that people moved along it at that time, perhaps even in both directions. We can also infer that

⁶ That the Mafa inhabitants of DGB15, as the highest DGB sites, connected themselves with the Tur tradition, shows that we possibly need to include the heights of the Ziver-Upay massif as also belonging to the Tur tradition. My Mafa notes (Muller-Kosack 1988) from the top of the Ziver massif show similar Sakon traditions as in Nduval, but there were no DGB sites found on top of Ziver.

during that earlier period slave raiding in the adjacent plains was perhaps a good reason for uphill migration, in addition to cyclical climate change. The same presumably applies to the intramountainous eastern plain, where the Wandala of Kirawa had exclusive access far into late pre-colonial times. We do not know whether the inhabitants of the Gwoza hills already had tribute arrangements with the Wandala of Kirawa during that early period, and neither do we know whether they had a trade relationship with them. We tend to think that perhaps they had one from quite early on, if we take into account Leo Africanus' report from 1589.

We finally want to bring our reader back to the initial phase of contemporaneity between the populations of the Gwoza hills and the early Wandala of Kirawa during the initial phase of extreme aridity during the early and mid-15th century (roughly between 1425 and 1475), especially considering they are geographically so close to both Kirawa and the DGB area. It is not inconceivable during this early period that not only DGB2 already existed as a ritual place, but also Durghwe, both cosmologically linked to increasing the yield of sorghum. An intensified form of husbandry was perhaps then developed for the systematic production of dung, and became ritually connected to rainmaking and cornblessing. Considering that Durghwe was not only the most northerly mountain shrine, but was also very close to the Wandala of Kirawa, might have given it additional subregional importance, particularly during periods of increased aridity. Chapter 3.17 shows an illustration (see Figure 27) of the imagery our protagonists from Ghwa'a presented when describing the cosmographic structure of Durghwe, consisting of three rock pillars as granaries reaching into the sky and rooted in underground water where three bulls lived. We interpret this imaginary picture as 'cosmological blessings from above and below'.

We will learn later that the ritual tasks of rainmaking and cornblessing were socially expressed in the form of patrilineal descent from the same matrilineal 'kitchen' (*kudige*), or even twins, which manifested themselves in specialist lineages (Chapter 3.7), but before that we will present the Dghwede house of Mbra. By doing so, we will critically examine our oral sources and aim to lay open the difficulties of constructing a sound version of a Dghwede lineage tree. We will see how the different clan and lineage sections are all brought together in one Dghwede tree of descent rooted in Mbra or Ngra, who was considered to be the apical ancestor not only for the Dghwede but also for many other groups of the Gwoza hills area, including the Wandala.

Chapter 3.4

The Dghwede house of Mbra

Introduction

From the perspective of most of my Dghwede friends, Mbra is the mythical ancestor of the Tur tradition and Dghwede is considered to be one of his 'sons'. This is the reason he is referred to as Dghwede-Mbra. We learned in the previous chapter that Ngra is a synonym for Mbra, meaning something like 'first man' or even 'black man', and is most likely derived from the Hde word *gra* for friend and generic man. The word was also used in a derogatory way by the Fulbe, who allegedly translated it as 'my naked friend', but it was most likely initially used as 'Gra' by the Hide of Tur when referring to themselves. We adhere here to our Gvoko and Kwalika sources, who considered Ngra to mean 'first man' who came from Tur, also speaking of the Hide-Ngra, Gvoko-Ngra and Dghwede-Ngra. However, as pointed out above, most of my Dghwede friends considered Mbra to be the name of a mythical ancestor from whom they all descended. In that sense, we refer to Dghwede as one of his 'sons', and therefore as Dghwede-Mbra. Dghwede popular tradition nevertheless seemed to vary as to whether or not the legendary Mbra himself ever came to the Gwoza hills. There is one tradition that refers to a place halfway up to Gvoko as 'Mbra's water'. Nearby here we find a ruin of a house which Dghwede like to claim was once 'Mbra's house', which I chose as the title for this chapter.

Constructing a Dghwede lineage tree is not easy, because there are quite a few contradictions, particularly at the upper end or maximal level. Here we use the term 'lineage' in a technical way, by showing lines of descent from 'fathers', and in which we describe co-descendants as 'brothers' and descendants as 'sons', without implying that they had a biological relationship. This means that someone might become a 'brother' ancestor by becoming integrated into the Tur tradition, following the meaning of 'Ngra' as described. We have already seen this in the context of our tree of Tur traditions across the Gwoza hills, where Wandala-Mbra appeared as a 'brother' of Dghwede-Mbra. However, we will see that the lower and more diverted it gets in our description of the Dghwede house of Mbra, the more genealogically specific the lines of descent will become.

We begin by presenting a Dghwede lineage tree as a kind of a constructed compromise. We start by critically reviewing Mathews' results on the Dghwede and point out his mistake about Mughuze's position in relation to his 'father' Ruwa (Mughuze-Ruwa). We also present explanations concerning Mughuze and Mbra, in which some of our local sources were mistaken, and correct them in the light of the bigger picture assembled with help of some of our main protagonists. We then discuss in a separate section how many 'brothers' Dghwede had, and reiterate the highly metaphorical meaning of the use of the word 'brother' as a reference to ancestors on the upper level of the Dghwede lineage tree. We also discuss the genealogical position of 'Ngara' and wonder whether it is a repetition of 'Ngra', and we finally decide to view him as 'father' of Thakara, the great Dghwede ancestor of Ghwa'a.

In the next chapter section we discuss the Mughuze-Ruwa of southern Dghwede, and the Thakara of Ghwa'a, by going into greater detail concerning the oral histories linked to them, in particular that of Vaghagaya as the most recent and most successful of Mughuze's 'sons'. We continue to consult Mathews' accounts about Mughuze's alleged link to Kwalika, and a conflict he had with Hambagda, and Korana who was a 'son' of Vaghagaya, and not, as Mathews claims, a 'son' of Mughuze. In the section on Vaghagaya, we tell the story of his mother Dugh Viye, daughter of Hembe and first wife of Mughuze, describing how she was accepted as Mughuze's first wife by her jealous co-wives. This led subsequently to Vaghagaya's sons Kurana and Kandile becoming founders of what would later become Korana Kwandama and Korana Basa, and also Hudimche in the case of his half-brother Kandile.

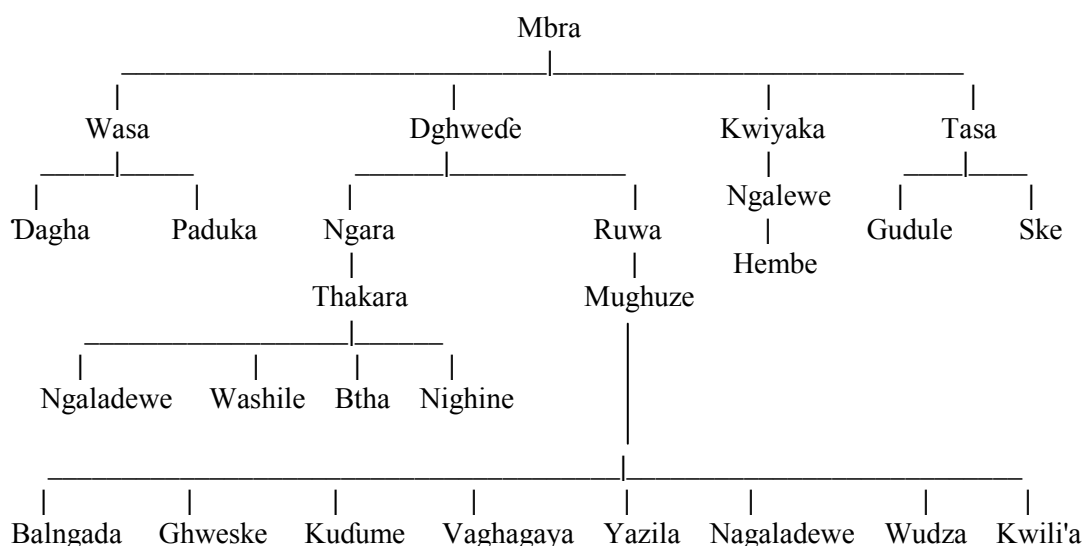
Their expansion led eventually to the final defeat of the Gudule in Gharaza. We discuss in a separate section what our oral sources told us about the pre-Korana lineage groups, one of them being the already mentioned 'Goze', but also 'Margarha' (Margi) and the Fte Kra, who moved to Zelidva. After that, we present what we know about the various lineage groups in Kwalika and their links to Hidkala and the Dagha of Kadzgwara. We point out that they should not be confused with the Dagha-Wasa who are the peacemaker lineage of the Dghwede. We present the latter in a separate chapter about specialist lineage groups, where we also present Tasa, the other 'son' of Mbra and 'father' of Gudule and Ske, who were generally referred to as the Gaske rainmaker lineage.

Finally, we present the Thakara of Ghwa'a. We have already presented Ghwa'a as the early arrival zone of pre-Korana lineages and clans, such as the ancestor of the Chikide, who moved on before or perhaps shortly after the formation of the Thakara as the dominant local lineage group. We will present the various 'sons' of Thakara, among whom the descendants of the Btha lineage were still in charge of the Durghwe mountain shrine during my time. Among Thakara's four 'sons' it was Washile whose descendants eventually became the founders of Kunde. We mentioned earlier that a part of Kunde was previously known as Tala Wandala and we will return to that in our chapter section about the expansion of the Thakara of Ghwa'a.

Difficulties in compiling a Dghwede lineage tree

Below is the Dghwede lineage tree we came up with by looking through our oral data. There are differences to some of Mathews' results from 1934. A major difference is that Mathews does not mention Mbra but only 'Dofede' as the apical ancestor of the Dghwede. Apart from 'Dofede', he speaks of 'Wa'a 'Rwa (whose people live at Johode)', whom we identify here as his version of Ruwa. He then speaks of 'Moghzo' (Mughuze) and includes 'Vargei' (which is Vaghagaya) as two major lineages.

Figure 12: A Dghwede lineage tree



My research and comparison with Mathews concluded that he was mistaken in the position of 'Wa'a 'Rwa'. Instead of identifying Ruwa as 'father' of Mughuze, he saw him as a prime ancestor of many of the lineages associated with Ghwa'a. Besides, Mathews also seems to sometimes mix up place names with the names of lineage ancestors. His referring indirectly to 'Wa'a 'Rwa' (Wa'a = Ghwa'a; 'Rwa = Ruwa) as Ruwa of Ghwa'a is one example. We will discuss Ruwa in connection with Mughuze-Ruwa (meaning as the 'father' of Mughuze) again

further below. We admit that we do not know who Ruwa was, but are quite sure that he was not linked to Ghwa'a, but more to what would later become Korana Basa.

One of the reasons Mathews might have been mistaken on a few details is presumably because many oral protagonists tend to explain things from their local perspective. We stick here to a lineage tree I established in Figure 12 above, after talking to friends in almost all the administrative wards of modern Korana Basa and Ghwa'a. I admit that it is a compilation formed after much consideration and comparison with various oral protagonists. Sometimes our sources contradicted each other, and at other times we, that is mainly John Zakariya and I, were able to establish that they had mixed things up.

We demonstrate this in the following two examples from Kunde and Hembe: According to Tada Zangav from Hudimche (1995), Mbra had come from the direction of Kunde and continued uphill (southwards) to a place between Ngoshe Sama and Hudimche. He then went on to say that there was a house that could still be found, meaning the alleged ruins of Mbra's house already mentioned. In comparison, most other sources were clear that Mbra never made it to Kunde, but that he had been travelling from the direction of Tur and reached only as far north as the place considered as the ruin of his house between Ngoshe Sama and Hudimche.

Another confusion concerning Mbra occurred in the story of Hembe. According to a friend from Hembe (we discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter section), Mbra killed a wild animal called *thatile* (some kind of bush meat). Mbra allegedly brought Hembe the meat by closing the door with the pile of meat. This was, according to my friend, the reason why the Vaghayaya people did not pay the dowry for their mother. As we will see below, our local friend confused Mughuze with Mbra.

Such confusions are not uncommon and I am sure that the lineage tree presented above is not entirely correct either. Mathews must have been confronted with the same problem, and most likely did not spend as much time researching narratives about lineage connections in Dghwede as John and I did. Still, I cannot be sure, and my suggested Dghwede lineage tree might therefore not meet everyone's approval.

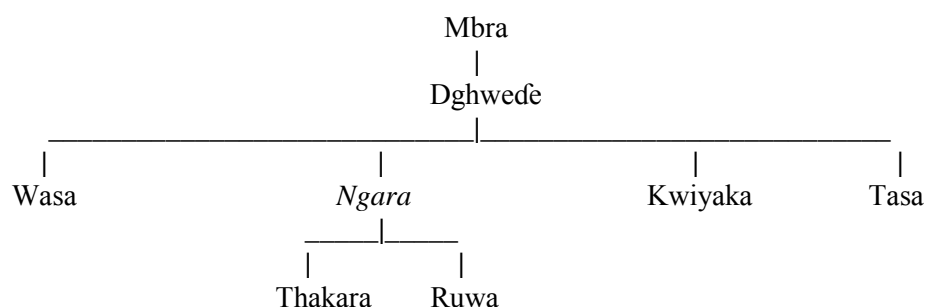
The three 'brothers' or four 'sons' of Dghwede-Mbra

Dghwede appears in Figure 12 together with Wasa, Kwiya and Tasa, whereby those three are not his three 'brothers' but only his classificatory co-descendants. They can also be classified with other patrilineal key descendants of Mbra, such as Wandala or Dingida (Figure 9) who we have excluded from our dedicated Dghwede lineage tree. The reason for this is that they moved on and therefore do not have much of a ritual relevance to what we think formed Dghwede. According to our accounts, the Podoko had already left, but the Dagha peacemaker lineage also claims links with Wasa. We do not know when, and in what sequence, the Podoko left, but it appears to have been before the Mughuze-Ruwa completed their expansion, resulting eventually in the rise of the Vaghagaya. The circumstance of the Mughuze-Ruwa becoming so dominant might have also influenced Tasa, and perhaps Kwiya and Wasa to become 'brothers', in the version of the Dghwede house of Mbra we have adopted here.

We display below an alternative version, in which Dghwede has moved up one level, and as a result suddenly appears as the apical ancestor for all the other Dghwede clan groups, now being made exclusive, and where Ngara has moved one level up and has become link ancestor for Thakara and Ruwa (Figure 12a). We prefer the first version (Figure 12) because it better demonstrates the specialist position of the others as founding ancestors of associated clan groups. We discuss the cornblessor and rainmaker, and the Dagha diviner and peacemaker lineages separately, because we identify them as being associated with Dghwede. Some of them, such as the Gudule and Hembe, are even seen as first settlers. We learn later how their local position, excepting that of Hembe, is expressed in ritual roles contributing to the ethnic unity of southern and northern Dghwede. We will learn, across various chapters, that a

particular ritual aspect is the one of cosmological pairing based on the patrilineal descent of matrilineal full brothers of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*), by ethnographically contextualising this specific aspect and linking it to successful socio-economic reproduction.

Figure 12a: Alternative version of the Dghwede house of Mbra



Some of my Dghwede friends liked to think that Wasa and Tasa had been twins, presumably because twins are such a powerful symbol of pairing for successful reproduction. We learn in Chapter 3.19 about the Dghwede belief that twins are communal reincarnations of former twins. However in this chapter we will only present the difficulties of constructing a Dghwede lineage tree. If we consult Figure 9, we see how the position of Ngara shifted, classifying the Zelidva with the Thakara and Ruwa. However, just because the Zelidva derived from Dghwede-Mbra, does not mean that the Dghwede were an ethnic group at the time. We know that colonial officers did not use the ethnic term Dghwede, but preferred Azaghvana as a reference to the language they once shared. In Chapter 3.12 we present the ritual aspects of the house as a place for worship, and illustrate how this was manifested in the architecture of a Dghwede house.

As with the Tur tradition as a whole, the Dghwede house of Mbra is highly constructive, because as a collective memory it reflects more the later pre-colonial times. Wasa not only produced 'Pakuda' (Podoko) but also Dagha. We have mentioned the Podoko as part of the extended Tur tradition, and find oral evidence of their past presence at other places in the Gwoza hills, for example in Chikide, Guduf and even in Zelidva. The Pokodo are today known as an ethnic group of the Mora hills on the Cameroonian side of the northern Mandara Mountains, and no longer exist in the Gwoza hills. However, Wasa is also the 'father' of Dagha who is indeed part of the Dghwede house of Mbra. Dagha diviners also existed across the Gwoza hills, particularly along the western foothills, but they were not the same as the ones descending from Wasa. Both are seen as being diviners, but Dagha-Wasa was the only legitimate 'father' of the Dghwede peacemaker lineage, and therefore appears in our lineage tree. Still, we do not know for sure why Dagha is seen as a 'brother' of Paduka.

Kwiyaaka, the ancestor of Hembe, brings about a different type of incorporation. Hembe becomes the adopted father of Mughuze. Social adoption is a common theme in tales of local origin, in which there is often a local nobody as an outsider who marries the daughter of a landowning father for whom he secretly cuts grasses to stall-feed his domestic animals. Out of such patron/client relationships could grow new lineages. A similar story existed for Kumba-Zadva, the great ancestor of the Zelidva, whose 'father' was adopted by Lamang-speaking first settlers. Their reproductive potency was also expressed in the legendary assumption that both Kumba-Zadva and Mughuze-Ruwa were alleged to have had seven sons¹. However, the Hembe stayed separate and they were much less numerous in lineage terms than his former 'houseboy' Mughuze. We discuss the Hembe as an independent but incorporated clan group later.

¹ This is a reference to reproductive luck. We mentioned the role of *thagaya*, which is the Dghwede word for the seventh-born son of a man and his first wife, who inherited the majority of economic assets.

The Mughuze-Ruwa

To speak of the Muzghuze-Ruwa is a way of referring to all descendants of Mughuze. Ruwa's name is added because he is considered to be the 'father' of Mughuze, which is how the Dghwedè qualified patrilineal descent. We know that Mathews mentions 'Rwa' in the context of 'Wa'a' (Ghwa'a) but he does not link him with Mughuze, whom he wrongly connects to 'Johode' as an early arrival zone from 'Fitire' (Tur). We are quite certain that Mathew's 'Rwa' is the same as our Ruwa. Unfortunately, we do not know much about Ruwa, except that he was seen as the 'father' of Mughuze. From a Ghwa'a perspective, he was referred to as agnate of a different clan section, with whom they shared a common ancestor called Dghwedè-Mbra.

Ruwa belongs, like Dghwedè himself, to a group of mythical ancestors about which my Dghwedè protagonists often pondered as to whether any of them had arrived on the Dghwedè massif or whether they had never left Tur. The village head of Korana Basa (1994) claimed that a certain 'Ghwete' was the 'father' of Ruwa, and that it was Ghwete who did not leave Tur, but that he was relevant to all Dghwedè. The village head insisted that Ruwa himself had indeed come to Korana Basa and that his *drawa* (trumpet) was still there. We know that Korana Basa did not exist at the time, and perhaps Mathews is right by linking him to Ghwa'a. In that way, Ruwa would become part of 'Johode' as an early arrival zone from Tur.

We have raised the issue of 'Ngara' as a link ancestor for Thakara and Ruwa, but have decided to move him to a lower level and have only made him 'father' of Thakara. This makes Ruwa and Ngara co-descendants of Dghwedè, and we wonder whether the expanding Mughuze-Ruwa descendants arranged it this way in hindsight. After all, Mughuze was only a houseboy of his contemporary Hembe, whose daughter he impregnated. We know this to be a common theme, not only in the hills but also in the western foothill areas in particular. Whatever is the case, there is no doubt that the descendants of the Mughuze-Ruwa now see themselves as members of what we have referred to as the Dghwedè house of Mbra. Incorporated into the image of a resilient male outsider, he made Dghwedè oral history, but, from what we know, Ruwa could have only become important after the Mughuze had reproduced so very successfully.

We remember that Mughuze got lost in the bush and was found by Hembe who took him in and later became his father-in-law following the illegitimate pregnancy of one of his daughters. We remember that they eventually outnumbered and defeated the Gudule under Vaghagaya. The Mughuze-Ruwa during my time still occupied the two Korana wards, Hudimche, Gharaza, Ghathaghure, and also Takweshe and Kwalika. They occupied and farmed the largest section of Dghwedè land, and became, as the late pre-colonial shapers of southern Dghwedè, not only the most numerous but also the most recent local clan group with so much influence.

Mathews (ibid) writes much about 'Moghzo' in different contexts, which gives us an additional take on Mughuze. For example, he places Hembe as the first settler and father-in-law of Mughuze into today's Kwalika, where he had been impacted by Mandara raids. Mathews also claims that Gudule originally lived in this part of early southern Dghwedè, apparently where Korana Basa is now. However, some of Mathews' stories about Mughuze seem to be mixed up, particularly in parts about the friendship between the 'Hambagda' clan of Hidkala and the Dghwedè, an alliance which was allegedly formed in Takweshe.

According to Mathews, 'Moghzurua, a Mandara slave of Korana', was given 'powdered cactus (*gadali*)'² by 'Hambagda' during a visit in 'Tokoshe' (Takweshe) where 'Ivra', who had adopted 'Hambagda' in Hidkala, had brought him for a visit. 'Ivra' was the one who suggested that the two should be friends and they consumed beer which had been magically transformed

² Here Mathews mentions '*gadali*' for *Cissus quadrangularis*, which we identified to be a word of Fulani origin, and which might have led to the ethnonym 'Godaliy' used by their Mafa neighbours of the DGB area and the Moskota hills. The example above shows that Mathews translates it as 'powdered cactus'.

to seal their friendship. However, according to our version from Hambagda, the beer turned from 'blood back into beer' and not into 'water' as Mathews suggests. Nevertheless they became friends and subsequently 'Hambagda' (also a former slave) gave 'Moghzurua' his 'powdered cactus'. According to the tale it was a very potent variety he had brought along from 'Mutube' (Figure 4). Now 'Hambagda' pointed out to 'Moghzurua' that he should keep it preserved in its 'horn'. This way it would be potent medicine for the increase of his people and his reproductive power for a long time to come.

According to Mathews this horn still existed, and we assume it is the same horn I mentioned above as the horn (*drawa*) of Ruwa, allegedly kept in Korana according to the village head of Korana Basa in 1994. Mathews (1934) goes on by saying that:

Later, Korana drove out some of their number to Kolika [Kwalika], Haraza [Gharaza], and Hudimsa [Hudimche] as they increased and got too numerous for Korane to support. Thus all these four in some degree are descended from Moghzurua [Mughuze-Ruwa], and owing to the special friendship between Hambagda and Moghzurua there was until recently no intermarriage between any of them and Hambagda. Recently, Kolika and Hambagda have begun to intermarry.

Mathews (*ibid*) continues with 'Korane' (Kurana), to whom he refers as the son of 'Moghzurua'. The story goes that one day he came down from Korana Basa to Hambagda and found a beer party in progress. Kurana interrupted the beer party and even broke a beer pot. Altogether he behaved with such insolence that they beat him up and drove him away, but Kurana returned that night with his people and burned Hambagda.

The above storyline shows some kind of sequence, in which Mughuze is first adopted by Hembe while still in Kwalika, but later we find him again in Korana, where his magic horn is still kept as a symbol of population increase, but eventually the friendship between the people of Hambagda and Korana Basa was put to the test, because 'Korane' behaved badly during a beer party. We show below, that 'Kurana' was indeed a son of Vaghagaya, showing clearly that Mathews confused the two, but Mathews emphasises the friendship bond and the role of powerful clan medicine. Later we will learn more about the importance of access to powerful clan medicine, and that for example the Vile of Hidkala had a subregional significance.

The fact that Mughuze was seen as a former slave, and details in my field data about the use of 'Hambagda's' clan medicine against Mandara raids, somehow throws a different light on Mughuze. What is also puzzling is that Mathews' 'Moghzurua' can easily be translated as Moghuze-Ruwa. He might possibly have been a former slave who had escaped from Mandara slave raids along the western foothills of Hidkala. Perhaps he had escaped from Hambagda and had taken refuge in Kwalika, where he married Hembe's daughter?

If we consult Figure 12, we see that Hembe had Ngalewe and Kwiya before him, but we do not know anything about those two. Perhaps they had lived in Kwalika, while Hembe moved on and became the founding ancestor of Hembe, now facing the eastern plain (see Figure 8). However, we learn later that Mathews does not connect Hembe himself to Mughuze, but speaks of a 'Shegelewe of Hembe' (*ibid*) as being the name of the Hembe man who took in Mughuze. We learn, in Chapter 3.5, how our oral sources inform us that Mughuze gave his son 'Balngada', the founding ancestor of neighbouring Gathaghure, as dowry to Hembe.

We also want to note that an ancestor named 'Ngade', who had married a daughter of Kwalika, appears not only in Mathews (*ibid*), but also in my fieldnotes, as an ancestor of the Hudugum clans of Hidkala. It was indeed Mathews' 'Ivra', who brought 'Hambagda' with his clan medicine to Takweshe, which is the same as 'Ighwe' that appears in my notes as a son of 'Ngade' of Hudugum 60 years later. It appears that the above narrative can be connected with the foothill origin of the specialist healer lineage group. They are known as the 'Dagha of Kadzgwara' and are found in Kwalika as we find out soon.

We remember that there were two Dagha lineages, one from Mutube or Mulgwe (Figure 4) and the other the Dghwede peacemaker lineage, linked via Wasa and Dghwede as associated lineage to Dghwede-Mbra. Because the latter was a descendant of Wasa-Mbra, his Dagha

descendants were seen as being genuine Dagha peacemakers. Conversely, the first ones were not seen to be pure Dagha, a view underpinned by the story that they had allegedly been found in the stomach of one of Wasa's cows. There is an alternative narrative about the special talents of the Dagha of the western foothills which we will present a little later in our discussion of the Dagha of Kadzgwara descent.

The last few paragraphs show how complex oral history is, and how many versions we have to take into consideration to find an underlying narrative that is sufficiently convincing from which to reconstruct a form of local Dghwede history. Many of the points we are making need to be revisited and looked at from various perspectives of the intricacies of Dghwede culture, to make ethnographic sense of them in their own right.

Vaghagaya

Mughuze must be considered a mythical founder personality, a view which is underpinned by the oral narrative that he had seven sons (village head of Korana Basa, 1994). Among the seven sons of Mughuze, Vaghagaya would become the most successful, and he too was often seen as someone who had also seven sons. However, Vaghagaya was locally remembered as much more concrete, and he was also more of a legitimate descendant because he had not been adopted as a local nobody by becoming houseboy to an autochthonous clan member, as was Mughuze. He most likely grew up and married and then lived in what later became the administrative ward of Korana Basa. We remember that at the time of Vaghagaya's birth, a traditional ward by the name of Korana did not yet exist, and that it was possibly still called 'Gharguze'.

Oral history reports that Vaghagaya 'was left in the house'. This presumably means that he inherited the house. According to some of my friends from Korana Basa (bulama Mbasuwe and elders, 1995), Vaghagaya had three wives, but his mother was Dugh Viye. Figure 12c below shows that Dugh Viye Hembe was also known as Bughwithe. She was the daughter of Hembe. We learn, in our chapter about outsiders as founders, how Hembe became Mughuze's father-in-law, but briefly mention here a narrative I was told in Gharaza (1996). The story tells us how Dugh Viye was accused by her co-wives of being a witch, and the subsequent events after the birth of Vaghagaya:

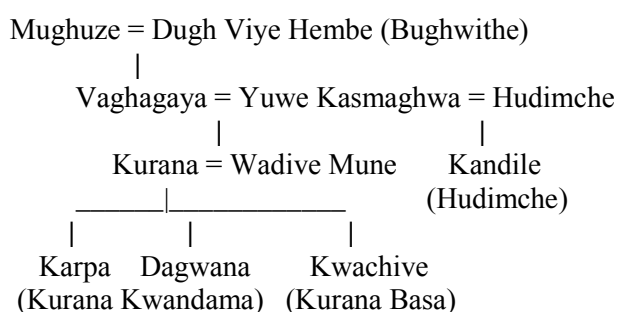
Dugh Viye was a wife of Mughuze Ruwa given by Hembe. Dugh Viye was accused by her co-wives of being a witch. Her son Kwili'a told her that if she was really using witchcraft she should stop this. Dugh Viye was very annoyed about the accusation and cursed her son Kwili'a. She said to him that he would not grow in number. Next, she packed her son Vaghagaya and went off towards Gvoko. While she was leaving, something happened to her accidentally. It was something like clouds or fog that arrived to cover her and she could not see the road any longer. She could also feel her son Vaghagaya on her back holding on to something very heavy with his hands. Since she could not see the road in front of her any longer and since she could not remove the object on her back, she stopped and checked upon Vaghagaya and discovered a stone in his hands. She tried to remove that stone, but she could not. Now she turned around and decided to make her way back home. She surely thought that there must be a reason for the mystery that she could not go any further. When she arrived back home, she explained everything to her husband and she showed him the stone in Vaghagaya's hands. Since then the Vaghagaya carry the name Bughwithe, which is said to refer to that particular incident.

We like to interpret the gravity generated by the stone that baby Vaghagaya held in his hand as a representation of his local bond and an upcoming sense of entitlement, and indeed, the three ancestor stones (see Plate 25c) found in every traditional Dghwede house are the material representation of that entitlement. We do not know how old the use of ancestor stones is, but some of the houses we documented were themselves several generations old. We will learn about Dghwede stone architecture in the relevant chapters of Part Three. At this point, we only want to refer to the part where Dugh Viye curses her son Kwili'a, who, if we compare with Figure 12c of our Vaghagaya lineage tree, has not expanded or reproduced at all. Unfortunately, we do not know the literal meaning of the name 'Bughwithe', but know that it

was used as a synonym to refer to Vaghagaya as a successful place due to Dugh Viye's strong action.

Figure 12b shows that Kurana was the son of Vaghagaya's wife Yuwe Kasmaghwa. We do not know whether she was his first wife, but infer that she was, because he was considered to be the seventh born (*thagaya*). Also, Kurana was 'left in the house' and had therefore most likely inherited it. We will discuss the Dghwede system of inheritance later (Chapter 3.18), but mention here that if there was no seventh-born son, the next older son would inherit. We were told that Kurana married Wadive Mune and had three sons with her.

Figure 12b: Key marriages of Mughuze and Vaghagaya



I did not double check the positions of Vaghagaya's wives with my friends in Hudimche, but confirmed that Hudimche was indeed Vaghagaya's wife. I was told by bulama Ngatha (1995) that she was the mother of Kandile, and that the present people of Hudimche were Kandile and Lala. He continued by saying that Duwara and Ghuna were the first people who settled in Hudimche but that they left for Gharaza. Presently the people in Hudimche were not only Kandile and Lala, but Ghuna also. However the Ghuna of Hudimche were not the same as those Ghuna who left for Gharaza, but were believed to have come from 'Fitire' (Tur), and were allegedly known as 'Kadzwara' (ibid). We will see however, in the chapter about the oral history of Kwalika, that the Kadzwara are more likely 'Dagha' who had resulted from intermarriage with the Hambagda clan of Hidkala.

We are quite certain that Yuwe Kasmaghwa was the first wife of Vaghagaya and the mother of Kurana. Next, Kurana married Wadive Mune and had three sons with her:

- Karpa
- Dagwana
- Kwachive

It was said to us that Korana as a place was traditionally one settlement unit, but became divided into two in the context of administrative changes during colonial times. Vaghagaya's house was allegedly still there, but I never double checked whether it was someone's existing house, an abandoned ruin of a house, or just a legend.

However my Korana Basa protagonists explained that Dugh Viye Hembe was the mother of Nagaladewe who moved to Kwalika, and that Balngada and Kudume were further sons of Dugh Viye Hembe. Kudume settled in Gathaghure. If we consult our Vaghagaya lineage tree below (Figure 12c), we see that we have listed Balngada and Kudume as 'brothers' of Vaghagaya, which makes them 'sons' of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*) of Mughuze-Ruwa. We will see below that this is in tune with what we were later told in Kwalika.

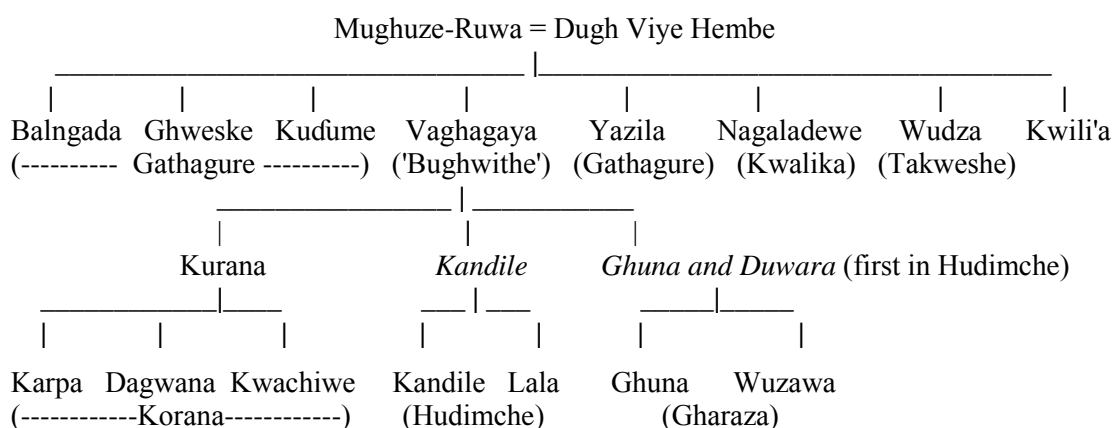
As explained, Dugh Viye is identical to Bughwithe, and Vaghagaya is her most important 'son'. We should remind ourselves here that Mughuze's 'father' Ruwa would not have been seen as a successful ancestor if Bughwithe had not returned and claimed her place as the first wife and mother of his 'son'. We perhaps need to consider that at the beginning of Mughuze's career as a local founding ancestor, he was still a nobody, which is why he could only give his son Balngada as dowry. We learn, in the next chapter about outsiders as founders, that this led

to the formation of Gathaghure. Out of this comes the question of how Hembe as a place came about, considering Mathews' claim that he originated in Kwalika.

If we look at Figure 8, we see that Hembe and Gathaghure are next to each other to the north of Gudule. We remember that they formed a war alliance together with Gudule when they fought Kunde and Ghwa'a in the recent pre-colonial past. The reason for the war alliance between Gathaghure and Hembe was based on the close relationship between Gathaghure and Hembe because the latter had received Mughuze's son Balngada as dowry. This is of course only a legendary reason, but nevertheless it represents circumstantial evidence that we can further contextualise with other memory accounts, in this case with Mathews' and our oral sources.

If we take into account Mathews' claim that the Hembe originally came from Kwalika, and match that tradition with Hembe's forefathers listed in Figure 12, we can only assume that Mughuze became Hembe's houseboy after Hembe was founded but before Gathaghure came into existence. It also suggests that during that early time Vaghagaya had not yet formed, and Gudule was still occupying much of the space in between what would later become Kwalika and early Hembe. This is a spatial scenario we should perhaps keep in mind when thinking of a pre-Korana southern and northern Dghwedë. After all, none of the names of the places we allocated presumably existed before Dghwedë as we know it came about. We like to think that this is an important reason why our local protagonists might have also referred to Vaghagaya as 'Bughwithe'. Bughwithe's strength as a founding ancestress of Hembe descent, whose forefathers were considered to be early settlers of Kwalika, gave Vaghagaya his custodial entitlement. We also think that this is why Mughuze gave his firstborn son as dowry, which founded the close liaison between Hembe and Gathaghure.

Figure 12c: Vaghagaya lineage tree



Even though his descendants eventually became very successful in terms of population number, they called upon the Gudule not to leave in their entirety, for the sake of underpinning their newly gained custodian entitlement with the ritual seniority of the Gudule. We further discuss this later in the context of the Gudule's role in starting the bull festival (Chapter 3.13) where we present various key scenarios which explain their ritual role for the whole of Dghwedë. At this point we focus only on the Vaghagaya, and in Figure 12c above demonstrate how settlement space was redistributed along lineage lines by the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa.

Figure 12c shows the lineage tree of Vaghagaya in the context of his co-descending 'brothers', and we see that Kwili'a is the only one who has not reproduced. We remember that he had been cursed by his mother Dugh Viye. We have allocated all the 'sons' of Mughuze-Ruwa listed above to Dugh Viye, and can see underneath the lineage wards they occupy. We have elaborated the lineage tree for Vaghagaya to show the spatial context of their expansion. Despite Kurana being most likely the seventh born, we have put him to the left and listed his three sons underneath.

We know that the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineages started from Korana, and that Ghuna and Duwara were the first to leave to settle in Hudimche, but their descendants then moved on to Gharaza. We assume that Hudimche was at that time still known as Gharguze, while Korana had possibly already begun to exist. If we follow bulama Ngatha of Hudimche, it was Kandile's mother who gave Hudimche its name, while Ghuna founded Gharaza. This is why we see Ghuna as a lineage in Gharaza, while Duwara has vanished from our lineage tree, and we can only speculate whether Wuzawa might be one of his descendants.

It was confirmed to us in Gharaza in 1995, that Ghuna and Wuzawa, the two present lineages of Gharaza, had come out of Vaghagaya. The argument was that Ghuna founded Gharaza after he came from Korana. This contradicts bulama Ngatha's account, who claimed that Ghuna and Duwara had first settled in what would later become Hudimche. Also, Duwara was not mentioned at all by our Gharaza friends, only Wuzawa, and it was said that they too were descendants of Vaghagaya. Therefore we consider Ghuna to be the most important major lineage next to Kurana and Kandile. While we know that Kandile had a different mother, we can assume with some certainty that Ghuna was a brother of Kurana, because he was the lineage priest for all Vaghagaya during my time. We will return to that below, but first want to present some additional oral history data related to Gharaza, Gudule and Gathaghure.

We were told in Gharaza, that when the descendants of Ghuna arrived, they found 'Dawa Ndlawa' living there. He was from Gudule and left when they arrived, and we remember that the Vaghagaya, presumably the descendants of Ghuna, were involved in the war with Gudule. We were also told in Gharaza that the descendants of 'Yazagila' were found in Gathaghure, but not in Gharaza. It was added that 'Dagha' were living in Gharaza. They were referred to as 'Thakida' and 'Dangadha' and are presumably two brothers. They came from Ghwa'a to live in Gharaza and are not to be confused with the 'Dagha' of Kadzgwara descent, but belong to the Dghwede peacemaker lineage, and have as such an official role in Dghwede ritual life.

We want to briefly emphasise the role of Var ga Ghuna, who was the seventh born and lineage priest (*thagaya*), not just for the Ghuna of Gharaza but for the whole of Vaghagaya. He would eventually be succeeded as lineage priest by Duwar Nzihe, also from the Ghuna lineage but three or four generations apart. This means that he was from a lineage branch which became separated from Var ga Ghuna's lineage branch three or five generations earlier. We will discuss social relationship terms in Chapter 3.6, but at this point want to highlight that the reason we think Ghuna was seen to be from the same ancestral 'kitchen' (*kudige*) as Kurana, is because they both had the same mother. The custodianship role of the Ghuna major lineage as *thagaya* of Vaghagaya had manifested itself locally by a lineage shrine for all the descendants of Vaghagaya, which was found at Ghuna's birthplace in Korana.

We do not know why the Ghuna rather than the Kurana lineage were responsible for their shrine, but we do know that the shrine was called 'Kwirgwiya' and was situated in Korana Kwandama. There was an upright stone supported by stones surrounding it, densely covered with *Cissus quadrangularis*. In the past a goat was slaughtered and blood and stomach poured over the stone. This was to symbolise unity as opposed to dispersion or scattering. The ritual was called *har khalale* (*har* = slaughter; *khalale* = lineage shrine). I was told that a sacrifice only took place every few years or more. We do not know whether this sacrifice dedicated to Vaghagaya was still being carried out while I was there, but we doubt it. What is important in oral history terms is that Korana was the place where this shrine was found, which confirms that it is the starting point of the Vaghagaya local group formation (see Chapter 3.9).

The shrine for Vaghagaya is therefore an important local historical monument. I assume that Boko Haram was not aware of this, otherwise they might have marked its destruction. Perhaps such community shrines could be useful again in the future, to celebrate reunification and the reconstruction of the Gwoza hills as a safe place. That the Vaghagaya once felt they needed it to remind them of unity rather than scattering might also be a reference to the former infighting they had successfully left behind them.

Pre-Korana lineage groups

We will now take a closer look at the genealogical data I collected in Korana, Hudimche and Gharaza, which referred to pre-Korana lineage groups. According to Bulama Tada Zangav of Hudimche (1995), before the expansion of the descendants of Vaghagaya, there were three groups who once lived in this part of southern Dghwedê:

- Margarha (Margarha is a reference to Margi)
- Fte Kra (Fte means he refers to a place but 'Kra' is a reference to Zelidva)
- Goze (they left for Gwoza Wakane)

Margarha is the only direct reference to Margi, but Kra is a common reference to a Dghwedê lineage which left for Zelidva, perhaps because the Vaghagaya were expanding, and presumably this was also so for the 'Goze', who had left for Gwoza Wakane.

Bulama Tada Zangav did not seem very sure of his lineage descent. He only listed a few of his ancestors before he stopped at Dghwedê-Mbra. He used the expression '*hichi6 hichi6 in tambaza*', meaning 'broken to pieces', which is a reference to the *tambaza* plant for which we have no translation. It means that the descent line becomes increasingly telescoped over time. In the context of this, the memory of former groups who once settled before the Korana lineages expanded might also have become rather vague and unreliable.

Concerning the earlier reference to 'Margarha', we will see in the next subsection that there is a particular link between them and the Dagha of Kadzgwara, who have links to Mutube to the southwest of Bama and are also known as the Margi Mulgwe (see Figure 4). There are also migratory links with the previously mentioned Margi Gulak via Tur (Chapter 3.3), but we do not have any more information on who those pre-Korana 'Margaha' might have been, and how they came to be there in the first place.

Kwalika and its possible link to the Dagha of Kadzgwara descent

The majority of the lineages of Kwalika are also Mughuze-Ruwa, but are distinguished from the Vaghagaya lineage. In Kwalika we found the Dugh Keme and Nagaladewe, both sons of Mughuze, and also Ghadala, as Chika Khutsa (1995), our main source in Kwalika, explained. He added that the Ghadala were also Mughuze-Ruwa. Next he listed the Kem Gula, and said that they had been the original people of Kwalika. He explained that most of them left for Zelidva, while some stayed in Kwalika but left for Gwoza later. He also listed other descendants of Mughuze-Ruwa, and the settlement wards of Dghwedê in which they could still be found were as follows:

- Kwalika
- Ghardimbe (Takweshe)
- Vaghagaya (Korana, Hudimche, Gharaza)
- Balngada (Ghaghagure)

Chika Khutsa mentioned Nagaladewe, Dugh Keme and Ghadala as being 'sons' of Mughuze, but he was the only source to mention Ghadala. We assume that the latter are perhaps a smaller lineage group, or even a lineage branch of Nagaladewe, but of course we cannot be sure. We can only assume that the Nagaladwe-Mughuze, considering they were the major lineage of Mughuze descendants in Kwalika, did not sacrifice at the Vaghagaya lineage shrine in Korana. Unfortunately, we did not explore where the Nagaladwe-Mughuze of Kwalika sacrificed in the past, or whether they had a lineage shrine (*khalale*) in Kwalika.

Kem Gula were also living in Kwalika as first comers, and they are not descendants of Mughuze. According to our source, Kem Gula fought with his brother in Tur (Fitire), and as a result left Tur for Kwalika. Most of them had allegedly left for Zelidva even before the increase of Mughuze-Ruwa, and we infer here that the Vaghagaya were actually meant, since they are the ones who increased the most. According to our Kwalika source, there were hardly

any Kem Gula left in Kwalika. Unfortunately, our friend was alone with us, and without a local audience to inspire controversy. It was also important for him to emphasise the importance of past tribal warfare, and he brought out his warrior gear in which to pose for us.

To reiterate, the Vaghagaya descendants were known to be the most numerous, and they spread out from Korana by battling it out among themselves, and, if we follow Mathews' report, they also drove out the Gudule. We learned that the Nagaladiwe-Mughuze lineage was found in Kwalika, while the Wudza-Mughuze lineage was in Takweshe. In Gathagure we found the Balngada, Ghweske and Kudume lineages, who were also 'sons' of Mughuze, at least this was what we were told by the majority of our sources. We are aware that this is largely consistent with Mathews (1934), who also allocated the 'Ghweshe' (Ghweske) to 'Galtaure' (Gathagure), and the 'Ngelediwe' (Nagaladewe) to 'Kolika' (Kwalika), as well as all the 'Vargei' (Vaghagaya) lineages to the places we have already identified.

We will now introduce our readers to Chika Khutsa's version of the origin of the 'Dagha Kwadzgara lineage. We referred to them as specialist healer lineage, distinct from the 'Dagha peacemaker lineage. Chika Khutsa's oral version of their outsider origin as a lineage of Kwalika has similarities with the Mughuze and 'Hambagda' story mentioned by Mathews. However, this time the story was linked to the Kem Gula:

The Dagha are originally from Mulgwe and they came to settle in Hambagda. When they settled in Hambagda they were called Kashgwa. When the 'Dagha people increased in number, they started to sell each other into slavery. There was a small boy who ran away uphill from that and was hiding in Kwalika. There he fed the animals of Kem Gula with grass while Kem Gula and his family were working on the farm. Finally, Kem Gula discovered him and adopted him. Later this boy made Kem Gula's daughter pregnant and Kem Gula then gave him land to found his own home. The 'Dagha people are no longer called Kashgwa but instead are referred to as Kadzgwara.

The narrative has various angles, for example that the 'Dagha were from Mulgwe, which is more or less the same as Mutube (Figure 4). Another angle is that he refers to the Lamang of Hambagda as 'Kashgwa', which is an abusive term and should be spelled *ksghwaha*, meaning Lamang pancreas. He then points out that it was no longer appropriate to use that word, and that they were now called 'Kadzgwara'. The whole tenor of the story about the 'Dagha Kadzgwara is somewhat negative, especially the claim that they had been selling each other into slavery. We remember, from when Chika Khutsa told us about slavery in Chapter 2.1 of Part Two, that the Dghwedē never sold each other into slavery, and that people who ran uphill to hide from Mandara slave raids in the foothills were never rejected.

The narrative sounds like a mixture of several similar narratives. The 'Dagha boy escaping being enslaved by his people rather than by a Mandara raid, was subsequently mixed with him becoming a houseboy of Kem Gula who gave him land after he impregnated one of his daughters. We remember that 'Ngade' had also married a woman from Kwalika, but according to our fieldnotes from Hudugum (Muller-Kosack 1994), Ngade died without knowing that the woman from Kwalika was pregnant. The name of that child was Kajagware Ngade, and was seen as a descendant of Kwalika, but remained exogamous with Hudugum.

We wonder whether 'Kajagware' is the same as Kadzgwara, who are known in Dghwedē as 'Dagha Kadzgwara and were reported to us in Kunde as having been found in the stomach of Wasa's cow. This made them appear to be not true 'Dagha, but this might have been a distorted Dghwedē version derived from one from the western foothills, which is suggested by our Gwoza notes from 1994. According to these, they had the special skill of turning unborn children around in the womb. We can further establish from our Gwoza notes that 'Dagha could be found among most of the Lamang-speaking villages along the southern part of the western foothills of the Gwoza hills, and that they were well known for their powerful clan medicine which was often used to defend against Mandara slave raiding.

For example, the earlier mentioned 'Hambagda', a former slave adopted by Ivra/Ighwe, was known for such feats. The story goes that in Hudugum, by using clan medicine he had brought with him from Mutube in Margi Mulgwe, he was once able to bring a Mandara to a

halt and be unable to move any further on his horse. It seems that the 'Dagha Kadzgwara' have a special link to Kwalika, and perhaps their reputation was later applied to Kwalika as being a place of supernatural abilities, but our Kwalika friend denied this. Perhaps the story he told us about the 'Hambagda' origin of the 'Dagha boy' as an integrated outsider with special talents throws yet a different light on it.

Ekkehard Wolff (1994:156ff) also mentions the 'Kadzgwara' as 'Dagha' descendants of Hambagda, and describes their relationship to Kwalika by repeating part of the pattern of interaction with the Lamang of Hidkala described in this chapter. The similarities are quite striking and do not apply only to the Kadzgwara, but also to the legend about the magical horn (ibid:152)³ and the story about turning children in the womb (ibid: 155). Another similarity mentioned by Wolff is the supernatural ability to stop Wandala slave raiders (ibid:150) in Hambadga, or that the Lamang of Hidkala relied on Kwalika to hide from slave raiding in the foothill areas. All this suggests a very strong pre-colonial connection between Hidkala and Kwalika as a main entry point to southern Dghwede. While Kwalika is the most southwestern settlement of Dghwede, Ghwa'a is the most northeastern one and in pre-colonial times was linked to the intramountainous eastern plain. We will now describe the lineage tree of the Thakara of Ghwa'a. Apparently his descendants did not expand in the same way as is remembered concerning the Vaghagaya-Mughuze.

Thakara of Ghwa'a

We have discussed Ghwa'a in the context of Mathews' 'Johode' being an early arrival zone of what would subsequently be considered the most ancient part of Dghwede. Other than its southern part, Ghwa'a is geographically linked to the highest mountain on the Dghwede massif. We know that its summit with the three rock pillars was called Durghwe and that it was visible from afar, representing community shrines for the Dghwede, Chikide and the Guduf. Barth might have referred to Durghwe as Mt. Legga in 1851 (see Chapter 3.17) while he was travelling through Margi land towards Yola. The word Ghwa'a means 'mountain' in the Dghwede language, and the expression 'Wa'a' appears to be the Hausa version of it.

Gwal ghwa'a means 'people of the hills' in general, and not just people of Ghwa'a. We used the term *montagnard*, derived from Leo Africanus' (1529) first reference to mountain people as *montanari*, this being the most appropriate translation. In that sense *gwal ghwa'a* serves as a term of belonging for people of the Gwoza hills. For example, during my time, *montagnards* who worked as seasonal workers in Maiduguri would refer to one another as being 'Ghwa'a', even though they might be Guduf or Chikide and not Dghwede at all. They did this specifically to distinguish themselves from people who were not from the Gwoza area. So, in our opinion, Ghwa'a as the most distinguished early arrival zone of the Tur tradition within the Gwoza hills, means exactly that.

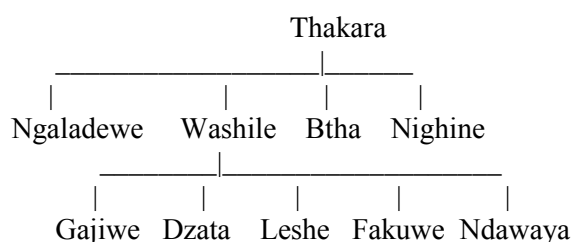
Unfortunately we do not have a legendary narrative of how Thakara, as the main ancestor of Ghwa'a at the beginning of what we could perhaps refer to as a Dghwede ethnicity, came about. All we know is what Mathews told us, namely that 'Dohede' arrived in 'Johode' together with others, including the founding ancestor of the Chikide. We have discussed the possible symbolic role of 'Ngara' earlier, which might just be a reference to Mbira or Ngra, to emphasise that Thakara-Ngara was indeed from Tur. We do not have a legend about Thakara, and neither do we have one about 'Dohede', but we do have the one about Zedima, who allegedly married Katala the daughter of Wandala, and who controlled Durghwe. Apart from that, we do not seem to have any legend about Ghwa'a becoming the ritual centre of Dghwede, so it seems that the former houseboy Mughuze-Ruwa outscored Thakara.

³ Wolff writes that the horn was stuffed with 'euphorbia', but surely he means *Cissus quadrangularis* (a grape variety), a mistake I also made in the field because Mathews (1934) had already wrongly identified it as a 'cactus', and wrongly referred to it again as 'euphorbia' because it is a succulent plant.

So does all this only highlight the very fragmentary nature of the oral history of Dghwede? If we put Ngara to one side as being more or less fictional, it is Thakara who appears in our lineage tree as the true 'son' of Dghwede, presumably because Ghwa'a is the early arrival zone not only for the formation of the Dghwede, but also for quite a few other ethnic groups of the Gwoza hills. It also seems, in the context of Dghwede as a whole, that Ghwa'a is much further removed from influences from the western plain, including links to slave raiding from the plains, than Kwalika might have been. We remember that Hamman Yaji came up via Kwalika and Korana Basa, and was allegedly aided by Hambagda. Perhaps Ghwa'a has always been the safer place, and was much less exposed to the dangers of the western plain.

We will now describe the descendants of Thakara, as was told to me in particular by Zakariya Kwire and Dga Pardā (also known as dada Dga). There was much less dispute over this, and we summarise it in the lineage tree below as follows:

Figure 12d: Lineage tree of the Thakara of Ghwa'a



According to our two Ghwa'a friends, Thakara begat Ngaladewe, Btha and Nighine, and they stayed in Ghwa'a. Thakara also begat Washile, whose lineage branch seems to have expanded beyond Ghwa'a, because we find three of his 'sons', namely Gajiwe, Leshe and possibly also Fakuwe, as local lineages in Kunde. Gajiwe can also be found in Taghadigile. Dzata is another 'son' of Washile, who forms a separate lineage branch among the forementioned three 'sons' of Thakara in Ghwa'a. I was told that Ndawayā left Ghwa'a, and only two of his descendants allegedly remained.

It seems that the process of local group formation was significantly less violent in northern Dghwede than in southern Dghwede, at least if we neglect possible violent conflicts before the descendants of Thakara formed when Ghwa'a was still an early arrival zone (see Figure 11). If we take our oral sources at face value there was not much mention of tribal warfare other than against Vaghagaya. We remember that Kunde fought Gathaghure (Figure 8a). However, our Kunde friends told us in 1995 that there had once been warfare between the many 'sons' of Washile, because they had significantly increased in number. This led to fighting, which resulted in their scattering, and some of them even left. In Chapter 3.6 we present the social relationship terms underlying the Dghwede concept of local group formation, and invite the reader to consult Figure 13 to see the locality connections of the descendants of Thakara.

We know that Kunde formed after Ghwa'a, as did Taghadigile. Because Washile-Thakara became so numerous, they had to expand from Ghwa'a to Kunde. We have not yet mentioned that Gathaghure belonged, sometime between 1912 and 1927 until the Hamman Yaji years, to a traditional southern Dghwede under the dominance of the Vaghagaya. However, Gathaghure changed its traditional allegiance, and our oral sources explained that the reason was that the Vaghagaya had shown Hamman Yaji the way for his attacks on Ghwa'a. We remember from Tada Nzige's account in Chapter 2.2 that Hamman Yaji had entered the Dghwede massif from the western foothills and Kwalika. Gathaghure henceforward celebrated the bull festival together with Ghwa'a, Kunde and Tatsa (see Table 9), while Hembe continued to celebrate it together with Vaghagaya and Takweshe. We learn in Chapter 3.13 that the bull festival ceased to be performed some time during late colonial times, and mention this example here to highlight how fluid traditional allegiances along the borders between the two traditional parts of Dghwede might have always been.

Finally, we will mention Kunde again in the context of Ghwa'a, due to the oral historical tradition of it once having been known as Tala Wandala. As we know, this view is underpinned by the legendary claim that the descendants of the Wandala of Kirawa once lived in this part of Kunde, which was still known by this name during my time. It was even claimed that the Wandala originally came from the hills, as this is even expressed as part of the Tur tradition (see Figure 9) where Katala-Wandala is linked to Mandara-Mbra. We have discussed that tradition and acknowledged that we do not know how old it is. That Tala Wandala existed as a place allegedly before Kunde was occupied by descendants of the Washile, who in turn formed three or even four local lineage branches in Kunde over time, indicates an earlier period. This could have been even some time before the Vaghagaya had expanded, at least if we consider the descendants of Thakara-Ngara to be one of the oldest lineage section of a Dghwede ethnogenesis.

We mentioned in the previous chapter that Tala Wandala might have also just been a place where the Wandala occasionally took refuge. We have one version claiming exactly that, from bulama Ghdaka of Hembe (1995), who will later also give us his version of how Mughuze was once socially adopted by Hembe. He confirmed to us that Kunde was only colonised later by the Ghwa'a people coming from Taghadigile. Bulama Gdaka claimed that the Wandala had been living in Kunde until that time and that the Hembe and Kunde people had provided them with food. This would certainly have been during pre-colonial times, but we do not know how early and whether it would have been before or after the Wandala left for Doulo in the mid-17th century. Whatever the chronological framework, his version represents an oral historical tradition that Kunde was a place for the Wandala of Kirawa to retreat as a result of food shortage. It also shows that the relationship between Ghwa'a and the Wandala was much more linked to the history of the Wandala of Kirawa, and in that sense has a different historical quality to that which we learned in the previous chapter section about Kwalika as the most southwestern part of pre-colonial Dghwede.

Conclusion

This chapter has given us an insight into the way the Dghwede trace their common ethnic roots through a shared ancestry from a mythical personage by the name Mbra or Ngra of Tur. There are contradicting assumptions as to whether Mbra arrived himself in Dghwede. We discussed the Tur tradition in the previous chapter, and learned that 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) is seen as a place from where other groups belonging to the same tradition claim to have come through at an earlier time. In the context of that, Mbra appears as an apical ancestor for many other groups in the Gwoza hills, not only to the north but also to the south of Ghwa'a. The most important of those in Dghwede itself are the Mughuze-Ruwa and the Thakara clan groups. However, we had to acknowledge that the more we enter into the details of how those groups evolved, the more complicated their ancestries are in terms of descent, and much of it seems to be fictional, more serving a local sense of belonging rather than being straightforward patrilineal descent.

We showed that there might not only be one version of a Dghwede lineage tree, but through comparison hoped to establish that Dghwede-Mbra as the central genealogical link has possibly integrated other lines of descent into an emerging Dghwede ethnicity. We discussed Wasa and Tasa as the most obvious ones, and also Kwiya bringing about Hembe. We were able to show how the Mughuze-Ruwa developed from local outsiders into a powerful maximal line of descent. We saw how population pressure rather than descent was the more decisive historical variable to bring about local group formation. In the light of that, we hypothesised that southern Dghwede, where Korana formed at the very end of the process, might have started to take shape during the 17th century when higher rainfalls might have led to intense south to north migration. We think that the importance of Tur as a place of origin from the south might have established itself in the collective memory as a result of that period of humidity.

In the context of that, we identified the Vaghagaya branch of the Mughuze-Ruwa as the most recent pre-colonial settlement development, something we already pointed to in our previous chapter, where we presented traditions of warfare alliances. We also discussed pre-Korana lineage groups, and realised that the collective memories soon become less specific the further back in time we go. We also included much of Mathews' report from 1934 in the chapter, in particular concerning the many oral narratives he provides about the different versions of Mughuze. His insights also lead us to acknowledge an important link between southern Dghwedè and the western foothills of Hidkala. We picked up on that link again when discussing Kwalika, and showed how the Dagha Kadzgwara might have played a role in the past as owners of clan medicine against pre-colonial Mandara slave raids along the western foothills.

We eventually discussed Thakara of Ghwa'a, and showed how Ngara was perhaps a fictional ancestor linked to Thakara rather than to Ruwa, but that Ruwa was the better remembered ancestral figurehead. We were able to underpin this with the story about Ruwa's 'horn' (*drawa*) as a symbol of fecundity. We were able to show that the oral history linked to the lineage tree derived from Thakara was less conflict-driven, and that perhaps Ghwa'a had always been a safer place than southern Dghwedè. We also emphasised the role of Ghwa'a as an ancient ritual centre due to its prominent summit signified by the three rock pillars of Durghwe visible from the western plain. We mentioned the various specialist lineages found across Dghwedè, all of whom were integrated into the Dghwedè house of Mbra, and we will discuss their ritual roles in greater detail in the dedicated chapters of Part Three.

In the next chapter we will present the case of Hembe and Mughuze as a prominent narrative about outsiders as founders. This represents a key element for the ethnogenesis of the Dghwedè but also raises certain epistemological questions. In the light of that, we revisit our comparison with the noble strangers as legendary outsiders and founders of the early pre-Islamic Wandala state. We also present key elements of the founding legend of the Zelidva, and tell the legendary story of how the grandson of Ghwasha returned from a long journey from the western plains, with special clan medicine in his bag given to him by a female water spirit to revive his children and thus increase in number.

Chapter 3.5

About outsiders as founders

Introduction

A local outsider or stranger who becomes socially adopted by a member of an autochthonous clan, subsequently marries his daughter and then becomes an influential founding ancestor of a new clan, is a common theme in the Gwoza hills. The story of Mughuze, a local nobody who became the houseboy of Hembe, is a typical example. Another example is the story we told of Kumba-Zadva, an outsider and grandson of an insignificant newcomer, who became the founding ancestor of the Zelidva. There is a similar story in Glavda. In Dghwedē it was Hembe who took in Mughuze; in Zelidva it was a Lamang-speaking autochthonous clan member who welcomed Ghwasa, the father of Zadva. The future ancestor of the Glavda was homeless, but as he made himself useful to an autochthonous local man by cutting grasses for him, he was invited to settle permanently.

The stories are not exactly the same, but they always include a locally stranded outsider or stranger who frequently makes himself indispensable to his autochthonous host family and potential future father-in-law by cutting grasses for his domestic animals. Unlike in the case of Mughuze, the story of the Zelidva and Glavda specifies the place from where the outsider came. In the latter case, a legendary migrant came from Gvoko, but was originally from Tur.¹ They had come to Ngoshe Sama as a result of incest in Tur, which made them in-laws to the Hide of Tur. In Ngoshe Sama they split again, and the future ancestor of the Glavda of Ngoshe Kasa, together with his wife, followed a crow that had stolen an amulet, and they ended up as strangers in what is now Glavda. In the Kumba Zadva story, it was Zadva, the illegitimate son of Ghwasa, whose 'son' Kumba became the founding ancestor of the Zelidva. Apart from Ghwasa, we could identify a couple of other lineages or clan groups by their names, who allegedly left to settle in Zelidva. While we know where Ghwasa came from before he was adopted in what would later become Zelidva, Mughuze's local origin remains somehow blurred, which perhaps supports the view that he might indeed have been an escaped slave.

We would like to contrast the chapter on outsiders as founders with the narrative of the 'noble stranger' mentioned in the *Wandala Chronicles*. He married Katala, a daughter of the local chief of Malgwu, who himself was a junior descendant of Mulgwe. This less senior line of the legendary early Wandala subsequently became very numerous, which later led to Agamakiya becoming the first ruler of Wandala. Agamakiya subsequently reconciled the fewer in number but more senior Wandala, with the more numerous but younger Malgu descendants. He made the more senior Wandala section the custodians of the land, while the junior Malgu line kept the chieftaincy which marks the start of his dynasty. One difference between the narrative in the *Chronicles* and those of montagnard origin is that the latter does not aim to establish dynastic descent, only ethnic association by lineage incorporation. We provided a descriptive summary of the legendary Malgu/Wandala narrative in the chapter about Katala of the hills (see Chapter 2.1, Part Two).

Here we focus mainly on the Mughuze narrative as a typical montagnard example that illustrates non-dynastic ethnic integration, but invite readers to refer back to the portrayal of the Wandala and Malgu conflict, which is an example of how the *Wandala Chronicles* incorporated their pre-Islamic origin by introducing a 'noble stranger' in hindsight. In the context of this, it is important to remember that the *Wandala Chronicles* were written in the early 18th century when the Wandala officially converted to Islam. We will retell the Kumba-

¹ The Tur like to refer to the Gvoko as 'Ngoshe', which means 'in-law'. Ngoshe is often used by ethnographers as an ethnic synonym for the Gvoko, without realising what it means, which is that it was originally only used by the Tur as a result of the Gvoko ancestor breaking an incest taboo.

Zadva story in greater detail here, for purpose of comparison with the Mughuze tale. This is to highlight the typical features in both stories, and because they have a close relationship with Dghwede via their founding ancestor Ghwasa. He was a stranger who was perceived as a nobody, being the opposite of a noble stranger. Both were local outsiders and gained local legitimacy through a successful marriage with the daughter of an autochthonous clan member.

In terms of the underlying time frame, the Ghwasa narrative possibly goes back to the 16th century or earlier, while the Mughuze narrative belongs, according to our studies, more to the humid 17th century. The latter is also much closer to the time when the *Wandala Chronicles* invented their version of a noble stranger. We begin our chapter with the Mughuze narrative.

Hembe and Mughuze

Mathews (1934) tells us how 'Shegelewe of Hembe' found 'Moghzo' wandering starving in the bush, and decided to take him into his house. 'Moghzo' subsequently seduced his daughter, for which he was driven out, but he shot a buffalo and gave one of its legs to 'Shegelewe' to heal the breach. He then married Shegelewe's daughter and had three sons with her. The story reminds Mathews (ibid) of a similar one about how 'Hambagda' was adopted by 'Hugugum' in Hidkala. Without repeating it here, it highlights how frequent such narratives are. Mathews also tells us that Hembe originally lived in Kwalika, but does not say whether this was the time when Mughuze married Shegelewe's daughter. We showed earlier that there might have already been early pre-Korana Tur traditions in Kwalika, to one of which Hembe's ancestor Kwiya (Figure 12) might also have once been linked.

In our interview below, it is not 'Shegelewe', but Hembe himself, who becomes Mughuze's father-in-law. We failed to ask bulama Ghdaka of Hembe for clarification on this, but tend to view Mathews' 'Shegelewe of Hembe' from 60 years previously, as the more authentic version.

Perhaps there are several versions, and there might well have been a dispute among my local protagonists as to who Shegelewe was, had I asked. We should nevertheless remember that it is Mathews who points to the Hembe as being the more autochthonous clan than the Gudule. He does this by making not today's Hembe ward, but what would later become Kwalika, their place of local origin. It is therefore contradictory to accept Hembe as the father-in-law of Mughuze, and not Mathews' 'Shegelewe of Hembe', considering Hembe as a place only came about after he or his forebears had moved on from Kwalika.

Hembe is a settlement unit to the immediate south of Kunde, and was, like Gathaghure, along the border area between traditional Ghwa'a and Vaghagaya. We learned that Gathaghure joined traditional Ghwa'a in early colonial times, while Gudule, adjacent to Gathaghure, formed, at least administratively, part of Korana Basa (Figure 8). We know about Hembe as the autochthonous father-in-law of Mughuze, and learned that Mughuze married Hembe's daughter Bughwithe (originally known as Dugh Viye). Their son Balngada, to whom the interview below refers at the beginning, is seen as a direct descendant of Mughuze. We told the story of how Dugh Viye turned around, carrying baby Vaghagaya on her back, due to the gravity of the stone in his hand. The Balngada are the founder lineage of Gathaghure. We know that Hembe would have defended Gathaghure, if, in the past, the latter had been attacked.

The following story is of how Mughuze was taken in by Hembe and then married his daughter. He subsequently increased in number in comparison to the more numerous Gudule, but Mughuze's descendants eventually defeated the Gudule. This is how it was told to me by bulama Ghdaka of Hembe in 1995, when he referred to Balngada as 'Gathaghure'. We reproduce the tale and leave the original English translation by John Zakariya mostly intact, to preserve the ethnographic authenticity of this part of the interview:

Balgada is the son of their daughter [Hembe's daughter] Bughwithe. When Mughuze married Bughwithe he was given a cow, goats, sheep and different kinds of farm products. Therefore he said to Hembe: 'I cannot give you these things in payment of your daughter [meaning dowry] but the only thing I want to give you, let this, my son, Gathaghure [Balgada], be my dowry'. This is why Hembe and Gathaghure are together today.

They came into relation to Mughuze after Gudule took Mughuze, turned him upside down, and planted him forcefully into the ground, right next to where he had cut his grasses for his animals. Just like the Traditionalist plant a stick and put *vavanza* [*Cissus quadrangularis*] on it to prevent their grass from being taken by someone. Hembe came along and saw somebody stuck upside down in the ground and said: 'How can somebody plant a human being like this?' He pulled Mughuze out of the ground and washed his face and told him to go home. From then on Mughuze started secretly cutting grasses for Hembe and fed Hembe's animals. Hembe asked his children: 'Who is bringing these grasses for our animals?' They answered him about that boy and admitted he also fed them. They said that he only brought the grass and food but wouldn't eat himself.

Now Hembe hid. When Mughuze came along carrying grass, Hembe got hold of him but Mughuze started crying so Hembe comforted him and invited Mughuze to stay with him and his daughters. Hembe had nine daughters by then. In the course of Mughuze staying with Hembe, Mughuze impregnated one of Hembe's daughters, which was Bughwithe. After Mughuze realised what had happened he was hiding in the bush. Hembe was wondering where he had gone and went out to find Mughuze but was not successful.

One night Mughuze killed a big wild animal [presumably a buffalo]. He cut one of the legs and put it at Hembe's doorstep. Parts of the back, which included the loin, he put on the grinding stone in the kitchen of Bughwithe's mother. When the mother got up early morning, she discovered big meat. She made that guttural sound and Hembe came out and clashed on his doorstep into the big meat too [a leg piece]. He was surprised. He gathered people and told them what had happened.

They all continued to search for Mughuze. Dogs followed Mughuze's trace and found him where he was grilling meat over a fire. Hembe confronted Mughuze but invited him back home and then offered him farmland and asked him to marry his daughter. He also gave him cows, goats and all the other things. This is how Mughuze and Hembe developed their relationship.

Gudule had originally planted Mughuze next to his grass like a stick because Gudule was so much stronger than Mughuze [presumably implies that Gudule was still superior because he was more numerous]. After Mughuze had married Hembe's daughter, Gudule went to Ghwa'a to attend a funeral. Because Mughuze was still afraid of them his wife had to cook a meal and gave it to the Gudule people on their way home. After they had eaten the food they said: 'What is there in that house?' [They knew it was Mughuze's house.] Some went to check. They discovered a big bull. They forgot about it for the time being and went home and started preparing beer for the bull festival. When the day of the bull festival came they went to Mughuze's house and took his bull away. They went and slaughtered Mughuze's bull. They cut small pieces of every part of the bull and gave them to Mughuze.

Mughuze refused to eat the meat but kept it instead as it was and as a result, the meat started to develop maggots. After the maggots had fully developed he took the maggots and the meat, fried it, and ate it together with his seven sons. Now all of Mughuze's sons got married and all of them had twins continuously.

Now the children of Mughuze tried to revenge for what Gudule had done to their father but they could not because Gudule outnumbered them. When they had grown to fifty they tried to revenge but they could not succeed. They tried again and again and even when they developed the number of ninety, they still were not strong enough to take revenge.

That changed when they got strong enough and shot three Gudule men during warfare and these three men died on the spot. The following day the same thing happened again. On the third day, they killed five on the spot. On the fourth day, the Gudule put their shields in line as if they were behind but left to get ready to leave for Gudulyewe.

When the Mughuze-Ruwa people [most likely the Vaghagaya of Gharaza] came, they started fighting these shields and discovered that there was nobody behind. They asked themselves where the Gudule had gone and called upon them. The Gudule answered that they could not withstand

any longer and that they had decided to leave together. Now the Mughuze-Ruwa people called Linga, Zhiwe, and Mangala to come back but the rest left for Gudulyewe.

The story concludes with the famous divide of the 'sons' of Gudule, and we know that Gudule himself was seen as the 'brother' of Ske, the lineage ancestor of the Gaske rainmakers. We learn later (in Chapter 3.13) how Tasa banned Gudule from rainmaking because he had cut the tail of his father's favoured cow to impress a local girl. The tale leads us to a continuation of a collective legendary past and describes the oral historical circumstances of the ritual privilege of the Gudule in starting the bull festival on behalf of the whole of Dghwede. The bull festival was presumably, in late pre-colonial times, the most important communal festival in Dghwede, and ceased being performed in late colonial times.

We next present the story of Ghwasa who came from Dghwede (according to oral history, before the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa) to settle in Divili (Plate 5b), a mountain village high up on the Zelidva spur, where his grandson Kumba Zadva became the founding ancestor of a whole new ethnic group: the Zelidva. After we tell the story of Kumba Zadva, we will discuss both narratives, by looking specifically for their similarities and differences.

The story of the founding ancestor of the Zelidva

The story is left almost in its rough field format as it was compiled from various interview sessions conducted in each of the Zelidva villages in 1994. There were variations of it, and this is the one which I find most authentic. The story was told by lawan Mohammed Tada Ndume, the village head of Wala (Fachikwe), with some corrections from the Divili and Juba (Figure 3) version, which we will not retell separately. Again, we leave the original English by Ibrahim Vile² mostly intact by only applying rudimentary changes:

Ghwasa came from Dghwede and had a son called Zadva. It is because he married a daughter of Zuwagha, his son Zadva had Lamang as his mother tongue. Ghwasa met the [Lamang speaking] Zuwagha people in Divili, where he hid in a cave. Every day when the Zuwagha people went farming, he cut grasses for their animals and stole food they had left at home for their children. He ate the food and went back to his cave. When the parents came from the farm, the youngest child informed them that somebody was eating their food.

One man amongst the families asked the question from which direction he came. The children said that he came from the cave. Ghwasa continued stealing the food after he had cut the grass for their animals. Now the man was hiding at home and when Ghwasa came with his grass he dropped it and gave it to the animals. Next, he went into the house to search for food. He ate the food. On his way out of the house, the Zuwagha man stepped out. Ghwasa was scared and the man asked him where he came from. He answered: 'I am from there', and showed towards the cave. The Zuwagha man asked him to stay and he stayed with him.

There were many mature girls in the Zuwagha man's house and Ghwasa made one of them pregnant. The man finally gave him his daughter as his wife. Although it was not considered an offence it was still an illegitimate child. This illegitimate child was Zadva. Ghwasa had two sons, Zadva and Kalaghva.

The Zuwagha people started molesting his children and he went to see a divine healer, to find him medicine to feel independent so that he would feel free and his children as well. The divine healer [a 'Dagha] advised him to go and kill a flying kind of snake [snake with wings]. He should kill the snake, put it into a pot, and bury the pot at the rubbish dump. But he should mix the dead snake with very small thorns. He should wait until a big man of the area would die and at the funeral celebration he should spread the rotten snake and thorn mixture on the dancing ground, but he should not forget to wear local skin shoes himself. Ghwasa strictly followed the divine healer's advice and did exactly what he was told. He went in the night and sprayed the dancing ground. People came and gathered the next day and when they danced they were affected by the poisoning thorns. Gradually all those who got infected died.

² Ibrahim Vile from Gwoza was my Lamang interpreter and research assistant during the 1994 survey.

After those people had died, Zadvā and Kalaghvā grew up in peace and finally got married. It was Zadvā who had three sons. Among these three sons, it was Kumbā Zadvā who was alone with his mother.

Kumbā eventually had seven wives and seven dogs. But all the children he was getting died. Because of that, he went into exile. There he met a woman in the water [presumably a water spirit]. He told her that he had a problem and that all his children were dying. The woman asked: 'Is it that what got you to this place here?' He answered: 'Yes.' The woman advised him to find the black and white bat on the palm tree and to kill all her infant children. Then to hide beside and observe what the bat was going to do. When the bat brought food for the children, she found all her children dead. The bat went on a search to find a medicine to revive her dead children. Finally, she succeeded and found one cactus medicine to revive them. Kumbā Zadvā went and picked that medicine and carried it home.

On his way home he could not find his way uphill. He asked a rock to get out of his way. A huge rock in front of him cracked and he walked through the gap. This place is now called Widagha-Widagha Kumbā³. When he reached home it was already night. He laid down on the refuse ground of the house. In the morning one of his wives came out to dump refuse and she saw somebody lying there. She quickly runs back in to inform the other wives and all of them run out to see, but none of them recognized him. Finally, one of his dogs, called Maza, recognized him and behaved in a very excited manner and now his wives saw it was Kumbā.

Kumbā got up and took his wives together with him inside. But before he entered the house he called his family to bring him a bull and he slaughtered the bull in front of the entry. After he had entered his main room he called again for a certain she-cow, the one he knew did not give birth because she was infertile. He slaughtered the she-cow in the middle [foyer area] of his house. Finally, he went and slaughtered a castrated billy goat in front of the door of his first wife's room. After that, he went out behind his house and planted the cactus [medicine] he had brought from exile.

The first sexual encounter with his wife led to pregnancy. A boy was born. But already after a year, this boy died. He had named him Mufake. Kumbā went to get some of the medicine he had planted behind the house and held it under his dead son's nose. The child revived. Now he had a second child and the same thing happened again. The child died and he revived it with his [cactus] plant called *huba*.⁴ After that, he had altogether seven sons and all of them died but he could revive them all. The village head who told the story now listed the seven sons of Kumbā for us.

We will not list those seven sons here, but some of them became founders of powerful Zelidvā lineages by intermarrying with their Wandala and Glavda neighbours. We have already given a summary description of the ethnolinguistic complexities of the Gwoza LGA (Chapter 1.2). The current context is to present the circumstances of the legendary tale to show how the grandson of a houseboy and stranger made it as an outsider to become a founding ancestor for a whole new ethnic group: the Zelidvā.

What stands out is the clan medicine recommended by a Dagha diviner, which Ghwasa successfully applies to kill the children of the Zuwagha clan. Later it was his grandson Kumbā who received another clan medicine via a spirit woman linked to water, which allowed him to revive his children who were regularly dying before reaching adulthood. From then on his clan expanded and steadily grew in number. This shows that both Mughuze and Kumbā owned clan medicines to increase in number, but Kumbā seems to be the only one who actively used it to increase his kind after his grandfather had first killed the children of the autochthonous host clan. We notice that Ibrahim Vile refers to both types of clan medicines as 'cactus' (see also Mathews 1934), and remember that *huba* (*gadali* in Fulfulde) was one of the ritual plants from which we derived the ethnonym Godaliy, and we show in Plate 20a (Chapter 3.10) an example of the application of a mixture of *Urginea maritima* (*huba*) and *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*).

Unlike Kumbā Zadvā, Mughuze kept his clan medicine hidden in a horn in Korana, but we do not know whether he ever used it. Also, the relationship with Hembe as his autochthonous host

³ *Widagha* is Guduf and allegedly means 'in front of your house'.

⁴ *Huba* (*Urginea maritima*) is a wild onion and was also used to increase the yield.

clan, who once saved him from Gudule, remained friendly. The problem was that the Gudule were at that time still stronger than the Mughuze. There is also some evidence that the Gudule already owned such a powerful clan medicine and wanted to take it with them to 'Gudulyewe' to start anew. This was generations later, after the descendants of Vaghagaya eventually defeated the Gudule in Gharaza. We know that the Vaghagaya asked some of them to stay behind. Many of those clan medicines seem to be linked to increasing human, animal, and terrestrial fecundity, while others were used against locusts etc. It seems it was not just the type of clan medicine, but the person or lineage who owned it, that was significant here.

Similarities and differences

How the narrative about Mughuze differs is that Ghwasa became the founding ancestor of a whole new ethnic group, as opposed to an integrated part of an already existing group. Many features are similar, such as the role of the number seven as evidence for successful reproduction of his descendants. Kumba-Zadva even had seven dogs. The greatest similarity seems to be that both started as houseboys by cutting grasses for their future fathers-in-law⁵, because they were both young and starving. Nevertheless, the reason for Mughuze's action was that Hembe had saved him from Gudule, while Ghwasa was just a newcomer. Still, both were outsiders and went through a process in which they gained enough strength to become very successful founding ancestors. Also, both Mughuze and Ghwasa had access to clan medicine to achieve their expansive goals. Besides this, Mughuze used the pieces of the cut and rotten bull's meat full of maggots to have twins⁶ born to him continuously, to eventually become strong enough in number, while Ghwasa applied snake poison to kill his local competitors. Both found a way to establish themselves as founders by adapting to local circumstances.

We also notice that it took both Mughuze and Ghwasa several generations to achieve such a high population share to fully develop and assert their powers. In Mughuze's case, it is not only the seven sons he allegedly had, but another of his sons, Vaghagaya, who also had seven sons.⁷ Something similar applies in the Kumba-Zadva story, where we have first Ghwasa and then his grandson Kumba-Zadva, who by extraordinary means established himself as the founding ancestor of the most influential ethnic group of the Zelidva spur and adjacent plains. The Zelidva are also an example of how patrilineal descent and patrilocality can override language, considering that the seven sons of Kumba married Wandala and Glavda wives, and so managed to adopt their languages by the means of successful expansion.

Zadva-Ghwasa had learned Lamang by being born to a Lamang-speaking mother in Divili. We mentioned that the Zelidva continued to speak Dghwedê when they sacrificed to their patrilineal family ancestors. However, other than the Dghwedê, sticks were used as representations and not ancestor stones (Gwoza fieldnotes, 1994). This last example does perhaps demonstrate how ritual culture is able to survive longer in the language than in its material manifestations. On the other hand, Dghwedê as the ritual language only survived in Divili, high up on the Zelidva spur, after they had finally outnumbered their Lamang hosts by killing them with a clan medicine they had received from a 'Dagha. This shows how widespread the belief in 'Dagha divine healers was.

Conclusion

We have seen the importance of outsiders as founding ancestors, not only for the ethnogenesis of the Dghwedê, but also for other groups of the Gwoza hills. We chose to tell the Kumba-Zadva story because they were seen as having originally come from Dghwedê. This

⁵ It is common in the Gwoza hills for a son-in-law to work for his future in-laws.

⁶ We see in Chapter 3.19 what a powerful symbol of fecundity twins are in Dghwedê culture.

⁷ We will discuss in Chapter 3.18, not only the significance of a seventh-born son as a symbol of good luck, but also that of an eighth-born child as a symbol of bad luck, unless the eighth born were twins.

circumstance marks a key difference between the Mughuze-Ruwa and the Kumba-Zadva stories. While Mughuze was portrayed as a local outsider, Ghwasa was said to have come from elsewhere. We also remember that Mathews believed Mughuze might have been a Mandara slave, and we consider this to be a very real possibility, especially considering how close the valley of Hidkala was to former Gharguze and to Kwalika. We are aware of similar outsider stories from the Lamang foothill area of the western plain, which also point to a link to clan medicines as a result of a 'Dagha connection to the Margi of the plains region of Mutube, and Mulgwe to the northwest of the Gwoza hills (see Figure 4).

While the Mughuze narrative indicates greater exposure to the western plains and the risks of becoming dispersed or enslaved, the Kumba-Zadva story is more about someone who was born as a montagnard outsider but then went on a journey into the western plain and returned with a clan medicine given to him by a female water spirit, which he then used to revive his children. This led to the increase in number and the successful spread of the Zelidva ethnicity. The Zelidva spur was not a place where there was an immediate threat of being enslaved. The fact that Ghwasa was adopted by Lamang-speaking people on the heights of what would later become known as the Zelidva spur was not the result of him having fled from the western plain. He had come from Ghwa'a, but we do not know why he left.

We know there have been several mentions of migration from the different areas of Dghwede to Zelidva, including former Gharguze and Kwalika, but Ghwasa seems to be seen as the original one. We do not know whether Ghwasa's migratory route included other stations in between, such as for example the foothill area of the eastern plains, from where there are also oral reports of migratory traditions to the Zelidva spur. What Ghwasa's alleged origin from Ghwa'a suggests, is that he left when Ghwa'a was still an early arrival zone for migrants from Tur, leading to further distribution towards the northern parts of the Gwoza hills, before the formation of the Mughuze-Ruwa.

Altogether there are many similar stories of local outsiders as founders, and we remind ourselves again here of the Malgu-Wandala story reconstructed in hindsight by the scribes of the new Islamic Wandala state of the early 18th century. There is possibly another similarity we should point out, namely that it was, in Mughuze's and Mulgu's case, a potential father-in-law who had too many daughters and not enough sons. This was possibly why Mughuze gave his firstborn son as dowry, and why the *Wandala Chronicles* had to introduce noble strangers from the east, who for dynastic reasons married female successors. We also remember, from the legend in the chapter about Katala from the hills (Chapter 2.1), that it was the daughter of Wandala who remained loyal to her pagan husband and saved his dignity by telling him the truth of what her father had planned. No noble stranger was needed to bring about the legitimacy of succession, only the loyalty of a husband's first wife.

In the next chapter we will introduce our reader to Dghwede relationship terms. We will lay the ground for a deeper understanding of the Dghwede kinship system, and how it unfolds in the form of ritual action as part of the cultural practice of the pre-colonial Dghwede. We presume that it is the role of the first wife, as the mother of the seventh-born son (*thagaya*), to be in charge of the beer preparation for the patrilineal family ancestors in her kitchen. Her ritual importance is also manifested as a gender aspect in the architecture of a traditional house, which we will describe in great detail in Chapter 3.11, and we will describe in Chapter 3.12 the richness of the ritual pottery stored and moved around the house during religious ceremonies. We also have a separate chapter on the custodianship of locality shrines, which were bare of the ritual objects of individual belonging that we would find in houses. Lineage shrines often consisted of a particular rock with perhaps a grove and *Cissus quadrangularis* growing nearby, but here too it was the seventh-born son of the first wife, now in his role as custodian of the land, who was responsible for leading sacrifices away from the house. In the following chapter we lay the ground for an understanding of all Dghwede relationship terms, which contain much information that explains local group formation, beginning with nuclear and extended family relationships and their respective homes.

Chapter 3.6

Relations and relationships

Introduction

Exploring our oral data on Dghwede social relationship terms is the main objective of this chapter and kinship terms are very important in this context. So far we have used the technical English terms 'clan' and 'lineage' to refer to patrilocal agnatic descent groups, by which we see that a local clan group can embrace several local lineage groups. Regarding kinship terms, we have particularly established the classificatory dimension of the relationship term 'brother' for a co-descendant of a common ancestor of either a clan or a lineage. Therefore, when referring to 'sons' as ancestral descendants of 'fathers' we generally mean it in a classificatory way and not in a biological way. This way of classifying patrilineal descent is expressed by the name of the clan or lineage ancestor as the 'father' appearing after the name of the 'son'. Mughuze-Ruwa and Kumba-Zadva are such examples, and in the case of Ruwa as the 'father' of Mughuze we learned that there is a mythological or legendary aspect to his ancestral fatherhood. The legendary aspect is possibly best expressed by the names Mbra and Ngra found at the very top of descent trees linked to the Tur tradition, for which we showed Ghwa'a to have been an early arrival zone. We pointed out that Ngra was a reference to a beginning in the sense of the 'first man', and we accepted that it is not only a link to the locality of Tur but also to a shared subregional tradition of origin from the south.

In this chapter we are interested in the ancestor-centred perspective and also in the ego-centred perspective, the latter being the starting point of genealogical calculation with the family home as its base.¹ We already indicated that the first wife of a husband and father of a family was crucial as a genealogical starting point for lineage splitting. This means that 'brothers' as 'sons' of first wives formed a 'kitchen' (*kudige*) in lineage terms, and they were seen as either classificatory or biological full-brothers depending on whether they were ancestral or living members of the *kudige*. We will become familiar with the overlapping roles of other relationship terms which apply to how the Dghwede once started new local groups known as *kambarte*, but the translation of *kambarte* is not as straightforward as that of *kudige*. *Kambarte* has not only a geographical dimension but also a cosmological dimension, as it contains the belief that the sun rose from the next world into this world through its 'rectum' (*mbarte*). A new *kambarte* started with a *kudige* that had split off and built a new base in a new locality, which had eventually reproduced in number and led to a new lineage section. At the same time, long-term marriage plans for continuous reproduction were organised along the lines of exogamous clan and lineage groups, which in turn created generations of wider kindred across patrilineal and matrilineal connections, and we saw how this was demonstrated in mythological accounts of local group formation.

The case of Vaghagaya and his two wives (Figure 12b) who brought about new lineage sections in Korana, Hudimche and Gharaza is oral historical evidence of this. By learning the different genealogical connections within the Vaghagaya major lineage, we now introduce the reader to the concept of *ksage* as a complementary relationship term to *kambarte*. While *kambarte* is concerned with the locality aspect of group formation, *ksage* refers to the classificatory aspect of lineal descent. The Vaghagaya are both a geographical and a lineage section, and we learned that it was the Ghuna lineage of Gharaza that held the ritual responsibility for the Vaghagaya lineage shrine in Korana as they were the lineage of the ancestral descendants of the seventh-born custodian to whom we refer as lineage '*thaghaya*'.

¹ Robin Fox (1967:169ff) points to the importance of considering personal kindred across the bilateral divide in societies with unilineal kinship systems, by stating that the degree of ego-centred personal groupings are particularly important when it comes to managing local group formation. What matters is to what degree ego's kindred relationships are defined in relation to ancestor-related descent groups.

Because the role of *thaghaya* as ego-centred actor transcends ancestral lineal descent, we are not always sure when the classificatory descent of a *thaghaya* lineage is overtaken by the genealogical descent of a seventh born as ritual actor. The latter is particularly important in terms of the inheritance rights of seventh-born sons across the genealogical connections of full-brothers of the same 'kitchen' up to five or more generations removed. This is why in Chapter 3.18 we will talk about the underlying complexities of the concept of *thaghaya*. However this does not prevent the acknowledgement here that the ritual career of a seventh born began with the nuclear and extended family into which he was born and ended with the patrilineal custodianship he might eventually hold for the wider locality.

There are other ego-centred social relationship terms used by the Dghwedè, such as the term *skmama* which refers to patrilineal generational grouping. We will also learn the term *jije* for grandfather, and how generational age mates played a crucial role in the worship of a deceased grandfather. The sequence of rituals for worshipping family ancestors shows complementary roles for first-born and seventh-born sons. In the context of this, not only patrilocality but also two types of exogamy rules were important, and in this chapter we will list and explain those rules. We aim to set a structural scenario of social relationship terms, but will leave it till later chapters to fill them with practical meaning by illustrating their function in the context of the ritual calendar regarding the family and the wider Dghwedè community as a whole.

We begin the journey through the complex subject of kinship-related terms by looking at a provisional list I compiled from various oral sources during my very early days of Dghwedè fieldwork. In the following section we start to explore what we call clan and lineage groups, and refer to what Mathews (1934) had to say about lineage exogamy. This is followed by a section where we explore our own oral data on the Dghwedè exogamy rules. We will reveal uncertainties, but reach an understanding by generally distinguishing between *gwagha* and *zbe*. The former was a system of exogamy between patrilineages, while the latter was applied along matrilineal family connections and was valid over a limited number of generations. Recent changes in the matrilineal system are important in this context.

In the next section we will present the already-mentioned system of generation mates (*skmama*), followed by an analysis of our oral data on family connections. The oral data is particularly confusing but we will try to structure it to some extent. In doing so we will refer back to previous contexts, and then discuss how they might relate to the various sequential scenarios concerning key rituals of the house such as *har ghwe* and *har jije* (sacrifices to the deceased father and grandfather). The gender aspect of ritual behaviour will play an important role here. The first wife of a man turns out to be of great significance, but this is not expressed straightforwardly. Later we will reveal the underlying cosmological dimension of gender division by showing its manifestation in architecture, while our ethnographic narrative evolves.

The final section is an attempt to present a key towards an illustration of a Dghwedè model of local group formation in order to capture the interplay between structural base elements of social organisation such as descent, locality and exogamy, together with the application of ritual action. We will do this by incorporating the concept of the local lineage shrine (*khalale*) into the model, with the ritual responsibility of the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) as lineage priest. This defines the family home as the base unit of the model, with the social organisation of custodianship for the promotion of fecundity from the perspective of the ritual actors. However, the purpose of the final section is only introductory and we will give further illustrations of the Dghwedè way of social group formation in later chapters.

As already mentioned, our oral data on relationship terms are extremely limited, and there might be inaccuracies and possibly mistakes in the interpretation of some of them. We very much welcome corrections, but fear this might be difficult to achieve since Boko Haram have destroyed the remaining traditional parts of Dghwedè society in Ghwa'a and Korana Basa. Many victims of Boko Haram now form diasporas in Nigeria or still live in refugee camps,

some of which are across the border in Cameroon. Many of those who have managed to start a new life, particularly the middle-aged and older generations, are deeply traumatised by their loss as far as I understand. The younger generation seems happier but they have already forgotten the Dghwede language. It would be difficult now to go and ask for clarification on many of the relationship terms introduced in this chapter. I therefore apologise in advance for the inaccuracies of my interpretations, but hope that future generations of Dghwede historians will nevertheless find my efforts useful.

A provisional list of social relationship terms

Below is an annotated list I produced in 1996 together with my friend and Dghwede mentor Zakariya Kwire of Ghwa'a. I compiled and expanded it based on clan and lineage-related terms I had collected the previous year in Korana Basa. The list is provisional and so are the attempted definitions. This becomes obvious when discussing the technical meaning of the lineage terms *ksage* and *kambarte* in the light of our lineage tree data from Ghwa'a and Korana Basa. Firstly, here is an overall list of social relationship terms with attempted explanations that were helped by John and his father in 1996 while in the field:

Gwalghaya: Extended as well as nuclear family and household compound. Consists of father, wives and children. *Thaghaya* (seventh-born son) will inherit and stay in the house together with his wives and children. Any son who leaves the household compound will have his own *gwalghaya*. A wife is counted with the family of her husband. If she dies the husband will bury her. If no children are born he will still bury her. He cannot ask for dowry back just because she did not give birth to children.

Kudige: The literal meaning is 'kitchen'. From an ego-centred perspective, the sons of different mothers but the same father. The first wife of a husband always represents the most important 'kitchen' (*kudige*), and was also often regarded as the starting point of an ancestral lineage section.

Ksage: Patrilineal descent group in terms of branches or sub-groups. It means something classified as a group of people by descent, but can also mean certain birds or anything classified into sub-groups.

Kambarte: Patrilocal descent group in terms of origin or beginning. The word *mbarte* means anus or 'the ground level' in terms of beginning or roots. For example, in Ghwa'a, *kambarte* is their ancestor Thakara in terms of descent of all the branches that lead genealogically back to Thakara. The branches themselves, such as Btha or Washile, are *ksage* of *kambarte* Thakara.

Mbthawa: Refers to all those who live in Ghwa'a (including Kunde and Taghadigile as well as Gaske for example) with whom somebody from Ghwa'a can intermarry.

Gwagha: The group within your agnatic descent group with whom you cannot intermarry. For example, all Btha are considered one *gwagha*, meaning exogamous lineage group. *Gwagha* is the complement of *mbthawa*.

Zbe: This also refers to people with whom you cannot intermarry, on the level of the daughters with whom you have already been marrying. You cannot marry your mother's sister's daughter (MZD) because you are *zbe* to her. In the past this applied as far back as four generations. After the death of the great-great-grandchildren of this daughter, you could intermarry again. Today it is only two generations. *Zbe* is also used to designate the female kin on your father's side (e.g. father's sisters' and grandfather's sisters' children).

Skmama: Generational group of sons of different fathers of a local descent group.

Ghulibe: Means guests or visiting strangers. John says that he is *ghulibe* in Tatsa. It means somebody who only comes to visit and not to settle.

Zal Nzage: According to John, this is a stranger who comes to settle. Somebody from Vaghagaya who settles in Ghwa'a is called *zal nzage*. This also applies to somebody from Guduf or anywhere outside Dghwedè. It is somebody who has no base, and who is exposed to being molested. He has no kin there.

Clan and lineage groups

It seems there are no clear terms for a clan or a lineage, but only terms that overlap in meaning and which can also represent locality connections of settlement divisions. This is nothing unusual, as shown by the history of the terms clan and lineage, but here we will avoid a theoretical discussion about descent theory² and only use the terms as a technical reference to local group membership based mainly on classificatory ancestral descent. Below we discuss the terms *ksage* and *kambarte*, and from the limited data available we will see that they are partly in opposition. By doing so we aim to establish best possible understanding of the two Dghwedè words, but still continue to use the expressions clan and lineage, in which we view the term clan as the more embracing term, but often use lineage as an expression of lineal descent, even for clan group ancestors.

In Korana Basa (1995) I was told that *ksage* was a reference to the genealogical origin of a local descent group if one line of patrilineal descent was traced to an apical ancestor, while *kambarte* referred to the specific nodal points of local ancestors within the all-embracing *ksage* relationship. For example '*ksage* Dghwedè' meant that they all traced their descent to Dghwedè, while *kambarte* could be '*kambarte* Ghwa'a or *kambarte* Vaghagaya', which I interpret to be the two main localised maximal lineages of *ksage* Dghwedè. Such an interpretation makes *ksage* appear to be a term for clan, and *kambarte* a term for a lineage section as a sub-unit of a Dghwedè clan group.³

By looking at the same scenario again, and by contextualising it with our acquired local knowledge, we notice that my friends from Korana Basa gave a geographical and a genealogical reference in their examples. By saying '*kambarte* Ghwa'a or *kambarte* Vaghagaya' they reinforced the patrilocal dimension of lineal descent between the two largest clan groups of Dghwedè. This reflects the traditional division of Dghwedè as a whole, into what we already identified as a late pre-colonial southern part and a northern part. We illustrated this further in the chapter about the Dghwedè house of Mbra. This suggests that an understanding of the workings of ego-centred group formation is indeed conditional on what ancestor-centred group membership meant in practice.

In Tatsa (1995) it was explained to me that I needed to include the term *kudige* (kitchen) to truly understand the concept of *ksage*, since the genealogical origin grew from the sons of a father who were born to one wife. This was illustrated by the example of the Gaske rainmaker lineage. According to bulama Mbaldawa and elders, Gaske was *ksage*, while his descendants in Tatsa, Sgana and Tagome were *kambarte*. The Gaske who had moved on had been born in Ghwa'a to the same mother and father, together with other brothers who had remained in Ghwa'a. This meant that they all originated from the same 'kitchen' in Ghwa'a, despite two of them later moving to Tatsa where they married and started their own *kudige* as future base units for new *kambarte*. Because the Gaske who had moved originated from the same *kudige* (kitchen) as their brothers in Ghwa'a, together they were *khabaka*. This was a new term to me,

² Adam Kuper (1988) gives a good summary of the history of descent theory by showing how 'clans' and 'lineages' developed a theoretical group life of its own, which is also shown in our colonial sources. We will return to that point in Chapter 3.21 when dealing with the misinterpretation of the concept of lineage majority (*gadghale*) by colonial officers when they were promoting self-governance in the Gwoza hills.

³ Meyer Fortes 1967 [1945]:45 explained that the Tallensi used 'the word for classes of plants and animals' to also refer to 'agnatic maximal lineages' as a synonym for what in his opinion equates to a clan.

and we do not know the literal meaning of *khabaka*, but my Tatsa friends pointed out that the word referred to the joining point between them. This could perhaps only be a reference to their shared origin as full-brothers, despite them now being located in different lineage wards.

In all our examples so far, the term *ksage* appears to be the larger unit of patrilineal descent, of which *kambarte* is the new localised sub-unit. It seems that the splitting of local lineages along maternal lines was likely to happen more often when larger clan groups continued to expand. Still, in all cases it led to new local start-up lineages as a result of migration or expansion within Dghwedè as a whole. It seems therefore that *kambarte* implied the context of splitting via *kudige*, while *ksage* did not. Such a preliminary conclusion appears to reconcile the contradiction of how *ksage* and *kambarte* was explained by Zakariya Kwire in the above provisional list. There, *ksage* was explained to be the classifying term for patrilineal descent together with smaller lineage groups, while *kambarte* was seen to be the reference to apical ancestor Thakara as their beginning in the locality.

We would like to suggest that *ksage* perhaps refers to genealogical descent across several lineage groups of the same local origin which has become mythological or legendary, which in the case of Dghwedè as an apical ancestor embraces both late pre-colonial northern Dghwedè and southern Dghwedè as one ethnic group area. Now, even Dghwedè-Mbra could become *kambarte* with Mbra or Ngra as their shared apical ancestor in Tur. *Ksage* in that sense is presumably more a classifying term, while *kambarte* is much less so and needs to be localised. Our oral historical examples of *kambarte* Vaghagaya and *kambarte* Thakara (referred to as *kambarte* Ghwa'a from a Korana Basa perspective) illustrate this. In this sense, *ksage* and *kambarte* cannot be used synonymously to designate clans and lineages, but the former is more an ancestor-centred classification, and the latter a reference to a specific local group where ego-centred descent is the base for passing on ritual entitlements.

We have seen in the previous chapter that outsiders could also become founders and that it was not one line of patrilocal descent which brought about such a ritual entitlement, but that increase in number in terms of lineage expansion could override the ritual seniority of smaller clan or lineage groups. In the context of this, specialist lineages with their clan medicines accompanied the Dghwedè on their ritual journey to a fully integrated ethnic group, and we will see below how ritual representatives of the various clan or lineage sections have a place in their communal ceremonies of local group formation.

Exogamous clans and lineages according to Mathews (1934)

We remember that Mathews (ibid) arranges the Dghwedè into four sub-groups, of which two are descended from 'Dofede' (Dghwedè), while the 'Hembe' and the 'Gudile' (Gudule) are not, but all four are often referred to as 'Johode'. We explained that 'Johode' was often a reference to Ghwa'a, and that Mathews wrongly identified 'Moghzo' (Mughuze) as someone who perhaps also came from, or at least once lived in, 'Johode'. He then writes that:

Each hamlet is an exogamous clan, except for marriage with strangers, and for the Gudile [Gudule] people, who are poor and relatively few and weak. They say that they discarded exogamy because they had stronger neighbours of whom they were frightened.

Next he lists these four groups:

- (1) Wa'a (Johode), Washile (Kunde) and Tadadigile (Tokoshe)
- (2) Korana Basa, Korana Kwandama, Khudimsa, Kolika, Haraza, Geltaure
- (3) Hembe
- (4) Gudile

He then says that:

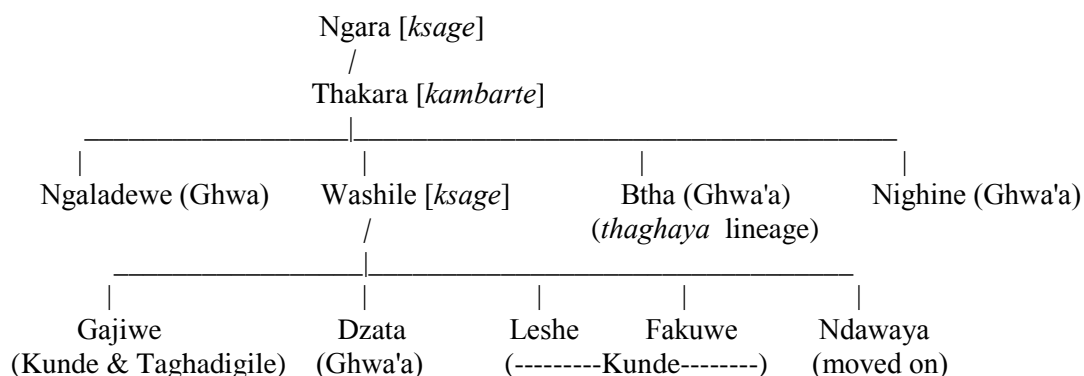
All places named in (1) to (4) are exogamous except Gudile and in addition Haraza, Kudimsa and the two Koranas do not marry each other being sons of a common father, Vragei.

Vragei of course is Vaghagaya, which he classes as an exogamous lineage group occupying the individual wards of Korana Basa, Korana Kwandama, Hudimche and Gharaza. We are already familiar with this local setting from the previous chapter. This implies, if we follow Mathews, that Kwalika, Gathaghure, Ghwa'a, Kunde and Taghadigile are also exogamous. We know that Kwalika and Gathaghure descend directly from Mughuze, but recognise that Mathews does not list Takweshe separately. We know however that Takweshe was also occupied by direct descendants of Mughuze, while Taghadigile was occupied by descendants of Washile and as such was linked to Ghwa'a and Kunde.

We see from the above that Mathews confuses place names with clan or lineage names, and at the same time he says that most of them were exogamous. If we compare his list with our Table 4 in Chapter 3.1 which lists the Dghwedè settlement units and lineage names, we can see that each of his place units had several lineages living there. If we compare these with our Dghwedè lineage tree (Figure 12), and then with the more detailed descending tree for Thakara only (Figure 12d) whom Mathews does not mention at all, we recognise that Ngaladewe, Washile, Btha and Nighine were all lineages in Ghwa'a. If we now single out Washile as an example we can see that Washile was the only lineage among them which had split further as a result of moving on to other localities, but remained with Ghwa'a as their shared local beginning. In Figure 13 below we reproduce the Thakara lineage connections together with the localised spread of Washile to demonstrate this again, and apply the terms *ksage* and *kambarte* for better understanding.

Figure 13 demonstrates that the Gajiwe lineage lived in Kunde and Taghadigile, while the Leshe and the Fakuwe both lived in Kunde. Only the descendants of Dzata stayed in Ghwa'a, and most of the Ndawaya moved on to a new place unknown to us. All other direct descendants of Thakara remained in Ghwa'a, and we know that the Btha lineage were *thaghaya* (seventh-born custodians). In this way they provided the lineage priests for all the descendants of Thakara.

Figure 13: Example of *kambarte* and *ksage* in relation to Thakara-Ngara of Ghwa'a



We know that all the lineages were potentially exogamous, but not necessarily according to where they lived, as shown in the example of Washile. We refer to Washile here as *ksage* from the genealogical point of view of his descendants Gajiwe, Dzata, Leshe and Fakuwe. Washile and his co-descendants Ngaladewe, Btha and Nighine would possibly refer to Ngara as their *ksage* connection, while Thakara was their local beginning in Ghwa'a, and as such their *kambarte* ancestor. The Btha as the *thaghaya* lineage (seventh born) were responsible for local custodianship, similar to the Ghuna lineage of the Vaghagaya. We will discuss the distribution of local shrines and their custodianship links across Dghwedè in Chapter 3.9.

Exogamy rules

I learned that *sknukwe* were a group of 'brothers' who could not intermarry because they were related through the male line only, while *zbe* referred to being unable to intermarry due to matrilineal relations along both parents' extended family lines. Apparently, in the case of *zbe*

it was up to four generations in the past and had become two generations during my time. Aside from *sknukwe*, the word *gwagha* specifically describes the 'brotherhood' of belonging to the same exogamous lineage, as opposed to the word *mbthawa* which describes the fact that one was not exogamous to the other. *Gwagha* describes ancestor-centred patrilineal exogamy, and *zbe* describes ego-centred matrilineal exogamy for a limited number of generations.

This was illustrated to me by saying that if a daughter from the Btha lineage were to marry a son of the Ngaladewe lineage, and they were to have a daughter together, this daughter could no longer marry a man from Btha, and the same rule would apply the other way around. Figure 13 shows that because Btha and Ngaladewe are co-descendants of Thakara as their shared founding ancestor they can be classified as belonging to the same clan group in terms of lineal descent. In terms of their ability to intermarry they are *mbthawa*, but the two families of Btha and Ngaladewe who intermarried are now exogamous. From now on their descendants are *zbe*, meaning their children cannot continue to marry one another.

In the past they would have to be exogamous for four generations but during my time this had changed to only two generations. This means that the exogamy rule via a potential *zbe* connection had considerably loosened over the decades, and it had become easier to marry across lineages of Ghwa'a which were *mbthawa* to each other. If we stay with the example of Thakara as local founding ancestor, we can see that the various major lineages forming Ghwa'a are Ngaladewe, Washile, Btha and Nighine. Despite their shared lineal descent they formed exogamous lineage groups which included the Washile branches of Taghadigile and Kunde who could not intermarry with the Washile of Ghwa'a. This form of lineage exogamy seems somewhat narrow but reducing the matrilineal *zbe* connection rule from four to two generations presumably made it much easier to find a suitable marriage partner within Ghwa'a.

Considering that a large majority of the inhabitants of Ghwa'a were originally descendants of Thakara, presumably there would have not been enough marriage partners to be found in Ghwa'a anyway. We will learn in Chapter 3.20 that the most desirable marriage arrangement was a marriage by promise. This meant that a girl and a boy were promised to each other as a consequence of friendship between families that were permitted to form marriage alliances. We can only imagine how difficult it might have been during late pre-colonial times to find suitable partners for a marriage by promise, because the descendants of such an arranged marriage would not be able to intermarry again for four generations. This had been reduced to two generations in the mid-1990s, and I seem to remember from casual conversations at the time that some families even ignored the two generations, which made *zbe* irrelevant. This was perhaps criticised, but *zbe* is possibly irrelevant now anyway, considering the local communities I encountered no longer exist, and how could such rules operate among the displaced survivors of Boko Haram?

Unfortunately we do not have comparative data for Korana Basa, apart from an interview with bulama Mbasuwe and elders (1995) in which we were told that all the descendants of Vaghagaya would intermarry with Ghwa'a, Takweshe, Hembe, Gathaghure, Guduf, Gvoko and Kwalika. Bulama Mbasuwe further added that the units with whom they could not intermarry they would call 'brothers' (*sknukwe*), and those who were 'not brothers' but with whom they were still not able to intermarry were called *zbe*. We have already explained *zbe* (exogamous matrilineal kin) and *sknukwe* (exogamous patrilineal brothers).

Bulama Mbasuwe also said that extended family members with whom one was able to intermarry were often referred to as:

dadude (father-in-law),
mamude (mother-in-law),
dughzgune (son-in-law), or
kwaghwa (daughter-in-law).

We infer that this is because they are members of families that had formed friendships for arranged marriages, and it throws light on the past importance of such friendships for finding suitable marriage partners. In Chapter 3.20 we will learn more about this, and also about the intricacies of ‘marriage by capture’ which the Dghwede once practised due to inability to find suitable marriage partners. This could lead to conflict and even war between marriage-permitted lineages, but it is not to be confused with Boko Haram abducting girls and forcing them into marriage. Overall, the exogamy rules were very important, and ‘marriage by promise’ was by far the preferred way of marrying.

Still, some of the social relationship terms applied to exogamy could become very inclusive the further away they became from the local or ethnic context of their original application. For example I came across the term *gwagha* during an interview in Lamang-speaking Hidkala (Muller-Kosack 1994) in which it was explained to me that the word was used to refer to one's own ethnic group as an expression of belonging in opposition to another one. This could allegedly be Dghwede or Guduf or any other ethnicity of the Gwoza hills. It was subsequently pointed out to me by some Dghwede friends that for example Dghwede who were living in Maiduguri might refer to themselves as being *gwagha* in order to distinguish themselves from the Kanuri. I was told that they might do this not only to distinguish themselves as Dghwede, but would include any other ethnicity from the Gwoza LGA as their *gwagha*.

The latter use of the exogamy term *gwagha* seems to be completely stripped of any reference to lineage exogamy, which is interesting and perhaps throws light on the fact that *gwagha* was always more of an orientational rule, not being in the first place written in stone. It also throws light on the term *zbe* as possibly having been in the past the more restricting, and therefore the more important exogamy rule. Unfortunately we do not know how the exogamy rules of the Dghwede might have changed during earlier times, considering that Dghwede ethnicity itself is possibly a later pre-colonial development. This means that the exogamous lineage examples listed above might be more recent than we like to think.

Generational grouping and other family connections

The term *skmama* refers to the sons of different fathers in the same generation of a descent group and is perhaps best translated as ‘generation mates’. Our information on this is limited, but as far as I understand the *skmama* relationship is only possible within an exogamous lineage. The sons of one generation of *skmama* derive their special relationship from the fact that their fathers were already *skmama*. The *skmama* relationship played a particular role in the sacrifice to a deceased paternal grandfather (*jije*). If there was no longer a living *skmama* in the generation of such a grandfather, any person who was close to him could function as his *skmama*. It is unclear whether the newly appointed *skmama* had to be from the same lineage as the deceased grandfather. Reportedly biological age as well as generational belonging counted towards being a suitable *skmama*.

The *skmama* played an important role as *zal jije* (family priest for the deceased grandfather) in the worship of extended family ancestors extending as far back as the deceased great-grandfather. The other main player in this context was the senior brother in his role as *dada* priest and the seventh born in his role as *thaghaya*. While the senior brother was responsible for the sacrifice to a deceased father (*dada*), it was his seventh-born younger brother who was always served first by him and also by the *skmama*. We will learn about this in greater detail in Chapter 3.12 where the ritual aspects of the house as the place of worship are described, and Figure 20a at the beginning of that chapter shows the patrilocal spatial dimension of the role of *skmama* in his function as *zal jije* (family priest).

The word referring to the family and family home was *gwalghaya*. As far as I know, there was no linguistic distinction between the extended and nuclear or conjugal family, but the Dghwede generally lived in nuclear families, meaning the father, his first wife, and/or other wives and children. The house was the social, economic and religious centre of the Dghwede

family and there were ritual links between houses of close or more distant relations who were often living nearby. In Chapters 3.11 and 3.12 about the architecture of a traditional Dghwedé house we will contextualise how these inherited social links were ritually re-enacted in family-orientated religious observances in the home.

The comprehensive list of relationship terms concerning the family presented below was originally made with the help of bulama Mbalawa and elders in Tatsa in 1995, but it was reviewed in 1996 and reinterpreted with the help of John Zakariya. The list is far from complete but it gives a good insight into how the Dghwedé family terms were compiled. We sometimes use the second person to describe the ego-centred relationship terms listed, since this was how John described them to me:

- We start off with the husband of a patrilocal nuclear family who refers to his wife as *nise*, but he can also refer to his wife's sisters as *nise*, as well as to his younger brothers' wives. A wife refers to her husband as *zala*, and his wives' sisters also call him *zala*. Someone's wives refer to each other as *tatghe*.
- You refer to your father as *dada* but you can also refer to any older male as *dada*. The term *dada* is also used to refer to someone's deceased father represented by a stone erected at the foot of his house shrine (*thala*). A senior brother responsible for the sacrifice of his junior brother's ancestor stone is also referred to as *dada*. Even a generation mate (*skmama*) of a deceased grandfather or great-grandfather and who carries out rituals on behalf of the father of a house at the ancestor stones can be referred to as *dada*.
- You refer to your mother and to the sisters of your mother as *baya*. So do your half-siblings, but they sometimes also refer to their siblings' mothers as *yaya*, which is a general term for a person slightly older than oneself regardless of gender. The prefix *ba* in *baya* signifies the reference to a female. You can refer to any woman's daughter from your mother's kin as *dugh baya* and to any woman's son from your mother's kin as *ske baya*, in both cases regardless of their age. There is also a general term to cover both which is *vjirbaya*.
- The father of a house is often referred to as *zal thaghaya*, meaning husband or head of the family home (*gwalghaya*). We have already mentioned the term *thagaya* for the seventh born, and learned that the term is also used to represent a *thagaya* lineage, and we have said that later we will learn more about their various ritual functions. In this section we only want to point out that the word *zal thaghaya* refers to the head of a farmstead, and even if he is not a seventh born himself he can potentially become the father of one. As we know, the seventh-born son of a first wife inherits not only the house and most of the land, but also the right to be served first by the generation mates of a deceased ancestor, as ritual custodian over three generations of extended family ancestors.
- The general term for brother is *sknukwe* but its use is often connected to the thought of one with whom he cannot intermarry in the context of one's own *gwagha*, meaning the 'brotherhood' of belonging to the same exogamous lineage. We will neglect this term for the moment, since we are more interested in whether there are relationship terms that differentiate between half-siblingship and full-siblingship, and how such terms reach across the paternal and maternal sides of the extended family.
- Half-brothers and full-brothers refer to each other as *vjarnukwe*, while half-sisters and full-sisters refer to each other as *daghaunukwe*. Also, the sons of your mother's sisters are called *vjarnukwe*, and the same principle applies to your mother's sisters' daughters, who are called *daghaunukwe*. The same applies to your sons, who call your brothers' sons *vjarnukwe*, and your daughters refer to your brothers' daughters as *daghaunukwe*. This shows how the gender-related terms for siblings had a very inclusive tone across the paternal and maternal sibling branches of extended families.

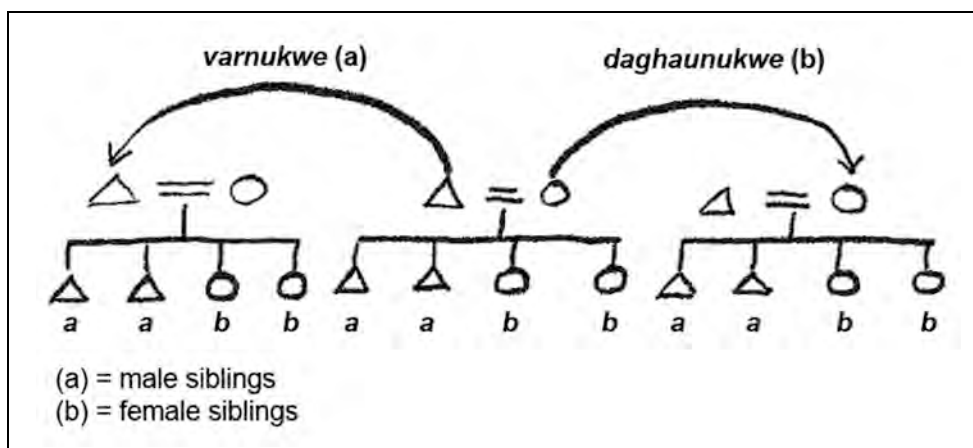
- Your mother's brother you call *jije* (grandfather), including her father, while you refer to any mother's sister as *baya* (mother). You call your mother's mother *bajije* (meaning grandmother). Your father's mother you call *bajije* too, and you also call the sisters of your father's and mother's mother *bajije*. Even the sons of your mother's brother you call *jije*, and the fact that any other male person of your exogamous lineage is also referred to as *jije* shows the great importance of the concept of *jije* as a form of address across several generations of bilateral family. On top of that, you can call any elderly person *jije*. Great-grandchildren are referred to by their great-grandparents of both sides as *zightare* or *zighe*.

The concept of *jije* is quite central to our understanding here. *Jije* was included in the name of the ancestor stone for a deceased grandfather which was found in every house, which was called *kwir jije* (*kwire* = stone), while the ancestral beer pot kept inside a house shrine (*thala*) was known as *zal jije*. Also, the generation mate (*skmama*) who functioned as custodian when handling the *zal jije* pots of his deceased age mate (*jije*) was referred to as *zal jije*, which we translated earlier as family priest. Due to his seniority, he was often also referred to as *dada* (father). *Dada* was also the official term used to refer to the senior brother when he served the seventh-born of his extended family first. We will learn in Chapter 3.18 that the seventh-born son was seen as a representation of good luck, while the eighth-born child was cast out or fell victim to infanticide to keep all previous siblings alive.

The above shows that we need to distinguish between the custodianship related to the patrilineal extended family, and the house of a nuclear family as the basic unit of socio-economic reproduction. The nuclear family did split between full-siblingship and half-siblingship, in that the sons of the first wife had a higher chance of becoming ritual custodians than their fellow half-brothers, but there seems to be no siblingship term to express the division between them apart from 'descent from the same kitchen' (*kudige*). All half-brothers and full-brothers refer to one another as *vjarnukwe*, not only within their own birth family but also across the extended family divides. For example, someone's mother's sister's sons would be called *vjarnukwe*, and your sons would refer to your sister's sons as *vjarnukwe*.

While the term *vjarnukwe* does not seem to distinguish between half-siblingship and full-siblingship, it does not seem to cross the generational divide, and we realise that the same principle applies regarding the relationship between full-sisters and half-sisters (*daghaunukwe*). This is different from the relationship term *jije* for grandfather, because even the sons of your mother's brother were regularly referred to as *jije*, and it was allegedly correct to refer to any other male person of your exogamous lineage as *jije*. This would presumably have meant that a much younger male person of the same patrilineal lineage group could be referred to as *jije* by someone of an older generation.

Figure 13a: Half- and full-siblingship across the paternal and maternal family divide

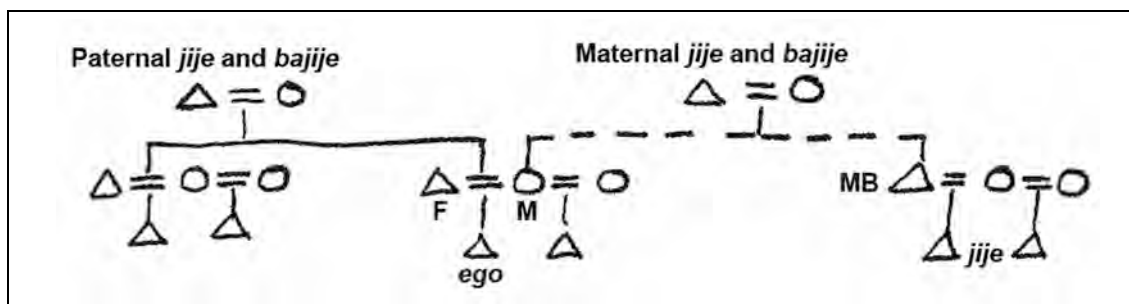


The triangles in Figures 13a represent paternal siblingship, and the circles maternal siblingship, from the perspective of the husband and the first wife in the centre of the

diagram. We see that on both sides, male siblings and female siblings are included regardless of whether they are full-siblings and half-siblings. While the sons (a) will be founders of new lineages, the daughters (b) will become members of their future husbands' lineages when they marry.

Figure 13b illustrates that the relationship term *jije* (grandfather) also applied to the sons of the mother's brother (MB) of ego, and we see the son of the co-wife of ego's mother (M) showing the link to her brother (MB) and the sons of his two wives. We have not marked all the *jiji* connections on the paternal side of ego, but know that they formed the basic congregation when worshipping the deceased grandfather (*jije*) as part of the calendrical ritual cycle.

Figure 13b: Illustration of mother's brother's sons also being referred to as *jije* (grandfather)



We interpret this cross-generational use of the relationship term *jije* as significant, since it seems to highlight the social cohesion expressed in the *har jije* (*har* = slaughtering) ritual, being the sacrifice of a he-goat made by the extended family to ritually feed the deceased patrilineal grandfather. We will learn in Chapter 3.11 that the most important shrine of a house was referred to as the 'stomach', which was where ritual pottery was stored for carrying out the sacrifice for a *jije* over the foot of the ancestor stones. The *zal jije* pot representing a deceased grandfather was filled and kept overnight in the ritual beer kitchen of the first wife, before the family priest acting as *zal jije* libated some of it over the *kwir jije* (ancestor stone of the grandfather). Figure 20b in the following Chapter 3.12 shows the way of *har ghwe* (ritual for a deceased father) which was similar in many ways and was carried out shortly before *har jije*, these being the two main calendrical rituals of the house.

A Dghwede model of local group formation

Figure 14 below is an attempt to illustrate how classificatory genealogical ties (*ksage*) run across local ties (*kambarte*), while the local core element (*kudige*) forms the starting point that can at any time disconnect from local ties (*kambarte*) but stays interconnected via genealogical ties (*ksage*). It is a very rough diagram of how the local group structure reproduces itself geographically while carrying patrilineal kinship ties along with it.

In the diagram we see the example of a *kudige* splitting off from an existing *kambarte*, symbolising that it is about to form the core of a new *kambarte*. Our model does not put it into another local context but we imagine that this is what is about to happen.

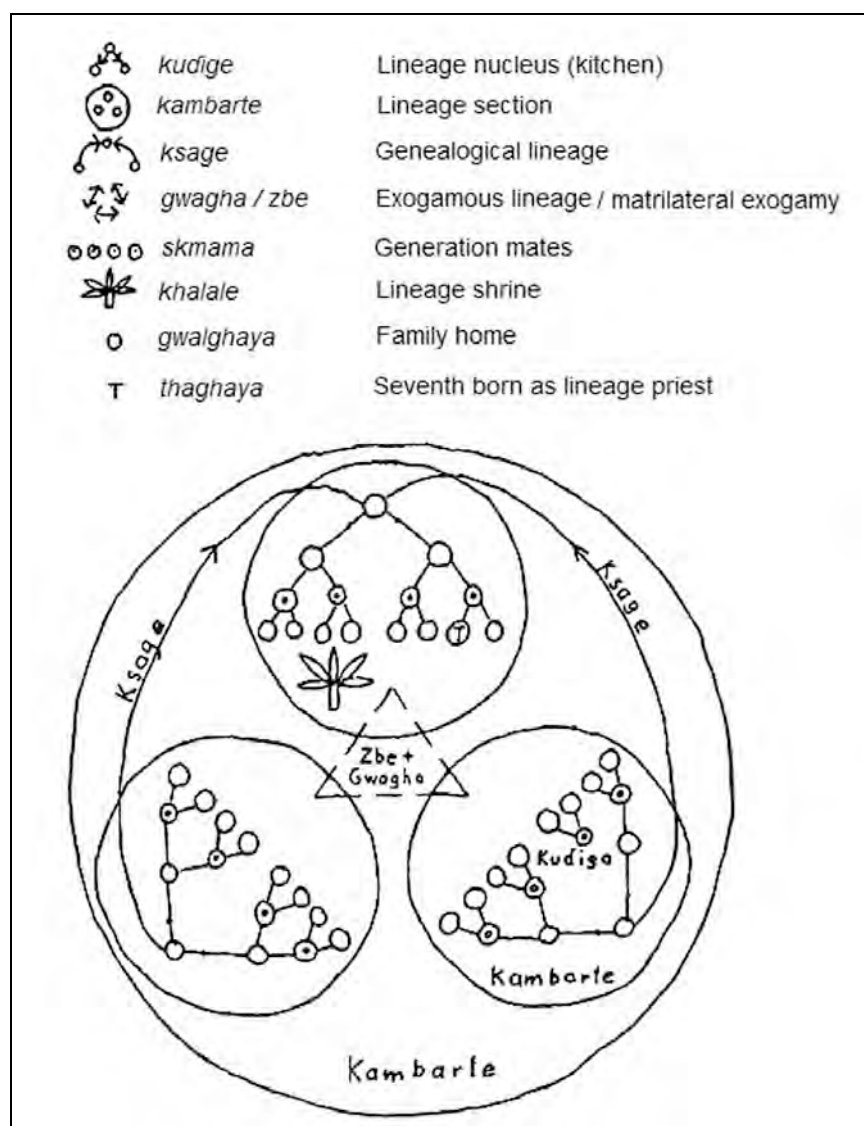
Although now locally disconnected, the *kudige* will stay part of the same *ksage* in genealogical terms. As such it will remain *gwagha* and *zbe* to the three old *kambarte* and *ksage* connections, depending on the circumstances of previous intermarriages. We learned earlier that *gwagha* is related to ancestor-centred patrilineal exogamy, while *zbe* refers to ego-centred matrilineal exogamy as the result of previous marriages between families up to four generations in the past but only two generations during my time.

We also see that brothers of the splitting *kudige* will remain *skmama* in the context of the existing *ksage*, genealogically linking all the geographical *kambarte* that appear to be locally nested. All the *skmama* in the model are on the potentially deceased father's line across the

all-embracing *ksage*. The lineage shrine (*khalale*) is in the same lineage section where the lineage priest (*thaghaya*) responsible for it is marked to live, indicating the geographical beginning of a new local group formation. All the other *thaghaya* below the lineage level are unmarked, but as we pointed out earlier, each family home (*gwalghaya*) has the potential to bring about their lineage *thaghaya* over time.

We remember that the *thaghaya* of an extended family is the one who is served first by the *skmama* of his deceased grandfather (*jije*), and that the line of *thaghaya* starts with the seventh-born son of the first wife of a *zal thaghaya*, the husband and father of the house. As a result of population increase, smaller *kambarte* units might reshape over time, or even split and move to another locality and start their own *kudige* as the core element of a new *kambarte*. For ease of generalisation, this is only indicated as a possibility in our model, and it could theoretically apply to every other *kudige* illustrated in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Local group formation along patrilineal kinship ties



The *kudige* consisting of three *gwalghaya* is also a reference to the extended family as the ritual unit concerning the three ancestor stones. These stones represent three generations of active ritual connections and were found in the foyer area of every Dghwedé house (see Figures 19c and 20a). The most important of the ancestor stones seems to have been the one representing *jije*, the deceased grandfather of the extended family. We describe one of the key rituals *har ghwe* (sacrificial slaughtering for the deceased father of a house)

in a model case in Chapter 3.12 about the house as the place of religious worship (see Figure 20b).

Another illustration that should be understood together with Figure 14 is the general plan of the Dghwedé farm layout (Figure 17) in Chapter 3.10 about working the terraced land. We also recommend the reader to consult Figure 28b in the section about inheritance in Chapter 3.18 dealing with the significance of the seventh-born son.

Throughout Part Three we will refer to the Dghwedè way of local group formation, not only with regard to the specific social space it reproduces, but also in the context of the particular belief system of the Dghwedè and their cosmographic view of the world. In the next chapter we will present the Dghwedè system of specialist lineages, and see how the patrilineal descent of rainmakers and cornblessers reflects the belief in a celestial world above and a primordial world below, all interconnected by divine action. We will show how cosmological pairing based on the patrilineal co-option of females was employed to maintain ritual control over the promotion of fecundity from an ego-centred perspective in the form of 'brotherhood of the same kitchen' (*kudige*).

Conclusion

This chapter has been about Dghwedè relations and relationship terms and we realise that our data are indeed fragmentary. We started with the patrilineal descent model of the Dghwedè, and explained that we used the English terms clan and lineage but without any theoretical intention. We went so far as using the term 'maximal lineage' as a technical alternative for clan, and in future chapters will sometimes use the terms major or minimal lineage, but without any underlying theoretical reference to lineage theory. In the context of this, we interpreted the Dghwedè concept of *ksage* as the more classificatory expression of genealogical descent, and *kambarte* as the geographical expression of localised group formation and spoke of lineage sections in that context. The latter is a term gathered from descent theory but is only used here as a technical term to express classificatory lineal descent from the starting point of one locality.

We pointed to the nuclear or conjugal family home as the patrilocal base unit for patrilineal descent, which by its very nature had to be connected to a particular place. In the context of this, we realised that as a result of polygyny, the sons of one mother were referred to as *kudige* (kitchen), a term referencing lineage splitting not only on the ancestor-centred classificatory level but also on the ego-centred level of genealogical lineage. The two wives of Vaghagaya are a typical oral historical example of ancestor-centred descent leading to various future descent-group beginnings in different newly-founded neighbourhoods.

We also looked into exogamy rules, and found that the term *gwagha* indicated clan or lineage exogamy, while *zbe* related to matrilineal exogamy across clan or lineage groups over four generations in the past which had been reduced to only two generations in more recent years. Then we picked up on the term *skmama* for generational grouping across one's own lineage group, and were able to establish that the sons of one generation of *skmama* derived their special relationship from the fact that their fathers were already *skmama*. Apart from sons with different mothers leading to the term *kudige* as a sign of lineage splitting, *skmama* referred to the sons of different fathers within one patrilineal descent group.

Finally, we gained some idea about the family-related social relationship terms of the Dghwedè. We were able to show that *jije* not only referred to one's grandfather, but also to most of the kin of one's grandfather's mother's brothers' children down to the present generation. They would all refer to each other as *jije*. The other aspect we were hopefully able to show was the great inclusiveness of the Dghwedè family relationship terms when it came to siblingship. The same terms were used for full-siblings and half-siblings, but with an emphasis on gender as in female siblings or male siblings. This was the case even across the divide of paternal and maternal extended family connections.

In the final section of this chapter we tried to illustrate local group formation along kinship ties. We pointed out that our model was very general, aiming to give a spatial idea of some of the key concepts related to the various levels of patrilineal kin in specific situations of patrilocal relatedness. In that context we showed which concepts were applied across clans and lineages, such as *ksage* and *zbe*, and those that were more localised expressions, such as *kudige* and *kambarte*. We also included the necessary lineage shrines (*khalala*) in the model, and said we

would show how community shrines and the custodianship of those shrines was linked to the formation of local groups.

The fact that here we have referred to so many other chapters of our Dghwedè oral history retold demonstrates the great importance of social relationship terms in the understanding of Dghwedè ritual culture, and later we will address the concept of ritual density. On the one hand social relationship terms had a very inclusive meaning, while on the other hand they could be applied with particular exclusiveness when it came to ritual roles attached to specific relationships. To understand this better we will contextualise certain concepts, such as specialist lineages, the distribution of custodianship for locality shrines, the ritual calendar of the Dghwedè, and the architecture of the traditional house as the most significant dedicated ritual place for showing honour and reverence for up to three generations of ego-centred patrilineal family ancestors.

Certain relationship terms will appear often, for example the seventh born (*thaghaya*) as an almost multifunctional ritual actor, and *zal jije* as family priest. We will not always give an English translation when it comes to describing a specific situation if there is no suitable standard translation and it depends on the circumstance. For example, the senior rainmaker can be referred to as *thaghaya* (seventh born) for starting the planting period for the whole of Dghwedè, while the *thaghaya* of the Gudule, who represents the most important Dghwedè cornblesser lineage, started the Dghwedè bull festival. We will introduce the role of specialist lineages in the next chapter.

Even so, everything we touch on is very fragmentary in ethnographic terms, not only because it is translated from oral into written form, but also because we are approaching it from the perspective of Western culture where the written word is the key to passing on history. This chapter has demonstrated that writing down Dghwedè oral history from the grassroots, by presenting the limited social relationship data available, has not been an easy task. We will eventually realise that one of the main shortcomings of our kinship-related oral data is our lack of knowledge concerning the importance of marriage alliances and the wider kindred connections across paternal and maternal social relationships. This aspect will become particularly obvious in Chapter 3.20 about past ways of marrying in Dghwedè, but we will try to underpin it with the evidence we have of the dense network of social relationships created and maintained as a result of intermarriage between exogamous clan and lineage groups.

Chapter 3.7

Specialist lineage groups

Introduction

Among the clans and lineages of the Dghwedè there are specialist groups. One of these are the Dagha who were known as peacemakers and diviners. They held a powerful position in Dghwedè society. The Dagha owned a great variety of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vazan*), which were considered to be agents for regulating conflict situations or events. In Chapter 3.23 we present a list of the ritual varieties of *vavan* used in Dghwedè culture for prevention and cure, and learn that they were not only owned by Dagha specialists but were often commonly owned. Still, representatives of the Dagha peacemaker lineage owned many of them, especially those seen as dangerous applications.

Apart from the peacemaker lineage, there were the rainmaker and cornblessor lineages, which were often considered as complementary pairs. They were known throughout the Gwoza hills, one dealing with environmental conditions from above through the control of rain and wind, and the other dealing with the elements at work from below as in the fertility of the soils. This had a cosmological dimension in terms of handling the management of fecundity and was socially organised as ritual specialism by the patrilineal pairing of full brothers. This means that the earlier mentioned cosmological interface can be found in the Dghwedè lineage tree (Figure 12), in the form of the complementary ancestral roots of Gudule and Ske being seen as sons of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*), meaning that they had the same mother.

The subregional aspect of cosmological pairing is demonstrated in the example of the celestial origin of Amuda the cornblessor, who was in this way related to the local rainmaker lineage Ganjara. The Amuda are a very small ethnic group at the foothills of the eastern plain, and they inherited the divine gift of cornblessing from their paternal ancestor. He was believed to have brought *Cissus quadrangularis* with him as his divine food. In the Dghwedè case, it was the Gudule lineage Gazhiwe who inherited cornblessing, as a punishment given to their lineage 'father' Gudule for having been too keen to please a local girl. He had secretly cut the white tail of his father's beloved cow as a present for the girl, which resulted in him being excluded from rainmaking. At the same time he was promoted, and was made custodian (*thagaya*) of Dghwedè, with the responsibility of starting the bull festival. This was at least how the Gudule explained their relationship with the Gaske, who were given the job of being exclusive rainmakers by their shared lineage ancestor Tasa.

The Dghwedè also seemed to like to connect the cosmological concept of twinhood with that of descent in the context of their specialist lineage groups. This will be discussed here, and we will show a couple of alternative scenarios suggested to us by some of our Dghwedè friends, in which, for example, Tasa and Wasa, as the key ancestors of all Dghwedè specialist lineages, appear differently. This aspect touches on the Dghwedè culture of naming, and the naming of twins, who are generally seen as communal reincarnations of previous twins. For both of these we have dedicated chapters further on. We are briefly going to raise the aspect of pairing here because of its relevance for linking specialist lineage descent and the promotion of fecundity.

We have already mentioned the other Dagha specialist lineage, known as Dagha Kadzgwara, and have pointed out that they have an oral historical connection to Mutube and Mulgwe, mainly via the Lamang-speaking groups of the western plain. They are not seen as true Dagha, and we will briefly revisit the distinction between the two Dagha specialist lineages in this chapter, by pointing again to the importance of the role of clan medicines not only for promoting fecundity, but also for controlling plagues and diseases. We revisit that aspect in the chapter about the bull festival, in the context of the regionalisation of lineage specialism

as expressed in the ritual role of the Gudule and their legendary link to 'Gudulyewe' (Gudur). The latter is found on the far eastern side of the northern Mandara Mountains (Figure 21b).

Alternatives of specialist lineage descent through Wasa and Tasa

We remember from our Dghwede lineage tree shown in Figure 12, that Dagha and Podoko descended from Wasa, while Gudule and Ske descended from Tasa. We already introduced the claim of the Gudule that Katala-Wandala was Tasa's first wife and the mother of Gudule and Ske, but will discuss that in greater detail in the chapter about the bull festival. We adopted the Gudule version in our Dghwede lineage tree, but here want to show that there were also other versions. Although they all seemed to be more contentious than the Gudule version, we still want to present them to discover what they might have in common.

Although there was quite some agreement that Gudule and Ske (Gaske) had been 'brothers' of the same *kudige* (kitchen), others claimed that Wasa, who was seen as the ancestor of the Dagha peacemakers, had a younger twin by the name of Wala, and that it was he who had been the 'father' of the Gaske rainmakers. We will learn about the Dghwede naming tradition in Chapter 3.18 and 3.19, but Wasa and Wala are the names given to twins, and Wasa was the name for the elder one. Besides, it was claimed that the cornblessor lineage Gazhiwe (Zhiwe) descended from an ancestor named Ghamba, this being the name given to a younger brother of twins, or, in the case of triplets, to the third triplet. We remember that the Gazhiwe lineage was the specialist cornblessor lineage which had descended from Gudule.

To define the three specialist lineages of the Dghwede as descendants of twin brothers and their younger brother next in line seems typical for Dghwede thinking, and indicates connections between the forces of fecundity, the idea of reproduction, and that of growth. We mentioned that the origin of the Dagha Kadzgwara was also indirectly connected to Wasa by the claim that he had been found in the stomach of one of Wasa's cows. Baba Musa, our local Dagha protagonist from Barawa, even claimed that it was not Wasa's cow, but a cow of the Dagha peacemaker lineage. We know that the Dagha Kadzgwara had special talents too, and include them here among our group of specialist lineages. Central to those special talents were often not only the supernatural powers allocated to the key representatives of those specialist lineages, but also the ritual ownership of particular potent clan medicines.

There was another version of the alleged descent of Gudule given to us by our friends from Kunde, claiming that there was no relationship of common descent between the Gudule and the Gaske at all, and that it was only the Gaske rainmaker and Dagha peacemaker who had been twins. Our Kunde friends claimed instead that the Gudule had come with the Vile of Hidkala, and that they had migrated together to settle with the Mafa of Huduwe (see Figure 8), where the Vile clan had been responsible for the powerful smallpox medicine. We will elaborate on that further in the chapter about the bull festival, but want to emphasise here the link to ritual ownership of clan medicines being a key asset for the power of lineage specialism.

We will learn later that the Vile were sometimes linked to the Vreke of Moskota, who held regional power over a variety of clan medicines against plagues and diseases as an important tool of ritual crisis management among the Mafa communities of our subregion during the late pre-colonial period. We mentioned Gudulyewe and/or Gudur as a regional image of such late pre-colonial ownership of clan medicines, although in the case of the Gudule it was linked more to the start of the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede, and their legendary potential for cornblessing and population growth. The general point we can perhaps conclude from the current chapter section is that the Dghwede liked to link the ritual expertise of their specialist lineages to the idea of twinhood and the promotion of communal reproduction. The latter includes the ritual ownership over the efficiency of those forces for the greater local good.

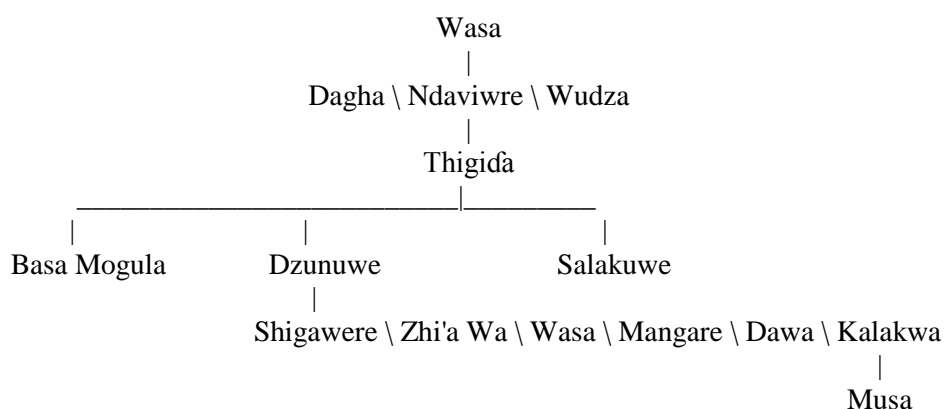
One of our oral sources indirectly confirms our hypothesis by saying that it was because of the nature of their work that Dagha was seen as a twin to Ske. Either way, Wasa and Tasa are both, in terms of descent, separate from the most two numerous clan groups of Dghwede-Mbra, which are the Mughuze-Ruwa and Thakara of Ghwa'a. A reason for this was perhaps that smaller clan groups were more likely to become ritual experts for the majority of the Dghwede, and also that individuals could at that time be perceived as having special supernatural talents. These were often linked to sorcery, and we will learn more about that in the chapter about the Dghwede concept of existential personhood. Being a member of a specialist lineage which had a particular ritual designation was also a protection against accusations of sorcery. Still, as we will see below, the application of a ritual specialism could lead to loss of reproductive success among the ritual owners, something which happened to members of the Dagha peacemaker lineage.

Ritual specialism could be seen as a form of the social division of ritual labour, cast in lineage terms. On the subject of exogamy rules among the listed specialist lineage groups, and of the majority lineages of Dghwede, we do not have much data. We were only told that there was always intermarriage between Dagha and non-Dagha, and that Dagha and Gaske would intermarry. We do not know whether the Gudule cornblessers and the Gaske rainmakers intermarried also, and can only assume that marriage was permitted between the lineages. We remember that Mathews (1934) informed us that the Gudule were explicitly no longer exogamous to anyone, due to them having become so small in number.

The Dagha peacemaker lineage according to Baba Musa

According to Baba Musa (1996), Dagha was originally from a place between Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, called 'Gav Mbale', where Thigida had three sons: Basa Mogula, Dzunuwe and Salakuwe. In Figure 15 we list where Thigida appeared in the context of this, and show Baba Musa's own line of descent from the Dzunuwe lineage. To graphically shorten the otherwise too long vertical 'father' to 'son' descent lines, we listed them horizontally and separated by a slash (\) from left to right between them. This makes Wudza the 'father' of Thigida and Kalakwa the father (*dada*) of Baba Musa, while Dawa was his grandfather (*jije*).

Figure 15: Descent tree of Baba Musa



Baba Musa explained that it had been the Thakara lineage Btha (we remember them as being custodians) of Ghwa'a, who originally had the say over them, for example as to whether they could perform their speciality, involving the use of *Cissus quadrangularis*, to control the spirit agent of leopards. He added that there was a particular rock in Gav Mbale where Thigida's house once stood, and Baba Musa went on to tell us the following story of how Thigida's sons already had the gift of using *vavanz bungwe* (*bungwe* = leopard):

One day Thigida had gone out to cut grasses for his animals, and in the absence of their father, his three children were playing at home. Now Mogula told the two others to close their eyes. When

they closed their eyes Mogula hid behind the rock. When the two others opened their eyes, they discovered that Bas Mogula had become a leopard through the use of *vavanza*. The two were frightened and started crying. Mogula told them not to cry since they were children of the same father. This is why the descendants of Bas Mongula stayed with this *vavanza* for transforming themselves into leopards.

Next Dzunuwe took the *ruma* (spear) of their father and planted it outside into the ground. Now fire erupted out of the top end of the spear and Dzunuwe was resting on top of this fire in the air. When people saw this fire they came quickly to put it out but it was not possible. Only the father was able to extinguish the fire when he came home from cutting grasses. When the three boys saw their father coming home, they hid inside the house. Their father warned them not to do this again.

We list the use of *vavanz bungwe* in Table 12b and discuss it together with other powerful ritual *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) varieties in Chapter 3.23. Next, Baba Musa links the Gaske to the Dagha in the following account. One of the reasons for recounting the legend was presumably to explain why he thought that Dagha and Ske (Gaske) had been 'brothers':

There was a time when all Ghwa'a people, including Dagha, Ske and Thakara, went out for war and raiding. They went to the plain. They succeeded in getting hold of the animals of the people there. While they took the cattle away the enemies followed them on their horses. Now they asked the Dagha what to do to resolve this dangerous situation. Dagha quickly applied his *vavanza* and magically built a big forest between themselves and their enemies, and before the enemies could clear this forest away, they had all succeeded to arrive on top of the hill and so ensured their escape. Now they were all very thirsty and they called upon Gaske to produce something to drink since they were brothers of Dagha. Gaske pulled out a grass called *dhagla* from the terrace and the water started pouring out of the terrace wall.

This was how, according to Baba Musa, Dagha and Gaske contributed to the development of Ghwa'a. We will learn later that the weed *dhagla* has an anti-erosive function in keeping the terrace walls together (see Table 7c), and that rainmakers in particular seem to have owned various grasses for use in the ritual contexts of crop protection. We will learn more about that in Chapter 3.12, when we present the rainmaker's ritual 'bundle' which he hung in the loft area of houses belonging to the mountain farms he served, to increase the yield of beans.

Baba Musa now gave an example of how he was once called to assist in peacemaking, in Ghwa'a when lawan Buba was about to be killed in 1953. We have already described the incident in the context of the failing resettlement scheme during late colonial times. Baba Musa said that at the time he explained to the men of Ghwa'a that none of them would be killed as a result of attacking lawan Buba, but houses would perhaps be burnt and cattle taken. He added that this was in fact what happened. I am not sure how Baba Musa could have known this, unless he was consulted before lawan Buba was attacked and killed. According to all other Dghwedë friends, it was not something that had been planned. Perhaps Baba Musa wanted to illustrate the general importance of peacemakers in the past, or I misunderstood and he was called after the incident, because the colonial officers in charge might well have known about the Dagha role as Dghwedë peacemakers.

When I interviewed Baba Musa in 1996, he had already been a converted Muslim for many years, and he explained to me that he no longer practiced *vavanza* rituals, and that it was not the *vavanza* that made the magic, but the self-belief of the acting Dagha in their own ability of making peace by means of *vavanza*. He explained that if somebody had a divided mind or a hidden agenda he would have never succeeded in peacemaking anyway. He added that *vavanza* was a gift of God¹ and this was the reason why they were using it. Baba Musa then said that it was something they had been using for a very long time, which was the main reason why it had become so important, and that only people with a pure mind would have been successful in using prayer in that way, and both the Dagha and Gaske had this ability. He concluded by saying that he too in the past went to collect *vavanza* from the Gaske

¹ Baba Musa's concept of a Supreme Being is derived from his Muslim belief in only one God (Allah), while the traditional Dghwedë idea of *gwazgafte* as concept for a Supreme Being was seen as having male gender. We discuss the concept of *gwazgafte* in the chapter about cosmology and worldview.

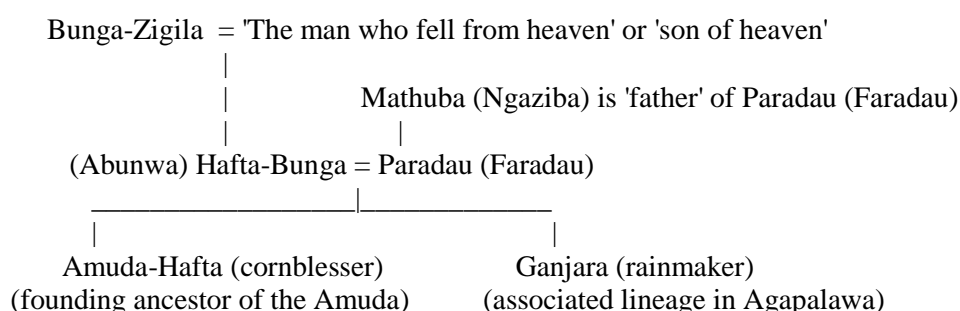
rainmaker to increase the yield of his guinea corn, but since he was no longer a Traditionalist he no longer did so.

Amuda and *Cissus quadrangularis* as divine food

Amuda (see Figure 3a), a small Glavda-speaking ethnic community, is the most exclusive specialist cornblessing group of the Gwoza hills, and will serve here as a comparative example to sharpen our understanding of cosmological pairing. A.B. Mathews (1934), reports that Amuda was the son of Abunwa who came from heaven to the present Amuda hill. According to my research, Hafta Bunga (Mathews' Abunwa) or Bunga-Zigila roughly means in Glavda 'the man who fell from heaven' (*zigila* = heaven), which is a clear reference to the celestial origin of Amuda's lasting cornblessing talents. Unfortunately, Mathews does not mention Ganjara the rainmaker lineage, but my research shows that Ganjara was indeed seen to be the 'brother' of Amuda.

The story goes that Bunga brought with him his divine *Cissus quadrangularis*, and considered it to be his food (instead of guinea corn). In the versions I collected, Amuda had a 'brother' by the name of Ganjara who became the founding ancestor of the local rainmaker lineage. Mathews only speaks of Amuda, who impregnated 'Faradau', the daughter of 'Ngaziba'. They are called 'Mathuba' and 'Parado' in my versions, and because Amuda and Ganjara are in all of my versions 'brothers' of the same 'kitchen' (*kuduge*), Bunga (Abunwa) and Parado (Faradau) must be seen as the parents of both. While Amuda became the founding ancestor of an ethnic group, Ganjara ended up as an associated lineage in Agapalawa, a Glavda village in the intramountainous eastern plain of the Gwoza hills nearby (Figure 3).

Figure 15a: Tree of descent of Amuda and Ganjara



According to my 1994 fieldnotes, Mathuba, the 'father' of Paradau, came from the Zuwagha lineage in Divili. We remember the Zuwagha lineage from Ghwasa (see Figure 9), the outsider ancestor of Kumba-Zadva, who was socially adopted by his Lamang-speaking host. Our oral source from Amuda explained that after Hafta had come from heaven, he walked around with his *vavanza*, and that Paradau, who was working her father's fields, invited him to eat guinea corn with her. Hafta answered that he had his divine food, which was his *vavanza*. They subsequently made love, and out of that connection came Amuda as founding ancestor of the most famous cornblessers in our subregion, with Ganjara as 'brother' rainmaker lineage.

We have a second, more profane version, about the ancestry of Amuda, which suggests that he was the grandson of Mathuba, but still has Ganjara as his 'brother'. In summary, all our oral sources refer to Amuda as the cornblessor, and Ganjara as the rainmaker lineage. Amuda is in all versions the founding ancestor of a very small ethnic group by the same name, while the Ganjara settle as a specialist lineage in an associated ward among the Glavda of Agapalawa.

We can of course speculate that Hafta was just an outsider, since this is a common tradition of origin in the Gwoza hills area, and that he was taken in by the Zuwagha lineage because he made himself useful. He then impregnated one of their daughters and eventually settled where

Amuda is now. This does not however explain how the Ganjara became rainmakers and the Amuda cornblessers. In my opinion, a more acceptable explanation is the legendary celestial origin of Amuda's skill for cornblessing, since it captures our cosmological concept of pairing and the underlying idea of blessings from above and below. That Hafta insisted on only living off his divine food when he first met his future wife Paradau, suggests that he was still holding on to the celestial origin of his potential. Only after they made love and became a couple did the division between cornblessing and rainmaking become manifest in the form of their two 'sons': Amuda and Ganjara. In the context of this, Amuda was seen as the successor of divine patrilineal descent, and establishes himself as earthly founding ancestor of a famous ethnic cornblessers group, while the descendants of his 'brother' Ganjara eventually settled as associated rainmaker lineage in the neighbouring Glavda village Agapalawa.

This interpretation can be underpinned by our next legendary account of how the main Dghwede cornblessers lineage distinguishes itself from the Dghwede rainmaker lineage Gaske. Similar to the Ganjara, Gaske is a specialist lineage associated with the Dghwede, while Gazhiwe is a specialist lineage with its independent clan territory in Gudule. We want to add here that the Ganjara, despite being associated with the Glavda village in the eastern plain, claimed their mother's patrilineal roots to have originated in the hills. This shows that rainmaking is a specialist skill which likes to portray itself as ritual entitlement, not only of a celestial but also as a localised origin from above, in this case from Divili on top of the Zelidva spur.

How the Gazhiwe became cornblessers of Dghwede

We already know that Katala-Wandala was remembered by my Gudule friends as the first wife of Tasa, and that Gudule and Ske (Gaske) had been their 'sons'. The legendary coming into the world of cornblessing and rainmaking via models of descent related to brotherhood from the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*), are cosmological expressions of that to which we have allocated the concept of 'blessings from above and below'. We will ethnographically underpin this view in the chapter about cosmology and worldview, by showing how the cosmographic orientation of the Dghwede differentiated between a primordial underworld and a celestial upper world from the perspective of this world. In the context of this, we also learn that their concept of a Supreme Being (*gwazgaŋte*) as the creator of all things, was indeed located in the upper cosmological echelons, and perhaps the narrative of Amuda and Ganjara is a good topographical example of the type of shared interactive divinity that was allowed for in their archaic worldview.

We perhaps ask ourselves what all this has to do with how the Gazhiwe became the most important Dghwede cornblessers, and again we have to rely on the ethnographic context of the oral narrative, and admit that a deeper understanding will not come until we describe the Dghwede bull festival. Here we will tell the legendary account of how, among other duties, the Gudule clan became responsible for starting the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede, of which the cornblessing responsibility was seen as a complementary ritual asset. We already know that the gist of the legendary story was that Gudule had cut the tail of his father's favoured cow to impress a girl, and that he was subsequently banned from rainmaking, but kept the responsibility of cornblessing. At the same time, Gudule was made the ritual custodian (*thaghaya*) of starting the bull festival, the most important communal celebration of ethnic unity in Dghwede.

The legend describes the separation between cornblessing and rainmaking, and as in the case of Amuda and Ganjara, the Gudule had as cornblessers their clan territory while the Gaske rainmakers did not. The example suggests that cornblessing was more linked to the blessing from below, and in the Gudule case even more explicitly linked to dung production and their ritual of starting the bull festival. In the context of another legend, the Gazhiwe lineage were presumed to have inherited the role of cornblessing following the defeat of the once numerous Gudule as first settlers by the expanding Mughuze-Ruwa. Eventually the local division of

ritual labour expanded across Dghwedè and resulted in the Gazhiwe and the Gaske becoming cornblessers and rainmakers for the whole of Dghwedè. We tend to think that this was a development also linked to the expansion of the Mafa in our wider subregion, and we connect it to the late pre-colonial period, a hypothesis discussed again in Chapter 3.13.

What we can possibly say here is that the reported narratives use metaphors to represent the reproductive capacity of groups, such as twinship, brotherhood of the same 'kitchen' in terms of descent, the role of the birth of seven sons, and the use of specific clan medicines, to explain the underlying ritual force of local group formation. Those social forces seem to be typically seen in a particular cosmological context of the promotion of fecundity from above and below, and might be reinterpreted in the context of a newly unfolding oral historical context. That the Gazhiwe as main Dghwedè cornblessers were also custodians of the Gudule clan territory, and that they had even been seen as the once numerous representatives of the first settlers of southern Dghwedè, presumably underpins their ritual importance.

Clan medicines such *Cissus quadrangularis* played an important role, and we see in the next section how it could be used for positive and negative effects, and that it was in the hands of the official cornblessers lineage Gazhiwe where it unfolded its true reproductive force. Nevertheless, cornblessing was not exclusively a Gazhiwe role, as Dagha peacemakers and Gaske rainmakers could also carry out this ritual work, and there were many types of related ritual *Cissus quadrangularis* that were once jointly owned by Gaske and Gazhiwe (see Chapter 3.23).

Ritual experts can have specific vulnerabilities

Non-Dagha saw Dagha as being very powerful due to their extensive ritual ownership of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*). These people were seen as being present to create peace, and if they caused trouble they were chased out of town, so we were told by our Dghwedè friends. Dagha, Gaske and Gazhiwe were perceived in their function for creating a peaceful and prosperous atmosphere. A Dagha who misused his powers ran the risk of being chased away. Some would have been beaten by non-Dagha. The same applied to Gaske, but not so much to Gazhiwe. In the past, an ordinary Dghwedè would even kill a Dagha or a Gaske for this reason. They would be respected as long as they used their powers in an orderly way. This was the message we were repeatedly given while talking about the position of specialist lineages in the context of the Dghwedè traditional past.

Dagha, Gaske and Gazhiwe all used *vavanza*. Dagha owned it for peacemaking while Gazhiwe used it for cornblessing, and Gaske mainly for rainmaking or keeping insects away. Non-Dagha also used *vavanza*, for example they bought *vavanz-gharaghare* from Gazhiwe for cornblessing. However, there were also certain *vavanza* that were for everyone's use, for example *vavanz-diwaghara*. We list many of the different ritual uses of *Cissus quadrangularis* in Chapter 3.23, together with the various ritual owners and the socio-economic circumstances of their applications. In this chapter section we will only highlight some of its dangerous aspects.

There was *vavanza* that only Dagha could use, and these were seen as particularly dangerous because they could cause infertility among the Dagha. For example, Vaima² reportedly suffered the after-effects of the application of *vavanza*. He was the Dagha peacemaker who led the legendary 'mission impossible' from Ghwa'a to Maiduguri to see the British resident of Borno in the mid-1920s, and allegedly convinced him to arrest Hamman Yaji. We remember from our Dghwedè narrative in Part Two, that Vaima swallowed three pieces of a particularly powerful *vavanza*, so the mission would be possible and successful. This *vavanza* could only be used by him as the Dagha expert, and only applied due to the importance of his

² Vaima, listed by Lewis (1925) as Baima (Table 3), was also the first colonial ward head of Ghwa'a.

peacemaking mission. We were told that this particularly dangerous *vavanza* later rendered him infertile and he could no longer reproduce.

It seems that many Dagha who handled this type of *vavanza* did not have many children, or ended up with none. This was reportedly a reason why they often did not want to be involved. Usually they did it on request. For example, in the past some of the more potent *vavanza* were used to protect against being wounded in tribal warfare. The Dagha involved performed sacrifices beforehand to protect themselves, such as the killing of a red cockerel, and as a result the *vavanza* allegedly fell into their open hands without them having to pick it off the plant. This example told to us by our local Dagha friends in Dghwedè certainly gives the notion of ritual handling a very literal meaning.

Dagha and Gaske past and now

We were told by our Dghwedè friends that not all Dagha were peacemakers. Some only performed healing and divination, using a floating type of *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz mandatha* (see Plate 63k of Table 12a), something which could also be carried out by especially-talented ordinary Dghwedè. On the other hand, only a Dagha who was able to claim to be a descendant of Wasa-Mbra could be a peacemaker, and this entitled him to use some of the most dangerous ritual *Cissus quadrangularis* varieties listed in Chapter 3.23 (see Table 12b).

In Chapter 3.23 we will discuss the concept of *skwe*, as the general term for ritual treatment for managing good and bad luck linked to certain diseases, in which *vavanza* played a key role. In Chapter 3.21 we will describe and illustrate how a Dagha diviner used *vavanz mandatha* to diagnose illness, and how he would use the same *vavanza* to heal someone's spirit. Such divine healing was still performed during my time, but Christians and Muslims would perhaps not have approved of it.

I was told by quite a few of my Dghwedè friends during the mid-1990s that the power of Dagha was fading away, while the power of Gaske was still quite strong. Also at that time the rainmakers of Gharaza were seen to be particularly powerful. My friend said he could not remember one year when one would not have required rain. During every rainy season people would talk about needing a Gaske intervention, and they would collect money to take to the children of Dzuguma in Gharaza.

In the past, Dagha tried to prevent people leaving the mountains to live in Gwoza, Maiduguri or Barawa. But this was no longer an issue. In the past they put *vavanza* along the pathways leading out to prevent people leaving. At the time they would even announce publicly that they were putting *vavanza* down in the streets, and that nobody should venture out of the settlement. For two or three days after such an intervention no one could leave. This shows how in this case peacemaking meant maintaining the unity of Dghwedè in their mountainous homeland.

As a reverse Dagha peacemaking action, *vavanza* was also used to prevent people invading Ghwa'a. They also used *vavanza* to keep misfortune away, to stop any problems or bad luck coming to Ghwa'a from outside. It could relate to disease or plagues, leopards taking animals, or be used to keep baboons and monkeys away.

Most Dagha peacemaking activities of this type had ceased maybe decades before I first visited Dghwedè in the mid-1990s. We presume that the last Dagha peacemaking rituals involving the use of *Cissus quadrangularis* against humans were to prevent people leaving the hills during late colonial times, and perhaps even into some time after independence.

What we did hear, in the context of the Boko Haram invasion, was that some of their members allegedly used Dagha techniques to save themselves from discovery by the Nigerian army when hiding in the mountains. It is not certain whether the rumour is true, but according to the Dghwedè diasporas, that is what happened during the early days of Boko Haram.

Conclusion

There were three types of specialist lineage groups, of which the peacemaker lineage 'Dagha' and the rainmaker lineage Gaske were on the one hand perhaps the most prominent, while on the other hand the rainmaker lineage Gaske and the cornblessor lineage Gazhiwe were more representative of the cosmological dimension of the pairing of complementary ritual skills. We used the example of Amuda and his divine food, and pointed to the similarity between Amuda and Gudule, both being owners and communal custodians of their land. In that respect we indicated cornblessing as having more to do with the fertility of the soils, and we know that the Gudule were once defeated because the Mughuze-Ruwa replaced them as the largest clan group. The role of the Gazhiwe as main cornblessers, and the fact that the Gudule were considered as Dghwede *thaghaya* (custodians) of ritually starting the bull festival, is linked to the importance of dung. We have not yet ethnographically contextualised the link between manure production and the typical Dghwede mixed farming system, but already know how crucial this was for keeping the soils fertile.

Aside from the similarity with Amuda and Gudule, and the fact that cosmological pairing between cornblessers and rainmakers occur between both of them, the Gaske and 'Dagha' are in terms of local group formation not rooted in the custodianship of their territory, but are associated lineages. In that respect we were able to establish a similarity between the Gaske and the Ganjara, considering both were rainmaker lineages. We pointed out the other Dghwede versions, showing the tendency of pairing or even tripling, by using the Dghwede naming system as an underlying model for ancestral descent and local group formation. There we saw Wasa and Wala as names for an older and a younger twin, appearing as 'fathers' of Gaske and 'Dagha', while the name Ghamba for the next-born younger brother of twins was seen to be the 'father' of Gazhiwe (instead of Gudule).

We discussed the importance of *Cissus quadrangularis* in connection with the very important specialist lineage 'Dagha', and quoted Baba Musa, a former 'Dagha' peacemaker, and showed his tree of descent, and the legend in which the three 'sons' of Thigida introduced them to the special powers they were about to inherit. We again pointed out the difference between the two 'Dagha' lines in Dghwede, and that only the 'Dagha' who were descended from Wasa were seen as having the ritual entitlement to use particularly strong and powerful ritual *vavanza* varieties for peacemaking. This could have led to infertility, particularly if very potent *Cissus quadrangularis* were used, as shown in the example of Vaima (Baima). Our Dghwede friends also told us that the 'Dagha' had greater importance in the past, and that their influence had faded away, while the rainmaker lineage Gaske was still very much in demand during the mid-1990s, especially during the growing season.

We suggested again that rainmaking could, in any of these contexts, be interpreted as a blessing from above, while cornblessing was associated with the ritual promotion of the fertility of the earth from below. The interpretation of blessings from above and below is not an expression my Dghwede protagonists would have used, but an ethnographic generalisation we apply when referring to the underlying pre-Copernican cosmographic orientation of the Dghwede of the past. It is a literary device, to evoke in the readership with a Copernican view of the world, a relinquishing of their cosmographic orientation, substituting a vision of the earth as a primordial ground rather than a functional modern surface world. We describe the pre-colonial Dghwede view of the world from such a perspective in Chapter 3.16, which also includes a discussion of a definition of the divine, and how it transcended their way of life on the individual and collective level of interaction with their often crisis-ridden mountain environment.

The next chapter introduces us to the basics of the ritual calendar of the Dghwede. This will provide us with a structural framework with which to interpret their rituals as representations of the struggle for survival in a cyclical semi-arid environment. We already mentioned that terrace cultivation is a labour-intensive form of agriculture, and which therefore required a higher population density than shifting cultivation in the plains. The ritual sequences as they

appear in our Dghwedè agricultural calendar not only possessed functional elements of belonging as applications for local group formation, but also carried an oral historical message of how the Dghwedè ethnogenesis came about.

Our reconstruction of the Dghwedè calendar presented below will show how the seasonality of farming activities was interlinked with rituals, of which not only the planting and harvesting period was crucial, but also the period of preparing the land and manuring the soil. Between harvest and the next planting season was the slaughtering season. The latter was when most sacrifices and festivals were performed, and we will learn later in Part Three that quite a few of them had ceased being performed. The Dghwedè bull festival and the adult initiation ceremonies (*dzum zugune*) are the two main examples of that, and we had to reconstruct them from the oral memories of our Dghwedè protagonist friends.

Chapter 3.8

Interacting with the seasons

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to reconstruct an ideal version of the Dghwedè calendar. For this I will rely on the oral data collected from my various Dghwedè friends, of which the main protagonist was bulama Ngatha of Hudimche whom I met for the first time during the rainy season of 1995 while staying three weeks in Korana Basa. It was also the first field session I spent with my friend and research assistant John Zakariya, who translated for me and helped to structure the traditional Dghwedè year. We present our fieldnote quotes in the ethnographic present as before, and then discuss it by mostly using the historical tense.

The Dghwedè calendar is a reflection of their labour-intensive mixed farming system. The terrace fields needed regular manuring, which required animals to be kept in stalls and sheds during the growing season. This in turn not only implied that they needed stall feeding, but also that the dung had to be brought out then mainly applied to the terrace fields near the houses. Settlements in Dghwedè were spread across the mountain sites but clustered more in one corner of a hillside, while the outer fields were further away. The labour intensity of hill farming produced a high population density, a socio-economic circumstance which brought about a density of the Dghwedè ritual calendar. This was reflected in high regulatory complexity. The seasonal management of human, animal and land resources required an interactive calendar that could embrace ritual transformations as a result of socio-economic changes.

In the past, the subsistence economy of the Dghwedè had to suffice for everyone's needs, but that had already changed in many ways when I started visiting, and now we can strongly assume that none of it is left as a result of Boko Haram. As mentioned above, we are here constructing an ideal version of a Dghwedè calendar, reflecting a time before so many men left for seasonal work, and things including the social division of labour changed. We will point out some of those changes in Chapter 3.10: 'Working the land', such as how women took on certain responsibilities which before had been performed only by men. Presumably the most important change is the increased use of chemical fertiliser, which replaced dung production and had major ritual consequences.

We start our chapter with the bi-annual cycle of crop rotation, divided between a millet and a sorghum year, and present a list of the various timed activities within the bi-annual calendar of crop rotation. We already know that the sorghum year was in ritual terms the more important year of the two, but present our list with contradictions regarding the sequential order to which some of the rituals once belonged. This relates to the ritual changes that had already taken place during my time, and we will contextualise them with our fieldnotes by pointing out contradictions with the Dghwedè collective memory. By so doing we aim to demonstrate our main objective of presenting a Dghwedè oral history retold from the grassroots. Eventually we will need to decide on which is the most likely version of a shared late pre-colonial past.

To reach the best understanding we will go through the labour-intensive phases of the agricultural year in great detail, and present the seven moon phases and the days of the week. Next, we present two field accounts, one by bulama Ngatha, giving his view of the labour-related and ritually important events of the sorghum and millet years, and another by rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma, giving his take on the once seasonal activities of the Gaske rainmaker lineage. We will then discuss both accounts along with annotated comments for further comparison, and will confirm that ritual handling of sorghum was particularly complex and had a high ritual significance.

After discussing the versions of the ritual calendar, we discuss the cyclicity of the rainy and dry seasons from a historical cultural perspective, by going back to the pre-colonial background scenario of our subregion. Figure 16 will present the paleoclimatic context of essential archaeological, written and oral source locations as they hypothetically appear from a regionalised chronological perspective. We close the chapter with a section on the locality aspect of the ritual cycle, and show the apparent link between Dghwedè oral history and the process of local group formation. This will lead on to our next chapter about the distribution and custodianship of local shrines and other places of communal ritual interest.

The bi-annual calendrical cycle

The Dghwedè practice crop rotation, which means one year they plant guinea corn and finger millet, and the other year millet and beans. I was informed that they never changed this cycle, regardless of whether or not it had been a good harvest the previous year. We will learn more about the technique of terrace farming in the chapter ‘Working the land’, but here mention the fact that crop rotation involved two different planting times, and certain ritual performances and other tasks which at one time only happened during a guinea corn year. We often use the term sorghum as an alternative reference for guinea corn.

Table 5a below shows a list of the various calendrical activities during the bi-annual crop cycle. The table is organised into three sections, and more or less represents how things were still done in 1995, although certain rituals such as the bull festival and the adult initiation ritual (*dzum zugune*) had already ceased decades ago. Also, the ritual slaughtering period of he-goats for the deceased father (*dada*) and grandfather (*jije*) was presumably in the past only performed in a guinea corn year. Apart from the rainy and dry seasons, it was the moon that was relied on for timing, which meant a shorter year, but the regularity of the periodical changes between dry and wet seasons always allowed for readjustment. This is visible in Table 5b, showing how the Dghwedè calendar contextualises with the Gregorian calendar.

In Table 5a we instantly recognise that the guinea corn year had more ritual activities, starting with *tikwa kupe* linked to the consumption of the first newly-harvested guinea corn. It was largely performed by older males. Then there was *har gwazgafte* (slaughtering for God) which was an important ritual connected with the threshing of the newly-harvested guinea corn after it had been stored in the front yard of a house. We also see that roofing the houses and the bull festival were part of the guinea corn year, as was ritual planting by the senior rainmaker during the dry season, before the planting of it by anyone else.

We see that the ritual slaughtering of he-goats for the deceased father or grandfather is listed for both years, but the explanation will follow that this was a very recent development. Such sacrifices occurred during late pre-colonial times and the first half of the colonial period, and were most likely only performed in a sorghum year. We later learn that *thagla*, the harvest festival, was presumably the only larger communal event to be celebrated during both years, but *thagla* too had already gone by my time. Another smaller ritual which was most likely performed during both years was *tswila*. It consisted of throwing the intestines of a he-goat into the crops before harvest. This was done by individual households, but we do not know how long it survived as it was concerned with celebrating dung as fertiliser. It seems that it was the immediate ancestors (*dada* and *jije*) of a man who continued to receive ritual attention the longest, and this could have been why it eventually became an annual celebration, perhaps with some sequential modifications which we will get back to again later.

The traditional year started when there was enough first rain for planting. The Dghwedè did not have names for months, but only counted the number of moons. Because they only counted the lunar months during the labour-intensive phase and not throughout a solar year, they did not have the problem of adjusting for the almost one month shorter lunar calendar at the end of the solar year. We discuss their counting methods and how they further divided the agricultural year, in a separate section of this chapter. At this point we only need to know that

their year began with the first moon of the month when planting started. Because the ripening period of the millet was shorter, the millet year started later than the guinea corn year. This led to a situation where the guinea corn year was considered to be up to one month longer than the millet year. Therefore the agriculturally active part of the year lasted either seven or eight lunar months during a bi-annual cycle of crop rotation, depending on whether it was millet or a guinea corn year.

Table 5a: List of the various calendrical activities during the bi-annual crop cycle

Guinea corn year	Both years	Millet year
Planting finger millet	First rain	
Planting guinea corn	Tying animals	
	Cutting grass	Planting millet
	First hoeing (<i>wusa</i>)	Planting beans
	Second hoeing (<i>khurta</i>)	
	Ritual crop treatment	
	Ripening period	
Playing the flute	Cornblessing	
	Making hay	
Ritual: <i>tikwa kupe</i>	Harvesting	
	Ritual: <i>tswila</i> (throwing of guts)	
	Releasing animals	
Ritual: <i>har gwazgafte</i>	Threshing	
The bi-annual slaughtering rituals of he-goats became annual:		
	1. <i>har ghwe</i> (for dead father)	
	2. <i>har jije</i> (for dead grandfather)	
	3. <i>har khagwa</i> (closing ritual for <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i>)	
	Ritual: <i>thagla</i> (harvest festival)	Ritual: <i>dzum zugune</i> starts
Roofing houses		
Ritual: <i>har daghile</i>		
	Forging	
	Clearing fields	
Ritual planting		
	Fertilizing (putting manure)	

Before we contextualise the various activities of our Dghwedè calendar, we want to link its bi-annual dimension to the modern Gregorian calendar. In the context of this, we begin with May, which was when the planting of guinea corn started during my 1995 field session. Because the lunar months in question started at the end of May, we can perhaps infer that planting started not in May but in June. We can see in our adaptation below that this naturally coincided with the beginning of the rainy season (*viye*). The start of the traditional dry season (*kalyagha*) was not so easy to determine, but the Dghwedè counted the rainy season to have more or less six lunar months, which brings us to October/November in our sample year. We can also see that they referred to a guinea corn year as *vaghiya*, and the millet year as *vagwira* (*vag* meaning year and *hiya* and *wira* being the words for guinea corn and millet).

Table 5b is self-explanatory. At the top are the Gregorian months starting with May, and another listing of seven Gregorian months included for better orientation further down, starting with June and ending with December. The columns of the Gregorian months are not equal in width, but that should be ignored. In between we see first the lunar months of the guinea corn year, with '1M' (meaning first lunar month) to '8M', and we can see that the beginning of '1M' of the millet year is later, but ends like the guinea corn year in December, and is counted up to '7M'. The next row is dedicated to periods of activities, beginning with 'Planting period' and ending with 'Clearing the terrace fields before planting'. In the middle of that row we have marked the 'First and second hoeing and ripening period', which coincides at

its end with the end of the rainy season as the meteorologically active part of the year (*viye*). Those activities are the same in both years, including fertilizing the fields shortly before planting, whereas roofing only happens during the guinea corn year. We see that the 'Slaughtering period' of he-goats is followed by the 'Bull festival', and finally 'Ritual planting' indicates the beginning of the new guinea corn year.

Table 5b: Table showing the Dghwedè calendar linked to the Gregorian calendar

May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	
>Rainy season (<i>viye</i>)						>Dry season (<i>kalyagha</i>)						
Guinea corn year (<i>vaghiya</i>) - 1995 new moon was on 29 May and 6 moons later on 22 Nov												
1M		2M	3M	4M	5M	6M	7M	8M				
Millet year (<i>vagwira</i>) - in 1996 new moon was on 16 June and 5 months later on 11 Nov												
1M		2M	3M	4M	5M	6M	7M					
Planting period		First and second hoeing and ripening period					Harvesting and threshing period		Clearing the terrace fields...			
...before planting	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Slaughtering period...	Bull festival	Ritual planting		
Fertilizing											Roofing	
										Start <i>dzum zugune</i>		

If we compare these activities with our Dghwedè calendar presented in Table 5a, we see which of the ritual activities are only done during the guinea corn year. We already know that the 'Slaughtering period' of he-goats was most likely done in the past only during the guinea corn year. Finally, we have the section named 'Start *dzum zugune*' at the bottom right, and remember that this was traditionally done during the end of a millet year, but this too is contentious as we find out later.

Towards the end of the chapter we find bulama Ngatha's comprehensive account of the various calendrical activities as he saw them. There he says that most rituals were performed at the end of a guinea corn year. This is reflected in our typical calendar where I noted the dry season to start with November, and we can see that this is about the time when the ripening ended and the harvesting and threshing period began. We now go through the various rituals of our earlier listing. In the context of this we will see that several rituals were no longer performed. We will also point out aspects of change in the ritual calendar, making our calendar a typical one, and as such more a reflection of how things were done in the past, a transformation of this calendar having already happened when I interviewed bulama Ngatha in 1995.

For example, Bulama Ngatha did not say much about 'Ritual planting', but we know from Tada Nzige, the senior rainmaker, that he ritually planted guinea corn during the dry season, that is before anyone else thought of planting it. This meant that this kind of ritual planting was only done by the senior rainmaker, while harvesting was also ideally started by the various rainmakers, but that was less ritually essential. Tada Nzige also pointed out that seasonal circumstances could lead to different starting times of planting across Dghwedè, and this was one of the reasons ritual planting was done so early in the year. We will get back to the subject of 'Ritual planting' again later, but have provisionally placed it between 'Clearing fields' and 'Fertilizing', meaning bringing out the animal manure before the actual planting started.

Then there was *tikwa kupe*, a ritual performed in the context of the harvest of guinea corn. It was done by older men before consuming the newly-harvested sorghum, reportedly after the senior rainmaker had performed his *tikwa kupe*. We need to mention in the context of *tikwa kupe* that sometimes people had to perform it without waiting for their local elder to have done his first, the reason being that the guinea corn did not ripen across Dghwedè at an equal rate. The same applied to the ritual listed as *tswila*, which was performed in both years. We

remember that the *tswila* ritual involved the throwing of intestines of a he-goat into the millet or guinea corn before it was harvested.

There are a few other rituals listed in our calendar. One was *har gwazgafte* (slaughtering for God) but we do not know whether this was still done during my time. It involved the slaughter of a he-goat, of which the stomach was placed on top of the guinea corn stored in someone's front yard, after it had been harvested but before threshing. We will learn more about this in the chapter about the house as a place of worship. We will see how delicate and ritually complex the agricultural processing of sorghum was in comparison to millet. *Har gwazgafte* also included sacrificing to the doorposts of the entrance area of a house, and then bringing the freshly-threshed guinea corn into the foyer area of a house (see Figure 18) and storing it in the granaries.

It was only after *har gwazgafte* was performed and the guinea corn was successfully stored in the granaries that the slaughtering period of he-goats to the family ancestors could be performed. We learn later that not everyone could afford to slaughter he-goats for the ancestors, but that there were ritual alternatives. We therefore think that performing all three sacrifices in relation to the immediate family ancestors was more the ideal, and that perhaps *har ghwe*, the sacrifice to the deceased father of the house (*dada*), might eventually have survived the longest. The sacrifice to the deceased grandfather (*jije*) was however conditional on being able to afford a bull for sacrifice. The latter ceased being performed even earlier. Because we do not have enough oral data on this question, we leave *har ghwe* and *har jije* for both years, but with a big invisible question mark.

There are some open questions as to whether *thagla* (harvest festival) was done in both years, and what that meant. Examining my fieldnotes on *thagla*, I realise there was a large consensus that those involved in the bull festival did not have to do *thagla* during a guinea corn year. This indirectly suggests that *thagla* was only done during a guinea corn year by those who had not been successful enough to afford to fatten a bull and ritually share its sacrifice. Because the bull festival had disappeared at least a couple of decades before my time, *thagla* appears in my calendar listing under both years.

I also listed *dzum zugune* (adult initiation), which had also not been done for decades and had already ceased some time before the bull festival. I have mentioned *dzum zugune* a couple of times. It could go across kinship links over more or less seven cycles, representing a kind of extended family tradition for storing surplus food. Someone whose father had not performed a certain stage could not progress beyond that stage until his father died. We will learn more about this in Chapter 3.14. A similar type of adult initiation cycle was performed across the Gwoza hills, which emphasises the competitive nature of terrace farming in this part of the northwestern Mandara Mountains. We realise that the Gwoza hills, due to their northerly position, were exposed to regular food shortages caused by cyclical climate change consisting of severe droughts.

We established in Gudule (1995) that the bull festival could be started after *har khagwa*, the closing ritual for *har ghwe* and *har jije*, but we are not entirely sure how the opening stage for the new performers of *dzum zugune* fitted into that. We will discuss this in greater detail in the two relevant chapters later in Part Three, and here have provisionally adopted the view of bulama Ngatha, who claimed that the new candidates for *dzum zugune* began their first stage at the end of a millet year. Bulama Ngatha was the first to point out to me that *dzum zugune* was the overarching ideal image of a successful man, one who could provide for emergencies and keep three granaries constantly filled for seven years.

Before we present bulama Ngatha's account, we need to explain some main seasonal phases of our agricultural calendar reconstruction in the next two chapter sections. Some of the terms might be recognised from our calendar design above. Next, we show the phases of the moon as the Dghwede see them. We will also explain the terms the Dghwede used for the days of the week. I thank John Zakariya for passing these data to me.

The labour-intensive phases of the agricultural year and the lunar months

The Dghwede word for the year is *vag*, and accordingly a guinea corn year was called *vag hiya*, while a millet year was *vag wira*. The months throughout the year are not counted, only those in the growing season, the harvesting season, and sometimes into the threshing season. We like to refer to the growing season as the active period of the year, since after planting it included a lot of hoeing, weeding and transplanting. According to John, the labour-intensive period of *viye*, the rainy season, can be structured into three main parts.

Table 5c: The three main labour-intensive periods of the year

Dghwede expression	English translation
<i>kath-gwihe</i>	Acquiring land and planting season
<i>takar viye</i>	Middle of the rainy season
<i>tāfighe</i>	Ripening and harvesting period

The Dghwede word for month is *tile*, which means moon. We have already established that they did not give names to months, referring to them only by number. John explained that they could theoretically count up to 12 months per year, but would never think of doing that. In hindsight, I am not sure whether he was aware that a lunar month was shorter than a solar month, but this is irrelevant here. What matters is that the Dghwede only counted the months in the labour-intensive part of the agricultural year. John also said that they would consider the rainy season to last about six months. He subsequently passed on to me the list below, to which he added the harvesting period which was part of the dry season. In this way, together with the extra two months, he made the active period of the year add up to eight lunar months altogether.

Table 5d: List of months of the labour-intensive period

The first two months mark the planting season (<i>kath-gwihe</i>)			
	month one	<i>til-tikwe</i>	
	month two	<i>til-mitse</i>	
The next two months mark the first hoeing period (<i>wusa</i>)			
	month three	<i>til-khkare</i>	
	month four	<i>til-fide</i>	
The following two months mark the second hoeing period (<i>khurta</i>)			
	month five	<i>til-dthebe</i>	
	month six	<i>til-nkuwe</i>	
The final two months mark the harvesting period (<i>man-dakfighe</i>)			
	month seven	<i>til-wudife</i>	
	month eight	<i>til-tighishe</i>	

We see that the two hoeing seasons (*wusa* and *khurta*) took, with four lunar months, the greatest part of the labour-intensive season. John did not include the threshing period as part of the active season. We will see in bulama Ngatha's account that the threshing season could sometimes be counted as the 9th

traditional month (*til-tamba*), which he said was the 3rd month of the dry season. In the calendar table of the previous chapter section, we have however referred to the 'harvesting and threshing period', because it was also the time when, during a guinea corn year, the slaughtering period began. This transition was ritually and spatially marked by *har gwazgafte* as the transition of the newly harvested and threshed guinea corn from the front yard into the inner part of a house. Both the harvesting and the threshing were part of *kalyagha*, the dry season, and in that way marked the end of the labour-intensive season.

Overall, the Dghwede dry season was dominated by their ritual rather than agricultural activities, of which the bull festival stands out as perhaps the most important one. As such it marked the bi-annual cycle of crop rotation. It was part of the slaughtering period, but was more concerned with the community as a whole, while the various house rituals were more about the extended family. Zakariya Kwire claimed in the late 1990s that changes regarding the traditional calendar were taking place at that time. In the past, *har ghwe* and the counting

of corn or millet years had started from planting to planting, and most rituals were performed between the harvest of guinea corn and the planting of millet. That had changed, and for example *har ghwe* could now also be performed in a millet year. During my time the bull festival and the adult initiation cycle of *dzum zugune* had already ceased decades previously, and we had to completely reconstruct them from the collective memory of our older friends who were able to recall them from their young adult years.

The seven moon phases and the days of the week

The Dghwedè approach to day and night shows a similarly practical way of viewing the year. We have learned that they only counted the months during the labour-intensive period. Similarly, they considered the day to be only as long as the sun was in the sky, which is reflected in 'sun' (*fice*) as their word for the day. The night was considered to be something different and was referred to as *vde*. This meant that they had no general word for a day referring to a 24-hour rotation of the earth, but only for daylight. Still, the night was important for observation of the moon, and during the moonlight periods I always observed a much busier 'nightlife' taking place in Dghwedè. There was also a 'Dagha moon', which points to their ability of 'seeing' things that ordinary people could not.

Table 5e: The moon cycles according to John Zakariya

First night - the moon has disappeared: 'Dying moon'	<i>mca ce tile</i>
Second, next night: 'Middle of dark'	<i>khudi-gurthe</i>
Around the third night: 'Ga-Dagha people can see the moon'	<i>nagha-gawli'e</i>
After the fourth night: 'Everybody can now see the moon'	<i>pithace tile</i>
Fifth step - waxing moon for several days: 'The shining moon'	<i>til madakwa</i>
Sixth step - 1st day of full moon 'Middle of the moon/month'	<i>taka ghar ce tile</i>
Seventh step - several days of waning moon: 'Increasing dark towards dying moon'	<i>gurth ce tile</i>

John reiterated the importance of planting being the beginning of the year, by saying that even if the Dghwedè were to start planting at the end of the month, they would still call this the 1st month of the traditional year. John's reference underpins the importance of the beginning of planting having been seen as the traditional beginning of

the Dghwedè year. That ritual planting was reportedly linked to the guinea corn year underpins our hypothesis about the ritual importance of sorghum as a bi-annual crop.

Bulama Tada Zangav (1995) of Hudimche informed us that the moonlight dance *fuk gida* was traditionally performed after the harvest, but said this tradition too had already more or less disappeared. During my time there I never witnessed a moonlight dance, but remember it very well from my time in Gouzda during the 1980s. Other of my Mafa memories apply to the playing of the antelope flutes, which only happened during the bull festival of a sorghum year. We know the Dghwedè celebrated their bull festival bi-annually and not a tri-annually like many Mafa. Every Dghwedè bull festival was about ritually closing a successful sorghum year.

Before we move on to bulama Ngatha's description of the bi-annual calendar of the Dghwedè, we will list the days of the week as given to me by John Zakariya (1995):

Table 5f: The seven days of the Dghwedè week

Monday	possibly derived from Hausa	<i>litinine</i>
Tuesday	Dghwedè: market day in Gava	<i>tathregwe</i>
Wednesday	Dghwedè: market day in Gwoza	<i>ruma go zgune</i>

Thursday	possibly Hausa: market day in Barawa	<i>lamisa</i>
Friday	Dghwede: no meaning known	<i>thame</i>
Saturday	Dghwede: market day in Kirawa	<i>sarda</i>
Sunday	Dghwede : market day for women in Gwoza	<i>ruma ga nisha</i>

We can see that five days are references to local market days, while 'Monday' is most likely derived from Hausa. 'Friday' has an unknown meaning. This shows that counting the days of the week by number was not a Dghwede custom, and therefore cannot be linked to the Dghwede habit of applying the number seven as a symbol of reproductive success. Instead, the seven-day week was most likely not a pre-colonial feature at all, but the result of either Islamic or/and colonial influences, considering that our Table 5f only lists five market days. In addition, the reference to Barawa market day was also most likely derived from the Hausa language, which indicates that Barawa is historically the result of a resettlement scheme, and only really developed after national independence in 1960/61. Even so, Gwoza, having the most important marketplace occupying two days of the week (Wednesday and Sunday), presumably only developed during colonial times. Kirawa however might have a much longer significance for the Dghwede, most likely even reaching back into earlier pre-colonial times. We do not know whether Ashigashiya also had its day of the week in the past, considering that it lost its function as a central place in Gwoza in the earlier days of British rule.

Two field accounts about interacting with the seasons

Below are two oral accounts, translated and with comments, to introduce our readers to the views of two of our Dghwede friends, bulama Ngatha from Hudimche and rainmaker Ndruwe Dzugume from Gharaza. They are in the ethnographic present, including field annotations in round brackets '()', while square brackets '[']' mark post-field annotations. The first account is about the agricultural seasons and the related ritual calendar, while the second is primarily concerned with the role of the rainmaker in the calendar. The second account also explores my interest in understanding the practical knowledge of the rainmaker as a professional observer of weather and climate in our semi-arid subregion.

Ndruwe Dzugume had already pointed out to me in 1995 that most of the rituals which once related to the seasonal activities of the Dghwede had more or less vanished as a result of the new global religions. Ndruwe Dzugume's account will therefore give us a lively insight into how interaction with the seasons can almost be taken literally, considering how he ritually interacts as rainmaker with the active agricultural season of the growing period. Much of this will become clearer while we continue to contextualise and reconstruct an understanding of Dghwede terrace culture throughout Part Three. We are keen to draw an ethnographically convincing picture of the interactive role of rainmaking in Dghwede culture during late pre-colonial times. One important feature is that the rainmaker specialist lineage presumably by then had the function of starting ritual planting for all Dghwede.

Bulama Ngatha's description of the bi-annual calendar

The description below was given to me in September 1995, which might be a reason why it starts with the harvesting rather than the planting period. The latter was the traditional start of the Dghwede year. It is also a guinea corn year, and Bulama Ngatha of Hudimche explained some of the rituals which would traditionally be performed, although we are not sure how many of them were still performed or were done so in a modified way. One of the modifications was presumably that *har ghwe* and even *har jije* now also happened during a millet year. We already pointed out that the sacrificial slaughtering of he-goats for the close male family ancestors was most likely to have more strictly belonged, during late pre-colonial times, to the ritual calendar of the guinea corn year.

Our table below presents an annotated version of bulama Ngatha's account, and afterwards we will address some key aspects ensuing from it which we might not have discussed earlier. We need to remember that table 5a and 5b was a true reflection of bulama Ngatha's oral memory account, in which we have presented the sacrificial slaughtering of he-goats as being listed in both the guinea corn and the millet year.

Table 5g: Bulama Ngatha's annotated field account about the bi-annual calendar

The guinea corn year (Hudimche 1995)	Annotated comments
<p>There was no change in the time reckoning system done since it was invented by the ancestors.</p> <p>At the end of the year, they clear the land and put manure (<i>vara</i>) on the ground. After putting the manure down in a guinea corn year, they plant eleusine (<i>rata</i>). This is at the end of a millet year. Now they wait for the rainfall before they start planting the guinea corn.</p> <p>After planting the guinea corn they plant ground nuts. They don't plant cocoyam in the rainy season, but only in the dry season. The ones they want to eat they use and the other ones they plant at the same time. Cassava they plant any time in the rainy season to harvest it in the dry as well as in the rainy season. After planting cassava, one has to wait two years before harvesting. Tiger nuts are planted in the 3rd lunar month and harvested in the 7th lunar month.</p> <p>Before any harvest, a he-goat needs to be slaughtered. They throw the contents of the intestines into the crops. Every household who has goats is supposed to do that. This ritual is called <i>tswila</i>.</p> <p>Before eating the new crops only elderly men will do <i>tikwa kupe</i>. They grind old guinea corn and always add some fresh guinea corn to grind with it and then they put the flour into water and pour it over the three religious stones in the granary area of the house. These three stones are called <i>kwir thala</i> (<i>kwire</i> = stone; <i>thala</i> = house shrine). There are also retired ancestor stones underneath the granary of the father of the house but not everybody has those. After pouring the guinea corn water over the three stones the person drinks it and he gives it to his children and other people in the house. Now he can go and enjoy the fresh crops.</p> <p>The harvest starts after <i>tikwa kupe</i>. Regionally [in Dghwede] it is Tada Nzige from Ghwa'a who starts the harvest. He is from the rainmaker lineage Gaske but people might have already done their <i>tikwa kupe</i> or they wait until they start the harvest.</p> <p>The harvested guinea corn is taken into the temporary storage facility to dry. This storage facility is called <i>kavire</i>. After it is dry they will prepare a place for threshing. For threshing, they do the sacrifice <i>har-gwazgafte</i>. They slaughter he-goats or a ram and throw intestinal contents on the storage facility and they put the stomach on top of the harvested guinea corn. The following day they start threshing. The word for threshing is <i>daga</i>.</p> <p>After threshing the corn is taken into the granary. Now he starts preparing towards <i>har ghwe</i>. He takes some guinea corn puts it into water. The following day he takes it out of the water and keeps it to germinate. After 3 to 4 days of germination, it will be dried in the sun. Now they will grind the corn. Now it gets cooked for two days and then it is kept in one jar for two days. On the 3rd day they will slaughter a he-goat, but before slaughtering, the beer (<i>ghuze</i>) is put into dedicated beer pots called <i>tughdhe</i>. They go around to invite people to share food, meat and beer. The contents of the intestines and the stomach contents are now put on the three stones and the remains of it</p>	<p><i>Is also a reference to the method of crop rotation</i></p> <p><i>Importance of manure = vara as fertiliser</i></p> <p><i>Other plants are being cultivated too...</i></p> <p><i>Tswila ritual consists of guts being thrown into crops before harvest</i></p> <p><i>Tikwa kupe ritual consists of old and new sorghum flour mixed into water, being poured over the three ancestor stones = kwir thala</i></p> <p><i>Harvest starts after tikwa kupe</i></p> <p><i>Kavire = storage facility for guinea corn, put up temporary in front yard</i></p> <p><i>Har-gwazgafte = slaughtering for God</i></p> <p><i>Threshing = daga</i></p> <p><i>Har ghwe = slaughtering a he-goat for deceased father (dada)</i></p> <p><i>Sorghum beer = ghuze</i></p> <p><i>Ritual beer pot with small aperture = tughdhe</i></p> <p><i>Guts from he-goat is put on three ancestor stones and rests on potsherd for</i></p>

<p>they put into a broken pot and place it underneath the granary of the father of the house. (John adds that this is on the actual slaughtering day. They also put some of the intestinal and stomach contents on the chests and bellies of their male children).</p> <p><i>Har ghwe</i> takes place in the 3rd month of the dry season. This is traditionally the 9th month, <i>til-tamba</i>.</p> <p>Bulama Ngatha goes back to the time of harvest, adding that they now release the animals (goats and cows) to the fields. There are also some farm products they don't need to do any rituals to consume. These are for example sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cocoyam, yams, cassava, groundnuts, tiger nuts, sesame, maize and beans. Only millet, guinea corn and eleusine need to be ritually treated.</p> <p>Normally threshing and <i>har ghwe</i> take place in the 9th month.</p> <p>Most of the rituals (<i>tsufa</i>) are done before threshing the guinea corn, while the corn is in the storage facility.</p> <p>Tada Nzige from Ghwa'a starts with the harvest, followed by bulama Mbaldawa from Tatsa. Then Parda Dzuguma from Gharaza does his, followed by Var ga Ghuna from Gharaza. Now anyone can start with the harvest.</p> <p>Apart from Var ga Ghuna all these harvest starters are from the Gaske clan. The reason for that is that they are rainmakers and they care for the crops because they protect the crops from insects and anything that disturbs. For that, they use their <i>dag mbarda</i> (a mixture of plants and insects).</p> <p>Even before they start the harvest they get <i>vavanza</i> from Gaske to tie it to some of the guinea corn plants to be harvested, at one end of that particular piece of land. That means one might have quite some <i>vavanza</i> to be tied. Everybody does this tying on his farm. They also invite Gazhiwe people (from Gudule) to do it for them because they are talented in increasing the yield of the crops. It is not a matter of growing but yielding and sometimes they still do it during threshing.</p> <p>The guinea corn is cut at its lower end and kept in bundles in the field until it is dry. Now they get a basket and cut the head and put it in the basket. The head is carried to the storage facility. They leave the stocks in the fields until they are dry and now they carry them home to later roof the houses.</p> <p>After <i>har-ghwe</i> (that means after threshing they do <i>har-ghwe</i>) they keep the ribs and chest (with flesh attached) of the goats they have sacrificed for <i>har-ghwe</i>. The next ritual is <i>har-jije</i> (<i>har</i> = slaughter; <i>jije</i> = grandfather) and again they slaughter a he-goat and keep the same part of the meat.</p> <p>Next ritual is <i>har khagwa</i> (this means the closing ritual). They take the kept parts of the <i>har ghwe</i> and of the <i>har jije</i> meat, which will now be cooked together.</p> <p>Next ritual is <i>duf dala</i> (<i>duf</i> = to warm again; <i>dala</i> = sauce / soup). Somebody who has not done <i>har ghwe</i>, <i>har jije</i> and <i>har khagwa</i> now does <i>duf dala</i>. He prepares lots of beer (<i>ghuze</i>) and invites all neighbours and relatives to come and drink. Before taking the beer out it will be given to the three stones (before others can start drinking). <i>Duf dala</i> is done any time after the three previous rituals and can even still be done in the raining season. If somebody did <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i>, there is no <i>duf dala</i>.</p> <p>Next, after <i>har khagwa</i> is preparation for bull festival, <i>har daghile</i> (<i>daghile</i> = bull). That means you roof your house first, then the whole</p>	<p><i>retired ancestor stones under father's granary, while boys have it applied to their chest and belly.</i></p> <p><i>Har ghwe</i> happens in 9th lunar month = <i>til tamba</i></p> <p><i>At this point in time the animals have already been released to the fields because the dry season has already long started</i></p> <p><i>The general Dghwede word for ritual = tsufa</i></p> <p><i>Gaske rainmakers start harvesting before Var ga Ghuna of Gharaza</i></p> <p><i>Rainmakers protect crops against insects by using dag mbarde</i></p> <p><i>Locals get vavanza from Gaske rainmakers to tie it to sorghum before harvest</i></p> <p><i>Locals invite the Gazhiwe cornblessers even during the threshing period to still increase the yield</i></p> <p><i>Sorghum stalks are being kept in the fields until needed to roof houses</i></p> <p><i>Meaty parts of rib and chest of sacrificial he-goat are kept for closing ritual har khagwa</i></p> <p><i>The ritual duf dala is carried out if someone can't afford har ghwe or har jije. It consists of sorghum beer (ghuze) only to be offered to the closest paternal ancestors of the extended family.</i></p>
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<p>of the Gudule people start putting guinea corn into water and process the beer. On the day they put the guinea corn into water, every household who has a bull gets the drum out for the bull festival (this drum is called <i>timbe</i>). Now they start beating the drum daily. It starts with Gudule, then Hembe, then Vaghagaya (comprising Korana Basa, Korana Kwandame, Hudimche and Gharaza) followed by Ghwa'a and then Kwalika. After that, it moves up to Ngoshe Sama [Gvoko]. Tokweshe does it together with Vaghagaya. (Tatsa we forgot to ask. Also Kunde we forgot, but John thought it was after Ghwa'a and according to John, Taghadigile was after Kunde.)</p> <p>Immediately after the bull festival, the preparation for planting starts. On arrival in Ngoshe Sama the bull festival can lead into the new year.</p> <p>About one month before the rainy season they start putting the manure on the fields. When it rains they start planting. They put the manure mainly on the fields they have been using and not the ones they didn't use in a particular year. They believe that the ones they have not been using, sometimes for several years, regain fertility. Now the ones they have not been using they will clear, arrange the terraces and do some hoeing before planting.</p>	<p><i>After har khagwa comes the bull festival = har daghile. It travels all across Dghwede, before it moves after Ghwa'a and Kwalika on to Ngoshe Sama</i></p> <p><i>Preparation for planting starts straight after the bull festival</i></p> <p><i>About a month before the rainy season starts, the manure is put on the infields. Outfields which have not been manured may stay empty to regain fertility after some years.</i></p>
The millet year (Hudimche 1995)	Annotated comments
<p>The dry season before the millet year will last almost seven months before it rains.</p> <p>The rain will start falling at the 8th month of the dry season. Exactly this happened in 1994. This means when there was enough rain to start planting (according to John this was in June).</p> <p>They plant the millet later than the guinea corn because the ripening period of the millet is shorter. The flowering of the heads should start after August because they don't like much water/rain. If there is too much rain it won't give fruit. Guinea corn needs more water for giving fruits. The same thing with beans. It doesn't take a long time before it gives fruit. Therefore beans are planted together with millet.</p> <p>Although the solar year has 12 months the lunar millet year is only 11 [meaning 7 active months] and the lunar guinea corn year is 13 [meaning 8 active] months. Because the guinea corn takes longer. This is the reason why the guinea corn year is about 1 month longer.</p> <p>There are no specific names for the months. They only count the numbers but for the days they have specific names.</p> <p>There is no specific person to start planting millet. If the rain is heavy enough everybody can plant as he likes.</p> <p>In the millet year, they plant millet first. After the millet reaches about 20 cm they plant the beans. The sacrifices for millet year are the same as for the guinea corn year. If you don't have anything to sacrifice you just start harvesting like that. The harvest starts from the same place and person first.</p> <p>There is one difference between millet and guinea corn and that is a certain flute (<i>filaka</i> = flute; <i>zambada</i> = blowing the flute) played during the ripening period of a guinea corn year. Also for millet, they attach <i>vavanza</i>. The millet is cut on top and put on a drying roof specially prepared and covered by a mat. The name for that roof is <i>gamake</i>.</p> <p>The millet is cut on its upper end and bundled together and immediately put on the drying roof. The stocks and roots are left together in the field, but later in the dry season they are normally</p>	<p><i>The active part of a millet year is the shorter one</i></p> <p><i>Table 5b is linked with 1995, my very first field session in Hudimche</i></p> <p><i>Ripening period of millet is shorter and it doesn't like much rain following flowering after August</i></p> <p><i>The active part of the guinea corn year is about one lunar months longer</i></p> <p><i>The Dghwede name their lunar months by number</i></p> <p><i>No ritual planting during a millet year</i></p> <p><i>Beans are planted when millet about 20cm high</i></p> <p><i>Harvest of millet follows same sequential rules as harvest of guinea corn</i></p> <p><i>Flutes not played during ripening period of millet</i></p> <p><i>Vavanza also attached to millet</i></p> <p><i>Millet is cut on top and bundled up before put on special drying roof</i></p> <p><i>Millet stalks later get</i></p>

<p>pulled and gathered together in small heaps. Later in the rainy season, they put sand on it to get it rotten for manure. They also place these little mounds so that erosion is stopped. These heaps/mounds are called <i>dalaha</i>.</p> <p>Normally the roofs don't get covered in a millet year.</p> <p>There is no sacrifice before the threshing of millet. They only remove it from the drying roof to the threshing floor (<i>balke</i>). They cut the shorter end of the remaining stocks and gather them together and then take the chaff and burn it together with the stocks. The name of the remaining millet stock is <i>tsatsaya</i> and chaff is <i>dire</i>. The ash they keep together and they produce salt out of it by processing it with water. The name of that kind of salt is <i>zze</i>.</p> <p>In the millet year, there is no bull festival but sometimes there is <i>thagla</i>, but sometimes <i>thagla</i> is with the bull festival. That means <i>thagla</i> is not every year. For the beer of <i>thagla</i> they use sorghum from the granary of the wife. In the guinea corn year, the ones who have no bull do only <i>thagla</i>. That is to invite others to come and drink sorghum beer with them. If somebody has a bull in the village the whole village will celebrate <i>har daghile</i> and will therefore not call it <i>thagla</i>. That's only in the guinea corn year because no <i>har-daghile</i> in the millet year, but only <i>thagla</i> sometimes.</p> <p>In the millet year, we have the same arrangement with <i>har ghwe</i>, <i>har jije</i> and <i>har-khagwa</i>. [We left in Table 5a <i>har khagwa</i> as a closing ritual for <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i> still connected to the guinea corn year.]</p> <p>Only people of Ghwa'a use the newborn weak dying goats at <i>har-khagwa</i>.</p>	<p><i>processed in sand into manure</i></p> <p><i>Mounded fields = dalaha</i></p> <p><i>No sacrifice is needed for threshing of millet</i></p> <p><i>Threshing floor = balke</i></p> <p><i>Millet stock = tsatsaya</i></p> <p><i>Chaff = dire</i></p> <p><i>Salt made from ash = zze</i></p> <p><i>No bull festival during millet year but thagla and for the 'beer of thagla' the sorghum from the wife's granary is used</i></p> <p><i>Bulama Ngatha's account about thagla is not very satisfying and it is later better explained by other oral sources</i></p> <p><i>Bulama Ngatha might have done his har ghwe during a millet year</i></p>
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Having gone through bulama Ngatha's account again, we realise we have not yet presented the *duf dala* ritual. We will discuss the *duf dala* ritual again in the chapter about the house as a place of worship, where we point out that not everyone was in a position to be able to sacrifice a he-goat on so many ritual occasions, which began with *tikwa kupe* and ended with the closing ritual *har khagwa*. Between these there were at least *har gwazgafte*, *har ghwe* and *har jije*. This would have meant the slaughtering of at least four billy goats. *Tikwa kupe* was to throw guts into the guinea corn before harvest, and *har gwazgafte* to thresh it and bring it in from outside before it could be safely stored in the husband's granary. There was a particularly strong ritual component to the transformational process of yielding attached to the harvesting, threshing and storage of sorghum. We learned earlier that cornblessing was linked to that process, while rainmaking was more connected to the growing period represented by ritual planting, and we will learn all the other activities of the rainmakers from our next field account.

The ritual *duf dala* was for those who could not afford to carry out so much slaughtering of he-goats. For them it had to suffice to use sorghum beer as its ritual essence and pour it over the three ancestor stones of the house. Neither would they have been able to put a combined remainder of rib and chest dedicated to the deceased father and grandfather on a potsherd under the granary, or some of the guts on the chest and bellies of the grandsons of the house. Being able to sacrifice was a sign of being affluent, and despite the Dghwede having been an egalitarian society without chiefs, they did have a competitive ritual culture which could be organised along both paternal and maternal descent lines.

We will understand the last point much better at a later stage, in particular in the chapter about the adult initiations rituals known as *dzum zugune*. Bulama Ngatha did not mention *dzum zugune* to me, only the bull festival. We know that the bull festival and the adult initiation cycle had long ceased being performed, but the former was certainly still active during early colonial and late pre-colonial times. We already have a hint of the local historical

age of the bull festival by asking ourselves whether it was perhaps not that ancient as a travelling festival of the wider community. Being a communal festival for the whole of Dghwedè, it might have its roots in the post-DGB period, meaning that perhaps it was more linked to the oral historical tail end of the Tur tradition. We revisit some of the key aspects of that hypothesis in our next chapter section, but first want to present Ndruwe Dzuguma's account on the local knowledge of a rainmaker.

Rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma about his seasonal activities

We present below the core part of the oral account by Ndruwe Dzuguma of Gharaza, which John and I taped in September 1995, and for which John later gave me an English translation at my research station. Table 5h below presents the part entitled: 'Rainmaker's activities during the seasonal year' but the interview as a whole also included other data. For example he listed a sequence of key rituals which we will discuss in Chapter 3.9: 'Distribution and custodianship of local shrines'. The ritual we will mention here is the mixture of freshly ground sorghum flour and water poured over the rainstones by his junior brother (Plate 14), accompanied by a prayer, which I witnessed being enacted for rainmaking.

Another part of the interview is related to Chapter 3.12: 'Ritual aspects of the house as a place of worship'. We will discuss this interview in that context because one of the houses we documented was that of a former rainmaker, and he had kept the rainstones of his father in the traditional part of his house. We think that because the Gaske rainmakers did not own lineage shrines in the form of groves or landmark rocks, it was the house of the senior rainmaker which featured as a ritual centre for all his specialist lineage brothers across Dghwedè.

The fieldnote account quoted below received only minor corrections since we want to preserve as much of the oral authenticity of the original interview as possible. Ndruwe Dzuguma was the senior rainmaker of Gharaza in Korana Basa, while his senior brother was Tada Nzige of Ghwa'a. Tada Nzige's father's house was an important ritual centre in the past, not only for the other rainmakers, but also because it contained ritual places as part of his infields which played a crucial role during the adult initiation ceremony (*dzum zugune*). We will learn all about this later in the relevant chapter. If we consult the annotated comments in Table 5h, we notice that the parts in square brackets are additional references incorporated into some of the annotations at a later stage for better ethnographic contextualisation.

Table 5h: Ndruwe Dzuguma's account of his seasonal activities

Rainmaker's activities during seasonal year (Gharaza 1995)	Annotated comments
The rainmaker will first plant a seed of guinea corn or millet. This is still done in the dry season. After that, they bring out the manure to the fields. Even before bringing out the manure they will gather different types of weeds and put them in dry river beds in valleys. After that God will give us rain to start planting.	[Ritual] planting is done for both, sorghum and millet, during dry season [ritually] puts weeds in dry river beds so that God can let it rain
The first rain which is enough to start planting he recognises on the movement of the sun. When it reaches the exact place for raining it will rain. There is nothing they do before. It is just a matter of time when the rain starts.	Observes the position of the sun [in relation to a geographical landmark]
In line with the regulation of rain, the rainmakers consult each other to decide when there should be more or less rain. The rainmakers from different places will discuss among themselves the amount of rain they need as well as using the stones to pour water on to them to produce rain.	Consults with his fellow rainmakers and they pour water [mixed with guinea corn flour] over [rain] stones
When there is not enough rain they will perform sacrifices and use their rainstones. Then it will rain heavily. When there is enough	Sacrifice over rainstones [most likely called man skwe] is done when there

<p>rainfall they stop continuing those activities and rain will reduce gradually.</p> <p>He mentioned indirectly that if the rainmakers are okay (meaning people gave enough gifts) the rain will be okay. [In the past well-known rainmakers had their fields cultivated by people.] If the rainmakers are not satisfied, God held back humidity and there was not enough rain as a result.</p> <p>If there is much rain the rainmakers will discuss among themselves, discuss and discuss until God starts reducing. The Rainmaker gave us an example of 1995 when there was too much wind when it was raining which killed about 5 people. (For example, people went out to cut grass and were taken by surprise by rain and strong wind. Carrying the grass on their heads they fell off a rock and died.) In this case of too strong wind this year, despite enough rain, the rainmakers discussed and 'tied the wind' and the wind reduced as a result.</p> <p>They have no special equipment to stop too much rain. They just pray to God and God will help them and consider their opinion. This is down to them being specially gifted in this area of [divine] interaction. When they pray God answers their prayers. It is only that they discuss among themselves and then pray and God responds to that but others believe they did it by their abilities.</p> <p>Regarding them being influential in the community in the past, he is stressing the point that this was not so much a matter of economic advantages but the community considering them as a part of the whole community. It was because of their ability they supported them, for example in case of paying debts, etc. [To arrange rain to stop, to get the rest of the community to curse a person because of debts.]</p> <p>During the planting period, not much rain is necessary because it would not germinate well. After first hoeing, it needs lots of rain so that they can transplant their plants (guinea corn, millet and eleusine). In places where there was not enough plant germination, they transplant from places where it had developed very well.</p> <p>During the second hoeing lots of rain is necessary as well, and then after that, towards the ripening period there should be still enough but then it should reduce gradually towards the harvesting period.</p> <p>There is no special offering by rainmakers apart from what they do with their <i>vavanza</i>. If they want to use it they have to make a sacrifice before. All other sacrifices and offerings are just like those of other people. Apart from <i>vavanza</i>, they offer also when they use <i>magulisa</i>. <i>Magulisa</i>, which is the name of two different plants together. One is <i>huba</i> [<i>Urginea</i> spp] the other is <i>vavanza</i> (<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i>). <i>Magulisa</i> is the name of a clan medicine to increase the yield of crops. <i>Magulisa</i> can also be only <i>huba</i> or only <i>vavanza</i>.</p> <p>They use chickens, he-goats and ram for offering to <i>vavanza</i>, <i>huba</i> and their stones. When they offer sacrifices to their stones (presumably meaning their rainstones rather than their ancestor stones) it will work very well. Other sacrifices they do like everybody else.</p> <p>In some years the rainy season will be a bit longer as usual. This means that God wants to have enough rain that year.</p> <p>Rainfall is technically not from the heavens but it evaporates from the</p>	<p><i>is both lack of rain or too much rainfall</i></p> <p><i>Rainmakers could stop rainfall if population didn't comply with their demand for 'payment' in form of gifts or voluntary labour</i></p> <p><i>Describes case from 1995, when there was enough rain but too much wind. Rainmakers took joint action by ritually tying the wind and the wind reduced</i></p> <p><i>Says that main 'tool' of the rainmaker is his special relationship with God [gwazgafte], which consists of 'prayers' to God to ask for rain, but people think otherwise</i></p> <p><i>They saw themselves as being 'paid' because of their abilities and not for economic reasons. This could include stopping rain to enforce 'payment'</i></p> <p><i>They regulated rainfall according to the demands for rainfall during main labour intensive phases of the agricultural year</i></p> <p><i>During second hoeing and towards ripening period more rainfall was needed, but was regulated down towards harvest</i></p> <p><i>The ritual use of vavanza and magulisa [as clan medicines] required a sacrifice prior to their ritual use. Only the Gaske rainmakers had to make such sacrifices</i></p> <p><i>We are not really sure here whether the offerings were made over their ancestor stones or over their rainstones.</i></p> <p><i>God [gwazgafte] has final control over the amount of rainfall and not the rainmaker</i></p> <p><i>Claims that rain does not</i></p>
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<p>ground, like smoke goes up. Supposed rain would be in heaven it would have destroyed the whole world but because it evaporates from the ground and forms clouds it cannot do so. When there is excessive heat people are sweating etc, that means water is evaporating up. When there is heat, water goes up. It forms clouds and goes to the east. When the clouds come back it will rain. [The word for east is <i>mbart luwa</i> which has two meanings: <i>mbarte</i> also means rectum. It means that the east is considered as a place where the sun rises in terms of beginning, coming out. West is <i>ftsukwe</i>, meaning also evening, that is where the sun goes.] When the wind (<i>vale</i>) is blowing towards the east, it is a sign that it will rain because if it is coming back it will come with rain. [<i>Kalbaka</i> means clouds].</p> <p>On the hills, there are heavy rains because of the rocks. When it rains the water runs down to the plains which means that there are heavier rains on the hills than in the plains. The rain starts when the clouds are coming from the east, but the heavy rains will be on the hills.</p> <p>Rain depends on the periods of the rainy season. It depends upon the movement of the sun. When the sun moves to a particular place it will start raining and when the sun goes to another place it means it will not rain, even periods within the rainy season (even within the rainy season the sun moves). They only observe the movement of the sun. If the sun moves to a certain point it will rain. Any person can know that.</p>	<p><i>really come from heaven [ghaluwa] and describes the thermological process of humidity rising because earth gets heated up by the sun to form clouds = kalbaka, which are blown east = mbart luwa, and when wind = vale, blows clouds west = ftsukwe, again, it rains</i></p> <p><i>Because of the rocks, the water of heavy rain in the hills doesn't get absorbed into the ground but runs downhill instead</i></p> <p><i>Rain can be predicted by observing the movements of the sun and its position concerning landmarks during the rainy season</i></p>
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We will continue the rest of the interview in form of a summary at the end of Chapter 3.12, where we present in Plate 46 a set of retired rainstones, and introduce the list of items of a rainmaker's ritual gear. We show below two pictures of a rainmaking ceremony by the junior brother of Ndruwe Dzuguma, who took me and John to his house in Tatsa to show us how he made rain. The images show the rainstones erected like imitations of mountains, and the mixture of water and sorghum flour poured over them. We think it is a good demonstration of how the rainmaker himself engaged with *gwazgafte* (divinity) by the means of his ritual entitlement of praying for rain. It was actually raining later that day, and my rainmaker friend came to see me and told me very proudly that it was he who had made that rain. We discuss in Chapter 3.23 the concept of *skwe* as a term for ritual specialism, and wonder whether the term *man skwe* (meaning: handling a ritual specialism related to the ownership of a specific ritual treatment) refers to the mixture of water and guinea corn flour our rainmaker friend uses here to 'make' rain.

Plate 14: Rainmaker demonstrates his rainmaking ability: The left picture shows freshly ground sorghum flour while to the right the mixture is being poured over the rainstones.



We learned from our interview above that Ndruwe Dzuguma distinguished between his

meteorological knowledge and his ritual role as a rainmaker, and at the same time that God was ultimately responsible for the right amount of rain. We could perhaps conclude from this that he would be considered more as a rainmaker priest than a technical rainmaker. We acknowledge his claim of a religious entitlement to act, being a representative of God because he belonged to the Gaske rainmaker lineage. His interventions were at the same time practically determined by meteorological observations in which he monitored rainfall and other potential environmental threats, mainly during the growing and ripening period of crops.

This happened in the context of the agricultural seasons along the lines of the labour-intensive hoeing phases of the active part of the year. His meteorological knowledge was observational and perfectly in tune with our modern view of cloud-building as a result of the sun heating the surface of the earth. The ritual aspects of his role as Dghwedè rainmaker were however the result of ritual entitlement which came from his descent. In that sense, we think he was convinced he was making rain, but only because he had that entitlement which allowed him to interact with the seasons as a cosmological agent with an expert link to the celestial world above.

Rainy and dry season in cultural-historical perspective

The Dghwedè do not divide their agricultural year into months, but distinguish between a very labour-intensive agricultural season and a less active ritual season. We learned that the most active season is connected with the growing season during the wet period, plus about three months of the early dry period for harvesting and threshing. The latter is part of the ritual period, which leads into the intensive slaughtering period, firstly of he-goats for close family ancestors, followed by the bull festival, far into the dry season.

We know that the seasonal pattern of the Dghwedè calendar is very much guided by climatic conditions and the observation and monitoring of the weather conditions, a job for which the Gaske rainmaker lineage held a key responsibility. In the context of this, their understanding of the seasons was not only meteorological but cultural, with ritual activities interacting socio-economically and religiously with the typical semi-arid environment of the Gwoza hills as the most northerly extension of the whole of the Mandara Mountains.

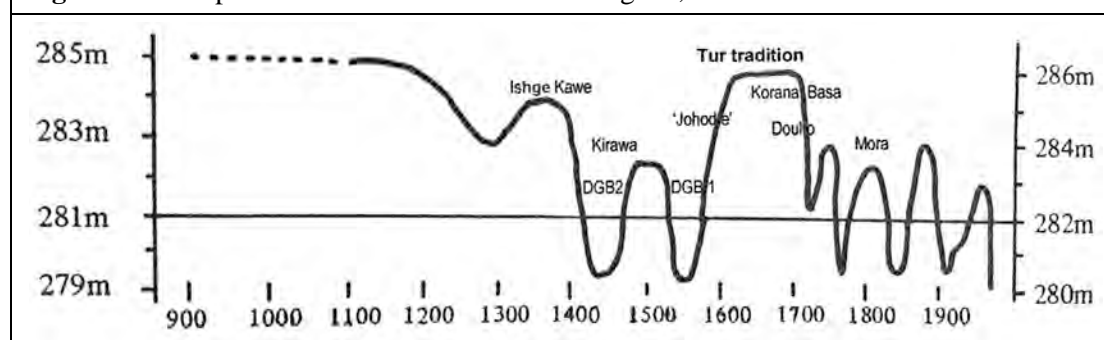
We learn through later chapters that the cultural dimensions of rainmaking and cornblessing were embedded in a cosmological view of the world, which did not see the earth as a globe but more as a flat primordial mass with the firmament above, rather in the shape of an umbrella. In the context of this, we will increasingly contextualise throughout Part Three, what we mean when we refer to a Dghwedè celestial world above the sky of this world, and the world of the ancestors not only as a world beyond, but below, deep inside the earth. The title of this chapter: 'Interacting with the seasons' includes a sense of becoming aware of the exclusive cultural-historical perspective from which we think the pre-colonial Dghwedè saw and interpreted the world.

We can only imagine how the environment of a significantly more humid Gwoza hills might have felt during the 17th century. Presumably the rains would have started earlier and lasted longer, maybe similar to today's climate in the Fali region to the south of the Tur heights. This was perhaps also the last period when population pressure might have occurred as a result of increased south-to-north migration across the heights of Tur, and which might have led to the settlement structure we refer to now. We remember the earlier chapter on the expansion of the Vaghagaya in southern Dghwedè. Unfortunately, we do not know how densely Dghwedè was populated during the end of that wet period, which would have been about 300 years ago.

The palaeoclimatic scale of dry and wet phases illustrated in Figure 16 below will underpin the climatic change that the Gwoza hills, as a most northerly mountainous subregion of the semi-arid savannah region south of Lake Chad, might have encountered. Our illustration is based on Maley's (1981) palaeoclimatic change of the Lake Chad water levels, which we

already know from our Table of Contemporaneity in Chapter 2.1 of Part Two. We connected the Tur tradition with the wet period of the 17th century, of which the development of what would become Korana Basa is, in oral historical terms, at the tail, while 'Johode' (Ghwa'a), as the early arrival zone, forms the oral-historical starting point. In chronological terms, the expansion of the Vaghagaya, here marked as 'Korana Basa', is contemporary not only with the Wandala capital having been moved to Doulo, but also with the end of the DGB period, with DGB1 as the latest active and most impressive of the sites, also in terms of size.

Figure 16: The paleoclimatic context of archaeological, written and oral source locations



If we consider for a moment our Dghwede calendar, with the bull festival perhaps prospering during this wet period, as well as perhaps the competitive adult initiation cycle *dzum zugune*, we could see 'Johode' as having already existed as an early arrival zone before the extreme rise of rainfall. We suggested in Chapter 2.1 that DGB1 might have experienced a revival period during the mid-16th century, when Idris Alauma of Borno, as a result of his siege, replaced the 'pagan usurper' of Kirawa the 'brother of Umar'. This puts the formation of Dghwede, as we come to know them in this book, into the wet period, presumably contemporary with the formation of the Mafa. This highlights the end of the DGB period, which was marked by the capital of Wandala being moved from Kirawa, first to Doulo and later to Mora. We refer to that period as 'the late pre-colonial', of which we managed to identify the tail end by connecting the oral history of local warfare to the early colonial history of names and places as passed on to us by Max Moisel (see Chapter 3.1 and 3.2).

If we consult Figure 16 again, we can see that throughout the last 300 years, the Dghwede, who were by then fully formed, were confronted with a very cyclical palaeoclimatic history of at least four higher and six lower interchanging Lake Chad water levels. If we add up the higher and lower water levels we have ten altogether, and if we divide 300 by 10, we come to an average of 30 years of either arid or semi-arid climate conditions. This is quite a distinct pattern in comparison to the previous palaeoclimatic pattern of climate change in our subregion. Considering how far north the Gwoza hills reach towards the Sahel region, we can imagine that in the labour-intensive terrace culture of the Dghwede, which was by then fully developed, an ambitious target for an adult might well have been the ability to keep all three granaries full for seven years. This is of course only a hypothetical scenario, but perhaps not unconvincing, as the Dghwede calendar presented above presumably evolved under these palaeoclimatic conditions.

Our palaeoclimatic background scenario in Figure 16 shows that DGB2 existed much earlier, perhaps long before the Tur tradition (at least the way we have come to know it) came about. We also see that Kirawa as a historical place most likely already existed during the early days of the formation of Wandala state, following the move from Ishga Kawe further north. It was king Agamakiya who was then first king of Wandala, and his son Abalaksaka who followed him, during the most likely early days of this rapidly deteriorating first wet and then very arid period. We infer that this triggered an early north-to-south migration, and we know from our source the early Venetian mapmaker Fra Mauro, that not only Wandala but also the Margi already existed as place names in the historical records.

Only a hundred years later, Ibn Furtu mentioned the Wandala of Kirawa at the northern foot, and the Margi-Magay of Kopci to the west of the Gwoza hills, as both having been vassal kingdoms of Borno (Lange 1987). We know about possible iron trade, and early production of sorghum in the Gwoza hills at the time is not impossible. We are aware that the Gwoza hills were sandwiched between the DGB complex and the Wandala of Kirawa for about 200 years before the Tur tradition led to the formation of the Dghwede, but we do not know how long the Tur tradition had already been there as a highway of mutual exchange before that period. We however presume that the traditions of farming and perhaps even crop rotation were already common at that time, and our hypothesis is that many elements of material and immaterial culture were exchanged along the same route too. It is not only the heights of Tur, but the wider northwestern Mandara Mountains as a subregion, including its northwestern plains, which we embrace here as a sphere of mutual cultural-historical influences.

Locality aspects of the Dghwede ritual cycle

Bulama Ngatha (1995) explained to us that most of the rituals were performed before threshing the guinea corn, while the corn was still in the storage facility. He uses the word *tsufa* as a general term for those rituals, but unfortunately we did not ask for its literal meaning. We can nevertheless begin to see how the ritual calendar is embedded into the bi-annual cycle of crop rotation dictated by the role of guinea corn as the ritually more significant crop. We are not entirely sure why bulama Ngatha thought that most rituals were done before threshing, and infer that he meant as such only in relation to guinea corn, and remember that he thought that the rituals for the paternal ancestors of the house could be done in both years.

We contested that view, and have learned how the smaller scale rituals came before the larger-scale rituals, such as sacrifices of he-goats to the ancestor stones of the house being followed by sacrifice of a bull for the festival comprising Dghwede as a whole. In the context of this, we ascertained that the rituals before threshing were most likely at one time all part of the guinea corn year, leading to an extensive slaughtering period during the dry season. It started with the guts of a he-goat being ritually thrown into the ripe guinea corn as part of *tikwa kupe* before it was harvested, and ended with the bull festival.

We already pointed to the application of ritual activities as a behavioural aspect of local group formation. If we look at the social organisation underlying the ritual application, we can see that there was a spatial dimension which connected the house with the farmland. The terrace fields near the house were particularly important, since they were used every year in the context of the bi-annual cycle of crop rotation. It was the guinea corn year which not only accommodated most ritual slaughtering, but possibly also needed most of the manure, due to the longer ripening period of guinea corn. During the active season the animals were tied up, and then after the harvest released again into the fields, which made husbandry an integrated part of farming.

All this was not only very labour-intensive and therefore required a high population density, but it made hamlets into very fertile and prosperous hillside areas, being neighbourhoods of houses clustered on stone platforms integral to the surrounding terrace fields. The Dghwede referred to such hamlets as *khudi luwa*, which means something like 'stomach of the land', a subject we explore in detail in the chapter about the architecture of a house. The other areas of a mountain site were hillsides of terrace fields without settlements, which received a lesser amount of the annually produced animal manure. We learn in the chapter about working the land, how important the leasing out of cows was in that context.

What we want to emphasis in this section is that the infields and the house were seen as the 'stomach' of a hillside, and as such received in spatial terms the highest ritual attention. This ritual attention was very personal in terms of material culture, in the form of shrines, types of ritual pots and their storage places, plus ritual pathways in and around the house as a place of

worship. The spatial network of ritual interaction was much less dense outside the highly populated hamlet areas, but there were still public spaces in the form of flat places for ritual gatherings, or ritual routes up and down the hills connecting those public spaces with the homes of senior representatives of the local population. We will learn a lot about the ritual dimension of the wider hillside as a typical cultural landscape in our chapter about the various stages of the adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*). The spatial network of *dzum zugune* did not however explicitly connect northern and southern Dghwedè, such as the bull festival represented in the social and spatial order it travelled across Dghwedè and beyond.

We mentioned the role of the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) who inherited the house and the infields and also acted on the lineage level as the custodian of the earth of his lineage section (*kambarte*). He was as such ritually responsible for the lineage shrines (*khalale*) linked to the founding ancestor of that *kambarte*. We discuss his role as a representation of good luck in contrast to that of the eighth-born child in Chapter 3.18. At this point, we only want to refer to the bareness of the ritual sites and places outside the intensely populated hamlets of a hillside. They lacked the decorum of ancestor pots and other ritual paraphernalia of the house as a place of worship. This unsettled part of a Dghwedè farm was also close to the bushland, referred to as *susiye* (see Figure 17), and it seems that the closer one got to *susiye* (bush farm) the less important the land became as a ritually relevant space. We think that this was to do with the labour-intensity the generations of families went through in keeping their infields fertile by bringing out the manure produced in houses nearby.

The underlying clan and lineage structure of Dghwedè local group formation was, however, ritually embraced by the journey the bull festival took when it travelled through the whole of Dghwedè. The travelling bull festival demonstrates that the ritual cycle had a spatial dimension, by moving from the nuclear family home as part of a cluster of houses, then out into the wider Dghwedè community, and therefore was the unifying ritual interaction. That the rituals of the house occurred in the calendar before the ones related to Dghwedè as a whole, underpins the fact that local group formation started with the 'kitchen' (*kudige*) as the smallest unit of descent, before growing into a localised lineage section represented by a variety of shrines. We will learn in the next chapter that the custodianship of local shrines did not necessarily follow a strict calendrical order of key rituals, as was the case for the spatially dense house shrines.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented the calendar of the Dghwedè, and learned that in crop rotation guinea corn was the ritually most relevant crop. The local beer was also made of guinea corn, and it had altogether a much higher ritual function than millet. Having said that, we have also seen how the ritual calendar changed and adapted over time and that for example *har ghwe* (sacrifice of he-goat for deceased father) was until the recent past most likely not carried out during a millet year. The big community festival involving the ritual release and subsequent slaughter of a bull had also stopped, as had adult initiation which had consisted of four progressive bi-annual stages of rituals. We think that this was intended for the promotion of competition for the sake of survival in a cyclically alternating semi-arid mountainous environment.

We have also looked into the possible cultural-historical dimension of the Dghwedè calendar, by linking it to a scale of palaeoclimatic change showing a 400-year-long wet period until about 600 years ago. After this there was a sharp climatic decline during the 14th century, leading eventually to the foundation of Kirawa and to the DGB period which lasted until the mid-17th century. We think that 'Johode' as an early arrival zone was perhaps contemporary with the end of the DGB period, eventually leading, during a long period of high rainfall, to the formation of Dghwedè as we have come to know it. In the context of that, we identified the last 300 years as having had many ups and downs in terms of climate change. We concluded that the Dghwedè calendar might well have been the historical result of the

collective experience of the Dghwedè through that later pre-colonial period, and identified the tail end to have perhaps overlapped with the beginning of colonial times, during which the key rituals of the Dghwedè calendar had already started to change.

We mentioned earlier that the adult initiation rituals had most likely already ceased by the 1930s, and the bull festival possibly stopped being performed not too long afterwards. We will learn in our chapter about working the land how the introduction of chemical fertiliser perhaps played an important role, something which was promoted quite early under British rule. This, and increasing pressure for forced downhill migration, must have had a strong impact on the proud Dghwedè, who at the beginning of colonial times had been subjected to Hamman Yaji's slave raids. The formation of a new Muslim elite in Gwoza presumably had an additional impact on the Dghwedè way of life, and we can only imagine how different Dghwedè had already become when I started visiting modern Korana Basa and Ghwa'a in 1995.

Our chapter on the Dghwedè interaction with the seasons is therefore very much an attempt to look back in time, by trying to reconstruct a seasonal calendar as it might have been practised in late pre-colonial and perhaps during early colonial times. When I collected the oral data underlying our reconstruction I did not know that I would never have a chance to revisit to ask more questions. Still, considering the very few oral accounts we have available, hopefully we have been able to present a calendrical scenario which approaches an understanding of the meaning and importance of the agricultural and ritual sequences linked to the specific seasons of their bi-annual system of crop rotation. The next chapter is concerned with the distribution of ritual custodianship of local shrines, which were not necessarily part of a somewhat prescriptive calendrical cycle, apart perhaps from the lineage shrines (*khalale*).

Chapter 3.9

Distribution and custodianship of local shrines

Introduction

This chapter is about rituals associated with important local shrines, for example the already mentioned lineage shrine for all descendants of Vaghagaya. We have so far established that the Dghwedè might not in the past have followed a regular calendar of rituals, but carried them out as and when it appeared necessary. Unfortunately my data on the past use of such shrines are almost non-existent, and considering the changes already pointed out in the previous chapter, regular sacrifices might well have been made at one time.

We will therefore try to ascertain whether those local shrines played a role in asserting a sense of belonging, by looking specifically into their social embeddedness. We will see that we can for example distinguish between lineage and other communal shrines. Both had a strong locality aspect, and while agnatic descent seemed to be the main reason for the lineage shrines, the other communal shrines seemed to have had more socially inclusive definitions. This is why we refer to them as community shrines, and it was Durghwe, with its regional significance, which was the most important of that type.

I have studied the social inclusiveness of ritual performances of the Mafa of the Gouzda area on the Cameroonian side of the border, where I systematically mapped all local shrines in five villages and linked them to the oral history of an underlying ritual and geographical context. Unlike in Dghwedè, the Mafa lineage shrines were served as an integral part of a regulatory ritual calendar represented by the sequential order of passing on sorghum beer. I soon discovered that the Dghwedè did not have such a *Way of the Beer*¹ (Muller-Kosack 2003), and as a result decided not to systematically map their local shrines, but instead relied on individual examples that would geographically underpin their oral history of local group formation. However, similar to the Mafa area under study, Dghwedè shrines were also often found in small groves situated on hillsides or marked by a rock formation overlooking a hamlet or a wider area of lineage-based settlement units.

Although we cannot compare the geographical distribution of the Dghwedè and Mafa local shrines, it is interesting that the general term *khalale* for lineage shrine is identical to the Mafa word *halalay*.² In Mafa, *halalay* was not only a reference to ancient or distant agnatic ancestry linked to the ritual ownership of such major lineage shrines, but also to their twin ceremony (ibid:361). We will illustrate the equivalent ritual importance of water as an aspect of managing communal fecundity in the chapter about Dghwedè beliefs concerning the birth of twins. In Dghwedè the word *khalale* was not only used to refer to the agnatic ownership of lineage shrines, but is also the word for water spirit. In Mafa (ibid:108ff) as well as in Dghwedè culture, water spirits were seen as very powerful agents and can be interpreted as potentially dangerous representations of fecundity in the light of communal reproduction.

¹ The Mafa have a system of egalitarian chiefly clans, called *kr biy* (son of the chief), who were always the largest and most recent clan group expansion of a village. In terms of the importance of number, and being the most recent lineage expansion, they have a structural similarity to the rise of the Vaghagaya in southern Dghwedè. In the context of the distribution of custodianship for their lineage shrines, the recently expanded *kr biy* clans always had to wait until the more ancient but smaller clan groups of a village had made their sacrifice before they could make theirs on behalf of the village community as a whole. The Dghwedè had no such a system of chiefly clans, although the British tried to invent one through the system of *gidegal* (chiefly majority) to promote self-governance (see Chapter 3.21).

² The spelling of an 'h' instead of 'kh' is simply a different way of writing the same phonetic sound as it is applied in Cameroon when transcribing indigenous languages.

When I started working in the Gwoza hills in 1994 I was very much inspired by my work among the Mafa, and was systematically mapping local shrines in the foothill communities. I started in the Lamang-speaking area, and after working my way around the hills I realised that most clan or lineage groups had their own local shrines. I came to this realisation by not only mapping the local shrines, but also their ritual owners. This was still part of my 1994 survey study described in Part One. Unfortunately I did not maintain that systematic mapping regime when I started working in Dghwedè, which means we are not able to correlate the shrines listed in this chapter with an exact geographical location. However, what we seem to have worked out is that the Dghwedè distinguish between lineage shrines (*khalale*) and other local shrines. We also know that the Dghwedè, similar to the Mafa of Gouzda, had a calendrical regime related to their family ancestors reaching back at least three generations, and the rituals were performed in the foyer of the house. By comparison, the Mafa of Gouzda used the front courtyard for serving their family ancestors up to four generations removed (ibid:187ff).

We start our chapter on the distribution and custodianship of local shrines in Dghwedè by first examining the different types of shrines we can distinguish, and first of all point to Durghwe as the most important shrine. We have referred on several occasions to the importance of Durghwe, and we will discuss its various aspects as a mountain shrine separately in Chapter 3.17. For the present chapter we have worked out a basic structure to classify Dghwedè local shrines, one category being what we call lineage shrine (*khalale*), and in the first chapter section we present as an example the Vaghagaya lineage shrine. After that there is a dedicated section on the spatial aspect of the Dghwedè ritual order as it progressed from the house to the lineage group sites. There we present the sacrifice to a lineage shrine, called *har khalale*, roughly meaning 'slaughtering for the lineage shrine', and ask ourselves whether this might have been a regular sacrifice in the past.

In the section after that we provide the reader with a list of seventh-born sons (*thaghaya*) as custodians or lineage priests across Dghwedè, and explain and discuss that list. We close the chapter with a final section listing places that have ritual functions across Dghwedè. Some of the places listed will occur later in other contexts, such as in the chapter on the various stages of the adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*) in Ghwa'a, and also in the chapter about existential personhood, where we discuss cursing. We remember the legend in which the mother of Vaghagaya cursed her son Kwili'a for not being supportive of her, and that subsequently his lineage did not increase. This in turn would have meant that his lineage never owned a lineage shrine.

We remember our hypothesis, from the chapter about specialist lineages, that neither the Gaske rainmakers nor the Dagha peacemaker lineages seemed to have owned lineage shrines, while the Gazhiwe cornblessers did have one in the oral historical context of Gudule. We are not going to discuss this aspect separately here, but are aware that none of the local shrines we list was owned by either of them.

Types of shrines

The Dghwedè seem to distinguish between two main types of local shrines for worshipping. One is the lineage shrine referred to as *khalale*, and the others are communal shrines unattached to a specific lineage ancestry (such as Vaghagaya) and are named in terms of custodianship only. My friend John explained that they would not be referred to as *khalale*, but by their proper name, for example 'Durghwe'. Durghwe was topographically the highest community shrine in Dghwedè, mentioned in the context of Vaima's expedition to see the resident of Borno and the legendary account of Zedima, but we will neglect Durghwe here.

There were other places of local interest I am going to name, and will briefly deal with them when they are raised in the context of a chapter. Some of them are places for cursing, and such places were listed by some British colonial officers. I do not really consider cursing

places to be shrines, but people accused of sorcery were made to proclaim their innocence in the form of an ordeal, and we discuss these places in the chapter about the concept of personhood. Concerning the distinction of shrines for worshipping, it is the lineage shrine (*khalale*) in which we are most interested, and here I am aiming to consolidate our oral data to understand them better. For me there is also the question of whether there was ever a regular sacrifice to *khalale*, as there was with the *har ghwe* sacrifice for a deceased father of a house. *Har khahale* (slaughtering for a local lineage ancestor) was in a way the opposite of *har ghwe*. Because lineage ancestors were too far removed, as bulama Ngatha explained to us in 1995, ancestor pots were no longer kept, but ordinary pots were used to prepare and serve a meal for them.

The meaning of *khalale* (lineage shrine)

Bulama Mbaldawa and elders of Tatsa (1995), explained to me that *khalale* meant that:

If you built your house somewhere where nobody already lived, whatever rock you put your weapons nearby, would become your *khalale*.

This explanation was quite telling, since it indirectly said that only if there were no one else already living in a place where a man wanted to build his house, would he be able to have a lineage shrine. This in turn implies that he would start a new local group or lineage section (*kambarte*) as illustrated in Figure 14 of Chapter 3.6. Also, the reference to weapons in that context is important to notice, as it implies the possibility of taking a piece of land from someone else by force. It meant at least that the person in question was able to settle as a result of using his weapons, or would be able to defend his new home should he actually be the first settler.

If we consult our knowledge about traditions of war alliances illustrated in Figure 8a (Chapter 3.2), it is difficult to imagine that anyone could have built a new house anywhere in Dghwedè as a first settler, other than by assuming it to be an ideal or even romantic view held by our protagonists from Tatsa. We remember that Tatsa even had a history of being neutral, being sandwiched between the expanding Vaghagaya as the largest local lineage group and the smaller groups of Ghwa'a and their potential allies. Still, the image bulama Mbaldawa relayed to us implied that a man as founder of a household had claimed his local independence, represented by putting his weapons down at the rock nearby his house, which then had the potential to become his lineage shrine *khalala*. This possibly implied that he was hoping to have a seventh son born to him by his first wife, as a symbol of good luck in the context of expanding further, and hence the rock where he put his weapons down would become the starting point of a successful new lineage section (*kambarte*).

Other than the Mafa of the Gouzda area, the Dghwedè did not serve their lineage shrines as part of a regular calendar as they did for their extended family ancestors, but apparently only sacrificed when there was a need. We think that this might have been to do with the fact that they did not have a chiefly clan system such as the Mafa had, where a complicated system of sequential ritual order was maintained to monitor first-comers and late-comers. If we take Gharaza in southern Dghwedè as a hypothetical case, the Gudule lived there before the descendants of Vaghagaya defeated them and took over their land. The fact that some of the Gudule remained raises the possibility that such an underlying ritual context existed, in which the Gudule as first settlers needed to be ritually acknowledged. We failed to explore any such possibilities in Dghwedè, but perhaps the hidden context reveals itself in the fact that they had the role of starting the bull festival. We will discuss this particular aspect in a hypothetical alternative scenario in Chapter 3.14, and only want to point out here how little we know about the oral history of lineage shrines in Dghwedè.

So, what does that have to do with the meaning of *khalale* as the Dghwedè word for lineage shrine? Well it shows first of all that it is not as straightforward as explained by bulama Mbaldawa and the elders of Tatsa. What perhaps helps us to further understand a *khalale*,

apart from it being the Dghwedè idea of a place where a first comer might in the past have settled on virgin land, would be to take into account the other meaning of *khalale*, which was 'water spirit'. It was my research assistant John, who in 2001 explained to me that a *khalale* or water spirit might appear as a human being, and then it would suddenly disappear. He went on to explain the general belief that things were able to magically transform and disappear, especially during the night when people were asleep. We will learn more about this cultural aspect of the Dghwedè mindset in the chapter about existential personhood, in the context of the role of the 'personal spirit pot' which a man might have kept above his bed (Chapter 3.12). We already mentioned the similarity of *khalale* to the Mafa word *halalay* for their twin ritual, and also the link between twins and the role of the water spirit. Water was an important aspect of the Dghwedè belief system, which implied that the mountain shrine Durghwe was seen as the house of twins, and that will be addressed later also.

Water spirits are perhaps one of the most powerful spirit agents known in and around the northern Mandara Mountains. For example the *Wandala Chronicles* inform us that king Agamakiya was allegedly abducted by a female water spirit. We also remember that Kumba Zadvā (see Chapter 3.5) discovered his reproductive clan medicine with the support of a female water spirit. He was able to revive all his children and subsequently had seven sons. The strong belief in water spirits is perhaps no surprise, considering the cyclical arid environment by which we are surrounded, and it seems that the ones considered to be female are very powerful indeed. Unfortunately we do not know much about the gender of water spirits in Dghwedè culture, but notice that the scribes of the *Wandala Chronicles* reported in the early 18th century that even king Agamakiya had been abducted by a female water spirit, which allegedly represented one of his best loved wives (Forkl 1995:108f).

The aspect we would like to emphasise here, is the connection of the spirit quality allocated to places of communal significance, to the identical word for water spirit, not only in Dghwedè, but also among the Mafa of the Gouzda area. This meant that the Dghwedè word *khalale* for lineage shrine was not just a place with one or two rocks, but also an ideal imaginary habitat for spirit activities in which water was represented as a key element of fecundity and which needed to be ritually managed. It was ideally *thaghaya* (seventh born) who was the responsible custodian, and who also managed other important communal shrines. This was because they were found on the land on which his lineage section (*kambarte*) had successfully been established. Whether that land had ritual predecessors from another lineage section which had been outnumbered, appeared to be secondary in terms of including them as part of a regular ritual order. What seems to have been important was that the entitlement of the current ritual owner was represented by a *har khalale* as an obligatory sacrifice to their shared local lineage ancestor.

We will learn later, in the context of Durghwe, that the ritual entitlement of custodianship also implied that the lineage custodian (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a, who was traditionally from the Btha lineage, was also responsible for rituals to Durghwe, even if they were to be requested by subregional outsiders. We invite our readers to look at the dedicated chapter about Durghwe, but in the next section of the current chapter we provide a brief description of the Vaghagaya lineage shrine in Korana Kwandame. We will subsequently try to explore the geographical or spatial aspect of ritual sequencing as an essential part of a Dghwedè calendrical order as it might have existed during late pre-colonial times and even into the early colonial period.

Example of the Vaghagaya lineage shrine

According to bulama Mbasuwe and elders of Korana Basa (1995), the main shrine dedicated to their shared ancestor Vaghagaya was called *kwirgwiya*, and we know that this was a place in Kurana Kwandama. Bulama Masuwe told us that there was a stone set upright, supported by other stones. *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) grew closely around this stone. A goat was slaughtered and blood and stomach poured over the stone. This symbolised unity as opposed to dispersion or scattering. The sacrifice itself was called *har khalale*, but the general name of

such a place was *khalale*. Our friends added that the sacrifice took place once every several years, and only during a guinea corn year. Some of our friends said that it was done immediately after the bull festival had ended, when the sorghum grain would have been put into water for germinating to produce the ritual beer.

Our friends from Korana Basa also explained the role of Var ga Ghuna as the ritual custodian (seventh born or *thaghaya*), which we quote because it provides a first insight into the role of *thaghaya* being ideally only with the seventh born:

Var ga Ghuna starts planting and harvesting and he is considered as the father of all Vaghagaya. After him, his son Duwar Nzihe takes over his function. They are related over three or four generations. This function is going to stay with the Gaghuna because they are *thaghaya*. The seventh son is the *thaghaya*. If there are not seven but only six or five it goes down, but never above the number seven. It is always for the first wife and Ghuna was a son of the first wife. This is why Var ga Ghuna is *thaghaya* of all Vaghagaya. All other *thaghaya* units have their *khalale*. The different sacrifices do not follow any sequences. It is the diviner who is asked.

We will not go deeper into the meaning of *thaghaya* here, since we have a dedicated chapter allocated to it later, in which we explain how the role of *thaghaya* could be transferred to one of his younger brothers (see Chapter 3.18). Our friends pointed out that Var ga Ghuna as *thaghaya* not only started planting and harvesting for all Vaghagaya, but that he was also responsible for their lineage shrine in Korana Kwandama.

Our Korana Basa sources also said that one of the main functions of the ancestral sacrifice to their *khalale* was to create unity as opposed to dispersion and scattering. We already know that the Dghwedé used patrilineal descent to create that cohesion, as did many cultures in whom descent was the main device to bring about unity as opposed to scattering and dispersion. This does not mean that patrilineal descent should be taken too literally, especially concerning a major lineage section like the Vaghagaya. What was crucial was that *har khalale* was carried out by the person who had the ritual entitlement for the custodianship of the unity of all Vaghagaya on their commonly inherited land. Being as *thaghaya* the representative of the seventh born of the first wife of the ancestor of a lineage section who himself was *thaghaya*, was the application of that entitlement on the lineage level. Such a continuity of local social cohesion was maintained to promote the fecundity of the land and its people.

We do not know, following the influences of colonialism and after national independence when the belief systems of Christianity and Islam started taking root in the hills, when the last sacrifice on this particular shrine was carried out. Also, the fact that people left the hills to be seasonal workers in Maiduguri or Yola presumably weakened the unifying function of such shrines long before Boko Haram finally destroyed Dghwedé as a peaceful place. Considering the current level of scattering and dispersion, we do not know at this point how any new unity could be created in the hills, other than through future reconciliation.

Apart from the unity aspect, there are several questions related to the physical appearance of the site. First of all is the upright stone (*kwire*), which we think represented Vaghagaya. We do not know how high the stone was, or whether it was erected specifically for sacrifice or whether it was a natural piece of rock. We also wonder about the *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*), but do not know the variety or who the owner was. We strongly assume that the sacrificial goat was a he-goat. What is also interesting is that the sacrifice consisted of blood and stomach, but we cannot interpret that exactly, except perhaps to assume that the stomach was a symbol of their mixed farming system with a reference to successful food production based on dung for the fertilization of the terrace fields.

Neither do we know whether ritual sorghum beer was consumed and libated over the stone, but perhaps not. We already know that no ancestor pots were kept at such places, because ancestors of major lineages were genealogically too far removed. Our friends from Korana Basa also told us that due to Var ga Ghuna being the seventh born (*thaghaya*) of all Vaghagaya, this role would always stay with the Ghuna lineage as a result, and it had most likely already become historical during my time. In our next chapter section we will show

how important it was to have a regular ritual regime to avoid the risk of bad luck taking root as a result of ritual neglect, and that the whole process of managing successful communal fecundity was very much linked to the family household as the starting point for the ritual prevention of misfortune.

The sequence goes from the house to the group site

Ndruwe Dzguma (1995), a rainmaker from Gharaza, explained the sequential order of *har khalale* as it was performed in the past, by listing four key rituals. Among these four we already know of three, but have not yet heard of *man skwe*:

First *har ghwe* (sacrifice inside the house), followed by *har daghile* (bull sacrifice), then *man skwe* (general name for sorghum flour in water poured over ancestor stones) was done, and finally *har khalale* (group site sacrifice). He added that with the arrival of the new religion everything was changing.

Unfortunately we do not know a great deal about a ritual *man skwe*, but know that sorghum flour mixed with water was used by rainmakers for pouring over the rainstones to make rain (see Plate 14). Zakariya Kwire of Ghwa'a introduced us to the term *tikwa thagla*, demonstrating that the term *tikwa* not only appeared in *tikwa kupe*, but also as part of the harvest festival (*thagla*), which we discuss in Chapter 3.13. Zakariya Kwire pointed out that *tikwa* was a general reference to any ritual liquid being poured over the ancestor stones. With regard to *tikwa kupe*, we know the senior rainmaker had to do his *tikwa kupe* before anyone else was allowed to do it. After all, he was also the one to start the ritual planting of guinea corn long before anyone else planted theirs.

This means we have to leave the question open of whether *man skwe* was the name of the sacrifice the rainmaker made over his rainstones, or whether it was an additional ritual that was also performed by everyone else. We know about *dif dala*, which consisted of ritual sorghum beer being used only in the case of someone not having a goat to slaughter. We introduce the concept of *man skwe* (*man* = handling; *skwe* = ritual treatment) in Chapter 3.23, as a general term for preventing bad luck by carrying out all the necessary key rituals, and we wonder whether it was this to which rainmaker Ndruwe Dzguma was referring, or whether he meant his particular *skwe* (ritual treatment) of making rain, which consisted of sorghum flour mixed with water and poured over the rainstones. However, our fieldnote in round brackets in Ndruwe Dzguma's quote implies that it was poured over the ancestor stones. We can only assume that he was referring to his family ancestors as a member of the Gaske rainmaker lineage, which gave him the entitlement to ownership of this specific *skwe* (ritual treatment). Regardless of whatever he meant by *man skwe*, what is important here is the sequencing from the house as a place of worship to the group site, and in that context it was *har khalale* which our rainmaker friend listed at the end of the sequential order, while the house was where it started.

Most of our few sources on the subject claim that *har khalale* was not carried out as a regular part of the calendrical order, unlike for example *har ghwe* or *har daghile*, but only performed if there was a demand for it. We can only speculate as to what such demands might have been, but they would have most likely been linked to issues related to the local group. We were told that a sacrifice to the lineage shrine was required before some of the other community or group sites could be ritually served. Another circumstantial context was the involvement of a Dagha diviner, who might have been consulted by a group of lineage elders to perform divination in order to advise on the type of sacrifice and the ritual way forward. We will learn later in Chapter 3.13 that the harvest festival (*thagla*), as the only other communal festival apart from the bull festival (*har daghile*), possibly also included a sacrifice to the lineage shrine (*har khalale*), but want to point out here that we do not know for sure. Unfortunately, both the harvest festival and the bull festival stopped being performed decades before my time.

In Chapter 3.21 we will critically discuss the power of majority (*gadghale*), a concept to which the British colonial power referred to as chiefly councils (*gidegal* or *gadegal*), by showing that it had no chiefly aspect to it at all. Instead it was a form of lineage majority which, in the context of an environmental crisis, might have led to a majority decision in favour of carrying out a ritual at a community shrine such as the Durghwe mountain shrine. This might have involved a sequence of other sacrifices in which a sacrifice to the local lineage shrine (*khalale*) might first have been obligatory, and the lineage priest responsible (*thaghaya*) would perhaps have carried out a sacrifice to his house shrine prior to that. This is only an assumption, but we know that the ritual custodian of the Btha lineage in Ghwa'a would always carry out a *har khalale* before a sacrifice at Durghwe. Maintaining the sequential order from house shrine to group shrine would most likely have been equally essential in this case, to stop the chance of any bad luck taking root were any stage in the sequential sacrificial order to be omitted.

In our next chapter section we present a list of the *thaghaya* (seventh born) as lineage priests across Dghwedè, but apologise for not being able to connect them with the group sites for which they were responsible. Instead, Table 6a is concerned only with the custodial function of beginning planting and harvesting for the settlement unit, in which each respective clan or lineage group that presents a majority because of their demographic superiority in terms of number is noted. We will see that higher population number did not apply when it came to custodianship across the whole of Dghwedè, as in that case the role belonged to the *thaghaya* of the Gaske specialist lineage.

List of *thaghaya* (seventh born) as custodians across Dghwedè

The list below shows *thaghaya* custodianship positions for starting planting and harvesting for local groups, which is on a similar scale to Var ga Ghuna for all Vaghagaya:

Table 6a: List of *thaghaya* across Dghwedè responsible to start planting and harvesting

Name of settlement unit	Name of <i>thaghaya</i> (1995)	Role and/or function
Dghwedè as a whole	Tada Nzige	Senior Gaske rainmaker starts planting and harvest before all other Dghwedè
Gharaza, Hudimche, Kurana Basa, Kurana Kwandame	Var ga Ghuna	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Vaghagaya
Hembe	Wudza Kute	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Hembe
Gudule	Shigwa Haya	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Gudule
Gathaghure	Ndula Naghuwe	<i>Thaghaya</i> of all Gathaghure
Kunde	Ndasa Tsakiya	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Kunde
Tatsa	Kalakwa Dungwa	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Tatsa
Ghwa'a	Ghamba Vunga	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all 'Thakara'
Kwalika	Gwa ma Tada	<i>Thaghaya</i> for all Kwalika

The settlement units listed in Table 6a were represented by a particular *thaghaya* (custodian) because his descent group belonged to the demographically dominant clan or lineage section of that particular settlement unit, except for the *thaghaya* of the Gaske rainmaker lineage who represented Dghwedè as a whole. We will learn later in Chapter 3.18 and 3.21 that a *thaghaya* lineage was not necessarily the most numerous lineage of a local group, but that its ritual entitlement was connected with being considered the representative of the seventh born on the lineage level. We know that this was the case for the Btha lineage of Ghwa'a, and also for the Ghuna lineage of the Vaghagaya. While the former was represented by Ghamba Vunga, the lineage priest of the latter was Var ga Ghuna.

For all the other settlement units listed in Table 6a, we are not certain of the name of the lineage representing the custodianship of the seventh born (*thaghaya*), but we know that for

all settlement units listed, the entitlement of custodianship of the earth was always to be found among the largest clan or lineage group. Hembe as a settlement unit was for example dominated by the two major lineages Ghwire and Baza, but we do not know which was the *thaghaya* lineage. The same applies to Gathaghure. We remember that Mughuze had given his first son, Balngada, as dowry, who subsequently became the founding ancestor of Gathaghure. In the case of Gudule, we think that the cornblesser lineage Gazhiwe was the *thaghaya* lineage, but know that there had been three local lineages altogether. Still, in each of the listed settlement units it was always the clan or lineage section which presented a demographic majority which also provided the *thaghaya* lineage.

Concerning Kunde, we see that this appears in Table 6a as a separate settlement unit to Ghwa'a, the latter having Ghamba Vunga as *thaghaya*. We know Ghamba Vunga was from the Btha lineage, but we also know that Kunde, as a separate lineage section from Ghwa'a, was in terms of descent part of the Thakara major lineage. If we look again at Figure 13 (Chapter 3.6), we notice that most descendants of Washile settled in Kunde, which we think explains why Kunde had its own *thaghaya* for starting planting and harvesting. We also know that the descendants of Washile had become quite numerous in the pre-colonial past, which had led to a violent conflict among the descendants of Thakara, leading sections of the Washile to form associated settlement units, most likely first in Taghadigile and then in Kunde.

A similar scenario but on a much larger scale had occurred in what would later become modern Korana Basa. There the Vaghagaya expanded violently during pre-colonial times. We remember how bulama Ngatha told us that the Vaghagaya were best at fighting among themselves. Still, we do not know whether the Ghuna lineage was in terms of number the largest of the lineages who claimed to have descended from Vaghagaya. It is clear that Var ga Ghuna was indeed the *thaghaya* of all Vaghagaya, despite them occupying four separate lineage wards. We know that the Ghuna lineage was dominant in Gharaza, and Var ga Ghuna as their *thaghaya* not only started planting and harvesting for all Vaghagaya descendants, but he was also the custodian of their lineage shrine in Korana Kwandama.

Our list is not complete but it gives us a good insight into the ritual dimension of local group formation, and it was presumably not only the sacrifice to a shared lineage shrine that created the sense of local belonging, but also their ways of interacting with the seasons concerning planting and harvesting. In the context of this our oral historical sources are very limited and in parts contradictory. We remember for example that some of our local sources maintained that the ritual sequence related to harvesting was more important, while in terms of planting the ritual of the senior rainmaker was more important. Perhaps there was some truth in the former opinion, considering that most rituals were linked to the harvesting and threshing period as a representation of yielding (cornblessing) rather than growing (rainmaking).

If we compare the list of places of ritual function across Dghwedé given in the next section, we can see that the various settlement units with a *thaghaya* or lineage priest, also had a *khalale* or other communal shrines. Unfortunately we will only be able to indirectly derive this conclusion from the linguistic perspective of the Dghwedé word for lineage shrine.

List of places of ritual function across Dghwedé

During my fieldwork in Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, I collected a list of names of shrines and other places of interest across Dghwedé, but failed to exactly geographically locate them. Neither are they connected with a responsible custodian (*thaghaya*) or any other specific ritual role or function. Still, Table 6b demonstrates that the various settlement units, which we mentioned in earlier chapters in the context of the development of Korana Basa and Ghwa'a, did indeed have *khalale* shrines, as this is the case for Takweshe, Hembe, and Gathaghure.

In the case of Korana Basa however we think that the four places listed below are only found in Korana Basa as an individual ward, and that it might not even include Korana Kwandama,

where the Vaghagaya lineage shrine was found. In our opinion the same applies to Ghwa'a, but there we excluded Durghwe from our list, even though Durghwe was part of Ghwa'a as a central ward. We will present Durghwe as the most important subregional mountain shrine separately in Chapter 3.17.

We can see in Table 6b that the Ghwa'a listing includes two descriptions regarding the ritual function of outcasting. Since I collected many outcasting sites around the foothills (unpublished Gwoza fieldnotes 1994), we can infer that some of the places in the other wards listed might have also been outcasting places. For example, individuals who were threatened with being outcasted as a result of sorcery accusations had to proclaim their innocence and then perform a ritual backroll while naked to underpin their claim. We will return to this in Chapter 3.15: 'Ideas around existential personhood', where we will discuss sorcery as an internalised aspect of an hypothetical individual Dghwedè psychology of the late pre-colonial past.

Table 6b: Group sites and communal places of ritual function across Dghwedè

Ward name	Place or site name	Ritual function
Korana Basa	<i>Gwal Zigafte</i>	
	<i>Kur Tva</i>	
	<i>Fred ga Kurana</i>	Presumably a place for descendants of Kurana
	<i>Kwir ga Kurana</i>	Presumably a shrine fo descendants of Kurana
Ghwa'a	<i>Gwatadhe</i>	Communal praying ground for good health and good community development. For example to pray for a high birth rate. If the sacrifice was not made, a low birth rate would have been the potential negative outcome
	<i>Fred Ghatike</i>	Public swearing, cursing, and outcasting place
	<i>Igawude</i>	Also mainly an public outcasting place
	<i>Fkagh ga Maruwa</i>	The main place for all sorts of communal celebrations in Ghwa'a
	<i>Dgatha Ghuzuve</i>	In the case of misfortune in the community, the person identified as being responsible for the misfortune had to arrange a sacrifice at this place
	<i>Giga dzata</i>	For lineage called <i>gagwagh drawa</i> (unknown) [perhaps it was for the most numerous lineage known as 'Dzata' as discussed in Chapter 3.21]
	<i>Gagh drawa</i>	Somehow connected with <i>gagwah drawa</i>
Takweshe	<i>Khalal Takweshe</i>	Presumably a lineage shrine (<i>khalale</i>)
Hembe	<i>Ngalewe</i>	Perhaps a shrine for Hembe-Ngalewe?
	<i>Fakagh Hula'a</i>	
	<i>Khalal Gaghwire</i>	Presumably a shrine (<i>khalale</i>) for Ghwire lineage
	<i>Khalal Gazamba</i>	Presumably a lineage shrine (<i>khalale</i>)
	<i>Kwir Wa'a</i>	
Gathaghure	<i>Madisa ga Ghwinde</i>	Function unknown
	<i>Ngurangura ga Gaza</i>	Function unknown
	<i>Khalal ga Mahe</i>	Presumably a lineage shrine (<i>khalale</i>)

Two of the places listed for Ghwa'a also played a role during adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), and we invite the reader to look at Chapter 3.14: 'Becoming an accomplished male'. For example, Fkagh ga Maruwa was the place where the *ngwa hamtiwe*, the four-day dance, was performed (the initial stage of *dzum zugune*), and we will learn more about that in the relevant chapter. The other place was Fkagh Gwatadhe. This was where the *ngwa garda*, the second

stage of *dzum zugune*, a downhill race, was started (see Figure 22). *Fkagh* is a reference to a flat place, and while *Fkagh ga Maruwa* was perhaps the most important public gathering place in Ghwa'a where communal ritual celebrations often ended, *Fkagh Gwatadhe* had another ritual function which included a sacrifice to avoid a low birth rate.

According to Zakriya Kwire and dada Dga, the sacrifice at Gwatadhe to promote human fertility was where a stone (presumably a distinctive rock) was found in a grove nearby. They explained that the purpose of the stone was only to make children grow fat, but inside the grove was a stone circle. The sacrifice started with he-goats, and the following year a bull. They would lead the animal three times around the grove before sacrificing it. In the past, water was found there. They put something into the water and animals would drink it to give more milk. Young men would ask Gwatadhe to give them a girl to marry, while married women and men asked for children. Women after menopause and aging men would ask for better mobility to harvest their guinea corn. Unmarried boys and girls made armlets of fresh leaves of the plant *ndarika*, also called *mbodahlaka* (translation of both these names is unknown to us), before they stood in front of the stone or rock which was part of the earlier mentioned grove.

Also inside Gwatadhe was a certain kind of *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*), and people made rings from it to tie it around their heads. The narrative is that there was one man by the name Ruwa who was responsible for the sacrifice at Gwatadhe, but he had no children. He and his wives asked why this was, since he was responsible for the sacrifice at this famous place. After the next sacrifice his wives began to have children. The man Ruwa also asked for wives for his lineage mates to marry, to increase the local lineage population.

Dada Dga told us there was once a severe fire, and that people from the Mafa area asked the people of Ghwa'a to sacrifice at *Fkagh ga Maruwa* since all sorts of unfortunate entities and energies had fled from that place due to the fire. John said he remembered that during that year there was a region-wide outbreak of cholera. We think that the Mafa must have seen the fire from the Moskota massif on the other side of the intramountainous plain. We know that this was where the Vreke clan lived. We will learn later, in the chapter about the bull festival, that the Vreke were famous for their powerful clan medicine against diseases and plagues, which throws additional light on the narrative above (see Chapter 3.13). Altogether we can see from these few examples that public places of worship were deeply embedded into the Dghwedé belief system, in which the mountainous environment and prevention of misfortune appear as an integrated and interactive entity.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown us how important places of ritual interest outside the house are for the Dghwedé. Apart from lineage shrines (*khalale*) based on independent lineage sections, which we think existed for most if not all settlement units, there was also the large regional landmark shrine Durghwe. Because of its subregional and overall cosmological importance, we will present Durghwe later in a dedicated chapter in Part Three. Other shrines or places are connected with outcasting, or serve general health aspects, and are often linked to reproductive themes. Others again are dancing grounds, or played a role in the context of certain performance aspects of the various stages of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). We pointed out how important it is to further contextualise our ethnographic understanding about shrines with the wider framework, not only of the social organisation of the Dghwedé, but also with the mindset of individuals as actors, and will exemplify this further in a dedicated chapter about the Dghwedé concept of existential personhood.

We have particularly emphasised the role of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) as the priest for lineage shrines (*khalale*). We are not sure how the custodianship of the shrines might have changed over time, and we have failed to pinpoint the precise geographical location of all the places of ritual interest listed in Figure 6b. Nevertheless, we have hopefully been able to

establish how important those places were for the sense of identity and belonging, and also in terms of local group formation. In the context of that, it was not only the ritual management of the territorial aspect which was key, but also the spiritual and gender aspect of human reproduction linked to femininity and water. We further addressed the importance of the sequential ritual order in which a lineage priest had to first carry out sacrifices of his own house as a place of worship before he could serve the lineage shrine of the local group.

In the next chapter we will introduce our reader to the basics of how the Dghwedè interacted, not only ritually, but also physically in terms of the social division of labour as part of their agricultural system. We will learn about the structure of a traditional farm layout, and social arrangements of working the land in practice. Thus we will be confronted with many lists about soils, trees and other assets of the Dghwedè subsistence economy, to reconstruct a vision of a possible late pre-colonial past. We will see the importance of technological change, when for example we describe the transformation of their bi-annual calendar resulting from the introduction of chemical fertiliser.

Chapter 3.10

Working the terraced land

Introduction

The practice of terrace cultivation on the hillsides had brought about a way of life that was different from that of similar societies in the adjacent plains. The main difference lay of course in the mountain environment itself, which invited the building of agricultural terraces, but there was also the factor of regular soil improvement by the use of animal manure. This had led to a labour-intensive agriculture which, other than shifting crops, involved the same piece of land being cultivated for generations. In the past this meant keeping livestock for dung production, in the context of which the leasing out of cows became crucial. There was also intensive tree cultivation and certain traditional ways of leasing out trees as well as terraced land. In this chapter we will go through all the different aspects of working the land, starting with a short introduction to the general farm layout, followed by types of terraces and soils, and the socio-economic changes which came about as a result of modernisation.

We will show how iron production was socio-economically linked to the production of manure, in that people who had the skill of iron production often used the profit to invest in more cows than they needed. In the context of this, we will not only discuss the overall importance of livestock and the leasing out of cows in exchange for manure, but also how the introduction of chemical fertiliser brought about a structural change in the way the social division of labour had once operated. We will discuss changes in leasing out land and trees, and distinguish this from how the land was leased out in the past, for example to pay a son's bridewealth. We will discuss the progression from traditional leasing of land and trees, to a new system of short-leasing which came in increasingly from the plains while I was working there in the 1990s.

In the context of this, we will show how in modern times the system of short-leasing brought about a reversal of the former significance of the cultivation of guinea corn over that of millet. We will discuss this as being an important cultural transformation, since it highlights the end of the ritual significance of guinea corn, and the cultural consequences of how manure production had been integrated into the cosmological belief system of the past. We have already discussed the seasonal interaction with the mountain environment embedded in the calendrical sequences, and how they were all ritually linked to the bi-annual calendar of crop rotation.

We will develop our oral historical narrative, and continue to present the oral accounts of the Dghwede friends John and I interviewed together, and include John's memories as a former terrace farmer. Following a discussion of these presentations, we will show lists of the agricultural plants the Dghwede knew about and used. We will produce lists of useful trees, including a special section on euphorbia trees for fencing, as well as a list of useful grasses, a list of weeds, and a list of vermin. Finally we will discuss some of the already mentioned clan medicines used to increase the productivity of crops and animals.

General model of Dghwede farm layout

The Dghwede generally distinguished between *susiye* (bushland) and *kla pana* (farmland). *Kla* means 'to break' and *pana* means 'stalk' of guinea corn or millet, and *kla pana* refers to cultivated land under more or less continuous cultivation. The most important fields were those near the houses, which in the past they regularly kept manured. We will see in the next section about terraces and soils that their idea of farming was comprehensive and did not only rely on the natural quality of soils. Instead they took care of the land they had inherited and

Also, the distribution of fields is very simplified, as is the distribution between fallow land (*susiye*), cultivated bushfields (*siye*) and cultivated outer terrace fields (*kla pana*). We can imagine that the cultivated bushland (*siye*) was often less terraced, while the outer fields (*kla pana*), despite consisting of cultivated and fallow land, formed the terrace fields away from the houses. Below are photographs taken at the time to illustrate wider views of types of terraced hillsides. Concerning the actual coverage of fields and their related ownership, we also need to acknowledge that our model is possibly not geographically representative of the size of cultivated land (*kla pana*), which here is linked to five nuclear families and their respective infields. The number of fields visible under the designation of both *kla pana* and *siye* do not have equivalence to the five owners, which means that the model presented in Figure 17 is indeed very schematic.

Near the hamlet
with its houses
and infields, we
have *kla pana*,
and further away
we have *susiye*.
We see they both
show cultivated

and fallow land. This means that further away, but still nearer to the 'stomach of a settlement', was firstly *kla pana* (outer terrace fields) as the more developed 'cultivated land', and further away still was *susiye*. We translate *susiye* to mean 'uncultivated bushland' even though parts were used as bush fields (*siye*). All three types of land listed here were generally referred to as *gwihe*, meaning 'farmland'. Our very schematic illustration includes the agglomeration of the farmsteads into *gwihe*, and therefore we think the word also means 'farm' in general. It would be misleading however to think of it as a farm with connected farmland outside a hamlet and its infields. *Kla pana* in particular, but also *susiye*, would surely in reality have been more spread out across a hillside and beyond, while the infields (*vde*) were always closely linked to the farmsteads.

Plate 15a: View over terrace fields of Ghwa'a from Durghwe, with house platforms visible



Plate 15b: *Kla pana* fields in the foreground (the valley of Kunde in the background)



We need to imagine that hamlets, as the smallest settlement units, were not necessarily formed of the extended family homes of 'sons' of the same grandfather (*jije*), but that they most likely consisted of much less closely related neighbours who had sections of *kla pana* land spread apart, even in more than one neighbourhood. People might also have leased out

some of their farmland, as we learn later. For instance I remember being told about conflicts over land rights after an area had been farmed by someone else for a generation or more.

Unfortunately we did not study the land ownership of local neighbourhoods in great detail, but we know from our Mafa study (Muller-Kosack 2003) that, as a rule of thumb, montagnard neighbourhoods often had a socio-spatial structure in which members of one extended family would all live in one ward or a lineage ward nearby. Transferred to Dghwede, this potentially implied that families living in Ghwa'a or Kunde would have had a different reach in terms of the distance of their farms, because Kunde had developed after Ghwa'a, but both belonged to the same lineage section which we know went back to Thakara as their shared ancestor. We do not know whether the Washile-Thakara descendants of Kunde still owned farmland in Taghadigile and Ghwa'a, even though this is how they had locally expanded. We will see in Chapter 3.18 that the system of inheritance favours the seventh born, and that his rights can be passed on across several generations. This means that the priority is for land to be passed along the lines of a system of seventh born (*thaghaya*), which presumably concentrates land assets accordingly across lineage wards. And at the same time, someone who was not a member of any of the major local lineage sections, but who had moved there from outside, might still own cultivated land in the ward where his family originated.

Plate 15c: View of Kunde, with newly cultivated bushland (*siye*) in valley bottom



Plate 15d: Gathaghure in background with greener areas, which mark hamlets and infields



We know from our Mafa study that local micro-migration increased after the 1980s, but in the case of Dghwedè we do not have similar source materials on the spatial development of small-scale mobility. If we adhere to our earlier conclusion that manure production was essential for keeping farmland constantly under cultivation, perhaps it was not so easy to move animal dung produced in and around the house to the outer fields. This logistical aspect also applied in the past if cows were leased out, because whoever was looking after them would be able to use the manure to keep his infields under cultivation. We know that the word *kla pana* literally means 'corn stalk', and that it relates to the labour-intensive making of fertile soils behind terrace walls, but the number of fields marked as fallow in Figure 17 is only a schematic illustration. We can only speculate as to whether fallow land was related to a lack of sufficient manure, or whether it was the result of the distance between infields (*vde*) and outer fields (*kla pana*), not to mention the bush fields (*siye*).

That most manure was brought out near the house can be linked semantically to the literal meaning of the word *thaghaya* as a reference to the seventh-born son. *Tha* means cow and *ghaya* is the word for house, and the combined meaning can be interpreted to refer to the importance of keeping the infields fertile by the good luck represented by a seventh-born son. If we include the spatial aspect of inheritance across several generations of the lucky inheritance rights of the seventh-born son, we must also include the bad luck of the eighth-born child (see Chapter 3.18) who in the past was outcast or fell victim to infanticide. At this point we want only to stress the spatial impact of the privileged inheritance rights of the seventh born across generations. His entitlement presumably not only held farmland together, but also meant that all his older brothers had to start their own farms. The spread of the Vaghagaya lineages is a good example of this. This and the strategy of continuously manuring the infields produced the best land where houses agglomerated into local neighbourhoods of farmsteads.

We will see later in Chapter 3.22, in the section dealing with classifications, that the Dghwedè had different ritual regimes concerning crops harvested from bush fields and those cultivated in outer and house fields. At this point, we notice that the word *susiye* for bushland not only meant uncultivated land, but that it could also be used to refer to fallow land (*siye*). We think that this meant that 'cultivated land' was first of all indeed a reference to terrace fields, while bushland, or *susiye*, was not. However, if cultivated land fell fallow, meaning it became like uncultivated bushland, it might have naturally recovered faster if it had been cultivated or manured at some time before. John used the expression *gwihe ce ghe* (farmland of mine), and referred as such first of all to the infields or house fields (*vde*) and the outer fields (*kla pana*), and only secondly to his bush fields (*siye*). Uncultivated bushland (*susiye*) mattered less in terms of land ownership and inheritance rights, but it was important for haymaking during the rainy season and grassing animals during the dry season.

We reached a similar conclusion after being told that if a man had much *gwihe*, he did not need *siye*. It meant that the distance to the house was too far to regularly bring out manure. Only if there was not enough 'cultivated land' available would a man use his bushland to cultivate his crops. If new bush fields were needed for cultivation, a man started clearing parts of his bushland (*susiye*) very early on, and then hoed it one or two months before the planting began. This was referred to as *dhal susiye* and meant as much as 'hoeing uncultivated land during the dry season'. On the other hand, if a man did not have bush fields to prepare, he just needed to clear his 'cultivated land' (*kla pana*). This included rearranging the terrace walls, which was exclusively man's work.

Our model does not show enough trees, and that we only put one palm tree next to each house does not sufficiently illustrate the fact that useful trees could be found in much greater concentration inside settlement areas. We therefore need to imagine a much higher density of useful trees as an integrated part of the house fields, and in the next section we will first present our oral sources on terrace fields in general and the quality of soils. In a later chapter section we will see photographic evidence of useful trees and grasses. We will learn that Dghwedè terrace farmers had to walk long distances, not only to collect grasses for the

locked-up animals during the rainy season, but also for many other requirements related to the subsistence economy. By discussing the different types of agricultural terraces and soils, we will become even more aware of how important dung production was in the past for the lasting sustainability of their subsistence resource management system.

Terraces and soils

During an interview in Ghwa'a in September 1995, I was told that farming on the hills was considered to be more productive because beans, guinea corn, millet, tigernuts and other crops grew better in the hills than in the plains. My friends explained that they were very accustomed to hill farming, and there were many things they could not cultivate in the plains, such as tigernuts, which in the plains were often destroyed by termites. Neither was Eleusine (*rata*) cultivated in the plains, nor traditional yams. Yams grow much smaller in the mountains but they have more branches and grow deeper. I loved mountain yams because they had such a pleasant bitter undertaste and were altogether quite succulent.

It was explained to me that in the past there had been a lot of trouble in the plains, especially fighting between them and the Matakam (Mafa), and that they captured each other as slaves. It was also because of their farmlands on the plains that they used to give tribute to Wandala. The terraces were built by their forefathers and they had continued building them until the present day. The horses of the slave raiders were able to climb the hills but could not descend because of the terraces. Seeing the terraces as security features against slavery attacks in the hills, adds to what we already know from Part Two, such as the watchman system that alerted people farming in the plains to run back up should the Wandala approach on their horses.

The terraces helped to maintain fertility because the terrace system did not allow water to remove the goodness of the soils. There was also more rain in the hills. If there was not enough, or too much rain, they had the Gaske rainmaker to deal with it. Below is the Dghwede word for land fertility and types of terraces, followed by a list of words used to describe the various soils:

- *gube* = refers to the general fertility of the land
- *ghardha* = general word for terrace
- *sawa* = high terrace
- *dugh ltha* = small terrace (*dugh* = small portion of land; *ltha* = building a terrace)

Dghwede had a lot of high terraces, many being more than one metre high. They mostly followed the natural shape of a hillside, but we also often found very small and rather flat terraces in very rocky and even less suitable areas. It seems that almost every small portion of a hillside was seen as potentially suitable for terrace agriculture.

Farming in the hills, I was told in Hembe, needed terraces, whereas they were not needed in the plains. In other words, it was the environment of the mountains that created the need, but additional reasons were given to me. For example, to help to retain the water in the terraces one would put more soil towards the edges so that the water would run slightly back and therefore be kept within the terraces. It was explained that in this way the fertility would sink into the terrace and would not be washed away by the rain. This strengthens our hypothesis that the creation of fertility was a technological matter.

Still, the Dghwede did classify natural soils, which is demonstrated by the following list of soils underlying the terrace system, given to me in 1995 in Ghwa'a:

- *hay kurde* (*hay* = soil; *kurde* = soft) meaning a soft, but not sandy soil
- *zighe* = sand
- *klala* = soils near rocks, where soils are not so deep
- *hay ribithe* = clay soils
- *fri'a* = completely rocky and not suitable for farming

- *kaw zighe* = sandy soil (*kwa* qualifies it as being not just sand)
- *dalba* = soil where water gathers (it is black soil, similar to a vertisol)
- *tshakwa* = soil with high contents of eroded rock

We were informed that all soils were considered to be good, and that the quality depended first of all on the care taken to develop them behind the terrace walls. This statement not only shows the importance of manure, but also explains why the most limited amount of space could be used to make small terraces (*dugh ltha*) for mountain farming.

This view was confirmed by bulama Ghdaka of Hembe, who listed the following soils:

- *hay tshakwa* soils with high contents of eroded rock
- *hay kurde* soft soils (not sandy)
- *kaw zhighe* sandy soils
- *hay ribithe* clay soils

When asked which was the best soil, he confirmed what we had already learned in Ghwa'a, namely that all soils were good and it would depend on the care taken of them. We queried that by asking whether some farmland was naturally *gube* (fertile), and were told that it would depend on whether they were fertilised. In that context, our friend distinguished between dung (*vara*) and modern fertiliser (*vara ga yude* = fertiliser of the white man). We can conclude from this statement that *vara*, animal manure, was in pre-colonial and early colonial times the only manure available.

We subsequently explored the different parts of Dghwedé and their predominant natural soils, by comparing our results from Hembe with people from Hudimche:

Hay tshakwa starts in the lower parts of Gathaghure up to Ghwa'a and Kunde, including Hembe, then down to the plain. Hudimche is *hay tshakwa* and the red soil on the way up to Kwalika is also *hay tshakwa*. Korana Basa and Korana Kwandama have mainly *hay ribithe*, while the upper parts of Gathaghure and Gharaza have *hay kurde*. In some areas, in particular on top of a massif, one often finds a mixture of *hay tshakwa*, *kurde* and *ribithe*, while *kaw zighe* is rather found along with the lower parts of mountains. Between the foothills and the plains, one finds predominantly *hay kurde*.

My protagonists also knew about the distribution of soils in the adjacent plains, and pointed out that the Gwoza plain was a mixture of *hay ribithe* and *hay tshakwa*. With regard to the intramountainous eastern plain, we would find *hay ribithe* at its southern and northern ends, while in the middle, as far north as Arbokko, *kaw zhighe* was the dominant soil, but towards Kughum we would find *dalba*.

Back in the mountains, I was told by my friends that manure was put on the farmland where they settled. If the farmland nearby was fertile enough, they would carry the manure further away, but still not too far from home. People could build their house anywhere, my friends claimed, and there was not so much a preferred soil in terms of farming when they were looking for a suitable place. Instead, one would always look where one could find clay, either by digging deep or on the surface, because clay was essential for building a house.

We will discuss later how the terrain of a hamlet (*khudi luwa* or 'stomach of a settlement') was shaped across a hillside over generations, consisting of the platforms for the houses and their farmyards, and the stairs and pathways connecting the various topographical levels with the infields. In our two dedicated chapters about the house, we not only explore this, but also how the metaphorical term *khudi* for 'stomach' was applied to the ritual centre in the foyer of a house. There was an aesthetic interplay between the cosmological and labour-intensive dimensions of food production in the tough semi-arid mountain environment, and their ritual and architectural representations will be described.

Concerning the importance of manure, my friends again pointed out to me that in the past animal manure was used, but in those days only rich people had animals from which to obtain manure. Therefore many people borrowed animals and reared them for their owners in order

to get manure for their farmlands. Compared with shifting cultivation in the plains, in the hills it would depend more on how one took care of the farmland, but in the hills one could leave farmland for a while so it would regain fertility. For that one needed enough farmland, which was not the case, and my friends told me that this was exactly the reason why they took such great care of the farmland, so that it would remain fertile for generations.

In the past, the ashes of iron production were also used to keep the land fertile, but that was never sufficient. Only three things could fertilise the land: dung produced by cattle, goats and sheep, and as the fourth option, modern fertiliser. As we have already pointed out, the change from animal manure to chemical fertiliser had huge socio-economic implications, something we attempt to address in the next two chapter sections. We do that by firstly looking at more recent changes regarding the social division of labour, and also changes in the more distant past such as iron production. The latter was not only crucial as a technology for tool making, but was also a way of generating individual wealth.

Men and women and other arrangements

Also in 1995, we conducted an interview with bulama Bala of Korana Kwandame and some local elders, about the social division of labour, particularly between men and women. Large parts of the interview are copied below, because it shows with great authenticity the way bulama Bala explained the ins and outs of how this was organised in general. This time we have not made any annotated comments, but present the interview more or less as it was translated into English at the time with the help of John.

Bulama Bala and elders of Korana Kwandame (1995):

When it is time for planting early in the morning the husband gets up very early to go to the farm, while the women prepare food to carry to him later. If there are children old enough [about 12 onwards] they leave with the father, but if they have a daughter who can already prepare food, the mother goes with the father earlier.

In the evening the women leave the farm earlier than the husband, to cut firewood to take home. When she comes home she will go and fetch water. She starts grinding and prepares [together with her potential co-wives] food for the evening. The husband leaves the farm later and will cut some grass for the animals in case they are already tied up.

With respect to planting, women can plant anything, but there are a few plants women only can plant. These are tigernuts, lady's fingers (*ngabe* = okra), and only women plant eleusine (*rata*). If there is no woman in the house, a man can plant these things himself. Generally speaking, plants mainly used to make soup or sauce are only planted by women.

Maize around the house is often planted by children and *mbithe* [Hausa: *kabaiwa*]. Elderly women or elderly men scatter tobacco seeds behind the house, and after germination they transplant them.

Menstruation does not affect women doing the planting unless they feel unwell themselves. Only when they give birth are they kept in seclusion for one or two weeks. They are not allowed to do anything during that period. They only cook then for themselves. That was only in the past and it is now that boys from the age of 12 onwards go to Maiduguri to find jobs to earn money, like farming for others, cutting firewood, or working for butchers and selling meat.

The work for women is the same during the planting as well as the hoeing season. Only after the second hoeing is over do women gather leaves for a soup to dry and store for future consumption. They also go and cut and store firewood in the bush. During the same period, the men cut grasses and dry it into hay. They also cut grasses for roofing. In this period between the end of the second hoeing and the harvest, they see a blacksmith to get sickles and diggers from iron and wood (*tka*) to dig tigernuts. It is women who dig them.

Before harvest, an elderly man will sacrifice a he-goat or a lamb. The contents of the stomach will be thrown into the corn or millet field. The name of the sacrifice is *tswila gharghaya* (sacrifice on a hill near the house). Women cook the meat and there is a meal but no beer.

Any woman can brew beer for sacrifice, even a woman from outside your house. A man does not

brew beer. The women are not allowed to taste beer while they are brewing. During menstruation, women call somebody to brew beer on their behalf only if they feel physically unwell.

During harvest, everybody helps cutting, but for transporting only the younger ones who are still strong carry the harvest home, women as well as men. If there is much to carry you often call for help. Women however have to stay away when the guinea corn is taken to the temporary storage facility. Women can put millet onto the drying roof but they are not allowed to climb up.

Before threshing, there is *duf dala*, a sacrifice. After that, there is *har gwazgafte*, which includes throwing stomach contents onto the storing facility with the guinea corn. The next day the threshing starts. If you have a full store [of guinea corn] and you do not perform these rituals before threshing, the husband will die. While these sacrifices are performed the rest of the family must be indoors and people outside are not allowed to enter or to talk to him. The road to the house will have to be closed by thorns beforehand.

For animals, there is *huba* (*Urginea maritima*). This plant is put into water and the mouth of the goats and sheep are put into that water. This increases the reproductive capacity of animals and is done on the day when they are released back to the fields after harvest, but before threshing.

During threshing, the men make baskets, *kulge*, for carrying the unthreshed sorghum or millet to the threshing ground. It is men who put the guinea corn into the basket while the women carry it. The men do the threshing. After threshing, the women come to separate the chaff by using calabash and basket (*tughba*). After separating the chaff the men carry the guinea corn or millet to the granary. The work of children during threshing is to collect corn that has fallen outside and to look after small children.

After threshing, the women bring the corn stock of harvested guinea corn home. The women weave *tughba* baskets. They also go for cutting firewood. A man will cut grasses for roofing the house. They also produce rope (*za'a*) for roofing. If women produce rope, their husbands will die. Even if the husband is ill he would not make ropes. However, widows can make rope. Women are not allowed to roof but can carry the guinea corn stock to the roofing men.

Taking the manure from home to the farmland is the work of women but men can help. Dung builds up in the stable during the rainy season and is taken out [into the fields] after harvest, [still] during the dry season. The manure from a bull or cow is removed [from the stables] through a window by the men and is stored behind the window so it can rain on it. It is stored there until the dry season when the women carry the manure to the terrace fields.

During preparation for planting, about one or two months before planting, if a man has farmland he did not use, he will clear it and start hoeing it in the dry season. This is called *dhal susiye* (*susiye* = fallow land; *dhal* = 1st hoeing in the dry season). If you do not have fallow land you clear your already used farmland (*kla pana*). Arranging and maintaining terraces is man's work.

The above account shows an ideal way of how working the land was once shared within terrace farming families. It starts by showing the flexibility for women to stay at home during the planting period, for instance when there were children mature enough to help out. A teenage boy would accompany the father while an older girl could replace the mother at home. There were certain plants only cultivated by women, in particular tigernuts, okra and eleusine, and also plants used to make soup. Because by then teenage boys might be going to work in Maiduguri (or Yola), there were changes, and women held a bigger responsibility. This involved tasks they would not have carried out before the change, and it presumably also included daughters after a certain age embracing the same changes.

We learned that women were not excluded from planting during menstruation, but when it came to preparing food they were if unwell. We also learned that a woman was excluded when it came to putting the harvest in the storage facility for drying. In the context of that, this was handled even more strictly when it was a guinea corn year. In this case they were excluded from threshing but were allowed to separate the chaff from the corn. Only men could put the guinea corn or millet into the granary. We also see that the making of ropes for roof-making were solely the jobs of men, and breaking that rule would have meant that the husband might die. On the other hand, bringing the manure out to the fields seems to be a task specifically allocated to women.

Our friends also referred to the *duf dala* ritual, which we know consisted of sorghum beer and was only performed by those family men who could not afford to sacrifice a he-goat. Bulama Bala also mentioned the 'slaughtering for God' ritual (*har gwazgafte*), and the *tswila* ritual consisting of the throwing of guts of a sacrificed he-goat into the field ready to be harvested. He speaks of *tswila gharghaya*, which indicates it was carried out on the hillside near the house. It also indicates that the throwing of guts (*tswila*) was perhaps primarily executed to the infields, which we know received the greatest amount of animal manure. We learn later that *tswila thagla*, the throwing of guts as part of the harvest festival (*thagla*), was not as essential as *tikwa thagla*, that is any liquid being libated over the three ancestor stones on the eve of the harvest festival (see Chapter 3.13).

Plate 16a: Rope making by men in Dzga (1998)



The oral account refers to the nuclear family, consisting of a father with his wives and children, as the corporate base unit of a farmstead. I frequently saw women and men working alone during the hoeing period, especially in the outer fields. Some were elderly, which points to great social flexibility in managing the seasons among generations. However certain tasks, such as harvesting and threshing, were organised in more collective ways, and included people from other local families, as is shown in Plate 16a and 16b.

Plate 16b: Women in Ghwa'a plant tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*)



In another interview in Korana

Basa (1995), we were told that in the past there was certain help for farming in the neighbourhood, and some for harvesting. The type of help to gather in number was called:

- *zmana* (was for farming only, not only including relatives)
- *thakha gave* (was if only three or four relatives came to help with farming, whereby the owner of the farm might compensate them with some guinea corn or millet. Sometimes they would prepare beer to drink after farming)
- *wusa dughwe* (was when your son-in-law would gather people to come to help with farming. Beer was provided)

We see from these three types of assistance that the Dghwedë distinguished between collective labour organisation, which only consisted of a small number of relatives, and assistance including relatives and neighbours. However we do not know whether the non-relatives would be neighbours or people from further away. The third one is the son-in-law who gathers people to help his father-in-law's family, which we mention again in Chapter 3.20: 'Past ways of marrying in Dghwedë', but overall we do not have much oral data on this subject.

Not only was the making of agricultural tools essential

The making of iron tools was the most important technological invention of the Dghwedë, enabling them to carry out their hard agricultural labour. We do not know when the smelting of iron in furnaces stopped, but are sure that the highly developed technique described below was still practised during late pre-colonial times. This oral account gives us a good insight into the Dghwedë way of making iron, which also formed a subsistence investment policy.

Bulama Bala and elders (1995) Korana Kwandame:

In making hoes or sickles in the rainy season women collect iron sand (*vize*). *Vize* is kept until the dry season and then made into iron through a process called *tag dutsa* (*tage* = working; *dutsa* = processed iron or iron bar). The next step is to forge (*ghdha* = smithing; *vda* = hammering into tools, forging) the processed iron into tools. New iron is available from Maiduguri but they still did the forging in the mountains.

Processing *vize* into *dutsa* is done by opening a terrace wall. Inside they mould it with clay. Now they build it up by leaving a window at the bottom, which will be closed later, and one in the middle through which they fill the furnace with charcoal and iron sand. There is another hole on top where they install the back bellows, blowing air through two tubes that go deep into the charcoal, almost near the bottom of the furnace. They close the openings and close the lower one [in such a way] that they can break into the furnace easier later on. Towards the end they check, and if the inside of the furnace glows almost white they stop blowing [the bag bellows]. Later they remove the iron bloom [through the bottom hole].

Now they separate the slag from the iron and make another smaller oven which is round and not very high and made of clay, with two tubes entering and a back bellows attached, and they fill it with the smelted iron, and charge charcoal again and heat it again. After this they take it out and forge it on a stone into *dutsa* (iron bars). From this they cut iron to make tools. People were specialists in forging iron tools out of *dutsa*. They were called *gwal vda* (*gwal* = people; *vda* = forging) but they intermarried with everybody. Processing the iron sand into *dutsa* was done by almost everybody during the dry season.




Before turning *vize* into *dutsa* they went cutting trees to produce charcoal (*ghuvare*). They burned the cut trees by gathering the pieces and setting fire to them. When it burned they covered it with sand so that it did not turn into ashes. Before processing iron they invited people to carry the charcoal home. They were doing that, making charcoal and processing iron, before the clearing of the land for planting.

Those who processed lots of *dutsa* would become quite wealthy. They could buy lots of cows (9 *dutsa* was one cow) and could marry several wives. Anybody could make charcoal. If you did not have enough trees on your farm or bushland you could ask a neighbour to do it on his farm. As compensation, you provided *dutsa* or an iron tool. Women did not participate in cutting trees or burning charcoal, but by carrying it home.

This example shows that smelting iron was quite a profitable industry, open to anyone who wanted it, and that it served as a means to invest in livestock, particularly cows. We also see that the technique involved two steps in processing from the collected laterite sand into a bloom. The first one was in a bigger furnace, with bag bellows on top and tubes reaching deep down in the charged mixture of charcoal and iron sand. In this way the air was preheated in the tubes before it reached the mixture. The second step used the iron that had fewer

impurities, which they had smashed out of the first bloom before being smelted again with charcoal.

Unfortunately we do not have data on how this affected tree cultivation. We also wonder how old this industry was. After all, Kirawa was nearby, and we learned from our chapter on the historical importance of the Wandala, that it was a centre for iron trade in the late 16th century, as was reported by Anania (Lange & Berthoud 1972). If we consult our Table of Contemporaneity and Figure 16, we recognise this as a period of significant aridity and a time we hypothetically allocated to 'Johode' as an early arrival zone. We mentioned in Part Two that the iron trade was most likely not trans-Saharan but more regional during that earlier pre-colonial period, and a pre-Ghwa'a iron industry might well have been part of that trade.

<p>Plate 17a: Charcoal from a sack</p> 	<p>These three photographs show an improvised field forge that I came across in 1995. Our illustration demonstrates that the men operating it were familiar with the process of forging a hoe:</p> <p>Plate 17a to the left shows that our friends brought their charcoal along in a sack. Two of them are about to cook a meal while a third man watches.</p> <p>In Plate 17b below, we see two of the men processing pieces of scrap iron in an improvised field forge with help of bag bellows. The latter was operated by the man with the cap sitting in the upper right-hand corner of the photograph.</p> <p>Plate 17c shows the anvil consisted of a rock, and that the three men are using stones to hammer the red-hot iron into shape. It was held and turned into the correct position by a fourth man using a pair of tongs.</p>
<p>Plate 17b: Improved oven with bellows</p> 	<p>Plate 17c: Still smithing with stones</p> 

A scenario described above would have impacted the tree population, especially considering that there might have been a demand for iron bars (*dutsa*). If they were also used for tribute payments to keep the Wandala from slave raiding, we can imagine that producing iron bars

was a means of survival in the hills. This would explain the technological sophistication of the two furnace system and the two tubes, which allowed high temperatures to be reached. I already knew the preheated tube system from the neighbouring Mafa. It is possible that the two-step furnace process with preheated tubes was a technological development already known in our subregion before the expansion of the Mafa. After all, Ghwa'a as an early arrival zone of groups from Tur was very close to Kirawa, which was a recognised trade centre during the late 16th century, as was reported by Anania (1582). To produce enough iron bars for making hoes and sickles to use for the labour-intensive terrace farming must have been a key requirement in those days, and production of a surplus for tribute and individual wealth creation might have increased the ambition. Only archaeological digging might one day answer that question.

The possibility of a shared subregional background scenario as described above would have changed again during the 17th century, when a long wet period established a presumably prosperous late pre-colonial Dghwedè (see Figure 16). If we assume that the number of trees increased for making charcoal, and that the population grew in number, leading to an increase in iron production and as a consequence an increase in livestock, it means we have important hypothetical reasons why the Dghwedè might have become quite prosperous during that period. That manure and iron production was socio-economically interlinked becomes far more apparent in the next chapter section on the importance of livestock.

Iron was not only important as a potential payment of tribute in the context of regional trade, making the mountains a stable place to dwell, but its production was necessary in making sufficient tools for terrace farming. That everyone could produce iron was certainly a socio-economic advantage, which might also be reflected in the promotion of competitiveness as presented later in the chapter on adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). The ability to store three granaries full of crops to secure household sustainability must have proven very useful while the increasingly cyclical stages of climate change were unfolding throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. We remember from Figure 16 the intermittent twenty or thirty years of very arid and humid periods, which set the palaeoclimatic background to the reconstruction of the pre-colonial phases of the unfolding Dghwedè culture.

The importance of livestock

We already know how important livestock was for the production of manure in keeping the terrace fields fertile. In the section on terraces and soils, we learned that it was not so much the type of soil that mattered, but the care a farmer took to make his land fertile. In that way, any soil was good, as long as it could be contained behind terrace walls and made into 'cultivated land' (*kla pana*) by manuring and farming it. Livestock was essential for that.

Bulama Bala (1995) explained that the tying of animals came after planting, when the crops started germinating in the fields. Everyone would keep their animals indoors and release them again after the new harvest. If there were children, preferably boys, they could help with the cutting of grasses for the animals. Women and girls traditionally did not do this.

In Korana Basa (September 1995), I was told that in the olden days there was no eating of meat outside of a ceremonial or ritual context, unless the animal died. In the past, if a cow or bull died, they exchanged the meat with their neighbours for guinea corn, millet or beans. There were more animals in the past than in the present day, and almost everybody reared them. The main problem in those days was the death of animals. Epidemics could sometimes wipe out all the animals from a household, because epidemics were more common in those days. If something like that happened during *har ghwe* (sacrificial slaughter for a deceased father), they would only take one he-goat for the eldest of the group to sacrifice, and he would celebrate his *har ghwe* on behalf of the rest.

In the olden days they reared mainly:

- Cattle
- Goats
- Sheep
- Chickens

The bull was only used for the bull festival. He-goats were used for sacrificing to the deceased father and grandfather, known as *har ghwe* and *har jije*, and for more personal sacrifices in a room (*har batiwe*). This could be a sacrifice to a personal spirit, or 'god pot' for a child or the father of the house. Such a spirit pot was called *sakgharkhfire*, which means 'pot on top of your head where you sleep'. We will describe this particular pot later, in the chapters about the house as a place of worship, and further discuss the belief in personal gods as spirit agents in the chapter about the concept of personhood. We do not want to repeat here all the other ritual occasions when mainly he-goats were sacrificed, but we know that they were once linked to the slaughtering period following the harvest and threshing of guinea corn. It started with the guts of the stomach being thrown into the crops before they were harvested and ended with the closing ritual *har khagwa* after *har ghwe* and *har jije* had been performed. *Har khagwa* required a sacrifice from parts of both the he-goats previously sacrificed to the mentioned family ancestors.

We want to add two more rituals of the house here, one of which we have not yet presented. Our friends from Korana Basa mentioned *har ghaya* (*ghaya* = house), which was reportedly a continuation for the neighbours following *har gwazgafte*, the ritual related to threshing and bringing the guinea corn safely through the main entrance and into the granaries of the house. We learn later that neighbours had to stay away during that sacrifice, and we think that the subsequent slaughtering of another he-goat for the house (*har ghaya*) was for sharing the success of the completion of the process of harvesting, threshing and filling the granaries with guinea corn. The ritual applications of stomach and guts was firstly to the ripe corn still in the field, and later to its storage in front of the main entrance area where it was ready to be threshed.

Another personal sacrifice of a he-goat was *chuwila*, which was a sacrifice to prevent bad luck, or in the case of an accident or something frightening having happened to a household member. The ritual process involved swinging the living body of a he-goat or a chicken three times around the person's head before it was slaughtered. We were told by our friends from Korana Basa that chickens were used for the same rituals as goats, apart from *har ghwe*, and they added that the diviner would have the final say in whether a goat, chicken or ram was used, or even the milk from a cow. However we tend to think that chickens were perhaps used more often for rituals related to the well-being of individuals, rather than as sacrifices to the paternal family ancestors of an individual household. For the latter, it was the father of the house, and his family priests (*zal jije*) as generation mates (*skmama*) of the deceased, who were mostly responsible for calendrical ritual.

A cow was also the bride price for a good marriage (Chapter 3.20), and our friends specifically explained the past method of leasing out cows for the production of manure, which we presume was also used to befriend families with whom marriage was permitted. They did not specifically explain that it was to befriend for future marriage arrangements, but said that it was not only the consumption of meat which made domestic animals desirable, but also the need for dung as fertiliser. They explained that in the case of someone who did not have animals, he would ask someone else to lend him theirs to look after in his house, for nothing else than the manure. Someone would even offer the owner of domestic animals a payment to continuously put manure on his house fields for a good yield. We think that this included the leasing out of cows, at least this is presumably how it was once practised, as more cows were acquired as a result of the surplus production of iron bars.

Nowadays, I was told by John, it would rather be the other way around, and one would need to pay in the form of money for the privilege having someone else look after one's animals.

One reason for that change was that many people bought chemical fertiliser at the market. People were no longer interested in animal manure because they had mostly switched over to industrial fertiliser. Industrial fertiliser was considered to be more effective, and many local people came to the conclusion that the rearing of animals had become far too costly. John was of the opinion that industrial fertiliser was not sustainable because it was washed out from the terraces by the rain.

Our friends said that another reason was the increase of the human population. There was no longer so much bushland for cutting grasses. If there was bushland available, it was often very far away. Also, young people were going for town jobs in the plains, to earn money to spend in the market economy instead of producing manure for subsistence. This in turn reduced the workforce in the hills. I was informed again that people only used manure to fertilise farmlands near their houses. This of course implied that they did not use it on land far away because it was more convenient to farm as close to the house as possible. This most likely also changed with the use of chemical fertiliser, which could be brought out anywhere.

The above highlights how important distance was in maintaining the fertility of cultivated land, and it led to the labour-intensive system of terrace farming. This in turn presumably had the potential for conflict. The spatial density of the manured infields allowed for only limited expansion, because all other households nearby were doing the same. For a farmer to expand his infield would have been extremely difficult because his next-door neighbour frequently shared the same platform on a hillside settlement. We think that in the past such situations contributed to conflicts, leading to lineage expansion, as shown in the cases of the Washile in Ghwa'a and the Vaghagaya who eventually replaced Gharguze by expanding across Korana Basa.

We are not sure how many cows and new calves were released after the harvest, or whether it was mainly goats and sheep. Neither do we know very much about the rearing of animals during the dry season. Perhaps some cows were kept closer to the house and still fed with hay, but this is speculation, and perhaps they ventured to the outer fields or even to the bush. I seem to remember that it was often the job of boys to herd them there. It was pointed out to me that the rearing of animals during the dry season in areas near the Mafa of Huduwa (Figure 3) included security measures, and that the local Dghwede people took special care of them there. They arranged among themselves to watch over livestock to prevent them being stolen, especially in the border areas between settlements.

This was for the greater good, and the following expressions of collective ways of taking care of domestic animals were quoted to us in Korana Basa (1995):

- Taking care of cows and bulls in that way is called *nagh tha* (*tha* = cow; cattle) and of goats *nagh ghwe* (*ghwe* = goat).
- Taking care of animals generally is called *nagh-dgahtha* (*dgahtha* = general term for domestic animals).

Another problem with animal rearing was baboons, because they could kill a domestic animal, but we are not sure whether this would only apply to goats and sheep. There were reportedly certain parts of the local landscape where there were lots of baboons, mainly areas with rocks nearby. I have seen boys herding cows on a flat place near rocks during the early dry season. We were told that people killed baboons to protect their cattle. It was pointed out to us that they never consumed them.

John knows a lot about mountain farming because he was brought up in Ghwa'a and only left after his teenage years. In the next chapter section we present his assessment of changes in the management of livestock, land resources and trees, in a piece we wrote together in the context of my interview with him. John already held a degree in economics from the University of Maiduguri in 2006 and this assessment combines his academic and local knowledge.

John Zakariya (2006) about changes in local resource management

We start with John's views on the keeping of livestock, and continue with his accounts on changes in leasing out land and trees. The account includes his memories about leasing land to pay a son's bridewealth, which included the leasing out of trees. We then present his assessment of a new system of short-leasing of land in the adjacent plains. We present John Zakariya's accounts more or less unedited, and keep them in the ethnographic present of 2006:

Livestock keeping past and present

In the past livestock-keeping was important in the mountains to produce fertile land. Cows were given out to somebody who fed the cow to keep the manure. Nowadays up to three thousand Naira per rainy season is paid to somebody who keeps the cow in his stable and feeds it. The reason is that chemical fertiliser has replaced the manure. This is regardless of the scientific fact that chemical fertiliser is washed out in the soils of the terraces much faster than manure.

People spend high amounts, for example, a family might spend five to 20 thousand Naira per season on fertiliser. It still works out because of the value of a cow in terms of calving every two years for about 10 to 12 years. Also, the meat value per cow, once she is slaughtered, is about ten to 20 thousand Naira. This means that the value of the meat is nowadays the more important economic factor than the value of the manure. At the centre of all of that is a developing market economy. Cattle and land are combined resources of capital production which can run into conflict with the varying interests of a mainly agricultural local community.

Cattle are given out to somebody to keep during the rainy season in his stable, against the payment mentioned above. Cattle being kept in a stable for others who own it is practised both in the mountains and in the plains. This is the only facility in the rainy season, and stable-keeping has a long tradition in the area. People who hold cattle in the plains go during the stable season (rainy season) up in the mountains to cut grasses and to make hay at the end of the rainy season.

Conflict might arise over the resources of grasses and hay. A man who watches over his cultivated land to chase baboons and monkeys will also watch over his uncultivated land to secure his grass and hay resources. This is particularly important in terms of distances to go to access grass and hay resources. Uncultivated land might be nearer or farther away from somebody's home when the cattle are kept indoors during the rainy season.

If an owner of uncultivated land or fallow land finds somebody taking his grasses he can take him to court. However, so far no uncultivated or fallow land has been leased or hired out for cutting grasses to feed cattle in stables. Nevertheless, hay is produced only to be sold. People spend thousands of Naira on hay. This trend is growing because of the increase in livestock keeping. In the plains, people also cut grasses during the rainy season and are compensated by payments of cash.

Also chickens can cause conflict during the rainy season. If somebody's chicken eats somebody's freshly planted seeds, this can cause conflict between the owners of the chicken and the owners of the land. The same applies to goats and sheep. Goats and sheep are also given out to be kept but no payment in cash is received. Somebody might only receive a young goat or sheep as compensation.

Leasing out of land to pay a son's bridewealth

There is no general word for leasing in Dghwede. Instead, the two expressions: 'selling it out' (*sukdu-skwa* = sell-buy) and 'getting it back' (*nay varmbe*) are combined to circumscribe the concept of leasing by saying: 'Sell out to get it back' (*sukdu-skwa nay varmbe*).

This however is not a new concept. For example, your son is getting married and you cannot pay the bridewealth so you lease out some of your land. You receive a certain amount and you pay the bridewealth. The leasing out of land can go over many generations. It depends on the urgency of what one needs in terms of cash, cattle or goats or even sheep. The current bridewealth is about one cow, two goats, and between 10 and 15 thousand Naira. In the past, it was purely domestic animals, for example, two cows and a few goats as well as iron bars (*dutsa*). The word for bridewealth is *lɔmana mdughe* (*lɔmana* means the wealth you pay and *mdughe* is the young woman you marry).

To get leased land back could be difficult in the past, especially if the group outnumbered your group. They just refused. Now such a case can be taken to court. In case of conflict, it would be taken to the area court in Nghoshe [Kasa] or Gwoza. There is no interest rate involved. As soon as somebody can reimburse the wealth he has received for the lease, he normally should get it back. The wealth should be reimbursed straight after the harvest. It cannot be bought back during the rainy season.

The general rule is that the same type of wealth should be reimbursed, meaning cow for cow, money for money etc. If it is a cow that has already calved, the same type should be given back, and size is rather secondary in the context of that. Also, a bull can be involved, for example, if the woman you marry delivers a male child you settle the second half of your bridewealth with a bull. However a cow is seen as a higher value because it can reproduce.

Trees could be leased out as well

Marriage as a reason to lease land is still a very common feature, but other reasons have come about as well. Such a reason might be that somebody is building a house and he wants to roof it and does not have enough money to buy zinc. Another reason might be that you do not have enough foodstuffs stored in your house to take you through the year. Another reason is that misfortune (illness or accident) can happen. Land to be leased is a valuable source (asset) to fall back on.

It is not just land that can be leased. It can also be one or several trees. Trees that are most commonly leased are fan palms to produce palm sprouts and also mahogany trees to produce oil, or a *maraki* (Hausa) tree for roofing. Leasing out land or trees depends on times of need. In general, nowadays there is more land for lease available in the mountains than in the plains.

People prefer to live in the adjacent plains and therefore more land is available for lease in the mountains. Not everybody who wants to lease land wants to farm in the mountains since he would have to go up there, which is why only people who live in the hills are theoretically interested in leasing land there. However, most people own land in the mountains as well as in the plains. Nevertheless land in the plains is rare. This leads us to the system of short-leasing land, which is becoming very common in the plains, a development that also contributed to the decline of tree cultivation in the hills.

A new system of short-leasing of land in the plains

The word for short-leasing a piece of land is *wusa-way*a (*wusa* = hoeing; *way*a = sunroof, hangar). You lease land for only one season, meaning you cultivate it to only fill one hangar. In the past there was no system of short-leasing land. If you had a surplus of land you might have given it out for a year for free, to a brother or another relative, friend or neighbour. Now, because of the shortage of land, the system of short-leasing has evolved. The payment for short-leasing in its most recent development is only money. The money has to be handed over at the beginning and not at the end. If the harvest did not turn out as expected it could cause a conflict.

There is increasing competition over the short-leasing of land. The shortage of land is at the origin of this competition, and goes hand-in-hand with downhill migration and population growth. In the latter context, the young age structure of the population needs to be considered. One reason might be that a young man has gone to be a butcher (producing and selling firewood was rare) and therefore he short-leases out his land, especially in the plain but also in the hills. Every year he will get a sum of money from it.

Most of the short-leasing happens during a millet and beans year. The people on the hills short-lease out their land on the plains especially. The reason is that they restrict themselves to producing beans on the hills, and they will short-lease out their land in the plains.

Talking about beans, another method of short-leasing land in the plains is to go to Lake Chad to short-lease land during the dry season (December to May) and plant beans. Cash needs to be made beforehand, to be capable of cash cropping beans at Lake Chad. A man might go with between 15 and up to 100 thousand Naira to hire land at Lake Chad, and to pay for living costs there. While some buy beans there, others go with beans from home.

It is mostly people who do not have seasonal work in Maiduguri or even at home, who go to Lake Chad. They build capital from selling their animals, from selling their farm products, leasing out

land, but not necessarily short-leasing. They might prefer themselves to short-lease during the rainy season to produce capital.

The above text was written by John and me, by my asking questions about the Dghwedè ways of leasing out farmland, including the most recent changes. One of the main changes seems to be the system of short-leasing to raise and reinvest into farmland to generate capital. Bridewealth was originally the main reason for leasing out farmland, because in Dghwedè of the past, marriage for a woman resulted in her becoming a member of her husband's patrilineage, which made the primary marriage and the role of a first wife very important. We remember that lineages split according to the metaphor of a kitchen (kudige), meaning being sons of the same mother, and it was the seventh born who represented the most successful outcome of patrilocal family reproduction. Here we only point out the link between land as a local resource and the generation of bridewealth. We also learned that trees could be leased out, among which the fan palm and mahogany tree had a particularly important place. We produce a list of useful trees and grasses in Dghwedè in two separate sections below. There were other reasons for changes in leasing out farmland, which had to do with changes in the architecture of a house, for example the replacement of the thatched roof by zinc.

John also explains the link between the reduction of manure production and the increase of chemical fertiliser, as a result of the market economy increasingly replacing the subsistence economy of the past. In the next chapter we will suggest the hypothesis that this was one of two root causes in terms of strategic changes in local resource management, leading to millet becoming the dominant cash crop. We also think that this is a fundamental change in terms of the cultural history of our subregion, since it ends the socio-economic importance of guinea corn and manure production, which might well have had its roots in the 15th century when the DGB complex developed in the south and Kirawa gained influence at the northern foot.

Reversal of significance between the guinea corn and millet years

We have noted in the chapter about the Dghwedè calendar, how bulama Ngatha listed the different agricultural activities during the sorghum and millet years. Reviewing his listing again, together with some updates from bulama Ghdaka from Hembe, the main changes seem to be linked to the millet year. In particular, beans played an increasing role as a cash crop, and we have learned from John that the millet year had become the year when people did most short-leasing. In this sense, the millet year most likely had the tendency to become socio-economically more important than the guinea-corn year. Despite this recent development, crop rotation remained essential for successful terrace farming, until most of that was brutally destroyed by Boko Haram from 2010 onwards. We reported at the beginning, how in 2019 they exploited the older Traditionalists in Dghwedè, to farm for them while they were hiding in the hills. It remains sadly unknown whether terrace cultivation and with it crop rotation will ever again be fully reactivated in the hills.

Beans and groundnuts might potentially have been the main cash crops apart from millet, but we have only a little information on the cash cropping of groundnuts, at least in the eastern plain. Still, I do remember seeing a lot of that in Gouzda (near Koza) on the Cameroonian side. Bulama Ngatha did not tell us whether groundnuts or tigernuts were also planted in a millet year, but we do know that tigernuts were preferably grown in the hills. However, for our table above, Bulama Ghdaka confirmed that in 1995 most plants were grown in both years. The same applied to cocoyam, which they only planted in the dry season. Still, cocoyam was presumably only for consumption at home. In turn, cassava seemed also to be planted in the rainy season, and it could be harvested almost any time, but neither was it a cash crop. One had to wait two years to harvest cassava, while tigernuts were planted around August and harvested in December (see bulama Ngatha in Chapter 3.8).

We see in Table 7a that bulama Ghdaka also mentions Bambara nuts, and we can only assume that they also are planted every year. This leaves us with only guinea corn and millet together

with beans to be rotated bi-annually, and, as already mentioned, beans had become a major cash crop not only in the hills but also in the plains. This includes the cash cropping of beans near Lake Chad during the dry season, in places where the shores of the Lake retreated annually due to the flatness of the ground. This option too is now gone, due to Boko Haram. We know that man-made climate change with its resulting greenhouse effect also impacts the wider Lake Chad region, with the increasing unpredictability of any reliable weather forecast there.

Table 7a: Agricultural products in the Dghwedè hills before Boko Haram

Cow pea (beans)	<i>ngəre</i> (millet year)
Sesame	<i>zarava</i> (both years)
Tigernuts	<i>yughwa</i> (both years)
Groundnuts	<i>yandara</i> (both years)
Sweet potato	<i>balwida plata</i> (both years)
Coco yam	<i>balwida gaghwe</i> (both years)
Cassava	<i>mbaya</i> (not much, due to animals being out in dry season)
Irish potato	[Hausa: <i>dankal gabatura</i>] (new, only few people plant)
Maize	<i>babəre</i> (both years)
Yams	<i>bal-ghaya</i> (yams from plain becomes mountain yams)
Bambara nuts	<i>yandar barma</i>

Our friends from Korana Basa told us in September 1995 that the annual interchange of millet and guinea corn was traditionally fixed, and was never changed

even if there had been only a little rain during a guinea corn year. The reasoning behind this was that if they were to repeat any of these crops, the second year would not give much, and it would increase the risk of insects destroying the harvest. We were told that it was always done in that way, and that they had no plan to change it. There was certainly some kind of conservatism apparent in that latter statement. We therefore infer that the few remaining mainly elderly Traditionalists of Ghwa'a and Korana Basa still practice crop rotation to this day, since this is what they always did.

We do not know how much of their harvest the remaining population of Dghwedè was forced to pass on to members of Boko Haram, who were still hiding there in 2019. Many of the remaining insurgency were reportedly strangers of other ethnic origins, which we listed in an earlier part of the book. We also doubt that our Traditionalist friends still dare to produce beer, considering they have presumably been forced to join the sect for the sake of survival.

List of useful trees

The list of useful trees in Dghwedè shown below is far from complete in terms of identifying them all botanically, and also far from being complete in terms of number, but still our little documentation provides some evidence of the importance of trees. We know that many useful trees were part of the traditional hamlet with its houses and infields. This shows how important distance was in terms of working the land, and that it did not only apply to where the manure was brought out, but that distance might also have been relevant for tree cultivation.

We learned earlier that trees and cows were interlinked in terms of use as part of a chain of functional subsistence. During pre-colonial times, some trees were important in the making of charcoal, and that in turn produced iron, which was used to make not only agricultural tools for working the field but also tools to cut and trim trees. Bulama Bala and the other elders of Korana Kwandame told us how people invested their surplus from iron production into cows, which in turn were leased out to produce manure for the fields of those who could not afford cows. This socio-economic chain was already broken when I was in Dghwedè, and making iron was no longer something people did, because secondhand steel from the market economy





had long replaced this old technique. Iron tools were still forged and repaired sometimes, although not very frequently according to my observation.

Table 7b: List of useful trees in Dghwedé

Botanical name	Dghwedé and other languages	Short summary of various uses
Borassus aethiopum	<i>Wurighe</i> Hausa: <i>Giginya</i>	The fleshy part of the fruits was eaten. Seeds were buried for one year. The germinated shoots, <i>wurighe</i> (<i>muruchi</i> in Hausa), and the buried part, <i>kukule</i> , were cooked. The leaves were used to repair leaking roofs, while the stems were arranged for beds. The stems of the leaves were also burnt and salt was produced from the ashes. The parts of newly germinated leaves they used for dancing. They were called <i>dzadza</i> , which were also used to tie around the necks of twins and twin pots. Also, the mother and father of twins had <i>dzadza</i> tied around their necks (see Chapter 3.19). From the bark, they hammered out fibre (see Plate 18b).
Anogeissus leiocarpus	<i>Wa'ie</i> Hausa: <i>Mareke</i>	Used for roofing.
	<i>Nguthe</i>	Fruits are very sweet. Used for firewood. Also used to treat stomach problems.
	<i>Ndagha</i>	Leaves were used to cook sauce. Also cut to produce firewood. Used to treat stomach problems.
Ziziphus mauritiana	<i>Lave</i> Hausa: <i>Magariya</i>	Used to make <i>tsaga</i> stick for the bull festival (Figure 21a; Chapter 3.13). Fruits were collected for consumption.
Ziziphus abyssinica (not sure)	<i>Shiwe</i>	Used to make <i>tsaga</i> stick for the bull festival. Firewood. Bark was used against stomach upsets. Used to make handles and also used as a threshing stick (<i>malakwa</i>). Trunk used to make funeral drum (<i>timbe</i>).
Ficus trichopoda	<i>Bala</i> Hausa: <i>Ganji</i> Glavda: <i>Ghavda</i>	Is also the tree that has given the Glavda their ethnonym. Interestingly the word <i>ghavda</i> derives originally from the Fulfulde (see Blench 2020).
Ficus polita (not sure)	<i>Tikwe</i> Hausa: <i>Duruma</i>	Leaves were used for the sauce. Reportedly was also used as fencing (not sure).
Diospyros mespiliformis (not sure)	<i>Ngurangura</i> Hausa: <i>Kenya/Kanyia</i>	Rainmaker ties carpet grass (<i>ghalaghala</i>) to it to control the growth of crops. Rainmaker attaches carpet grass to control the strong wind.
Khaya senegalensis	<i>Tsra</i> Hausa: <i>Mad'atchi</i> Engl: <i>Mahogany</i>	Fruit for oil making. Firewood. Making beds. Now also for door frames. Bark to treat stomach upsets. The trunk was used for the funeral drum (<i>timbe</i>) and hourglass drum (<i>dadiwe</i>).
Tamarindus indica (not known)	<i>Ruwe</i> Hausa: <i>Tsamia</i> Engl: <i>Tamarind</i>	Young leaves for cooking sauce. Fruits are used for making <i>yakabra</i> (Hausa: <i>kunu</i>). Used for firewood. Used to make handles (<i>dvare</i>) for hoes.
	<i>Gwalama</i>	Used for firewood. For making handles for sickles, and used as a threshing stick (<i>mbalakwa</i>).
Diospyros mespiliformis (not known)	<i>Skhakike</i> Engl: ? <i>Ebony</i> ; ? <i>Jackalberry</i>	Fruits were buried in ashes until they turned black and were then eaten. Used for firewood. Trunk was used for the funeral drum (<i>timbe</i>) and dancing drum (<i>ganka</i>).
	<i>Madisa</i>	Leaves were used for sauce. Used for firewood. Used for making tool handles, like for sickles. Used as a threshing stick. Used for traditional roofing.

As mentioned earlier, another change was already in progress during my time in Dghwedé, which was that an increasing number of houses had zinc instead of thatched roofs. The

architecture of houses changed as a result, from being an assembly of circular rooms to a rectangular-shaped house with just one zinc roof. The timber to make the roof truss, as well as the ropes and grasses used for building a thatched roof, was a man’s activity in decline.

<p>Plate 18a: <i>Wurighe</i> (fan palm) had many uses - the leaves for repairing roofs; the fruits buried to germinate; the bark to make fibre</p>	<p>Plate 18b: Palm tree fibre - hammered out of the bark</p>
	
<p>Plate 18c: <i>Lave</i> tree - used to make ritual sticks (<i>tsage</i>) put into house for bull festival</p>	<p>Plate 18d: <i>Wa'iyé</i> tree - used for roofing; was inherited by <i>thagaya</i> (seventh born)</p>
	

The Dghwedè subsistence economy had a great wealth of natural resources and some of those listed above are also presented in photographs above. There are however many gaps in our documentation. For example, we do not know which trees were traditionally used for the production of charcoal, but we can see that many were used for firewood. We also do not know where and how the trees used for making charcoal were cultivated, but assume that it was outside of the hamlet area, more towards the outer fields and bushland. We remember that the furnaces for smelting iron were preferably built on high terraces, but we hold no records of whether this happened away from the houses and the infields.

We do not know where the useful trees were preferably cultivated, but there were generally more trees found inside settlement areas. Our short summaries of the various tree uses in Table 7b above do not mention any locations. We assume that it was not just because there was more manure that there were more useful trees on the infields, but also because they wanted particular trees near the houses. Again we have failed to document any of this, but were able to present a list of various uses and make some cross-references to other chapters, such as the type of trees the seventh born (*thaghaya*) was entitled to inherit.

We also see in Table 7b that we do not know all the botanical names, such as is the case for the *shiwe* tree, which seems to be quite an important tree. Apart from its many practical uses, such as firewood and its medicinal use against stomach upsets, it also served to make handles for tools and a funeral drum called *timbe*. We also know that it was used to make the ritual *tsaga* stick which played an important role in the bull festival (see Figure 21a of Chapter 3.13). The latter use makes this tree very similar to the *lave* tree (Plate 18c), even though the *lave* tree might not have had any other uses, other than its fruits being consumed. Still, this might just be a gap in our information, and perhaps it also was used to make tool handles.

There are so many gaps in our knowledge about useful trees. Often we do not even know how they appear in order to distinguish one from another. This surely is an indicator of how many useful trees there were. The images presented in Plate 18a to Plate 18f do not match the comparatively high number of useful trees listed in Table 7b. That some of them lost their specific usefulness can often be indirectly concluded, the use of mahogany oil from the fruits of the *tsra* tree, and the use of the *wa'iye* tree (Plate 18d) for roofing and other wooden supports, being good examples.

There is also the *nguthe*, as well as the *ndagha* tree, for which we have no Hausa or botanical name. They both have similar uses, including treating stomach problems, while one has sweet fruits and the other has leaves for making sauce. We see that leaves to make sauce also applied to other trees on our list, for example the *madisa* tree, for which we also lack a botanical name. We wonder whether these trees whose leaves were used to make sauce were close to the house, but perhaps not, and a woman working in the outer fields might have collected them on her way home.

Borassus aethiopum (*wurighe*), *Anogeissus leiocarpus* (*wa'iye*) and *Kaya senegalensis* or mahogany tree (*tsra*) were the three trees passed on to the seventh born (*thaghaya*) following the death of his father. As mentioned above, we will learn more about the inheritance rules of traditional assets later in Chapter 3.18. Concerning the *wa'iye* tree, we have very little information apart from that it was an important tree for roofing houses. We will see in the next chapter about the architecture of a house, how much timber was also needed to build the wooden supports for the flat roof areas marking the foyer of a house (Chapter 3.11).

We often find *Tamanrindus indica* (*ruwe*) next to houses, as well as the mahogany tree (*tsra*) and the *Borassus aethiopum* (*wurighe*), also known as African fan palm. These were all, according to my observations, frequently found growing inside settlement areas. The fan palm must have been the most important useful tree, because we can see that the list of its uses is very long. The shoots of germinated seedlings, known as hypocotyls, had the reputation of being an aphrodisiac, a hormonal attribute which might have given the fan palm its name (*wurighe*). They were still very popular during my time. I was given a bunch, and was told that they were good for my virility, but it was hinted that I should not to eat too many once, otherwise my stomach would feel very heavy, as if I had eaten stones.

Their androgenic function was well known across the region and we wonder whether this was also why the newly germinated leaves (*dzadza*) from buried seeds or fruits were used during the twin ceremony (Chapter 3.19). The trunk of the fan palm served as a seat, and there were many other practical uses for most parts of the tree. For example, the fan-shaped leaves were used to repair leaking roofs while the leaf sticks were arranged for beds. We learn later in the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), how the finer and softer parts of fresh palm leaves (*dzadza*) were used to make body adornment worn around both ankles by ambitious

young men (Plate 58e) to demonstrate their keenness to start the process of adult initiation (see Chapter 3.14).

We see three palm trees in Plate 18a above, but they are equally often single trees. We show next to it (Plate 18b) the fibre that was gained from its bark, by hammering with a wooden tool until it released the typical structure in our image. The single strings show the parallel fibres at the ends of the outer rim of the trunk, and they could serve to make items like fly flaps and also to make a very fine rope which was used to bind the fly flaps together. There were surely many other purposes of which we know nothing. The importance of the fan palm is manifold, and I remember being told that one modern use was to make the trunks into timber frames to carry the new roofs of zinc.

Plate 18e: Haruna prunes my mahogany tree	Plate 18f: Man harvesting from his tree
	

We do not know whether this led to more fan palms being felled and neither do we know whether the *wa'iya* tree (Plate 18d), which was once so important for roofing, had lost its main function, or whether it was now used to meet other needs such as that of firewood.

Plate 18g: Old man is moving a dried-out tree branch	We see above in Plate 18e, how the fruits of the mahogany tree next to my research station had not been harvested for a very long time. I only found this out when I expressed a wish to make mahogany oil. My friend Haruna Zakariya, John's older brother, volunteered to prune it, and we
	see in the photograph that he got out his ladder to mount the tree. It had to be done in two subsequent years so as to not injure the tree, after which it was full of fruit again. Mahogany

oil was extremely important in the past, but the women had stopped making it. Apart from the fruits, we assume the use of its timber continued, but as with the palm tree, we do not know whether this led to mahogany trees also being felled.

Plate 18f shows a man harvesting from a tree next to his house, by standing on a rock and using a sickle on a long wooden stick. We are not sure what the man is harvesting since we cannot identify the tree. We however include the image because it shows that trees were an important asset in the past, but many uses, not only ritual ones, had already changed during my time. Plate 18g above shows a man collecting a felled branch of a tree he has dried out in the field, which he is about to move around, most likely intending to make firewood. Our next subsection will briefly list what we know about euphorbia trees.

Euphorbia trees as fencing

Before moving on to our next section about useful grasses, we will briefly introduce the Dghwedè way of classifying euphorbia trees, which are not to be confused with *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*), a mistake once made not only by myself. As far as I know euphorbia did not have any ritual significance when used as fencing, for instance along pathways leading out of a settlement area. There were two main types of euphorbia trees in Dghwedè:

- *hula'a*
- *mahide*

The *hula'a* euphorbia tree was the one used along pathways some distance from the house, while the *mahide* euphorbia was presumably used for fencing around the house. I do not have any photographic evidence of them being used as fencing around a house, but noted down that John explained that the Dghwedè distinguished between two types of *mahide* euphorbia by allocating gender to them:

- *mahide zal nana* (husband/male)
- *mahide nis nana* (wife/female)

We do not know whether both were used as fencing, but wonder whether the reference to male and female in terms of fencing had something to do with an area in or around the house being prone to conflict. That euphorbia trees used for fencing could have some supernatural aspect after all, was confirmed by a third type known in Dghwedè:

- *ghayike*

According to John, *ghayike* was used in the past for fencing, and looks like *mahide* but is thicker. He told me that Fada's wife did not give birth because of something in a *ghayike* from Kwalika. We do not know whether Fada's wife was from Kwalika, or whether it had something to do with sorcery coming from Kwalika, but know that in the past euphorbia could cause infertility.

Useful grasses, weeds, and vermin

This section aims to give an impression of the local knowledge Dghwedè mountain farmers had about useful plants while they cared for their mountain environment, not only in terracing and manuring the ground but also in cultivating grasses. In the context of this, they also had distinct knowledge of plants we would identify as weeds, but the Dghwedè had no specific word to distinguish between useful grasses and weeds. We discuss in Chapter 3.22, where we introduce the classification of living and non-living things, that the Dghwedè liked to distinguish between those that were defined as useful plants and those that played a role in food production. This principle did not always seem to apply, as we will learn in Chapter 3.14 about the different stages of adult initiation, where those which did not have an obvious use were still important as part of the ritual dress code. In this chapter section we present a list of vermin, and medicines used by rainmakers such as carpet grass. For example, beans were

treated with this medicine to make them flower, or certain grasses that might otherwise be considered weeds were tied to certain types of trees to stop the strong wind.

Useful grasses

Grasses played a huge role in Dghwedè subsistence economy, and Table 7c shows a selection of those mentioned by a variety of friends with the additional help of John. We can see that most useful grasses are used for making mats and ropes or for roofing, while some had a ritual function, and it seems that rainmakers used grasses the most in their ritual work. The list is far from complete, and perhaps the conclusion drawn is incorrect due to lack of more comparative data. We present some as photographs in Plate 19a and 19b below.




Table 7c: List of useful grasses used by the Dghwedè

Botanical name	Dghwedè and other languages	Short summaries of various uses
Axonopus	<i>Ghalaghala</i> Hausa: <i>Kirikiri</i>	Carpet grass is used by rainmakers to tie to <i>ngurangura</i> trees to control the growth of a crop. Against the strong wind.
	<i>Dhava</i>	Zana mat (Hausa term generally used for grass mats).
	<i>Za'aghaya</i>	For roofing houses. This grass is not removed as a weed from a cultivated terrace field due to its function for roofing. Members of the Dagha specialist lineage use it to treat muscle tightness. They used this grass together with a piece of charcoal and went over the body with it [Chapter 3.23].
	<i>Tgija wushile</i>	<i>Tgija</i> is the name of this grass, while <i>wushile</i> means he-goat. This grass was used by rainmakers to tie around beans to keep the flowers on the plant so that it could produce beans. Rainmaker did that for the people. [see Plate 19b]
	<i>Vraza</i>	Used for zana mat production. It was also used by the rainmakers.
	<i>Kwazire</i>	Used for zana mat and played a role in the bull festival.

Plate 19a below shows an image of the carpet grass (*ghalaghala*) the rainmaker used to tie to the *ngurangura* tree, but we are not sure whether the name *Diospyros mespiliformis* is correct. It was reported that the rainmaker would tie carpet grass around the tree, and depending on whether he tightened or loosened it he was able to control the wind, and in that way demonstrate his power. We remember that rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma of Gharaza explained how he 'tied the wind' for that very reason (see Table 5h). Apart from that, we do not know whether carpet grass had any other use in Dghwedè material culture.

Plate 19c shows how *za'aghaya* (*ghaya* = house) grass was used for roofing, and by the Dagha specialist lineage to treat muscle tightness. We are not entirely sure whether the reference of this grass being used for roofing only refers to rope making, or if this grass was also used to cover the peak of a thatched roof. Unfortunately, we do not have any scientific names for any of the useful grasses listed here, except for the carpet grass.

Finally, there was *tgija wushile* (Plate 19b), which was used by the rainmaker to promote the growth of beans. We are not entirely sure whether the word *wushile* for he-goat is simply part of the name of the grass, or whether it was used in any other way in the context of sacrificing a he-goat. We see in our photograph that it grew between rocks. Plate 20b below shows how we photographed our Dghwedè rainmaker friend tying it to the flowering stem of a bean plant.

Plate 19a: <i>Ghalahgala</i> (carpet grass)	Plate 19c: <i>Za'aghaya</i> grass is for roofing
	
Plate 19b: <i>Tgija wushile</i> - applied to beans	
	

We could see how important grasses were, many of them being used for making grass mats, and we used the Hausa term 'zana mat' to refer to them generally. They were used in many ways, not just to rest upon, but also as temporary fencing or to store the harvest. As already mentioned, grasses were used for making ropes as well as for roofing, and others were used for making baskets, an area we have not covered much at all.

We will see in our next subsection that grasses also served as an anti-erosive measure, and we list those under weeds and not grasses. This is a very artificial distinction and therefore we should better refer to them as useful weeds.

A list of weeds

We do not know whether the Dghwede had a general word for weeds, but when talking about weeds in English, John could spontaneously list about a dozen weeds, and we have decided to list them all below. We have the botanical name for speargrass (*tharde*) only. We see in Table 7d below, that many have metaphorical names, such as 'tigernuts of birds of prey', or 'millet' or 'guinea corn' of *kukwe* (dove), presumably marking them out as being of no use to humans. There are quite a few in the list whose names we do not know the meaning, but there are others that had a ritual or an anti-erosive function. Unfortunately we do not have any images.

There are three weeds altogether which we could potentially be classified as useful weeds, and we tend to think that they were not weeded out, for instance when they grew in between the terrace walls. This would imply that they might have been weeded from the cultivated flat areas. First of all there was *manziwghardha* (*ghardha* = terrace), actually containing the word terrace to indicate that very function. Then there was *dhagla* and *tuva*, which also had an anti-erosive function. We do not know why *dhagla* was referred to by John to represent guinea corn, while he said that *ture* was like millet.

We remember how Baba Musa (see Chapter 3.7) told us the legend of how the first Gaske rainmaker pulled *dhagla* out of a terrace wall and in this way produced emergency water to

drink after the Dagha peacemaker had used his *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) to build a magical forest wall, when their respective lineage ancestors had ventured into the eastern plains.

We also see *tharde*, which we were able to identify as *Imperata cylindrica* or speargrass, which played a role in making bandoliers, waistbands and neckbands for the first two stages of *dzum zugune* (adult initiation). We will discuss speargrass again in the relevant chapter, but can point out here that it was not generally considered to be a very useful grass, and we wonder why it was important as part of the ritual dress code of the early stages of the Dghwede adult initiation.

Table 7d: List of some weeds in Dghwede

Botanical name	Dghwede and other languages	Short summaries of the various uses
	<i>Dhagla</i>	It represents guinea corn and they use it to fix the terraces together so that water cannot remove the stones which form the terraces. It is an anti-erosive measure. It was also the legendary grass pulled by the first Gaske rainmaker to produce drinking water.
	<i>Ture</i>	It is like millet. Is also used to fix the terrace stones together. They plant it between the stones so that it develops and grows there. The roots spread into the stones and tie them together.
	<i>Dhrababa</i> Hausa: <i>Kiriya</i>	
	<i>Vigire</i>	
	<i>Dawayara</i>	
	<i>Gagdāya</i>	
	<i>Wumaya</i>	
	<i>Manziwghargha</i>	Always grows in terraces (<i>ghargha</i> = terrace wall)
	<i>Wire kukwe</i>	'millet of <i>kukwe</i> ' (<i>kukwe</i> = dove)
	<i>Hiya kukwe</i>	'guinea corn of <i>kukwe</i> '
	<i>Ghalangwa</i>	
	<i>Skhwete</i>	
	<i>Yaghwa zalike</i>	'tigernuts of birds of prey' (<i>yaghwa</i> = tigernut)
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	<i>Tharde</i> Hausa: <i>Cofa</i> (speargrass)	Its only use was to make bandoliers and waistbands for <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> and neckbands for <i>ngwa garda</i> during <i>dzum zugune</i> .

Insects were a particular threat in terms of crop protection, and the rainmaker had a particular role in providing protection against them, not only against too little rain or too strong winds. We therefore list the Dghwede words for types of insects in the next two subsections, and also typical medicines the rainmaker would use to increase the yield of crops and animals.

A list of vermin in Dghwede

The following insects were listed by John Zakariya:

- *Kwakwiye* - insect found in the ground and animal manure
- *Ghude* - cricket
- *Vavrunga* - insect coming out of the ground during rainy season eating crops
- *Kwada* - insect which eats leaves of crops
- *Sasarde* - earthworm. It penetrates ground nuts and spoils them

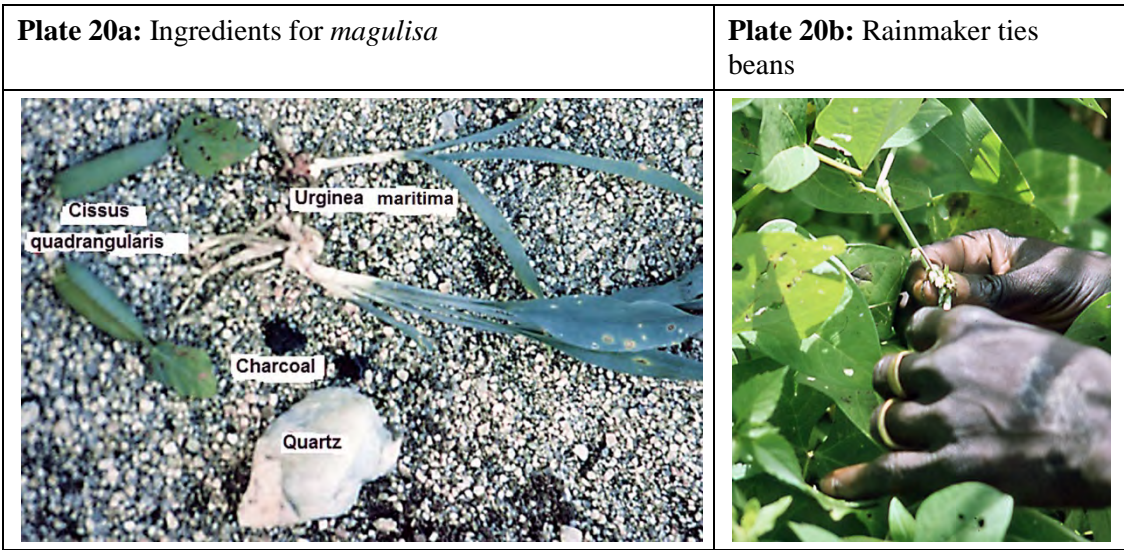
The list speaks for itself. Crickets were perhaps the most dangerous insects, while we do not know which of the other two main categories also represented a threat.

Medicine to increase the yield of crops and domestic animals

Magulisa was an important clan medicine for increasing yield, and was tied to guinea corn and millet before the harvest. We present its elements below, because they also detail the two clan medicines Mathews referred to in 1934 as 'gadali', which he translated incorrectly as 'the locust cactus' or simply as 'cactus'. We identified them as belonging to two plant genera, but were able to establish that Mathews might have used a Fulfulde word for both with 'gadali', which might be at the root of the ethnonym 'Godaliy' (see Chapter 3.3).

Magulisa consisted of the following four ingredients:

- *Huba* - *Urginea maritima* (also used to improve reproduction of livestock)
- *Vavanza* - *Cissus quadrangularis*
- *Changwithe* - a quartz stone
- *Ghuvare* - a piece of charcoal



While *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) has a very high ritual significance, which was not only owned by the Gaske rainmaker but also by the other specialist lineages, *huba* (*Urginea maritima*) seems to be more specifically part of the ritual repertoire of the rainmaker lineage. We will discuss this aspect again later, together with the grass *tgija*, in the second part of our interview in Chapter 3.12 with rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma of Gharaza, but we think that Plate 20b shows how his junior rainmaker brother ties *tgija wushile* to the flowering part of the beans.

Concerning the quartz stone and the piece of charcoal, we are not sure what they represent, but notice that they are black and white, and we know that charcoal was important in producing agricultural tools and even manure. In the chapter about adult initiation we will explore an aspect of the potential ritual meaning of charcoal, and also remember that the grass *za'aghaya* was not only used for roofing, but that the Dagha used it together with charcoal to treat muscle tightness. Apart from *magulisa*, there was also *dag mbarde*, which was another crop-promoting medicine applied during the labour-intensive growing period, and it also contained charcoal.

We will learn later from Ndruwe Dzuguma, that in the past the most powerful *dag mbarde* medicine was made in the house of the grandfather of Tada Nzige, the senior rainmaker of all Dghwede. Considering that in the 1950s Tada Nzige was a young man, it is conceivable that his grandfather was the senior Dghwede rainmaker during early colonial times, or even before that. This throws an oral historical light on the ritual application of crop promotion, and allows us to hypothesise that labour-intensive terrace cultivation had a ritual equivalent which was also expressed in a social division of labour. Such a view implies that rainmakers were presumably in the greatest possible demand during the active part of the seasonal year.

Conclusion

Our chapter: 'Working the terraced land' is very fragmented indeed. We started with terraces and soils, and were able to establish that *kla pana* (cultivated land) is a reference to intensive agriculture on man-made terraces which had various natural soils, but which had to be improved by a complex system of anti-erosive measures, crop rotation and regular manuring. However this system had started to change perhaps decades before my arrival, by the introduction of chemical fertilizer and increased downhill migration.

We learned that there was once a system of iron production, which possibly produced a surplus of iron in particularly industrious families, in the form of iron bars, which were invested in cows. The cows in turn were often leased out to those who did not have cows, solely for the purpose of obtaining manure to improve the fertility of their terrace fields. This system had already changed quite some time before my visits to Dghwedé, and we also learned about the past system of leasing land in the hills to raise enough to pay the bridewealth for a man's son. In more recent years before the arrival of Boko Haram, a system of short-leasing land in the plains seems to have made terrace farming increasingly less attractive for cash cropping.

Due to population increase there was an ongoing shortage of land in the hills, presumably leading to a reversal of the significance of guinea corn, while beans during the millet year became economically more important. One of our hypotheses was that the latter might have brought about a loss of the ritual importance of guinea corn. We were also able to see how there was a change in the social division of labour, in that women began to carry out agricultural work which before was perhaps only done by men. We also learned that trees were once an important asset of a man, but tree cultivation was also increasingly in decline, partly induced by the introduction of new technologies and building materials such as zinc for roofs.

We gave lists of useful plants such as grasses, and were able to see that the usefulness of the fan palm was unrivalled. Some plants were used by the rainmaker to increase the yield, and he also used those grasses to tie certain trees to control strong winds. There were also certain medicines to increase the yield of crops that were mainly controlled by the rainmaker, and we have learned in previous chapters that the other specialist lineages were also involved, but it seems that the ritual calendar of the Dghwedé gave the rainmaker the most important role during the active and more labour-intensive part of the year. We earlier emphasised the oral historical dimension of the documentation of change, according to which the ritual role of the rainmaker seems to have survived the longest.

In the following chapter we will reconstruct a traditional house, and begin from there to show how the intensive agricultural system of crop rotation and animal husbandry had its material centre in the farmstead, the stone architecture of which was amazing and unique in many ways. Apart from the material richness of the architecture, the house was also the ritual centre of managing the reproductive forces of fecundity. We have already pointed out that the house was the centre of those religiously motivated activities, which we will demonstrate in detail in the chapter about the house as a place of worship. To underpin our analysis of the ritual dimension of the house we first need to obtain an understanding of the architecture of an ideal Dghwedé farmstead of the past.

Chapter 3.11

The architecture of a traditional house

Introduction

Our data on the vernacular architecture of Dghwedé houses are limited. In 1995 bulama Ngatha of Hudimche kindly showed me around his house, but at the time I was much more interested in the ritual aspects and I neglected the actual architecture. Bulama Ngatha also gave me a first list of the architectural elements of a traditional house, consisting of about ten rooms made of stone covered with single thatched roofs, which were often interconnected. They are referred to as *batiwe* (room or building) and form the home of a nuclear family in our layout (see Figure 18 and 19a-19c). Such a household compound was called *gwalghaya* (*gwal* = people; *ghaya* = home or house) which we translate as homestead or farmstead.

Other than *ghaya* for the architectural structure of a Dghwedé house, the word *batiwe* here refers to how the underlying groundplan of separate rooms was organised according to individual function. We will start by looking at the layout of our house plan and then explore its outer appearance and visibility from across a hillside. A couple of weeks after bulama Ngatha had shown me through his house I photographed a house from above on my way to Kwalika, and I identified the different *batiwe* (rooms) according to bulama Ngatha's list (see Plate 22a).

Between 1995 and 2005 I produced quite a lot of analogue pictures on 35mm slides, including many of the interior of a house, in particular that of my neighbour Buba Nza'avara in Dzga. He had a beautiful house on the hillside opposite my research station. I do not know whether it still exists, but I know Buba has died. Neither do I know whether the two other houses that I documented in 2005 still exist, or whether they have been destroyed by Boko Haram. At the time I had dedicated several days to photographing with a digital wide-angle lens the interior of three houses in Ghwa'a. This last session included again the house of my neighbour Buba, while the other two belonged to Kalakwa Wila and Abubakar Dga, both from a small hamlet situated between Dzga and Klala higher up. Kalakwa belonged to the rainmaker lineage Gaske, and I include a picture of his rainstones in the next chapter which describes the house as a place of worship.

After each photographic session inside of each of the three houses, John and I sat down at my place and we looked through the photos and identified the various parts of the architecture and linked them to a little database I had created on my laptop. We particularly identified the names and the functions of the different rooms, and linked them with an ideal groundplan which John and I had produced as a general guide. This way we could identify the entrance connections and stairs between the various rooms. We also looked for objects in the various rooms and identified them via our database. The ideal groundplan of a Dghwedé house for a small nuclear family is reproduced in Figure 18 below.

On the weekends following each photo session, I invited the owners and family members of their choice to come to my place and I took portraits of them. I printed these within minutes on a little mobile printer which I was able to run on a solar panel, an effort which was rather well received. Sadly, I lost the digital versions of those photographs, and I had instantly given all the prints away. Still, there are photos of the owners of the houses, which we reproduced in parts in our general introduction (see Plate 1b and Plates 4a-4m), and in Plate 25a and 25c below we see a picture of our friend Buba sitting in front of his three ancestor stones.

The Dghwedé share the same type of design for the front of a house with the Chikidé, Chinene and the Guduf, which consists of a curved stone wall and a kitchen on each side. Before we go into the details of Dghwedé architecture, we will look at the landscaped terrain which contained those houses. I have chosen, in Plate 21e, a Chikidé example of such a

hamlet, because in my view it is the best maintained one that I came across in the neighbourhood of Dghwedè. We can see the extensive use of stone, and can assume with good reason that it looked very similar in parts to how Dghwedè looked a decade or so ago. There was not much difference between the exteriors, but parts of the interiors were different, as we can see in Plate 27a below where we present an elaborate Chikidè house shrine for comparison.

We will briefly refer to elements of the smooth stonewalling of the Dghwedè, Chikidè and the Guduf in the light of key features of the archaeology of the DGB complex. We recommend consulting the joint web presentations from 2002¹ to see the DGB architecture in greater detail, and also my research from 2004² on the earlier mentioned pots with small apertures. There we can see that these could be found all across the Gwoza hills, including the Gvoko, Glavda and Lamang, along with the surrounding foothill areas. Comparatively, smooth stonewalling such as that of the Dghwedè could only be found among the three groups already mentioned, behind which was the main worship area where many of the typical ritual beer pots were kept. We will then discuss in the next chapter why we think the Dghwedè ritual beer pots had small apertures, and show a technical reconstruction of the way the small apertures were once made.

Following that short comparative reminder, in the next section we will present the groundplan of a traditional Dghwedè house. After hopefully developing an idea of the architectural principles of a traditional Dghwedè house, we will demonstrate the interior architectural plan of rooms and passageways, keeping to our digital documentation mentioned above. While we will use greyscale versions of some of the most informative series of photographs, some of them will be illustrated further with the help of computer drawing software. This involves overlaying line drawings and the use of indicative letters to highlight the important elements of parts of the internal building. The most important building materials were stone, wood and adobe plastering. We divide the house into two main parts, which consists of the foyer area and lower and upper room complex, and the animal sheds. While the kitchens, children's room and granaries were part of the foyer area, the animal sheds were linked to the father's and the first wife's room. The three granaries were the structures that divided the central passageway from the upper passageway.

The landscaped terrain of a settlement

We have learned in the previous chapters that the Dghwedè constructed their houses where they found enough stones and clay to build, while surface water was not desirable since it was important to avoid flooding. Unlike the Mafa or the Gvoko, but similar to their next-door neighbours the Chikidè and Guduf, they used stone rather than adobe for the outer walls of the main buildings. However the granaries and many other parts were also made of adobe. The most significant similarity between them was the smooth front dry stone wall called *dhang*a with the frequently decorated large thatched roof of *thala* above it. There is no literal translation for *thala*, but we translate it here as house shrine, and use the word *thala* in the context of its various other applications, as in 'stomach' of *thala* or 'bed' of *thala*.

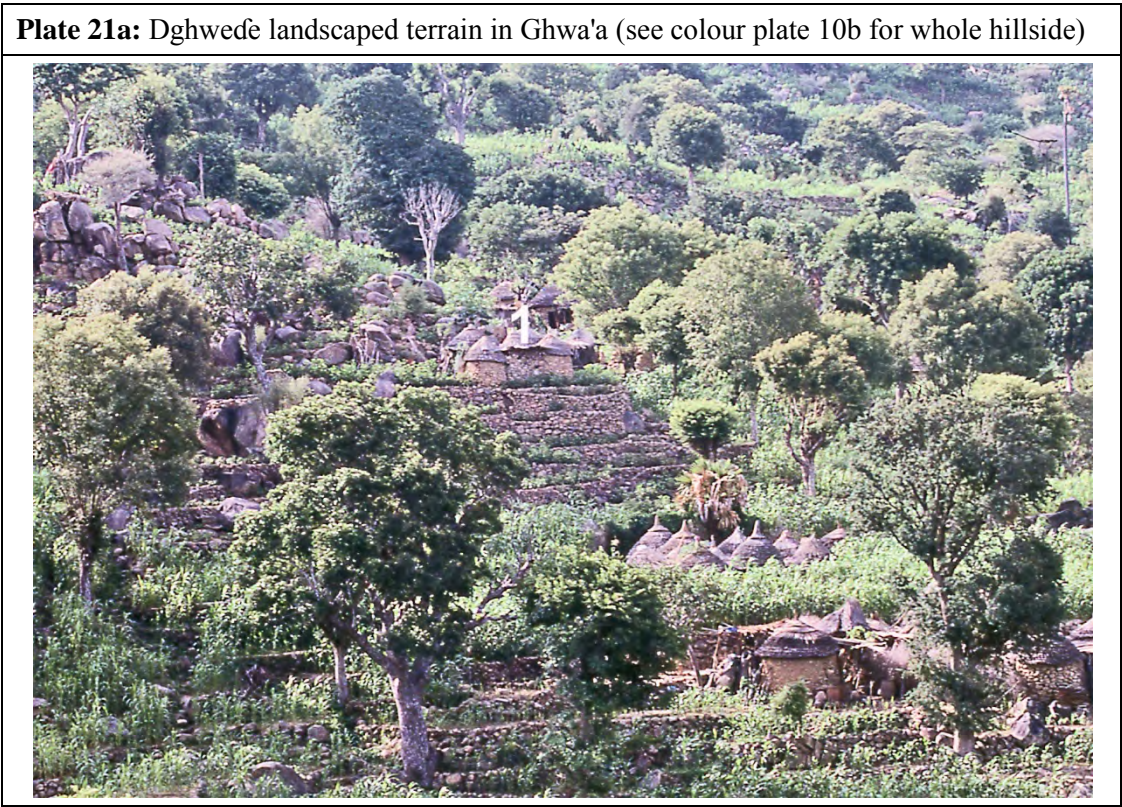
On each side of the front walls, the houses had a kitchen with a smaller thatched roof, which gave them their typical impressive look when individual houses agglomerated into hamlets on terraced hillsides. Two or three houses often shared an elevated foundation platform amid carefully maintained terraced infields, which the Dghwedè referred to as the 'stomach of the settlement' (*khudi luwa*). We have already discussed the importance of manure in keeping the infields fertile, and in the subsequent chapter section we will describe how the Dghwedè also used the word 'stomach' (*khudi*) when referring to their house shrines as 'stomach' of *thala*. This highlights terrace farming as being the main means of food production, and as such is a

¹ David, Muller-Koack, Sterner (2001/2002): https://www.mandaras.info/DGB_NCameroon/index.htm

² Muller-Kosack (2004): https://www.mandaras.info/DGB-Godaliy_Research/index.htm

core religious issue of their ritual activities of the past. We will learn that a traditional house was not just a farmhouse, but also the central place for ancestor worship in which patrilocal networks of extended families ritually interacted in the home environment.

The photograph below (Plate 21a) was taken in Ghwa'a in 2004, showing the landscaped terrain formed of stone terraces, and on top sits a house on a specific platform. We can infer that there was a natural rock formation underneath, lending to the creation of the prominent platform. We can see the typical front with the stone wall in the middle (1) and a kitchen on either side. The thatched roof of *thala* above the front wall was missing, and we can see the rooftops of one or two granaries behind it.



We can also see another house at the foot of the terraced platform, and we notice the large number of trees growing on the terraced hillside. I took this photograph in the middle of the rainy season. The missing roof of *thala* suggests that the man of the house might have converted to Christianity or Islam. Another possibility is that the roof of *thala* simply needed renewing, and the owner was waiting for enough thatch to become available after the next guinea corn harvest. The terraced platform underneath the main house suggests that this is an ancient montagnard homestead, and the house might have stood alone there for generations.

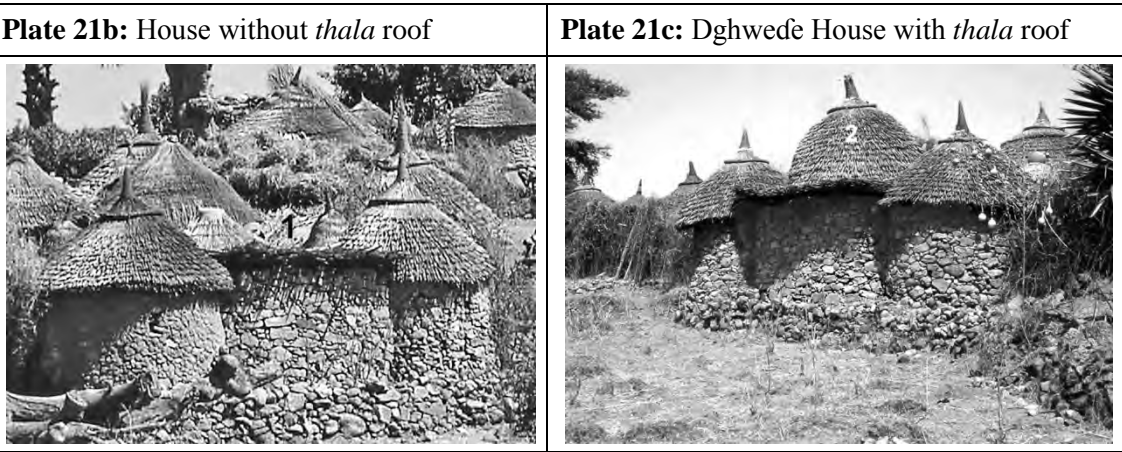


Plate 21b shows the front of a Dghwedé house without a roof of *thala* (1), while Plate 21c shows how impressively it sits on top of the foyer (2), being a widely visible key feature of their architecture. I observed that most houses that chose to no longer have one still had the smooth front stone wall in one way or another. Plate 21c also shows how the owner once sacrificed a bull, because the jawbones of a bull have been placed on top for decoration. Underneath the roof of *thala* is a flat roof called *gadike*, and we can see it nicely in both photos. Such flat roofs were supported by wooden posts from inside the foyer, and could also be found covering a yard behind or to the side of a homestead.

Plate 21d: Chikidé (left) and Guduf (right) house fronts



Plate 21d shows a Chikidé and a Guduf house, and we recognise the similarity of the fronts to those of our previous Dghwedé example. We notice the great care that has been taken to make the curved front stone walls very smooth indeed, and notice the ceremonial foyer roof sitting on the flat roof. The ceremonial roof above the house shrine was by far the largest, and it formed an architectural unity with the dry stone wall and the foyer area behind, particularly when presiding on a hilltop platform. We like to think of it as a statement of prosperity in a period up to more than half a century ago, when collective rituals were still performed. We will return to this in two separate chapters in which the bull festival and the stages of the adult initiation rituals are reconstructed from the collective memories of our Dghwedé protagonists.

Plate 21e: Chikidé landscaped terrain (2004)



Plate 21e shows a hillside in Chikidè to the immediate north of Ghwa'a. I chose this picture because it depicts a completely intact terraced hillside. We can see the terraces beautifully maintained, also the clustering of farmsteads. For example, in the lower right we can see the typical front with the two kitchens and smooth stonewalling, and the upper rooms behind the foyer roof. We see a cluster of houses on various levels in the upper left corner of the photo, and we also notice the intensive tree cultivation on the terraced hillside. Plate 21e shows only a small section of this beautifully intact hillside in Chikidè.

We remember from Part Two that the Gwoza hills are geographically sandwiched between the DGB complex to the south, and Kirawa, the ancient capital of Wandala, at its northern foothills. I visited this part of Chikidè in 2004, as part of a wider comparative ethnographic study of ceramics and architectural key traditions found at the DGB sites. I was particularly interested in comparing types of smooth stonewalling, and was also in search of pots with small apertures, which I found that day in Chikidè (Muller-Kosack 2004). Towards the end of this chapter section there is a colour image of a Chikidè house shrine containing a type of ritual beer pot with these small apertures. I subsequently found the same type of small aperture pot not only among the Dghwedè and the Guduf, but also among the Lamang, the Glavda and the Zelidva, all around the foothills. However, Dghwedè, Chikidè and Guduf were the only groups of the Gwoza hills who not only had such pottery, but also had stone architecture that in parts matched the distinctively smooth stonewalling of the DGB sites.

Unfortunately we did not find any ritual pottery with small apertures in Kirawa, and infer that this had to do with the Islamic conversion of the Wandala rulers after they moved to Doulo. Plate 21e shows how developed the landscaping of terraced hillsides must have been in the past when it was much wetter. We remember the Tur and the Godaliy traditions discussed earlier, and our attempt to compare the two in context of the emergence of first Ghwa'a and then Korana Basa in relatively earlier and later pre-colonial times. That the much wetter 17th century led to north migration, which formed Korana Basa, is a possibility we have been considering, while we hypothesised that 'Johode' as an early arrival zone had existed previously, which led to the formation of the Chikidè. We will return to the pots with small apertures we found in Dghwedè in Chapter 3.12, but will first of all focus on the actual architecture of a traditional Dghwedè house, and start with a standardised groundplan.

Standardised groundplan of a Dghwedè house

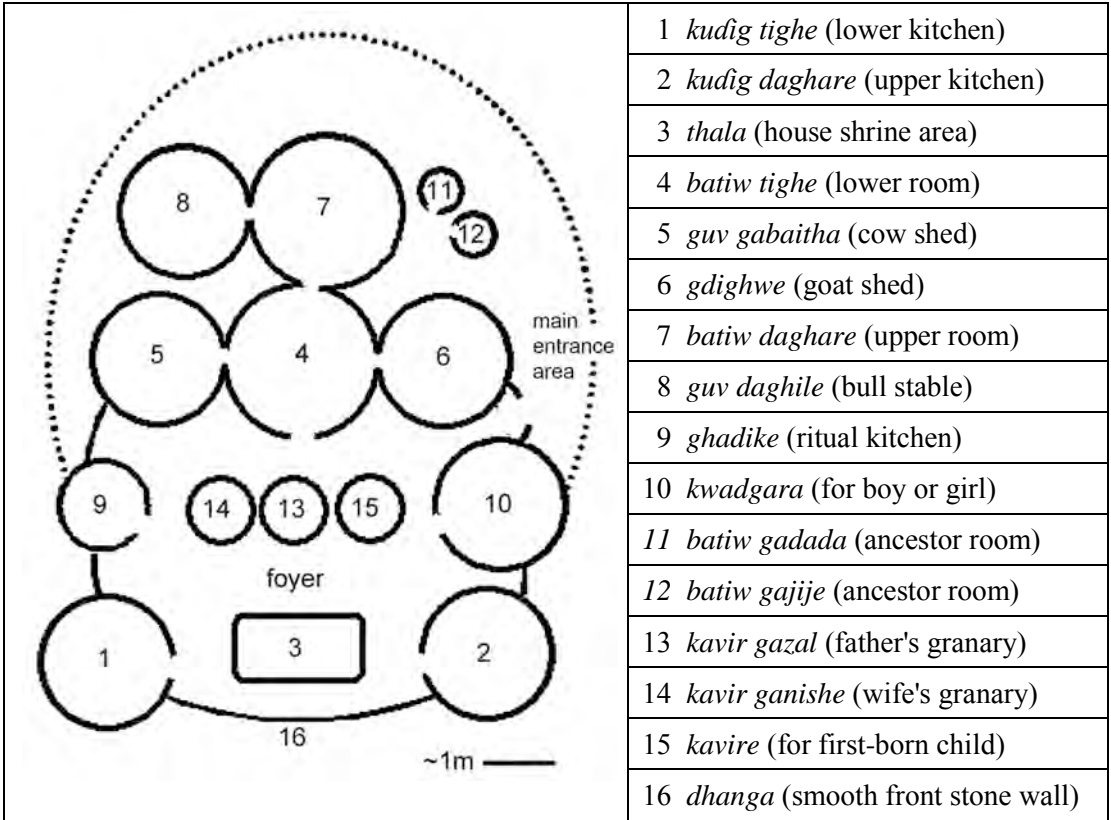
Below is the standardised groundplan of a traditional Dghwedè house for a nuclear family, which I developed together with John Zakariya in 2005. Dghwedè families of the past were polygamous and patrilocal, meaning a new wife became initiated into her husband's local patrilineage during the marriage ritual (see Chapter 3.20). We already explained that the first wife of the father and owner of the house played a particular role, and in this chapter we demonstrate how her special position is reflected in the architecture of the house. At the beginning of the next chapter we will present a far more detailed 3D plan based on the same groundplan presented here, and will describe how the house as a place of worship reflected the social organisation across extended family connections.

We have already distinguished between the foyer area and the upper room complex of a Dghwedè house in architectural terms, of which the smooth front dry stone wall with the roof above the house shrine (*thala*) and with a kitchen on each side was characteristic. In Figure 18 below we have simplified the actual house shrine (3) in the centre of the foyer area. The dotted line around the back of the house signifies a thorny hedge, representing a boundary with the adjacent infields.

The plan of our house adopts a particular left/right orientation, marked by the lower kitchen (1) to the left, and the upper kitchen (2) to the right of the house shrine (3). The house shrine of our model in reality consists of two parts, as we can see in our 3D model of the foyer area (Figure 19c). The 'stomach' of *thala* to the left is the ritual centrepiece of the shrine. The left

side of the foyer area was also where the first wife's lower kitchen was located. The same principle is reflected in the left-to-right order of the granaries, and we see that the left granary (14) belongs to the first wife. Her husband's ritual sauce kitchen (*ghadike*), where an exogamous lineage brother cooked a sauce for the deceased father (*dada*), is also found to the left.

Figure 18: General layout of a traditional Dghwedê house plan



The main entrance area of a house is at the side, but we are not sure where it is. I marked it to the right between the goat shed (6) and the children's room (10). If we consult Figure 19c of our 3D model, we can also see that the two main passageways dividing the foyer are called *tab hupala* (central passageway) and *ghar malga* (top or upper passageway).

Plate 22a: The roofs of a house in Kwalika during rainy season



Plate 22a shows the Dghwedê house I photographed on the way to Kwalika in 1995. I applied the same numbering of rooms as in our standardised plan above, but added *gadike* (17) for a

flat roof. We are not sure about the bull stable (8), since it seems to be on the right rather than on the left side of the upper room (7) where I had expected it to be.

We see that *batiw gajije* (ancestor room for the grandfather) is hidden under the trees (12). This house only seems to have two granaries, and I have identified one (13), and marked it as 'father's granary', while the other one presumably belonged to the mother of the house. We also notice that the roof of *thala* rests on top of the flat roof (*gadike*), but we can see another *gadike* next to the upper room (17). There is an unmarked separate room between 7 and 12, which I have marked in my fieldnotes as an additional room for the father of the house. I have not marked it with a corresponding number since it seems to be a later addition.

Plate 22b shows the ruin of a traditional house in Ghwa'a, and we can see the base structure of the foyer with the former central foyer area (*hupala*) which still contains ritual pots.

Plate 22b: The ruin of a Dghwedè house showing the base structure of the foyer



We see parts of the front wall (16), the remains of the foundation of *thala* (3), the house shrine and some of the sitting stones (a) in front of the granary bases (13). To the left we see the entrance to the ritual sauce kitchen for the father of the house (9), and behind the granaries we recognise the entry to the lower room (4) which is for the first wife.

The whole arrangement with pots still standing on top of the base of the granary of the father of the house (13) looks as if the family members might still carry out rituals in the central foyer area of this long deserted house. There was a pile of potsherds which I photographed next to the house (see Plate 39a) to show the small apertures of typical Dghwedè ancestor pots. We discuss that image in the next chapter when we compare the small apertures of Dghwedè ritual beer pots with similar apertures so characteristic of pots of the archaeological DGB sites..

Before we move on to describe the physical aspects of Dghwedè architecture, we will take a look around the exterior of a house. As mentioned, Dghwedè homes were farmsteads which had been adapted to the requirement of terrace farming, and where the very limited space was an ongoing problem. We will see in the next subsection how the Dghwedè combined natural elements of the space, such as rocks and trees, and integrated them into farmyards as storage or working spaces.

Various views of the functional spaces around the outside of a house

Dghwede people lived in close contact with domestic animals in and around the family homes, especially during the farming season. We have seen above that animal sheds were integrated into the groundplan of a house, as were the granaries. The use of rocks and a further platform construction was often linked to the entrance area which was to the side of the house. The view from the front demonstrated status and success rather than serving an agricultural purpose. Behind and around the house we find storage facilities for which natural rock formations were also used. The changing views around the outside of a house were determined by the seasons, for example during the harvesting period when firewood was prepared, or when hay was stored. The following images will demonstrate this.

Plate 23a shows the connecting platform between two neighbouring houses. We are looking at Buba Nza'avara's house, some of the interiors of which we will see in the next subsection. In our photo he is sitting, perhaps with his wife, on a circular bench which is also the base for a storage facility. We see the hay being stored for the dry season, as well as the corn stalks leaning against it, presumably waiting to be used for re-roofing one of the rooms. The tree in the centre of the yard was an additional very useful storage facility, such as for hay, but we can see in the picture that the tree was also an important provider of shade.

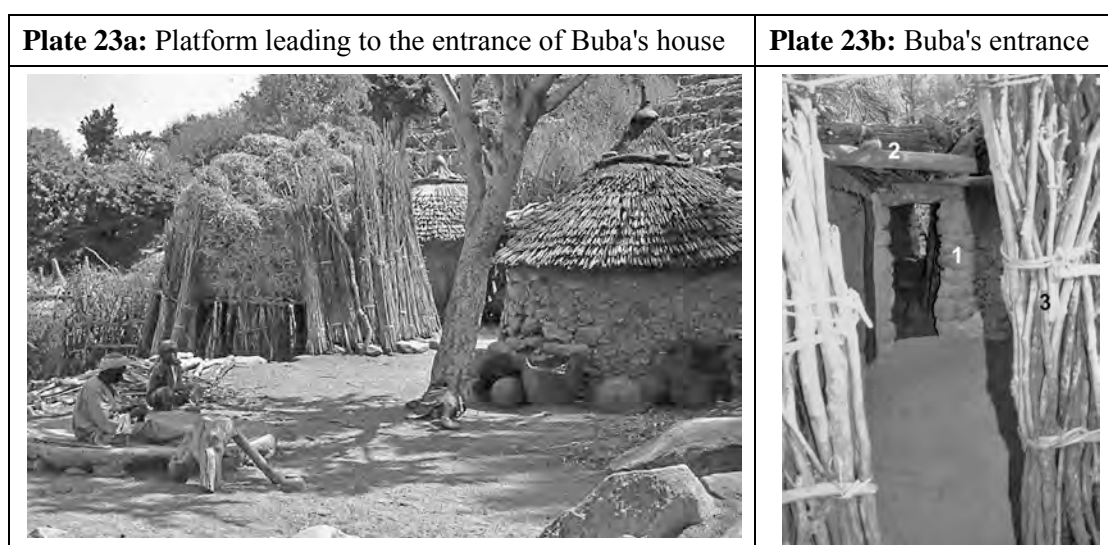


Plate 23b shows the entrance into the main section of Buba's house. We can see the typical widening of the upper part of the stone entrance (1), which we assume was done to facilitate movement of animals or for carrying heavy loads in and out of the house. We can also see the wooden supports for a flat roof (2) as part of the entrance area. The front of the entrance was framed by wooden sticks bound together as two entrance posts (3). These are called *wuts gwazgafte*, meaning 'in front of God'. Later we will learn more about the ritual function of the entrance posts of a house, and the threshing ritual 'slaughtering for God' (*har gwazgafte*).

The six pictures of Plate 23c to Plate 23h show different typical views around the exterior of a house. They show for example the importance of rocks and how they were integrated into the building, such as how one huge flat rock in the middle of a farmstead was used as a drying area for germinated sorghum for beer making. Another image shows how wooden sticks and grass were stored against a terrace wall. In the same photo we also see a huge broken pot placed upside down on the edge of the terrace, and in front of it a stone for sitting or working on.

Next to it I added a photo of a tree as a storage facility near a house, and we can see how the shade of the tree allows family members to rest underneath. Below we see a picture of a temporary goat enclosure, for while they were to remain tied up during the growing season. We can see that wooden sticks similar to those in the other photo were used to fence the goats.

Plate 23c: Flat rock as drying facility



Plate 23d: Tree as a storage facility



Plate 23e: Grass and wooden sticks for goats



In the image below (Plate 23g), the one to the right of the temporary goat enclosure (Plate 23f), we can see a single room, the function of which we are not entirely sure:

Plate 23f: Goat enclosure during wet season



Plate 23g: Watering place for animals

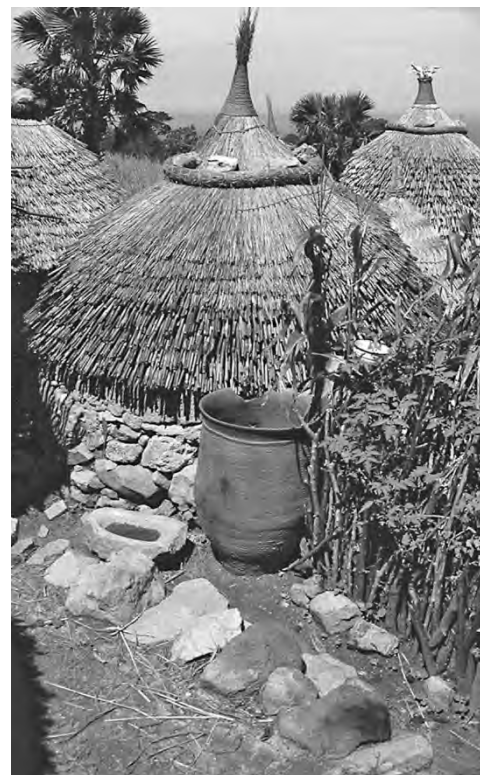


Plate 23h: Granaries are open for being filled



We think that Plate 23g might have been one of the animal sheds because the wall is low, which indicates that the shed was perhaps lowered into the ground. We also see tobacco plants growing next to it, which marks this space as part of the back courtyard. This perhaps prompts us to look at the back of a bull shed. Tobacco plants were often found near the little ancestor rooms. We see at the top right of the photograph, the roof of *thala*, with the bull jaws on top as decoration.

Plate 23g demonstrates the importance of water, not only for storage in the big *ndughwe* pot, but also the old grinding stone might also have served to feed and give animals water. Finally, we see a photo with the three granaries of a house open and ready to be filled (Plate 23h). We will see in the next section how the granaries were part of the foyer of the house, including ritual pots being kept underneath the father's granary, but this will be part of Chapter 3.12.

Orientation and clustering of traditional Dghwede houses on a hillside in Dzga

In this subsection we will explore a little further how the Dghwede clustered their houses on hillsides by arranging them, either horizontally or vertically, on interconnected platforms. We will use typical situations from a hillside in Dzga, directly opposite to where I had my research station. The hillside faces east, and over the top we get to Kunde. There were about 30 homesteads on that hillside and many of them were clustered together on terraced platforms shared by two or three houses.

In Plate 24a below, we recognise the shared platform from Plate 23a, because the support base that Buba and his wife had been sitting on in the shade of their tree is visible. Now the same circular base carries a huge basket (3), most likely for the harvest of millet, because unlike in the case of sorghum, the corn stalks are standing in the field ready to be cut later.

Buba's main entrance (2) of which we saw an image earlier, is in the centre, where we see a flat roof next to a little thatched room. We can see from the distance how far away the entrance is from the roof of *thala* (1) to the left. This is where the ritual centre of the house was. It indicates that Buba's home had been significantly extended over time and the entrance has most likely been moved with it on the platform to the right.

Plate 24a: Buba's house (1) to the left of the shared platform



We can also see that Buba's is the larger and more prominent of the two homesteads, and it might even have been the more ancient and therefore the more traditional original house on the shared platform. We know that his neighbour to the right (4) was not a close relative.

There is a single farmstead (5) visible above Buba's house, and we infer that its lower infields were separated by the path above the homesteads of Buba and his neighbours.

We have seen from our standardised groundplan that the Dghwede distinguished between the foyer and the lower and upper room complex behind it, whereby the lower room led down into the foyer. We therefore know that the foyer in the front was always the lowest part of a traditional house, ideally facing the infields underneath. The lower kitchen of the first wife was always on the left side, making it very close to the 'stomach' of *thala*, from where the ritual pots for her husband's deceased father and grandfather were taken to be filled with beer and kept overnight in her lower kitchen. The left and right kitchen also played a role in the context of the marriage rituals a new wife went through (see Chapter 3.20).

Behind Buba's impressive roof of *thala* (1), we see the roofs of the lower (a) and upper (b) rooms. We do not know how long this house existed, but it would have been at least three if not five or more generations, because apart from the usual three 'active' ancestor stones in front of his 'stomach' of *thala*, he kept 'retired' ones under his granaries, but I never made a count. Above his lower and upper rooms we see one of Buba's little ancestor houses (c). They are situated between the trees behind his upper room, and we will see close-ups of them later (Plate 35a).

One of the most important structural aspects of building a house on a hillside must have been the sound foundation of its original front. While Plate 24a shows a shared horizontal platform, the photograph presented in Plate 24b portrays a cluster of three houses staggered upwards against the hillside. The prominent house in that picture is the one at the centre front (1) and we can see how the left kitchen (a) sits on a steeply terraced corner platform (A), while the right or upper kitchen (b) is parallel with the line of the terraced infield (c).

I wonder whether the expression 'lower' kitchen for the left kitchen had a topographical architectural origin. We could argue, from Plate 24a and 24b, that the left kitchen is positioned above a steeply underpinned terrace wall of up to three levels (A). There might well have been a rock underneath, which had been partially destroyed to start the platform of the house above, with the left kitchen at the lower end. Unfortunately we do not know enough, and have to accept that the left kitchen was also the lower kitchen, and that it was associated with the fact that it was the first wife's kitchen. For some reason, the left side of the foyer was ritually more significant, and there was an underlying gender aspect to this.

Plate 24b: Clustering of houses on three interlinked terraced platforms



It is difficult to say where the original entrance area of the central house is in Plate 24b, but we can see the roofs of the lower (e) and the upper (f) rooms behind the roof of *thala*. There are additional rooms to the left (g), at about the level of the lower room, while the expansion of the house connects with the platform of the next house up to the right (2). The control over the erosive function of floodwater during the rainy season around such steep corner platforms must have been very important, and the Dghwedé were masters in moving heavy rocks and breaking them down if they were in the way.

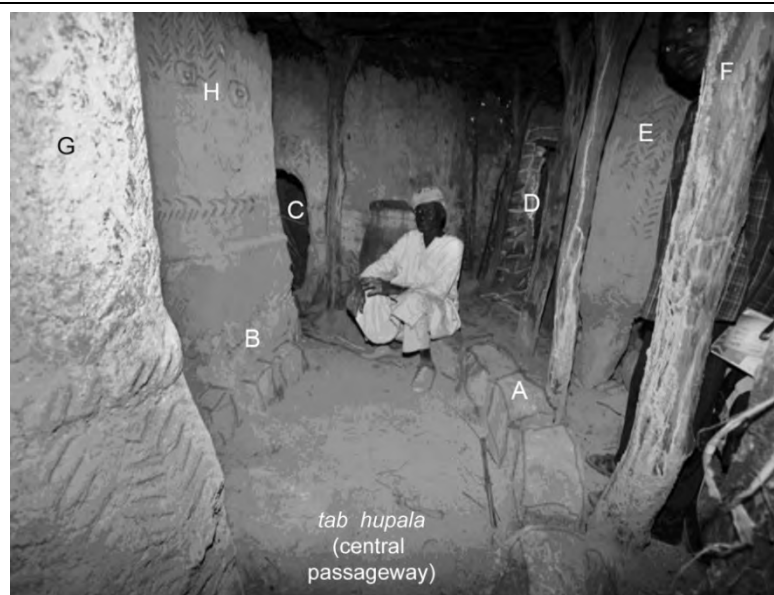
The next section introduces us to the foyer structure of Buba's house.

'Stomach' and 'bed' of *thala* between central passageway and front wall

This section shows the architecture of a house shrine (*thala*), as the centrepiece of a Dghwedé foyer at Buba's house in Ghwa'a, mainly from photographs taken in 1998 and 2005. Buba turned out to have the best maintained 'stomach' and 'bed' of *thala* among the three houses I had the opportunity to document in detail. Later, in the section on the lower and upper room areas, we will use photos I took in Kalakwa's house, and compare Buba's *thala* with a Chikidé shrine. We already pointed out that they share the same design of a typical front with the Dghwedé and Guduf, but the designs of their house shrines are different.

We have already referred to the area with the house shrine and the granaries, plus the pattern of passageways and the various rooms which could be entered from the foyer of the house. Figure 19c of the 3D illustration gives a detailed view. The Dghwedé word for this entire foyer space was *hupala*, reportedly meaning 'a complete space'. The central passageway between the house shrine (*thala*) and granary was called *tab hupala* (*tab* means 'in the middle'). This current section will document different views of the inner foyer structure, all resting on a shared foundation platform, which not only carries the front wall with a kitchen on each side, but also the wooden support structure for the flat roof with the widely visible roof of *thala* sitting on top.

Plate 25a: Buba sitting next to his three ancestor stones



We enhanced Plate 25a and 25b with illustrative line drawings, mainly because of the poor quality of the photos. It shows Buba sitting on one of the sitting stones (A), marking the place where the three ancestor stones (*kwir thala*) are visible at the foot of the front of the 'stomach' of *thala* (B). We see half of the entrance of the lower kitchen (C) next to Buba, and behind him we see the entrance of

the ritual sauce kitchen (D). Between the ritual sauce kitchen and John, we see his wife's granary (E). We see a row of wooden posts (F) supporting the flat roof (*gadike*) behind the sitting stones and along the front of the granaries as part of the structure of *tab hupala*.

In the left corner of Plate 25a we can see the top end of the 'bed' of *thala* (G) protruding a little, and we notice the decorative fish pattern etched on the adobe plaster on the 'bed' of

thala, which is also visible on the granary (E). The 'stomach' of *thala* has two eyes or breasts (H) which forms part of a decorative pattern with anthropomorphic elements. Similar adobe plaster decorations were also found on the walls of the lower kitchen (above kitchen entry C).

Plate 25b: Buba's view towards 'bed' of *thala* and upper kitchen area



Plate 25b shows the view from where Buba was sitting. We can see the end of the row of sitting stones (A) in front of the ancestor stones (B). They are part of *tab hupala*, with the open 'bed' of *thala* now being visible from the front (C). We also see the granary for the children (D) at the end, as well as the entrance to the upper kitchen (E)

behind the 'bed' of *thala*. To the left, we can see the wall of the room for a firstborn child (F), which also played a role during the marriage ceremony (Chapter 3.20). We see the fish pattern and the eye or breast applications marking the decorated front of the 'stomach' of *thala* (G). John said that the 'bed' of *thala* was a bed for a child or young person, who slept there in the past, directly next to the 'stomach' of *thala*. We also notice the row of wooden posts for the support of *gadike*, the flat roof (H) which covered the whole of the foyer area.

Plate 25c: Buba stands next to ancestor stones

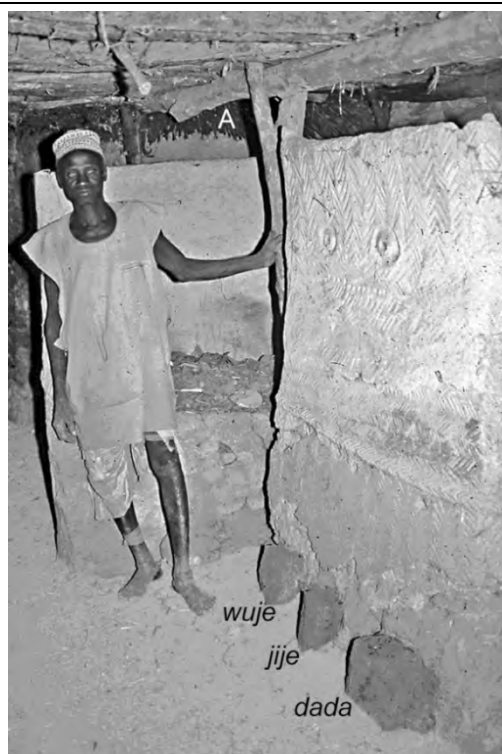


Plate 25c shows Buba in front of his 'bed' of *thala*, looking towards the lower kitchen. We see his ancestor stones, representing his father (*dada*), then his grandfather (*jije*) and great grandfather (*wuje*), all at the inner foot of his 'stomach' of *thala*. Above we see again the eye or breast applications as well as the fish pattern etched on the adobe plaster which once covered the foundations of both house shrine (*thala*) elements.

By comparing the heights of foundations of the 'bed' and the 'stomach' of *thala*, we can see that they are the same height. The top of the actual bed was originally also covered with adobe plaster. We recognise that the overall height of both *thala* elements is almost Buba's height. There is about 40cm of space left between the upper rim of *thala* and the ceiling of the flat roof. We see the wooden post Buba is touching, which is positioned at the bottom of the gap between the two *thala*

elements. At the end we see the rim of the thatched roof (A) of the upper kitchen from under the flat roof.

The gap between the 'bed' of *thala* and the 'stomach' of *thala*, just about where Buba stands in Plate 25c, seems to serve as an entry to the bed element. Plate 26a and 26b below show that one could not step across that gap into the front passageway because the two *thala* elements formed an interconnected adobe wall (A) which runs parallel to the front dry stone wall (B).

Plate 26a: Passageway between front wall of *thala* and outer house wall (first view)

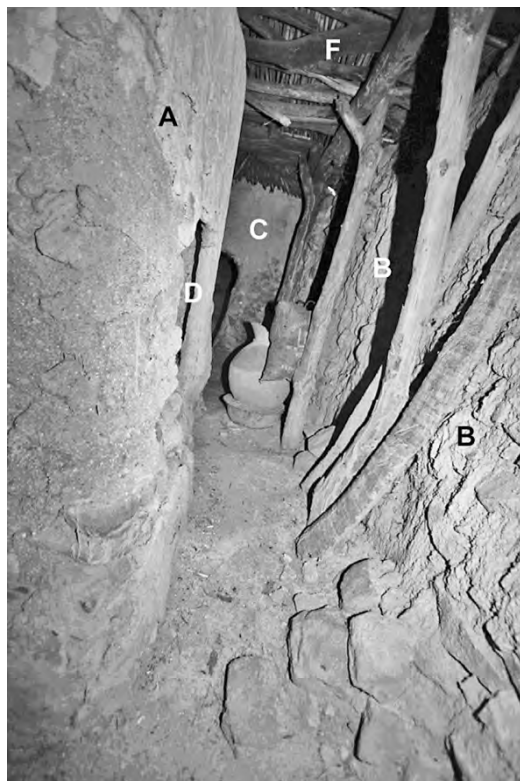


Plate 26b: Passageway between front wall of *thala* and outer house wall (second view)



Plate 26c: Opening of the 'stomach' of *thala* faces the front wall of the house



Plate 26d: View of the inside of 'stomach' of *thala* from the top towards the front wall



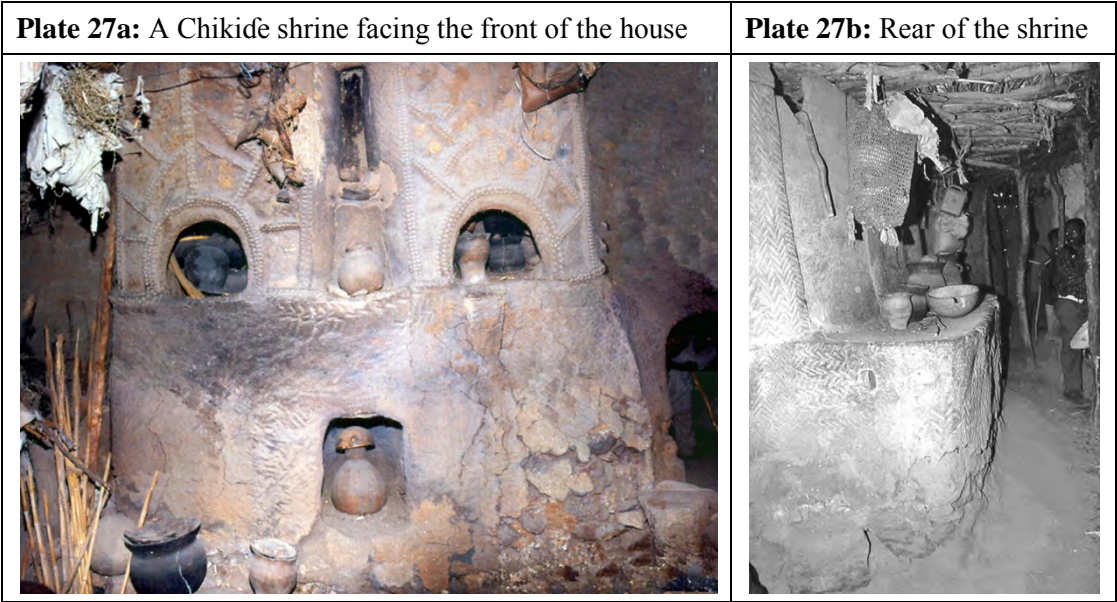
Plate 26a shows the upper kitchen at the end (C) and we recognise the opening of the 'stomach' of *thala* (D) to the left. Plate 26b shows a view further down the passageway, and gives us a close-up of the entrance of the upper kitchen. On the left we see the stone masonry (E) around the bottom of the opening marked (D) in Plate 26a. To reach the opening of the 'stomach' of *thala* one had to walk around both house shrine elements, but it was closer to the lower kitchen than to the upper kitchen. We can also see the flat-thatched ceiling (F) of the foyer area carrying the roof of *thala*, and we will later see the same wooden supports forming

a structural feature of the architecture of the foyer area of a house in our illustrations describing the upper passageway.

Plates 26c and 26d above show the interior of the 'stomach' of *thala*. The image on the left shows the opening from the outside, while the one on the right is a view from above. We recognise the ritual pots stored inside, and will come back to the role of each of them in Chapter 3.12.

We can only make an informed guess as to why the opening of the 'stomach' of *thala* faces the front wall and the central passageway where the anthropomorphic breasts or eyes are found. If we consult Figure 19c at the beginning of Chapter 3.12, we can see the arrangement of the sitting stones and the three ancestor stones forming a sacrificial area unit with the lower kitchen and the ritual sauce kitchen. To interpret the opening at the back of the 'stomach' of *thala* as a rectum would be speculation, despite the importance of dung for soil fertility. We are neither entirely sure whether the two *thala* elements were the same everywhere in Dghwedë. For Korana Basa, we only have a photo of Bulama Nghatha's *thala* with the ancestor stones at its foot, but we are not sure whether he also had a 'bed' of *thala*.

Concerning the ritual pots inside Buba's 'stomach' of *thala*, we can see a beer bowl on a decorated stand *jahurimbe* (1), and a *zal jije* pot (2) which is the *tughdhe thala* (ritual beer pot for *thala*) for the deceased grandfather (*jije*). We know this because later we will show another image of Buba's *thala* from 2005, in which we can see two *tughdhe thala*. We think that perhaps his father had died before we took the photo in 1998. This would have meant that his father's *tughdhe thala* had been ritually smashed and not yet replaced with Buba's *tughdhe thala*. The *jahurimbe* beer bowl played a role during *har ghwe*, the sacrificial slaughtering of he-goat for the deceased father. We will discuss *har ghwe* in the next chapter. *Jahurimbe* also played a role during adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), and we will discuss the ritual circumstances of its use. We also see parts of a ritual cooking pot (3) in Plate 26d, which also played a role during *har ghwe*, during which it was used to libate sorghum beer over the ancestor stones. The other item we see in Plate 26c and 26d is a little grinding stone (4), but can only assume that it was also part of the ritual setting found in a 'stomach' of *thala*.



The two images above (Plate 27a and 27b) show the front and back of a Chikidë house shrine³. As was the case in Dghwedë, it was situated directly behind the smooth front wall.

³ The 'face' of the Chikidë shrine in the left image was digitally reassembled from six slides, because the distance between the shrine and the front stone wall was less than one metre. It was also rather dark and I had to use flash light.

Unfortunately I know almost nothing about how the Chikidè served such a shrine, but my Dghwedè friends pointed out that one of the differences was that the Chikidè carried out their ancestor ritual near the front wall rather than in the centre of the foyer. We can see the back of the Chikidè shrine in Plate 27b, forming a board which might have been used for preparing the ritual food. The prepared food might then have been taken to the front, but we do not know for sure.

The anthropomorphic features of the 'face' captured in Plate 27a could not normally be seen in its entirety, as the passage between the front wall and shrine was too narrow for a whole view. I remember seeing the light coming in through the dry stone walling, sprinkling lightly over the adobe 'face'. It felt to me to be a manifestation of the forefathers of that house symbolically overlooking the terraced infields they had manured over generations.

We see similar pots as in the Dghwedè 'stomach' of *thala*, except that the Chikidè pots are placed in the various facial features of the shrine. For example, in the 'mouth' at the bottom we see the jug for ritual beer, and in the right 'eye' we see an upturned sauce pot, and a beer bowl in the left 'eye'. We wonder whether the facial features of the shrine, representing mouth, eyes and nose, were an anthropomorphic equivalent of the Dghwedè 'stomach' of *thala* which did not face the front of the house. We remember that the Dghwedè had 'eyes' or 'breasts' applied above the ancestor stone at the inner side of the 'stomach' of *thala*, while its opening at the back faced the terrace fields across the smooth ceremonial front dry stone wall.

In Plate 27b we can see the high adobe shelf at the back of the Chikidè shrine, almost like a sideboard, leading into the central passageway of their foyer, and perhaps it was used for preparation. We also notice the beautiful adobe plastering with the decoration on both sides of the Chikidè shrine, especially above the 'eyes' of the face of the shrine as visible in Plate 27a. Another difference between a Chikidè and a Dghwedè house shrine was that the Chikidè had only one shrine, while the Dghwedè had two separate shrine elements, a 'stomach' and a 'bed' of *thala*. However, the two parts only appeared as separate elements when facing the central passageway, having only one opening at the back where it faced the front passageway.

The main building material of a Dghwedè house shrine was stone from the foundations up to the level where it met the height of the 'bed' of *thala*. On top was an adobe shrine, which was open towards the ceiling of the flat roof (*gadike*). The 'bed' of *thala* faced the gap between the 'bed' and the 'stomach'. While the 'bed' was open towards the ancestor stones, the 'stomach' of *thala* was more like a rectangular container with an opening facing the front wall. The whole of the house shrine was once plastered and decorated, in our case with an etched fish pattern. I am not sure about the floor but assume it was a type of earthen or adobe floor.

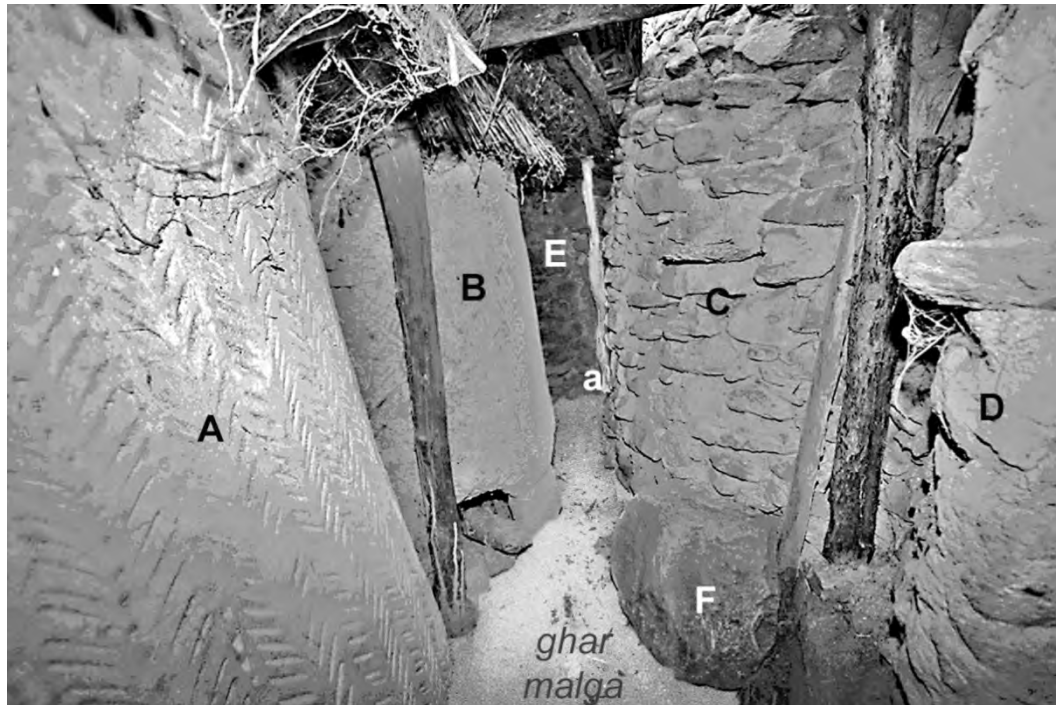
Because of the weight of the house shrine, including the roof of *thala* on top of the flat roof construction, the underground would have to be very solid and have a very strong platform. Perhaps such platforms were originally built on natural rock formations, and remaining rubble used to fill the underground of the platform, which would then be filled and consolidated with a mixture of clay and sand. The whole might then have been stamped. I have seen this happening when John and his brothers increased the size of the platform of my research station by doing exactly that. I was amazed at their skill in breaking up large rocks and moving them around with the aid of heavy wooden levers. In our next subsection we will look at the other architectural elements of the foyer.

The foundation stones of the upper passageway, child's room and kitchens

We have so far seen illustrations of the central passageway *tab hupala*, situated between the granaries and the ancestor stones, with the two *thala* elements and also the narrow passageway along the back of *thala* with one opening facing the front wall. We now continue our guided tour of the foyer of a Dghwedè house with the top or upper passageway *ghar malga*, possibly best translated as 'upper foundation', behind the three granaries. In Plate 28a below we see a view from the father's granary (A) and that of his first wife (B) to the left. We

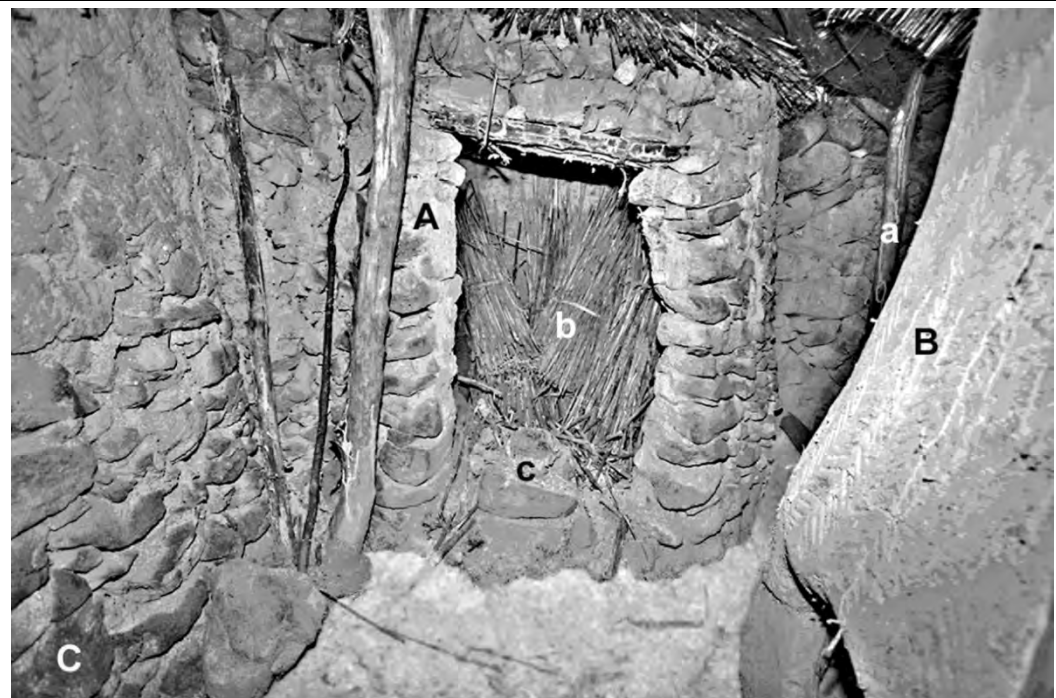
also see the lower room (D) and next to it the cowshed (C) on the other side of the upper passageway. At the end of the passageway, we can vaguely see the wall of the ritual sauce kitchen (E), and the wooden support (a) of the foyer's flat roof is just about visible in the corner next to it. We also see the last of the foundation stones (F) for the upper room complex. They have given the name to the upper passageway (*ghar malga* = foundation stone) or 'upper foundation'.

Plate 28a: View of *ghar malga* towards ritual sauce kitchen with lower room and cowshed

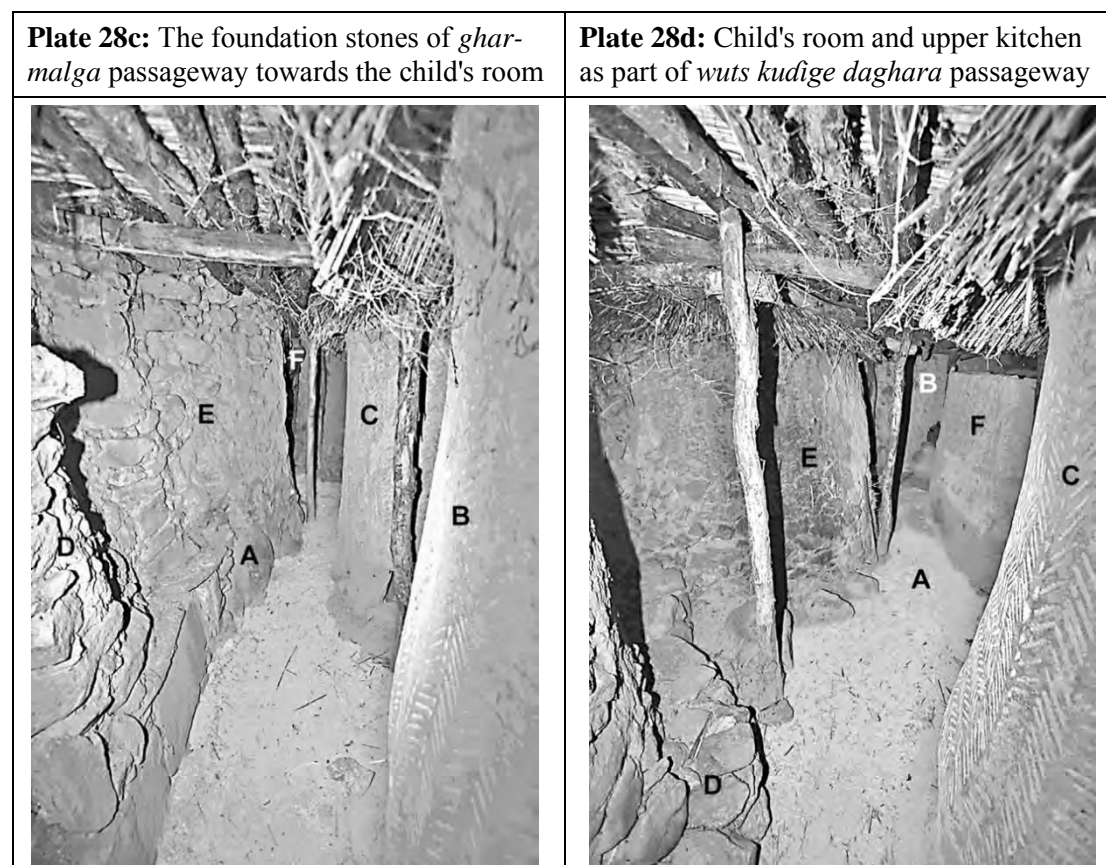


In Plate 28b below we can see the ritual sauce kitchen (A) and the wooden support behind the first wife's granary in the corner marked (a) in Plate 28a:

Plate 28b: Entrance of Buba's ritual sauce kitchen next to his first wife's granary



In Plate 28b we are looking up from the direction of the central passageway. To the left of the ritual sauce kitchen (A) we can see the dry stone wall of the lower kitchen (C) and higher up the kitchen wall we can recognise remains of the fish patterned adobe plaster. We can see the same decorated plaster on the first wife's granary (B) as we saw in other places in Buba's house. We do not know how much of the stone masonry was originally plastered in this way. We can also see the corn stalks (b) inside the ritual sauce kitchen, and some ash (c) on the floor, but this is not necessarily from cooking ritual sauce.





In Plate 28c we can see the other end of the line of foundation stones (A) along the *ghar malga* passageway bordering the lower end of the upper room complex. We see the solidity of those big blocks of rocks along the ground, forming the semi-circular upper limit of the foyer, which are even better visible in Plate 31a further below. At the right side of Plate 28c we see the granary (B) of the father of the house, and the granary (C) of his children.

On the left side of Plate 28c, we can see parts of the wall of the goat shed (E) next to the front of the lower room (D) leading down to the first child's room (F). Plate 28d shows the passageway towards the upper kitchen (A) called *wuts kudige daghare* (meaning 'in front of the upper kitchen') with the children's granary (C), and we also see the back of the 'bed' of *thala* (F) to the right. We recognise the circular foundation stones of the first child's room (D) and the wall of the upper kitchen (E) opposite the 'bed' of *thala*. Towards the very end of Plate 28d we get a glimpse of the front wall (B) of the house.

Plate 29a and 29b below show the first child's room (*kwadgara*) and its roof. Unlike the lower room for the first wife and the upper room for the husband, the children's room is still part of the foyer of the house, next one up from the upper kitchen. Plate 29a shows a utility room with a thatched roof (Plate 29b), telling us that it did not have a loft (*gude*) as did the lower and upper room. We will learn in the next section that the latter formed a much more solid segment in terms of stone architecture. In the past, the child's room was the room where a bride went into seclusion as part of her marriage ceremony (Chapter 3.20), and there was a specific way of marrying to trigger the entitlement of becoming a first wife. During her

seclusion the bride was only fed liquid food, after which she was released from seclusion and a sacrifice to the ancestor stones was carried out, initiating her into her future husband's patrilineage with the ability to form a matrilateral 'kitchen' (*kudige*) of descent.

<p>Plate 29a: View of child's room</p> 	<p>Plate 29b: Thatched roof of child's room</p> 
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The following two pictures (Plate 29c and 29d) show views of the upper kitchen. The one on the left shows the grindstone board (A) with beautifully decorated plastering. It has cooking pots on top (B). The photo to the right shows the open thatched roof and the walls formerly plastered with adobe, which have darkened from cooking. In the corner we see a large beer pot (C). Most kitchens such as this had been used for grinding and brewing sorghum beer. We know that the lower kitchen only was dedicated to brewing ancestral beer. That the upper kitchen was directly next to the child's room might have been practical in terms of childcare.



<p>Plate 29c: Upper kitchen with grinding top</p> 	<p>Plate 29d: Thatched roof of upper kitchen</p> 
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Plate 29e is of the lower kitchen of Kalakwa Wila's house, showing that the grinding stones (A and B) were embedded into the top of the adobe construction, which also shows remains of former elaborate plaster decoration (D).


<p>Plate 29e: Grinding stones in Kalakwa's lower kitchen</p> 

Plate 29e demonstrates that the lower kitchen was primarily a beer kitchen, which is indicated by the large pots for making beer, similar to those in Buba's upper kitchen above. The word for grinding top was *vra*, while the large beer pots were called *ndughwe*. We note that upper and lower kitchen look more or less identical.

Plate 30a below shows again the front passageway

between the back wall of *thala* and the front stone wall, this time from Kalakwa Wila's house, which was quite ancient and his *thala* more or less ruined. The picture reveals its stone foundation (A), forming the back of *thala*, and we can see the front gap (B) separating the 'stomach' of *thala* (C) and the 'bed' of *thala* (D). We see the two ritual beer pots positioned in the remains of his 'stomach' of *thala* plus a small ritual sauce bowl (E) with calabashes on top (F). We infer that his *tughdhe thala* (ritual beer pot) was the one to the left (G), and that of his deceased grandfather (*zal jije*) the one to the right (H), perhaps mirroring the left to right order of the ancestor stones facing the central passageway.

Plate 30a: Foundation wall of *thala* across Kalakwa's front passageway



We can also see that the centre part of the front passageway has been elevated, suggesting the possibility of an underlying rock (I) having been integrated as part of the platform on which the front wall (J) and the foyer area rest. To the right of the picture we can see the door of the upper

kitchen (K), and of course *gadige* (L) the flat thatched roof, on the outer top of which, as we know, the heavy roof of *thala* played a ritual role during the bull festival. In the next subsection we start at the top end of the foyer, referred to as the 'upper foundation' (*ghar malga*), from where the lower and the upper room are interconnected by two steps.

The lower and the upper room complex with animal sheds attached

In referring to the lower and upper room complex, we begin with the topographical aspect of a homestead built on a hillside. We realise that the foyer is, in our ideal case, a flat platform containing a house shrine area, with granaries, three kitchens and a child's room. While the front wall faces the terrace fields, the upper passageway is of structural importance because it contains a line of foundation stones forming a first step leading up to the lower room of the lower and upper room complex. While the lower room belongs to the first wife, the upper room belongs to the husband and owner of the house. We will learn in Chapter 3.20 how a bride is initiated into the patrilineage of her future husband by using the transition area between the foyer and the lower and upper room complex as a ritual place. An elder sits on one of the foundation stones and sprinkles water over the bride as a ritual blessing for becoming a new wife. The other point we will make is that the lower and upper rooms have animal sheds attached, which underpins our earlier point that a traditional Dghwedé house was indeed a farmhouse with integrated stalls and granaries.

In this subsection we use images from all of the three houses documented in 2005. We start with examples from Abubakar's house, and in Plate 31a below we see the foundation stones (A) forming the upper end of the foyer area, and close to it a step (B) leading up to the lower room. We also see the cross-stone (D) above the entrance to the lower room. To the left of Plate 31a, on the other side of the *ghar malga* passageway, we see the father's granary (C).

Plate 31b demonstrates how a second step leads from the first wife's lower room (A) into Abubakar's upper room (B), where we also see parts of his bed.

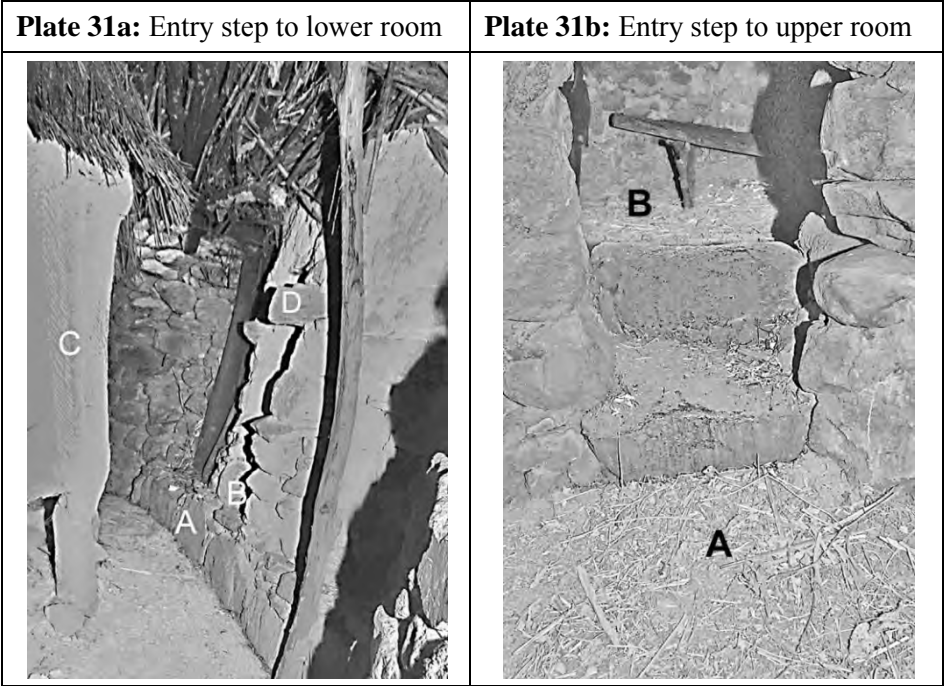
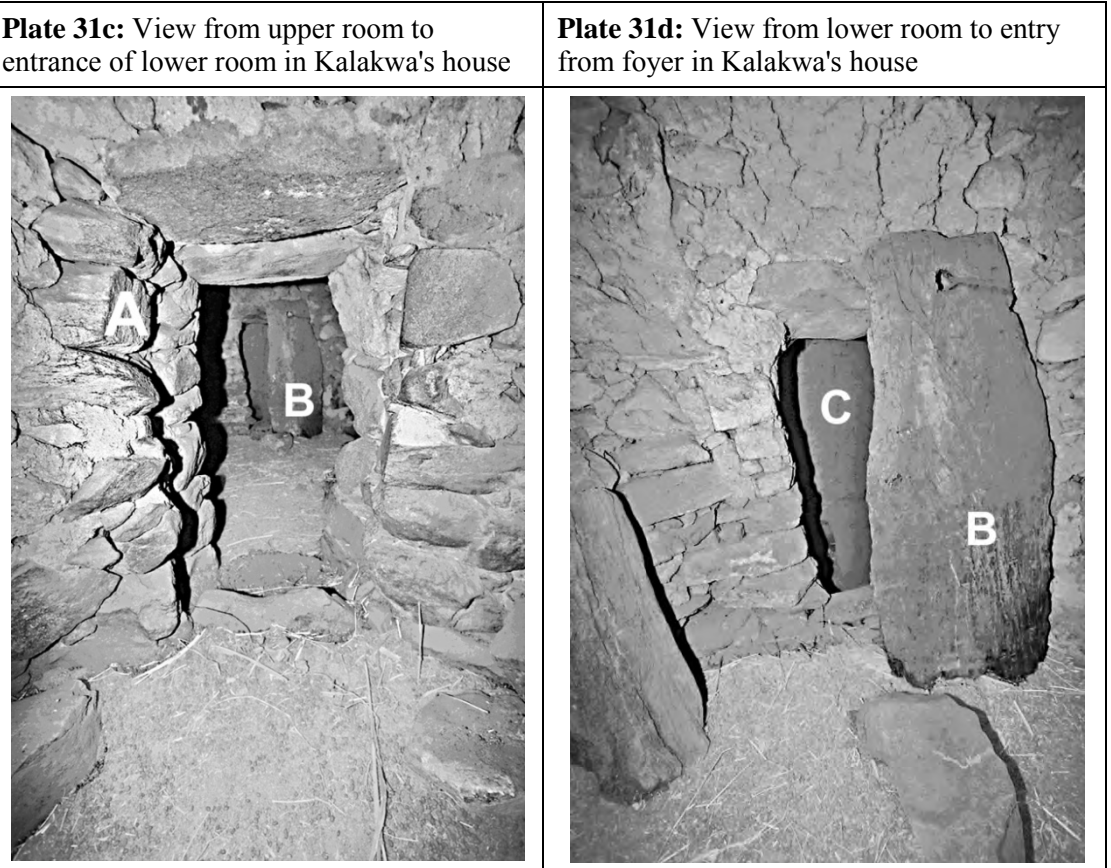


Plate 31c below gives a view from the upper room across the lower room towards the top passage of the foyer area. We can see the abutting stone walls (A) linking the upper and lower rooms. We will learn in the next

chapter that the beer pot for the ritual at the grave of the deceased father of the house was temporarily kept above that double entrance during *har ghwe* (ritual slaughtering of a he-goat). At the bottom end we can see the wooden door (B) made of mahogany, covering half of the entrance leading into the foyer. The close-up of Plate 31d shows the same door (B) of the lower room, and we also see Kalakwa's granary (C) on the other side of the upper passageway (*ghar malga*).



Plates 32a-33d show the lower room of Buba's first wife, with interlinked goat and cow sheds. We notice in Plate 32a the two children looking down from the upper room of Buba's house (A) into the lower room (B) with his first wife's bed (a). We see a mahogany door behind a post (b) and bundles of rope (c) hanging from the ceiling. In Plate 32b we can see the ladder (C) used to get into the loft (*gude*) of the lower room. Behind the ladder we see the entrance (D) to one of the animal sheds, and we see more rope (a) hanging from the ceiling.

Plate 32a: Lower room in Buba's house

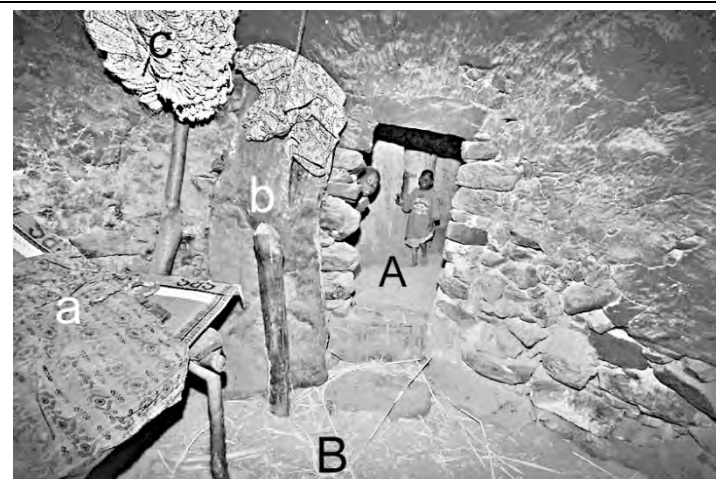


Plate 32b: Ladder (C) to *gude*

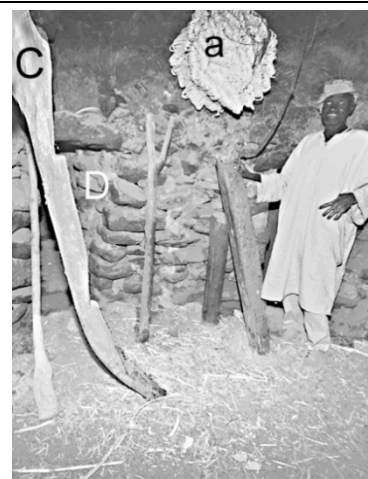


Plate 32c shows the entrance hole (E) of *gude*, and we also see the wooden ceiling (F), while Plate 32d gives a view of inside the dome of *gude* (G) with the rim of the entry-hole being visible (H). In the right corner inside *gude* in Plate 32d, we see parts of a built-in container structure made of adobe (I). The round container is called *takwakwala* and served the purpose of storing grain or any other item the first wife wanted to keep there.

Plate 32c: Entrance to *gude* in lower room


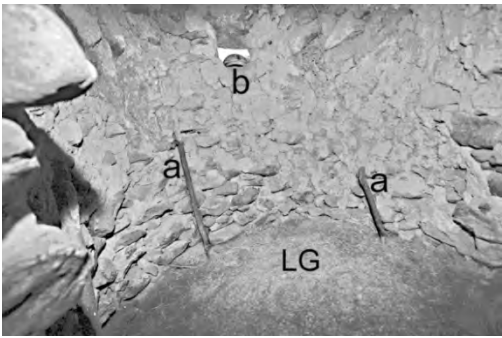

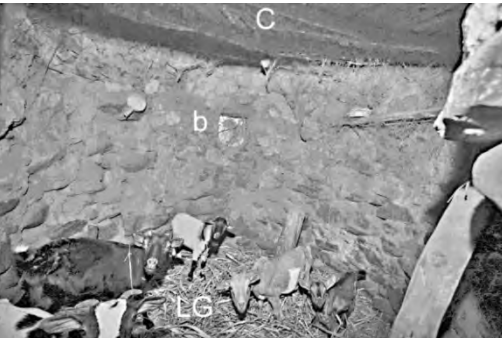


Plate 32d: Dome of *gude* in lower room



Plates 33a-33d below show the two animal sheds diverting from the lower room of Buba's house. Plates 33a and 33b display the goat shed, which was to the right of the first wife's room. The goat shed was empty but we can see the abutments of the two rooms in the entrance area (A). In Plate 33b we see two wooden sticks (a) which were used to tie up the goats. In Plate 33b we also recognise the little window (b) for airing the goat shed, and we can see that the floor is lowered into the ground (LG).

Plate 33c and 33d show the cow shed which is to the left of the lower room. It accommodated a calf, and goats were not unusual. The abutment between the lower room and the cowshed is visible in Plate 33c (A). We remember their outer walls from our view of the *ghar malga* passageway in Plate 28a. Plate 33d shows that the cowshed was also lowered into the ground (LG), and we notice the small window (b) to keep the sheds aired. We also see in Plate 33d that the cowshed had a ceiling (C).

Plate 33a: Buba's entrance to goat shed	Plate 33b: Buba's goat shed
	
Plate 33c: Buba's entrance to cow shed	Plate 33d: Buba's cow shed
	

We recommend the reader to consult Figure 19a and 19b at the beginning of Chapter 3.12 to see the topographical aspect of a terraced platform building, and the two steps of the lower and upper room complex will be noted, also the lowering of the animal sheds.




Plate 34a: Kalakwa's bed in the upper room, of which we saw parts in plate 31b	Plate 34b: Abubakar's bull shed to the left side of his upper room
	
Plate 34c: Kalakwa in the upper room, with the drum <i>timbe</i> (a) for the bull festival and funerals	
	

Plate 34a shows Kalakwa's bed in his upper room, but we are not sure whether he still used it as the traditional area of his house looked quite derelict in parts. We also remember the picture of Kalakwa's collapsed *thala* foundation at the end of the previous section (Plate 30a). The bed was however very traditional, consisting of a mahogany plank without a mattress, a type of bed to be found across the Mandara Mountains.

Plate 34b shows Abubakar's bull shed. We have chosen this photo because it shows the lowering of its ground (LG) in comparison to the floor of the upper room, and we also see the wooden ceiling (C) and the little window (b) that a bull stable had. The bull was kept and fattened in such a shed for two and sometimes three years before being ritually released and slaughtered. The bull stable was about one metre deep into the ground and the bull ate from the threshold of the entrance (A). This was also the point from where the 'Dagha diviner would check to see whether the bull could harm someone when it was ritually released through a hole broken in the outer wall (a), see Chapter 3.13.

Plate 34c shows Kalakwa standing in his upper room (A) next to his funeral drum (a) called *timbe* which was also used during the bull festival, and we can see the first wife's room below (B). We know that the Dghwede had stopped performing the bull festival possibly a generation before, and we do not know whether Kalakwa put it there because he knew that I was visiting. We can reasonably infer that the upper room was the place where a man might have kept his funeral drum. Later we will learn more about other objects that were kept there.

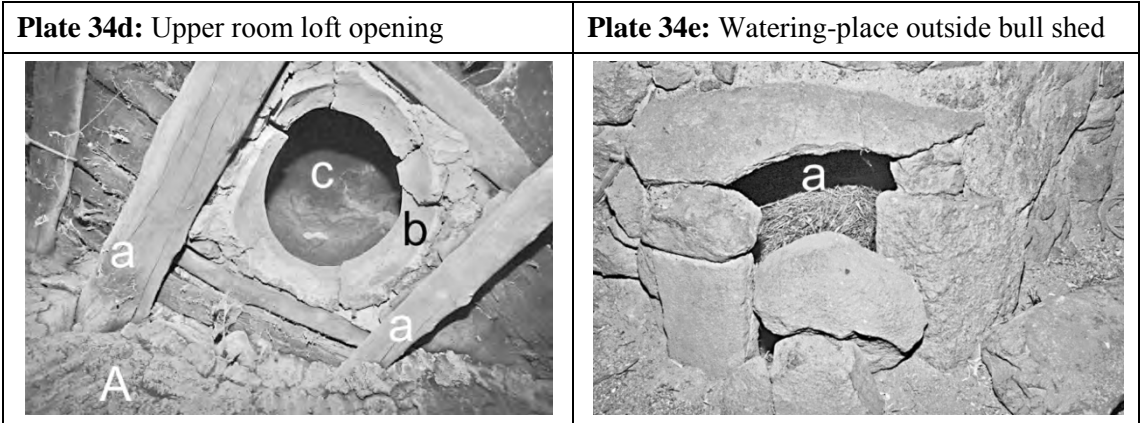


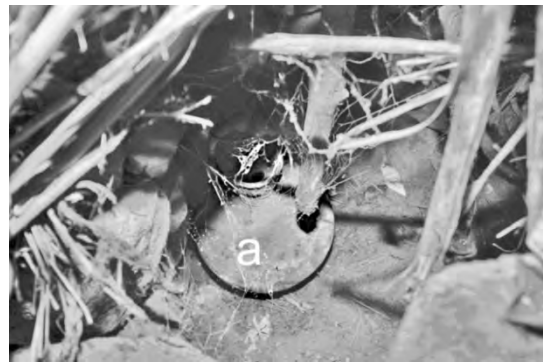




Plate 34d and 34e are our final two images to introduce the architecture of the lower and upper room complex. Plate 34d shows the opening of the *gude* dome (c) in Kalawa's upper room. We can see that the entry to the loft is on the side of the room (A) and we notice the wood (a) and clay (b) construction supporting it. We think that it was on the side of the room to facilitate entry with the traditional ladder, of which we have seen an example from Buba's lower room (Plate 32b). What the image did not display was that the ladder had a fork at the top to lean it safely against the wall. The interior of the *gude* dome will not be shown again, as it is the same as in the lower room (Plate 32d). However we will see in the next chapter that the *gude* of the husband was ritually less important than the *gude* of his first wife.

Plate 34e shows the watering-place in the wall outside Abubakar's bull shed, but the fact that hay (a) can be seen suggests that the bull was also fed through that opening. We infer that the bull was able to get his head through the opening to take water, which was perhaps provided from a large pot in the backyard next to the bull shed. We remember such a possible scenario from Plate 23g in our section about the various views of the functional spaces around a homestead, where we showed an old grinding stone as a watering trough.

The backyard and the miniature ancestor rooms

In this last subsection about the key elements of the architecture of a traditional Dghwede house we will show the little ancestor rooms in the backyard of a house. I only learned about their existence in the later phase of my fieldwork, and was rather impressed by their miniature architecture. They are listed in our ideal groundplan (Figure 18) as room 11 for *batiw gadada* (deceased father's room), and room 12 for *batiw gajije* (deceased grandfather's room). We have placed them in our plan to the right of the upper room, but they could equally have been somewhere else nearby. There could also have been more than two, as for example was the case in Kalakwa's house, where there were three in his backyard. There were also differences in where they were placed, compared to the rest of the farmsteads.

<p>Plate 35a: Buba's ancestor rooms</p> 	<p>Plate 35b: Kalakwa's ancestor rooms</p> 
<p>Plate 35c: <i>tughdhe batiw gajije</i></p> 	<p>Plate 35d: <i>tughdhe kule</i></p> 
<p>Plate 35e: <i>sak batiw gajije</i></p> 	

By examining Plate 35a and 35b above, we can see that ancestor rooms were miniature versions of rooms for the living. They were made of stone and had thatched roofs. The fact that Buba's ancestor rooms were almost integrated into the terrace wall (d) behind his house and near the trees of the infields (d), with tobacco plants (b) growing around them, shows high ritual significance. This is also supported by the fact that in front of them, between the

tobacco plants, we see a grinding stone with a broken pot on top of it (a). This little grinding stone reminds us of a similar one we saw in Buba's 'stomach' of *thala* (see Plate 26c).

Plate 35b above shows Kalakwa's ancestor rooms, and we can see all three of them (a, b, c) in the backyard to the right side of his upper room (A). The ancestor room in the middle (b) has a flat stone (g) covering the entrance. Unlike Buba's place, Kalakwa's house was built on a flatter part of the hillside, allowing for more space. This might have been the reason why his ancestor rooms were part of his backyard, and the thorny hedge (d) behind them seems to indicate that too. We remember the plan showing the roofs of a traditional house on the way to Kwalika (Plate 22a) at the beginning of this chapter, where the ancestor rooms were located in the grove about 50 yards away from the main house. What we might be able to conclude from this is that ancestor rooms were more or less detached from the main architectural structure of a house, but that they were still part of a traditional farmstead and as such were part of an agricultural service area near the main house.

If we look again at Plate 35b, we see that (f) is where *batiw gadada* (a), the ancestor room for the deceased father of the house, abuts with the upper room of the father of the house (A). If we now consult Plate 35d, we can see that the *tughdhe kule* (ritual pot for the deceased father) was resting where (f) is marked in Plate 35b, while (b) marks *batiw gajije*, the ancestor room for the deceased grandfather. The ritual pots displayed in Plate 35c and 35e are hidden behind the flat stone (g) of *batiw gajije*, but we were allowed to photograph them. Next to *batiw gajije*, behind the tree, we see Kalakwa's ancestor room for his deceased great grandfather. Interestingly, the great grandfather as the most removed of Kalakwa's family ancestors has his miniature room at the greatest distance from the upper room of the father of the house. If we remember the impressive view of a traditional house from the front, with the roof of *thala* and the lower kitchen to the left and the upper kitchen to the right, we see a similar left to right order to that of the arrangement of the ancestor stones of Buba's house in Plate 25c. There the third ancestor stone *wuje*, dedicated to his deceased great grandfather, was also on the right, while that of his deceased father (*dada*) was on the left, and the one for the deceased grandfather (*jije*) was situated in the middle.

We will learn in the next chapter that the *tughdhe kule* (pot for the deceased father), visible in Plate 35d as (b), played a crucial role in the context of *har ghwe* (the sacrifice of a he-goat for the deceased father). Concerning the *tughdhe batiw gajije* (a), which is the ritual beer pot in the ancestor room of the deceased grandfather shown in Plate 35c, we remember that there was also a ritual beer pot for the deceased grandfather called *zal jije* in Buba's 'stomach' of *thala* (Plate 26c and 26d). Finally, there is the *sak batiw gajije* (d) a three-legged cooking pot for the deceased grandfather, on top of which we have an ordinary cooking pot (d). The three-legged cooking pot at the bottom (c) of Plate 35e reminds us of the personal spirit or god pot a father of a house could own, which was placed on a forked wooden branch above the bed in his upper room to protect his spirit while asleep. We will return to the spatial positioning, role and function of many of the ritual pots, in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Our chapter on the architecture of a traditional Dghwede house has shown how important it is to understand the mountainous landscape shaped by the forefathers of the Dghwede, by the construction of terraced platform foundations for their farmsteads. The use of stone as a building material is essential here, resulting in reshaping the landscape of a hillside into a *khudi luwa*, a 'stomach of a settlement', which we see to be the result of a labour-intensive agricultural process of creating soil fertility through the regular application of animal manure. This is reflected in the architecture of the three animal sheds, of which two are attached to the lower room of the first wife, while the upper room of the husband and father of the house has the bull shed linked to it. In agricultural terms, the comparable architectural features of the foyer area were the three granaries forming the storage facility, but rather than stone, these were made of adobe. Facing the front was the house shrine with the smooth front stone wall,

which we like to see as a ceremonial representation of prosperous mixed farming contained behind terrace walls.

In that context we explored the DGB area as the possible pre-historical root of a wider subregional pre-colonial history of terrace cultivation, and explored the importance of stone as an architectural base material. Besides this, we referred to a similarity in terms of a particular pottery tradition, consisting of small apertures for the funnel-like mouths of ritual beer pots. Our Dghwedé examples serve to illustrate how a montagnard culture finds its ethnographic voice by a presentation of the oral history of its material and immaterial culture, and we shape it accordingly by contextualising it with the wider subregion. At the beginning of this chapter we pointed out that my comparative research of 2004 had shown that the distribution of pots with small apertures was not limited to the Gwoza hills, but that such pots could also be found among the Lamang and the Glavda.

By 2004 such ritual pots were seen as items of the past, and we therefore consider them as having once served as ancestor beer pots across the Gwoza hills and along its foothills. On the other hand, only the Chikide, Chinene and Guduf as montagnards had such pots in the past, and also a type of stone architecture with smooth ceremonial front walls as part of their sacred foyer area where such pots were ritually stored. We pointed out that the only place where we could not find such pots with small apertures was Kirawa, and we hypothetically conclude that the reason for that might have been the official Islamisation of the Wandala sultanate during the 18th century. This means that our presentation of the material and immaterial aspects of Dghwedé ritual culture is an opportunity for the historian of tomorrow to further explore the cultural-historical embeddedness of our wider subregion.

We described the ritual area in the central passageway, and showed how the smooth front wall and the impressive roof of *thala* was a status symbol representing successful terrace farming over generations. We will contextualise this view further below by showing how, for example, the seven-year cycle of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) catered for that in ritual terms, by promoting the individual's sense of success as an ambitious mountain farmer. We mentioned the bull festival and how the roof of *thala* was decorated with the jawbones of a fattened bull. Besides this we referred to the archaeology of the DGB sites, showing how long mixed farming, and with it manure production, might have been known in our wider subregion, and we will develop this perspective further in the next chapter about the house as a ritual place of ancestor worship across extended patrilineal family connections.

We showed that besides stone, wood, and thatch or rope, adobe was also a main building material. In the context of that, we could see the solidity of the stone architecture aiming for long-term endurance, in particular as part of the lower and upper room complex. We learned about the ceilings and lofts (*gude*) and the many areas of adobe plastering, particularly in the foyer area. We saw the many wooden posts for the flat roof, not only in the foyer area but also in the back and front yard and entry area of a house, and showed how the entry area might have shifted over time with the growing number of rooms. We further explained the sharing of platforms on hillsides between neighbours, and how the natural structures such as flat rocks might have been integrated as useful service areas for individual farmsteads.

Our next chapter begins with the already mentioned 3D version of the layout of a traditional Dghwedé house. We will then show the spatial dimension of senior brothers and generation mates serving the ancestor stones in the houses of their extended family kin, before we describe how ritual pots and family priesthood interrelated on the level of individual houses. In the context of that, we will also show the implications of the ritual sacrifice to the deceased father of a house inside the foyer area, and also concerning the miniature ancestor houses and deceased father's grave. We will go through a list of ritual pots, and describe how the front yard and the entrance area of a house played an important part, as well as the boundary distinctions between neighbouring farmsteads. Finally, we will discuss the specific ritual importance of the house of a rainmaker, and how the rainstones and the rainmaker's ritual

bundle derived their local potency from the senior rainmaker's house as a shared place of worship.

Chapter 3.12

Ritual aspects of the house as a place of worship

Introduction

My first contact with the Dghwedë people of the hills was in Korana Basa in 1995. This was when bulama Ngatha said that sacrificing to his ancestor stones (*kwir thala*) was the most important ritual for connecting to his Dghwedë identity. We can see in Figure 19c of our 3D model below, how these were arranged at the foot of the 'stomach' of the house shrine (*khudi thala*) forming the ritual centrepiece of every Dghwedë house of the past. We can see the row of sitting stones opposite the shrine, and remember the adobe application of eyes or breasts above the ancestor stones, and the semi-circular opening at the back, facing the front wall. Inside the 'stomach' of *thala*, specific ritual pots and bowls were stored, which played a key role in sacrificing to the deceased paternal father and grandfather of the extended family.

In the previous chapter we demonstrated that stone is the most important building material, not only for houses but for whole landscaped hillsides with their topographically integrated platforms and terraces. When I asked I was given four basic types of stone or rock that my Dghwedë friends seemed to distinguish:

- *kwire* (general word for stone or rock)
- *tawda* (hard and solid stones or rocks)
- *tsangwithe* (hard white and solid stone)
- *huzaze* (stones which are not hard)

We do not know for sure, but one key distinction might have been the hardness or softness of the stones, in that how workable they were and hence how useful. Soft rock like basalt was perhaps a good underground foundation for a terrace field as it might have eroded quicker and assisted the natural development of soils. Since I have not explored this we can only speculate that this might have been the case. As a building material for houses, mainly hard and solid stone was preferred, such as granites and gneisses.

The ancestor stones were referred to as *kwir thala*, which we can translate as 'shrine stones'. It was presumably not a coincidence that the Dghwedë had chosen stone to be the material to represent their paternal family ancestors. We remember the erected stone at the lineage shrine (*khalale*) of the Vaghagaya in Korana Basa, which did not have any ritual pottery attached because the ancestor the rock represented was far too remote. Our Dghwedë friends' statement that a rock nearby a newly founded homestead, against which a man would lean his weapons, would become his *khalale*, indicated the readiness to defend local land by previous generations. The three ancestor stones represented three generations of extended family members who not only built the terrace walls but also maintained the fertility of the soils contained behind them by the regular application of animal dung.

Stones had other ritual functions in Dghwedë culture. For example they were used for rainmaking, and we will show an image of Kalakwa's retired rainstones stored in his house, and also discuss the importance of the original house of the senior Gaske rainmaker. We will give oral evidence of the significance of the rainmakers 'bundle', and how certain clan medicines to increase the yield of crops were made in the senior rainmaker's house. It was the ancient rainstones the senior rainmaker kept which made his house an important ritual place for all the other Dghwedë rainmakers.

Stones also appear in Dghwedë mythology, according to the rainmakers we interviewed. We will return to the function of stones as primordial 'food' in a separate chapter about Dghwedë mythology, but here want to briefly mention the concept that stones had once been soft and edible, but later became hard and uneatable, which led to the development of guinea corn. I

came across the same idea of stones being seen as a kind of primordial food among the Mafa, on the other side of the international border.

Wood was also used to make ritually important objects such as drums that were kept in particular places of the house. Other materials were animal bone from domestic animals, such as the jaws of bulls, and others were used for making charms to be fixed on or hung from walls of certain rooms. Finally, there was clay and the making of ritual pots, which are of particular ethnographic importance to us. Their ritual handling was linked, together with the ancestor stones, to the preparation of sorghum beer and ritual sauce. While the beer was prepared in the lower kitchen of the first wife, the sauce was cooked in her husband's ritual sauce kitchen next to it.

There was a whole variety of terracotta pots kept in a traditional house, and below we introduce a list of such pots, including the places where they were kept and the ritual functions they fulfilled. This will lead to a better understanding of how social relationships were embedded in ritual contexts for their annual or bi-annual renewal. We will demonstrate as such for *har ghwe*, the slaughtering rituals for a deceased father, and *har jije* for the deceased grandfather. We will describe in detail how the ancestor stones and related ritual pots were once handled by specific elders, such as a senior brother or a generation mate (*skmama*) of the deceased acting as a family priest (*zal jije*).

We already mentioned *skmama* as a kinship term for a generational group formed by sons of one particular father, while the kinship term *kudige* concerned the formation of a lineage group among sons of one particular mother. Both systems were reflected in the ritual aspects of a house as a place of worship, in the context of which it was always the seventh born who was served first. A generation mate acting as a family priest was preferably referred to as *zal jije*, and a senior brother as a family priest was more frequently called *dada*. The seventh born did not serve the ancestor stones of his brothers, but was seen more as a potential custodian of lineage shrines beyond the generational limitations of the house.

We will learn that the lower loft (*gude tiche*) above the lower room of the first wife was a ritually important space, but we do not know whether there was a separate ritual for it known as *har gude* (slaughtering for the first wife's loft). We will discuss the importance of sacrificing a he-goat in the context of slaughtering for divinity (*har gwazgafte*), and illustrate how the mountain path passing the shared platform of two neighbours would be blocked to signal to potential passers by that one of them was about to sacrifice to his house god. Apart from touching on the meaning of a personalised god belonging to the owner of the house, we will also begin to discuss in greater detail the ritual importance of guts and stomach contents as sacrificial matter linked to the cosmological worldview of the Dghwedè.

We cannot know the exact age of the houses we visited, but infer that the ancient parts we documented had been ritually used for several generations, and many of the material aspects described could easily belong to the late pre-colonial period. We have seen that the Dghwedè liked to leave traces of their ritual past in the ruins of houses, in the form of smashed pottery. We will show an image of a mound of such discarded pottery belonging to the ruined house introduced in the previous chapter. There we see the typical small apertures we have referred several times as being similar to pottery found on the surface of most DGB sites. We will show the Dghwedè technique of making small apertures, and how they sealed them to maintain the freshness of the beer during the journey to its ritual consumption.

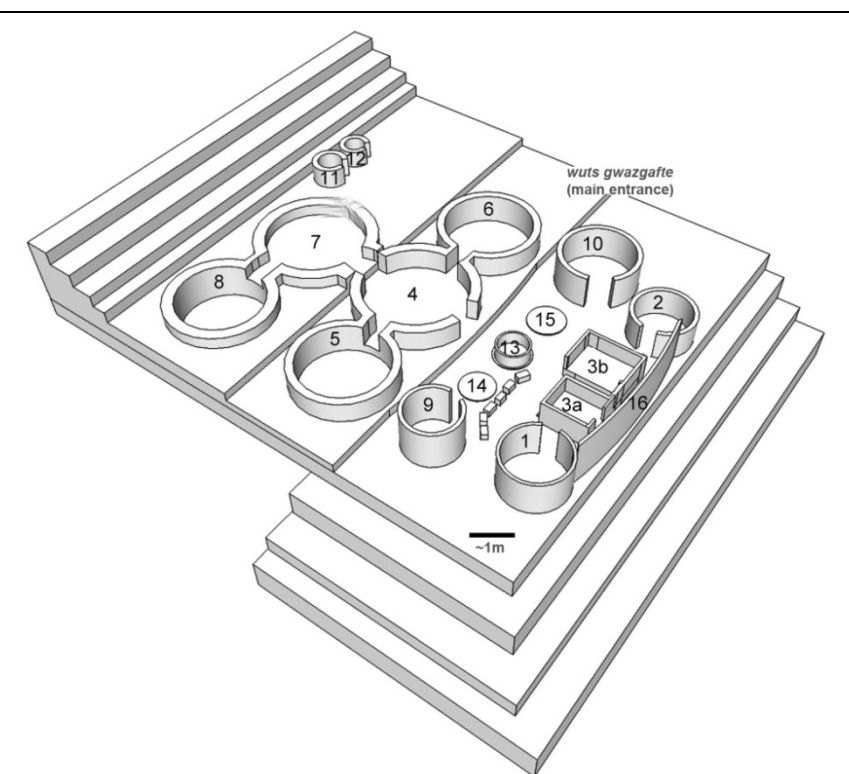
3D groundplan of a traditional house

We begin with a three-dimensional model of the groundplan of a Dghwedè house, and recapture what we have already learned by repeating the names and numbers of its rooms. In this way we will become increasingly familiar with the architecture for when parts of a traditional Dghwedè house are referred to in subsequent chapter sections. Figures 19a-19c show that our 3D model consists of three views, and we see how they form integrated parts of

the same schematic platform of terraced hillsides. We have marked the main entrance of the house (see also Figure 18) as *wuts gwazgafte* (God's passageway) outside of the model house, to indicate that the entrance area of most houses moved over time as more rooms were added.

Figure 19a, 19b, 19c: Three perspectives of a 3D plan of a traditional Dghwede house:

19a: 3D view from lower kitchen corner



Our 3D model is a schematic replica of the typical groundplan from the previous chapter (Figure 18). It shows the lowered animal sheds and includes the foyer area in greater detail.

Each of the perspectives has a different key: Figure 19a features the same numbers as are used for the rooms in Figure 18 of the 2D groundplan, but instead of repeating the key of Figure 18 we have simply written the room numbers into the groundplan.

19b: 3D view from upper kitchen

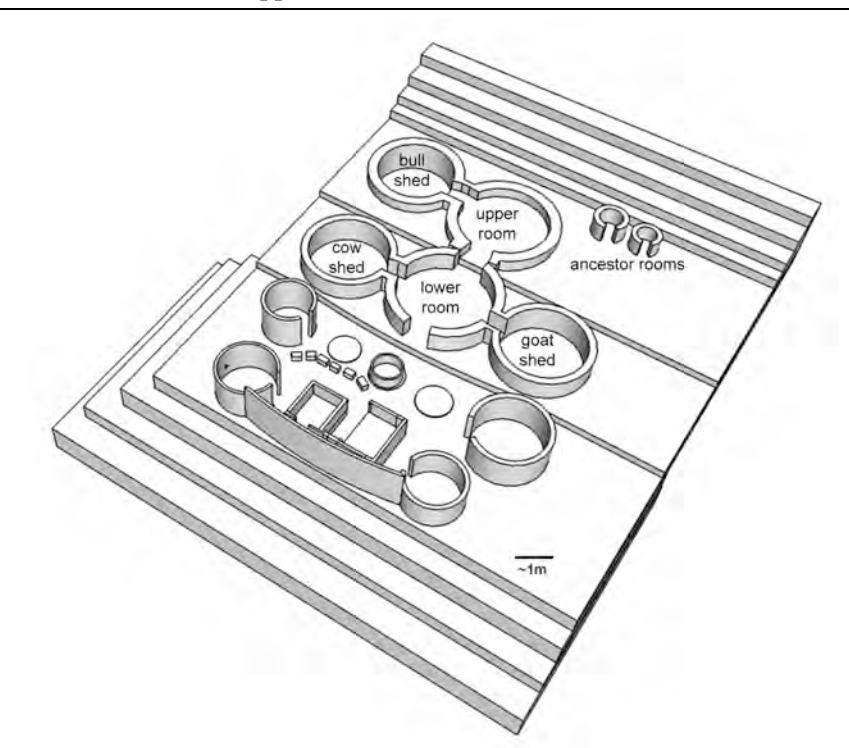
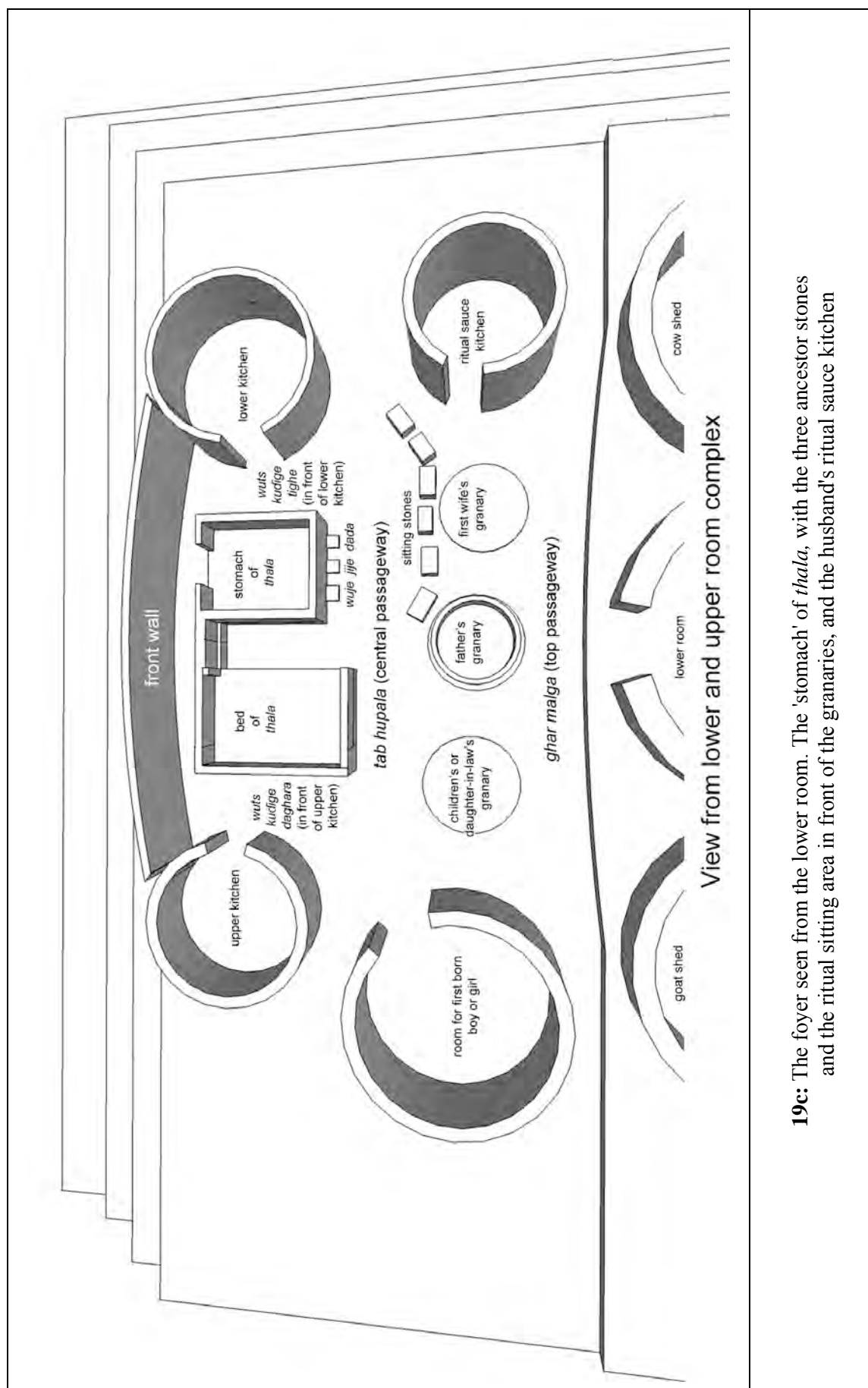


Figure 19b contains the names for the lower and upper room complex, and Figure 19c shows the same for the foyer area.

Notice that Figure 19c contains the Dghwede names for the different passageways discussed in the previous chapter, together with the English translations, while the main entrance is only marked in Figure 19a.



We have simplified the model, but please refer back to the photographs of Buba's and Kalakwa's houses in the previous chapter and imagination will hopefully suffice to understand such a house. We remember that the more ancient sections of the house we photographed were already partly ruined, and extra effort must be made to imagine a fully functioning Dghwede house as it most likely existed during late pre-colonial times.

Our 3D model shows to a better degree how the animal sheds formed an integral part of the architecture of the lower and upper room complex. We see the cow shed (5) in Figure 19a, and the bull shed (8) lowered into the ground, while Figure 19b shows the same for the goat shed. We see that the bull shed is significantly deeper than the other animal sheds, and we remember that the bull shed, like the the cow shed, also had a ceiling, which is not visible in the model. We can only assume that the lowering of the animal sheds was part of the lower and upper platform construction, and we recognise the steps going up from the foyer area.

It has already been mentioned that a bull was kept enclosed in his shed for two years, to be fattened and then ritually released and slaughtered, and this will be described in the next chapter as a key element of the bull festival. In this chapter we are more concerned with the rituals in and around the house, and we will contextualise the architecture by demonstrating that not only did the foyer area (*hupala*) have a strong gender aspect, but this was also the case for the lower and upper room complex. Besides this we will address the architectural fluidity, in that greater and lesser sacred areas of the house overlapped. We will start by listing the three ancestor stones visible in Figure 19c in front of the 'stomach' of *thala*, which were placed at the 'lower' or left side when looking from the front of the house, as part of the more sacred side of the central foyer area,:

- *kwir dada* (ancestor stone for father) - near lower and ritual sauce kitchen
- *kwir jije* (ancestor stone for grandfather) - placed always in the middle
- *kwir wuje* (ancestor stone for great grandfather) - near the 'bed' of *thala*

The fact that the 'bed' of *thala* served a child or a young person as a bed next to the 'stomach' of *thala* (3a) as the ritually most significant part of the house, seems to show how the sacred and the mundane overlapped in architectural terms. Unfortunately we hold no information, other than being told by John, that it functioned as a bed for a child and that it had no ritual function. The opposite was the case for the 'stomach' of *thala*, which not only had anthropomorphic features in the form of eyes or breasts above the three ancestor stones, but it was also the place where the most important ritual pots were kept. We have seen in earlier photos from Buba's house that the 'bed' of *thala* was used as a storage facility for hay, and that the child's room had become a utility room. Considering that the child's room was also the place where a new bride was kept in seclusion, we wonder whether the 'bed' of *thala* did have a ritual significance after all.

Also, the granaries are religiously endowed architectural features, with retired ritual pots and retired ancestor stones stored underneath them, and we will present images of the various granaries. Other parts of the house also had a ritual function, such as the space above the entry between the lower room of the first wife and the upper room belonging to the husband. The same applied to the lower loft (*gude tighe*) found above the lower room of the first wife, and we will illustrate and discuss this, supplemented by photographs. Our 3D groundplan model does not show the adobe domes forming the two lofts (*gude*) of the lower and upper room complex. Still, we hope to have been able to sufficiently enhance the reader's imagination regarding the horizontal layout of the relevant social and ritual spaces presented in some of the following chapter sections.

The three ancestor stones were found in every traditional house

In 1995 Bulama Ngatha from Hudimche explained the social importance of the three ancestor stones at the foot of his 'stomach' of *thala* by saying the following:

If a father dies, sometimes he will appear to you in your dream, and he will complain why you do not do the sacrifice like the forefathers did, while he now lives there [in the next world] without anything. Others are enjoying from their children, but this father is complaining by saying that they [the other dead ancestors of the neighbourhood] are mocking him.

It is tempting to think we are gaining insight into the Dghwedè superego in this statement, because the image of the deceased father appearing in a dream has a strong moral aspect, reminding a son to keep to the ritual rules as otherwise the father might be ridiculed by his age mates in the next world. Bulama Ngatha's words imply that there was an obligation to carry out the sacrifice in good times because it was a communal activity, and here the reputation of the extended family was in question. The other aspect is that it was not about literally feeding his father in the next world, but that it was presumably food in the form of a ritual that bulama Ngatha was thinking about, rather than the idea of physically nourishing a dead person. This embraced the underlying cosmographic view that the next world was a place inside the earth, which was seen as the primordial ground of this world, and we learn in Chapter 3.16 that bulama Ngatha believed there were seven underground worlds.

This reinforces in my mind that the Dghwedè of the past did not think of the stones when they talked about their deceased forefather being in need of sacrificial food, but that the religious responsibility of the living was central. In that sense, my view is that it was primarily an ethical rather than a magical function. This is confirmed by the slant of bulama Ngatha's narrative, when he explained that the deceased father was complaining about not yet having received his sacrifice while most other deceased fathers of his neighbourhood had already been served by their descendants.

Unfortunately we do not have a sitting order for the row of stones opposite the ancestor stones, apart from in Plate 25a in the previous chapter, with Buba sitting next to the stone for his deceased father. Buba's position was also the closest to the lower kitchen and the ritual sauce kitchen. We infer that this was the position bulama Ngatha had in mind when he said he counted the three ancestor stones from right to left and explained:

The first one is your father (*dada*), the second one is your grandfather (*jije*), and the third one is your great grandfather (*wuje*). The *dada* is for you who live in the house, so you put whatever you sacrifice on it. The remaining two stones are for the elder person you invite from outside to do the sacrifice. This elder person is called *dada* as well.

When we look at the 3D visualisation of the ritual foyer area above, we realise that we are now looking from the central passageway towards the front wall. This is the reverse view from before, but we realise that the *dada* stone is still the nearest to the passageway in front of the lower kitchen (*wuts kudige tighe*), while the ancestor stone representing *wuje* is further away and nearer the 'bed' of *thala*. Our Dghwedè friends must surely see the arrangement of the ancestor stones and the sitting stones as the centre of the house shrine, while the back of the 'stomach' of *thala* faces the front wall with its opening facing the infields.

I learned from John Zakariya that every traditional Dghwedè man had three ancestor stones at the foot of his 'stomach' of *thala* in the way Bulama Ngatha described, and that it was the oldest living brother who led the ritual to the deceased father (*dada*). This included the seventh-born son (*thayagha*), who still relied on his senior brother when making the regular *dada* sacrifice in the house that we know he had inherited, together with the infields, from their father. That bulama Ngatha refers to 'the elder person you invite from outside to do the sacrifice' as *dada*, also seems to include the generation mates (*skmama*) responsible for the two more senior ancestor stones *kwir jije* and *kwir wuje*. Bulama Ngatha had indirectly pointed out that *skmama* was in this way comparable to *dada*, meaning a ritual father but only for the next generation up, in playing the role of lead custodian for handling the *zal jije* pot of the deceased grandfather.

I am not as certain about the sequential order in which the senior brother carried out the *dada* rituals for his younger brothers, but we know for a fact that it was always the house of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) which was served first. This reiterates the importance of the role of *thaghaya* as a symbol of population growth in traditional Dghwedè society of the past, and

underpins his religious role as lineage priest, while the senior brother remained the house custodian. As the firstborn son of the first wife of their father, he might even have been from the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*). Seniority also played an important role when it came to choosing a generation mate (*skmama*) for the *zal jije* ritual. It was ideally the oldest generation mate from the level of the deceased grandfather who came from outside to perform the ritual for the ancestor stone *jije* representing the deceased. If there was no longer such a person alive, anyone else who was close to them could reportedly act as *skmama* and be a visiting family priest, something which might have been naturally more common for the ritual to the deceased great grandfather (*wuje*).

Considering that every traditional house had the three ancestor stones, we can perhaps better understand why bulama Ngatha gave us his dream of the father complaining to his son that he had not yet ritually fed him. It presumably implied that there was quite some competition going on between the various households, for example who was best prepared for *har ghwe* (sacrifice to a deceased father) or *har jjie* (to a deceased grandfather) which followed suit. In the past this was regulated to take place every other year, but perhaps it had already merged during my time into an annual sacrifice generally referred to as *har ghwe*, literally meaning 'sacrificial slaughtering of a he-goat'. Chemical fertiliser had meant that animals were no longer raised for manure production, and the competition over sacrificing a he-goat in honour of a deceased father or grandfather was no longer the driving force in keeping the terrace fields fertile.

Plate 36a: Retired ancestor stones under bulama Ngatha's granary in Hudimche (1995)



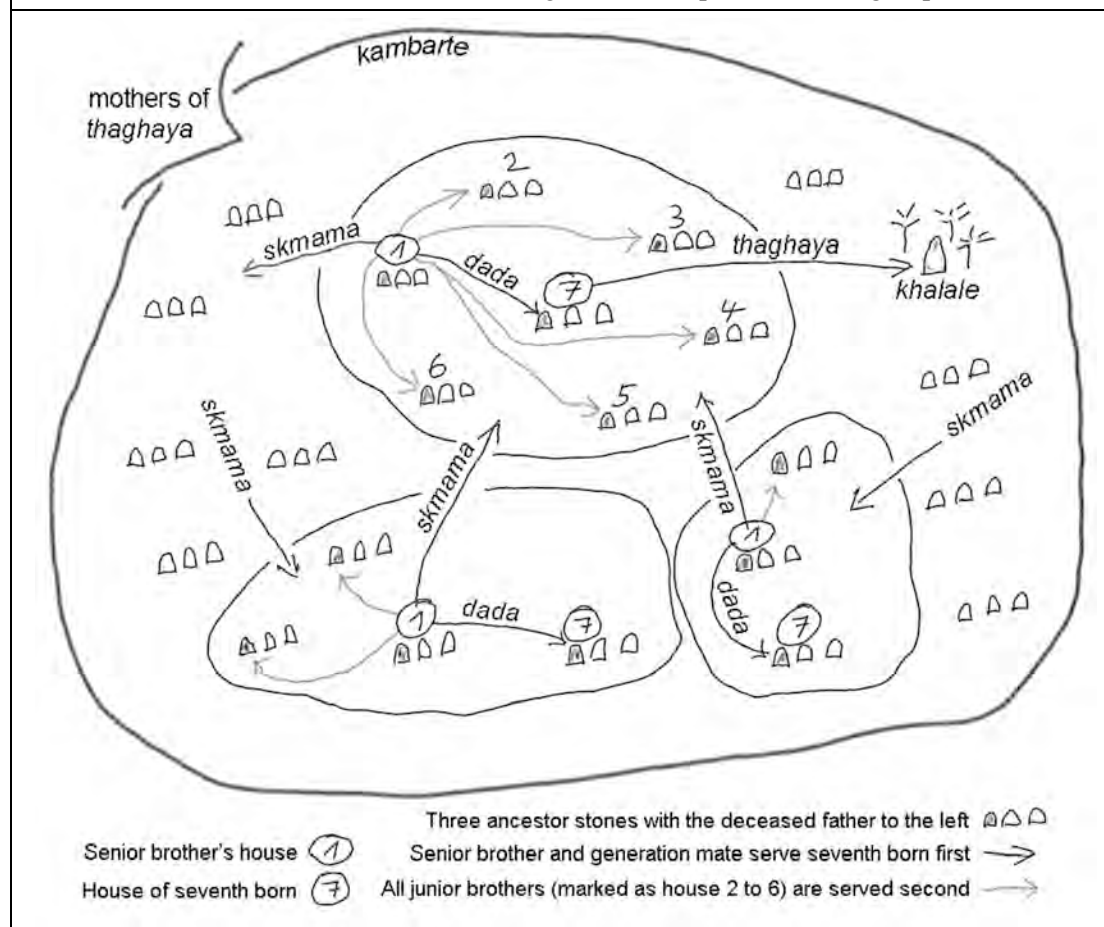
Ancestor stones were replaced when the father of a house died. We infer that all of his sons replaced their ancestor stones at the same time, including his seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) who inherited his house and infields. A new *dada* stone had to be installed to represent his now deceased father, while the old *dada* stone would be moved one up to become the new *jije* stone (deceased grandfather), while the old *jije* stone became *wuje*, and the old *wuje* stone was retired underneath the granary as

seen in Plate 36a (a). We think that all the brothers did the same, and the oldest brother would have carried out the rituals as their *dada* priest. Concerning *jije* and *wuje*, the already mentioned *skmama* pattern operated, which meant that the senior brothers of the deceased father now came as generation mates to serve as *skmama* or *zal jije* (custodian for the *zal jije* pot). The fact that the seventh born was a cultural institution representing good luck in successful reproduction encompassed the fact that it was not always the biological seventh born who became *thaghaya*. We will explain later in Chapter 3.18 the significance of the seventh- and eighth-born child, and how the role of *thaghaya* was passed on across several generations of patrilineal brothers.

In Figure 20a below we aim to visualise an ideal scheme of the order in which the three ancestor stones would be ritually attended by one's senior brothers and the generation mates of the deceased, through and beyond three extended families of at least four generations. This included the existing father of the house, the triggering point being the death of his father, leading to each ancestor stone being moved one place to the right. In our scheme, '1' marks the house of a senior brother, while '7' refers to that of a seventh born (*thaghaya*). The numbers '2' to '6' are those of the remaining brothers of the extended family. We see that the darker arrow shows the senior brother (1) in his role as key custodian of the deceased father (*dada*), by first going as *dada* priest to his seventh-born brother, before assisting his other junior brothers (2) in their own celebrations.

Figure 20a also shows that a generation mate (*skmama*) always came from outside the extended family. We place an ideal extended family consisting of the seven brothers and their houses in the centre, and we see how the seventh born (7) was served first, followed by his remaining junior brothers (2-6). According to our understanding, the same senior brother (1) also ideally acted as generation mate for the deceased grandfathers and great grandfathers from outside his own extended family. We already know that a *skmama* as a family priest was also called *zal jije*, but have used *skmama* in our illustration because here we do not differentiate between the sacrifice to a deceased grandfather (*jije*) and a deceased great grandfather (*wuje*).

Figure 20a: The spatial dimension of senior brothers and generation mates serving the three ancestor stones in the houses of their agnatic kin as part of a local group



The above scheme does not show the exact spatial distribution of houses, but for better visualisation we have placed the sons of one father closer together and encircled them as a group to mark them as three schematic neighbourhoods of brothers. In reality a hamlet (*khudi luwa*) is sure to have consisted of houses of other kindred living in the same neighbourhood. It might also not always have been a generation mate (*skmama*) who was a family priest (*zal jije*), but another senior person from the same exogamous lineage. The core principle however was that the person would ideally have been a generation mate of the deceased grandfather or great grandfather. However, nothing was reportedly written in stone, and a generation mate acting as *zal jije* (custodian for the deceased grandfather) could be replaced with another person if the family was not happy. This underpins the concept of being on good terms with a *zal jije* as perhaps the most important principle, and that the generation mate rule was only the ideal.

Because patrilocal residence was obligatory, a wife came from outside the exogamous lineage section (*kambarte*) and through marriage became a member of her husband's patrilineage.

This is why in Figure 20a we highlighted the first wives of the different house owners of our lineage section collectively as 'mothers of *thaghaya*', which is an expression I framed to mark the ritually and socially most important women in the nuclear family households shown in the diagram. Together with their co-wives, they brought about the concept of a 'kitchen' (*kudige*), the formation of a patrilineal subgroup consisting of the sons of one mother. This social division along the lines of different mothers triggered patrilineal splitting, and in the context of this, the most senior *thaghaya* lineage traditionally had the role of starting activities such as planting and harvesting. Figure 20a shows how the seventh born served as custodian of the lineage shrine (*khalale*), being the one responsible for carrying out sacrifices to the founding ancestor, to incorporate in ritual the local beginning of such a lineage section.

For ease of illustration we allocated only a small number of houses to two of the extended families in our scheme, in order to demonstrate the principle of how the *skmama* system worked with the two stones dedicated to the deceased grandfather and great grandfather. Besides this, the sets of three ancestor stones outside of the three extended family groups have been placed without encirclement, but each of them represents an extended family of several farmsteads, indicating that the scheme similarly repeats itself. It is very important to remember that the overall number of houses represented by the individual sets of ancestor stones in our illustration does not at all reflect the true number of individual households a lineage shrine once embraced. Families from other lineage wards might have also resided in such a local neighbourhood, and the illustration only deals with those who held the custodianship over a lineage ward. We know that this would mark them out as the most numerous local lineage group of the neighbourhood. In the next subsection we present a list of ritual steps typical for *har ghwe*, which in Figure 20b we visualise as a ritual journey in the context of the architectural layout of a house.

Pots and people in the context of *har ghwe* and *har jije*

We have already referred several times to the ritual pots found in the 'stomach' of *thala*, but so far have not dealt with what they represented. Bulama Ngatha (1995) explained to me that there were two pots inside the house shrine (*thala*), one for the owner of the house and another for the deceased grandfather. He said that the owner of the house called upon his *dada* (family priest) to carry out the sacrifice for his deceased grandfather, and that he could also be called *zal jije*, and he was ideally a close friend and generation mate (*skmama*) of the deceased. He pointed out that another generation mate came to each house owner, but this time for the ancestor stone of their shared deceased great grandfather (*wuje*). Following John's suggestion, we use the general translation family priest for *zal jije*, and note that they had to come from outside.

We know that neither the deceased great grandfather nor the deceased father had a *tughdhe thala* pot, meaning a ritual beer pot with a small aperture, kept in the 'stomach' of *thala*. The only two *tughdhe thala* were the one for the owner of the house (*zal thaghaya*) and the one for the deceased grandfather (*zal jije*). The *tughdhe thala* representing the owner of the house was not however referred to as *zal thaghaya* as was the case for *zal jije*. Later in this chapter we will list more ritual pots and differentiate them from ordinary pots. At this point we want to make the distinction between the personal *tughdhe thala* of the owner of the house, and the *zal jije* pot for the deceased grandfather, these being the only pots with small apertures inside the 'stomach' of *thala*.

Although the *skmama* (generation mate) who came from outside to carry out his duty could also be referred to as *dada*, we only refer to him here as *zal jije* (family priest). Here we will neglect the generation mate for the great grandfather (*wuje*), because we do not know how he was ritually served, apart from the fact that he came from the next generation up. We reserve the term *dada* for the senior brother who visited the family homes of his junior brothers to handle the first *har ghwe* sacrifice after their father had died. Such a ritual was called *kaba*, and it made a junior brother independent and able to become a candidate for the first stage of adult initiation (*dzum*

zugune), which we reconstruct in detail in Chapter 3.14. At that point we will also learn more about the extensive ritual role of the beer bowl known as *jahurimbe*.

Bulama Ngatha further pointed out that his personal *tughdhe thala* would be removed from his 'stomach' of *thala* after his death, and that the mouth of the pot would be broken and his family would take the remaining part to scrape out the grave. John added that bulama Ngatha's personal calabash would be used for the funeral celebration dance after his death. This was in 1995, but bulama Ngatha had converted to Islam when I last spoke to him in 2005, and he had died by the time I visited again a couple of years later. Considering his late conversion, we doubt that his *tughdhe thala* was ritually broken and then used to dig his grave.

The word *zal* not only means husband, as in *zal thaghaya*, but also priest as it appears in *zal jije*, and in the latter case it is a reference to both the family priest and the ancestor pot for the grandfather. Both had a *tughdhe thala*, one for the living owner of the house and the other for the deceased grandfather, while the deceased father had a *tughdhe kule* but this was not stored in the 'stomach' of *thala*. This suggests that a deceased father only gained a place in the 'stomach' of *thala* after his son as the current father of the house had also died. We do not know whether the senior brother as *dada* priest of a deceased father had to assist his junior brothers during every *har ghwe* ritual, or whether his ritual role changed once he had introduced them to it by what we describe in Chapter 3.14 as the *kaba* ritual.

The fact that there was no *tughdhe* pot stored in the 'stomach' of *thala* to celebrate the sacrifice for *wuje*, reinforces the idea that ritual pots were very much linked to the home. For example *khalale*, the lineage shrine served by *thaghaya* as lineage priest, had no dedicated ritual pots. Any ordinary cooking pot could be used to prepare the sacrificial meal for such a remote ancestor. The ancestor stone linked to the deceased great grandfather (*wuje*) was also the stone which was removed and put under the granary when the husband and father of a house (*zal thaghaya*) died and *thaghaya* as seventh born inherited it. He presumably needed ritual assistance to replace the ancestor stones but we do not know how exactly it was done and whether the former *dada* stone was placed in the middle and became the new *jije* stone. It still all points to the deceased paternal grandfather (*jije*) being the most important extended family ancestor to be ritually served and remembered.

We have already mentioned, in the chapter on relationship terms, how *jije* was used across generations of both paternal and maternal kin, who referred to one another as *jije*. This meant that someone of considerable biological age might have referred to someone much younger as *jije*, for instance someone who was the deceased great grandfather's mother's brother's grandchild. In the context of this, even the sons of one's own mother's brother's children could be called *jije*, as could any other male person of one's exogamous lineage. Apart from *dada*, which was used as the most general term for a grown-up man, *jije* was not only used to refer to an elderly man but was applied across three or four generations. This shows the social inclusiveness of the term *jije* for grandfather along collateral lines, in particular towards one's mother's brother's children.

In 2005, John and I once more interviewed bulama Ngatha, together with my neighbour Fada Mofuke, Gambo Ghamba and John's brother Yakubu Zakariya. Fada and Gambo were both Traditionalists, and Gambo was the lineage priest (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a. The interview took place in my research station in Dzga, which was later burned down by Boko Haram.

In part of this interview we talked about the use of the *tughdhe thala*, the ritual beer pot bulama Ngatha had referred to in 1995 as his personal *tughdhe thala*. This is when I learned that both beer pots with small apertures, the personal one and the one for *jije*, could be referred to as *tughdhe thala*. I was then told that both *tughdhe* would be taken out of *thala* and brought to the lower kitchen (*kudig tighe*) the night before the he-goat was slaughtered for the *har ghwe* celebration arranged for the following day. The purpose was to fill both pots with ritual beer and keep them in the lower kitchen of the first wife overnight, to be returned full of ritual beer the next day to the 'stomach' of *thala*. We guess that the mouth of the pot was sealed in a certain way.

Apart from the two *tughdhe thala*, there was also the previously mentioned *tughdhe kule*, a small ritual beer pot kept in the tiny ancestor room dedicated to the deceased father (*dada*). The following day, after the he-goat for the dead father had been slaughtered, they would first go with *tughdhe kule* to the father's grave, and after cleaning the grave they would have libated beer onto it and drunk together from the *tughdhe kule*. We do not know who else took part, other than the father of the house and his brothers. After that they would go back to the house and store the *tughdhe kule* above the door connecting the lower room of the first wife (*batiw tighe*) and the upper room of her husband (*batiw daghare*) as the owner of the house. We notice in the latter context how reproduction was ritually addressed, not only in religious but also in architectural and gender terms.

Now some of the house father's exogamous lineage brothers would cook the sauce in the ritual sauce kitchen, a task from which women were excluded during *har ghwe*. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the same applied to *har jije*, but considering that women were excluded from cooking the sauce during *har ghwe*, perhaps they also were during *har jije*. Neither are we certain which lineage members cooked the ritual sauce, but we think that the term *sknukwe* (exogamous lineage brother) might be correct here (see Chapter 3.6).

The house father would now send someone to call his friends and other relatives to come and join the celebrations. We do not know exactly who was included in assemblies of kin on these specific occasions, and infer that they were close relatives, perhaps also from the maternal side, and tend to think that the audience and participants of the observances were significantly greater during *har jije* for obvious reasons.

At this point in the interview, my friends pointed out some differences in how the 'Gharguze'¹ and Ghwa'a people performed *har ghwe*. It was explained that the Ghwa'a people would have started by libating beer onto three potsherds kept inside the 'stomach' of *thala*, while in 'Gharguze' they would have started with the food. After having poured beer or food, first on the three potsherds representing *dada*, *jije* and *wuje* (just like the three ancestor stones), *zal thaghaya* (owner of the house) would then do the same with the meat, and subsequently be the first to drink or eat it. Next, *zal jije* would perform the same. We recognise that it was only the sequence of beer and food which differed in the two parts of Dghwedë. The food was most likely sorghum or millet mash prepared by the first wife, presumably with some of the ritual sauce cooked by an exogamous lineage brother.

All this took place inside the 'stomach' of *thala*. When throwing the meat, *zal thaghaya* or *zal jije* did not throw every piece onto the three potsherds, but a certain order was followed. Firstly they threw a little bit of lung (*hafe*), next they took from the liver (*rve*), and finally a small piece from the front leg was thrown by *zal thaghaya*, while the back leg was reserved for *zal jije*. It seems that in both of the traditional settlement parts of Dghwedë the throwing of the meat came at the end. Another difference between 'Gharguze' and Ghwa'a featured after they had cleared the top of the grave for the deceased father, an activity which was referred to as *hadz kule*. Reportedly, the 'Gharguze' people did not put sorghum flour into the calabash filled with beer from the deceased father's *tughdhe kule* when they libated it onto his grave.

After all that was done, including the ceremony over the three potsherds inside the 'stomach' of *thala*, beer was poured from the *tughdhe thala* into an ordinary sauce bowl called *ndafa*, and a ritual beer bowl with a stand called *jahurimbe*. Now *ndafa* and/or *jahurimbe* were taken out of *thala* and the same ritual as described over the potsherds was carried out over the three ancestor stones. During this ritual the two ritual beer pots (*tughdhe thala*) would remain filled with beer inside *thala*. We have already mentioned *tughdhe kule*, which had been all this time resting above the doorway at a place called *dzura*, the place where the two roofs met above the entrance between the lower and upper room. It had been placed there, half full of beer, the day before.

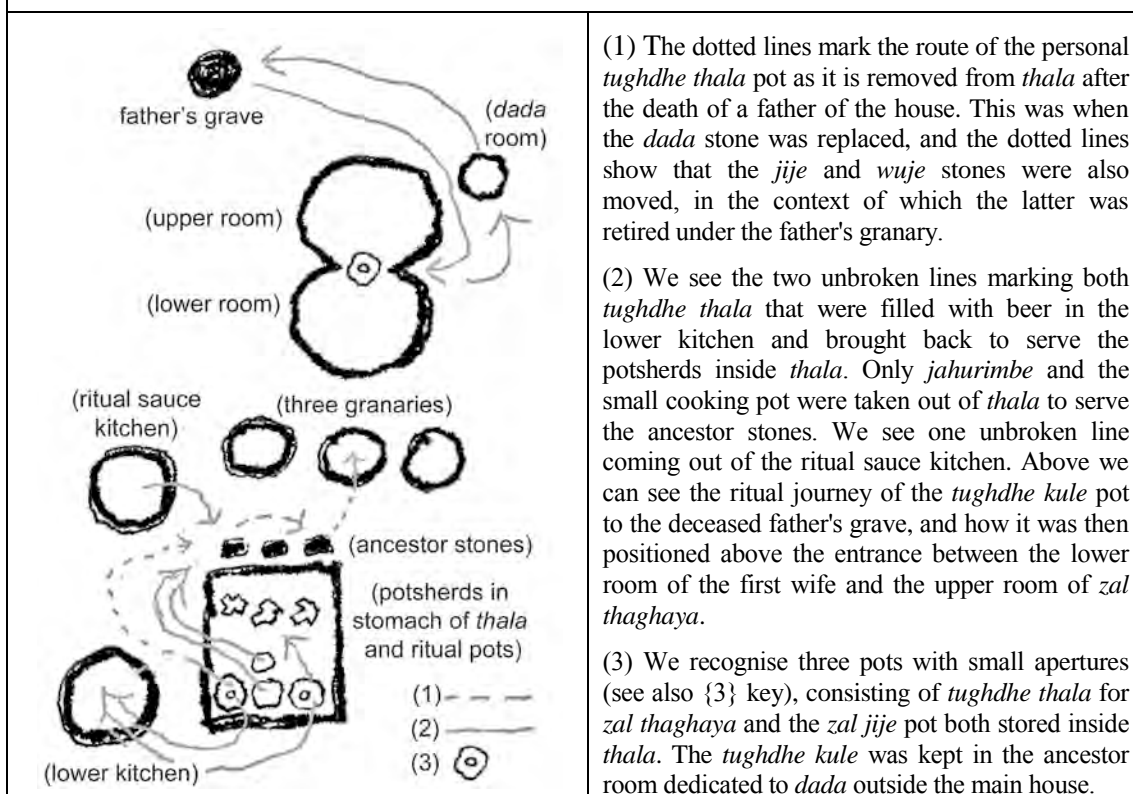
¹ As so often in Ghwa'a, our local protagonists refer to the Vaghagaya of Korana Basa as the 'Gharguze'. We know that Gharguze was the pre-colonial settlement name for that part of administrative Korana Basa.

After the *har ghwe* ritual was over and the ancestor stones had been served, the *tughdhe kule* pot was removed from above the doorway and taken outside, where the remaining ritual beer was collectively consumed. We are not sure who participated in this, and can only make an informed guess as to what bulama Ngatha was referring to when he said that the rest of the *tughdhe kule* beer was 'not drunk with your *dada*', and we suggest that he meant that it did not include *zal jije*. Unfortunately, we do not know for sure whether or not the *zal jije* were also present when the sons of the deceased father consumed the first half of the beer at the grave. We can therefore only assume that the *zal jije* priest was, at least during *har ghwe*, only involved with the ritual handling the *zal jije* pot stored in the 'stomach' of *thala*.

We learned earlier how the senior brother carried out the ritual over the ancestor stones, and how he used an ordinary saucepot filled with beer, together with a *jahurimbe* beer bowl, which was also the dedicated terracotta vessel for starting adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) as we will find out later in Chapter 3.14. That the beer from the ritual journey of the *tughdhe kule* of the deceased father (*dada*) was most likely not shared with the generation mates (*skmama*) does however not exclude the possibility that this would have been handled differently during *har jije*. We remember that there was also a *tughdhe kule* stored in the ancestor room of *jije* in one of the houses. We do not know what role the *zal jije* priest who functioned as an extended family custodian for the second *tughdhe thala* during *har ghwe* would have played during *har jije*, the celebrations linked to the ancestor room for the deceased grandfather.

Since we do not have a similar description of *har jije*, we can only assume that a wider part of the extended family from the next generation up would now play the central role, and the senior brother as the custodian for the deceased father and owner of the house would be a subsidiary. We will learn later that not everyone was able to slaughter a he-goat, not only for *har ghwe* and *har jije* as the ancestral core rituals of the house, but also for all the other rituals during the bi-annual slaughtering period discussed in Chapter 3.8. We present in Figure 20b an annotated illustration of 'the way of *har ghwe*' in relation to the house and the grave of a deceased father. The illustration is then followed by a summary of the sequential order of the schematic base elements of *har ghwe*, as described by our protagonists from modern Korana Basa and Ghwa'a.

Figure 20b: The way of *har ghwe* after the death of *zal thaghaya* (father and owner of the house)



Summary of sequential order of the schematic base elements of *har ghwe*:

1. Beer is filled into both of the *tughdhe thala* inside the lower kitchen, where they remain overnight.
2. Next morning a he-goat is slaughtered.
3. Father's grave is cleared and *tughdhe kule* is taken there for ritual consumption.
4. *Tughdhe kule* is placed between roofs above the joint entrance of lower and upper room.
5. Exogamous lineage brothers cook ritual sauce in the dedicated male sauce kitchen.
6. *Zal thaghaya* calls other participants from outside to join the celebrations.
7. The ceremony over the potsherds inside 'stomach' of *thala* is carried out.
8. The ceremony with eating bowl filled with beer over ancestor stones is carried out while both *tughdhe thala* remain filled with beer inside 'stomach' of *thala*.
9. Rest of the beer from *tughdhe kule* is drunk outside the tiny *dada* ancestor room.

Before we move on to discuss what we know about other ritual pots, we show in Plate 37a and 37b two images of the ritual beer pots in Buba's 'stomach' of *thala*, one from 1998 and another from 2005. Buba explained to me in 2005 that he had removed his father's personal *tughdhe thala* and still needed to replace it with his own. Since then he has died, and now we do not know what the situation is due to the impact of Boko Haram. Many of the old Traditionalists were forced to join the sect after 2012, and if Buba were still alive he would most likely not have dared carry out any such ritual of the past.

In Plate 37a we see Buba's father's personal *tughdhe thala* pot to the left (A), and recognise that it was placed on the same side as the *dada* stone of his deceased father, namely at the foot of his stomach of *thala*. We remember the use of potsherds during *har ghwe*, and that they had been positioned in line with the ancestor stones. In the centre of Plate 37a we see the *jahurimbe* beer bowl (B), and to the right Buba's father's *zal jije* pot (C) correctly positioned behind the *wuje* stone representing his deceased great grandfather. We also remember the ritual potsherds being put there for the *har ghwe* ritual (see Figure 20b again).

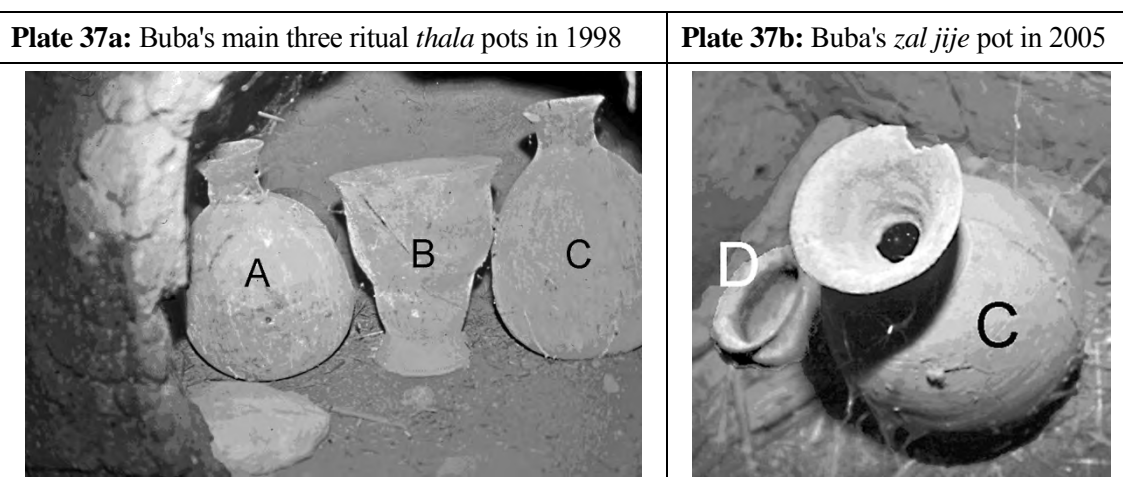


Plate 37b shows the small aperture of his father's *zal jije* pot (C), and the little *ndafa* sauce pot (D) on the left. The latter was taken, together with the *jahurimbe* bowl in the centre of Plate 37a, for libating beer over the three ancestor stones. The photo in Plate 37b was taken in 2005 after Buba's father had died, but if we compare the two *zal jije* pots, we see the broken piece from the outer rim of the pot in both, and realise they are identical. That the *zal jije* pot was still the same after his father's death seems to confirm that the personal *tughdhe thala* had so far been taken out and presumably ritually broken, but we do not know whether it had already been replaced by a *tughdhe kule* to be stored in the *dada* ancestor room. After all, the personal *tughdhe thala* represented the life force of a *zal thaghaya* as owner of the house having come to an end. That in the meantime Buba, as the new *zal thaghaya* and owner of the house, had not yet put his personal *tughdhe thala* there seems unfortunate, but we can no longer ask Buba how he is doing, and

neither do we know what happened to his house as he died between 2005 and 2008. This was shortly before Boko Haram occupied the Gwoza hills.

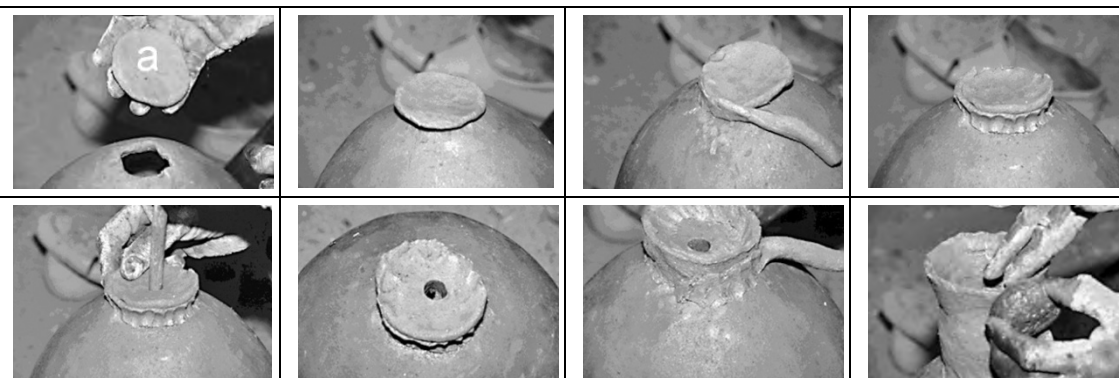
Why ritual beer pots (*tughdhe*) had small apertures

We have already learned from bulama Ngatha (1995) how after his death his *tughdhe thala* would be smashed and the mouth with the small aperture broken off the neck in the process, while larger potsherds from the remainder of the pot would be used to dig the grave. We also learned about the potsherds used in the stomach of *thala* during *har ghwe*, representing the three family ancestors *dada*, *jije* and *wuje*, arranged in the same sequential order as the ancestor stones. Unfortunately we do not know whether they were potsherds from a ritually smashed personal *tughdhe thala*, or whether they could be from any other pot, ritual or domestic.

Neither do we know what happened to the ritually broken mouth of a personal *tughdhe thala*. Plate 39a, with images from a rubbish heap, shows the reverse side of such a broken mouth with the small aperture (e) visible from the inside. Looking through the rubbish heap shown in Plate 39b reminded me of looking for surface finds of similar broken small aperture necks at all the DGB sites in 2001/2002. I learned to recognise them by identifying the remaining parts of the small aperture mouths as parts of broken necks. Later we excavated a combined pierced and broken top of such a pot, which was ritually positioned.² When I surveyed the distribution of small aperture beer pots in our subregion, I discovered a whole culture of similar small aperture beer pots to the north, but not to the south of the DGB sites, including the foothill areas of the Gwoza hills. It turned out that they were ritual beer pots linked to the type of ancestor cult described above, and I include the Dghwede example here as evidence of their ethnoarchaeological significance in the interpretation of pottery discovered in the form of broken necks with small apertures on the surfaces of the DGB sites.

Before we return to the discussion of what bulama Ngatha might have meant by breaking off the mouth of a personal *tughdhe thala* after the death of the owner, we will describe the technology of making small apertures for ritual beer pots in Dghwede. I was introduced to this by Lakwa³, a potter from Dzga, who in 2004 demonstrated to me the technique of closing the neck of such a pot with a disk of clay, which was subsequently pierced with a millet stalk to produce the typical small aperture. As the last step, Lakwa would form the funnel on top of the aperture disk as shown in Plate 38a. The sequence of the eight images presented below show the whole process.

Plate 38a: Lakwa demonstrates how to make a small aperture disk (a) for a *tughdhe* pot



The heap of discarded potsherds shown in Plate 39a and 39b below show examples of broken necks with small apertures. It was situated next to the abandoned house we used in the previous chapter as an example of a ruined foyer (see Plate 22b).

² See position of two broken pots combined: http://www.mandarar.info/DGB_NCameroon/fv68.htm

³ Lakwa and her husband were both Traditionalists and he died earlier in 2019. They were both still living in Dzga and I was told over a year ago that they too had been forced to farm for Boko Haram.

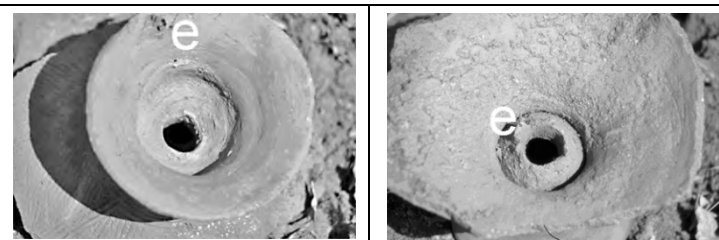
We do not know how and when the potsherds got there, but they were a genuine part of the abandoned house where we could see the rest of the stone foundation of the house shrine (*thala*) and a circle of sitting stones still in situ. If we take another look at Plate 22b, we can see two unbroken pots, one on top of the remains of the first wife's granary base and another at the foot of the father's granary base. The first looks like a pot for brewing beer, and the other one was a small aperture beer pot the Dghwedé call *tughdhe*.

Plate 39a shows a *jahurimbe* pot in the centre (a) and a sauce pot to the left of it (b). We also see a beer pot with a broken-off mouth (c) in the bottom left corner, and more potsherds in the centre bottom of the picture (d). The broken pots look as if they were carefully placed, and we see the small aperture of the broken-off mouth (e) of a *tughdhe* pot positioned on top. The two pictures in Plate 39b show the same broken-off neck of such a ritual beer pot from both sides, and in the image at the bottom right we can see how the aperture disk (e) forming the mouth was once placed on top of the neck. We cannot be sure whether this broken piece was from a personal *tughdhe thala*, which could have meant that the broken bowl of the pot would have once been used to dig the grave of the deceased owner. If we assume for a moment that this was the case, it would be from the personal *tughdhe thala* of the man who last lived in that abandoned house, the foyer area of which we presented with the photograph of Plate 22b in the previous chapter.

Plate 39a: Heap of ritual potsherds next to the ruin of an abandoned house (see also image 22b)



Plate 39b: Broken mouth of same ritual beer pot (*tughdhe*) with small aperture photographed from both sides



My Dghwedé and Chikidé friends were generally of the opinion that one purpose of the small aperture was to keep the beer fresh for as long as possible, because it was easy to seal. Dada Dukwa of Dzga extrapolated further for me by explaining that when a pot was full of beer, the funnel above the mouth might only have been covered with leaves. He then added that if they wanted to keep the beer fresh when the pot was half empty it was often sealed with the remainder of freshly cooked food (millet mash). He finally explained that a corn stalk was often used to close the small aperture of such a beer pot before it was ritually stored away, to keep the inside of the pot clean for use next time. The other widely shared opinion was that the beer flowed very beautifully when poured, which indeed

points, together with the need for maintaining freshness, to a well established ritual beer culture.

We have seen the need for maintaining freshness in the example of *tughdhe kule*, when it was kept above the doorway between the lower and the upper room. This was when the beer needed to be kept fresh for a second time, after some of it had already been drunk the day before at the father's grave. Now, after a day or two, the remainder was consumed by the father of the house and his brothers outside the little ancestor room, before it was sealed with a corn stalk ready to be stored inside or nearby. We have seen that Kalwaka's *tughdhe kule* was stored between the outer wall of the upper room and the ancestor room of the deceased father next to it (see Plate 35b and 35d). However, the first time the beer needed to stay fresh was when the two *tughdhe thala* were

filled with ritual beer inside the lower kitchen, and were to stay there overnight before being moved back into the 'stomach' of *thala* the next day (see Figure 20a).

Keeping the beer fresh for sequences of rituals was perhaps the most important aspect of the small aperture. We remember that the ritual slaughtering period started after threshing and when the new crop was stored in the granaries. The seasonal aspect might well indicate that freshness was a symbol of life, and a reminder of the planting and growing period when everything was fresh and green, rather than dry and cold with the wind of harmattan making it even dryer. Was the mouth of a personal *tughdhe thala* ritually broken as if to say that this person had taken his last breath, because the pot no longer has the ability to contain life? We will learn more about the concept of soul (*safa* = breath) and spirit (*sdukwe* = shadow) in the context of Dghwedè ideas around the structure of the mind in Chapter 3.15.

Perhaps a comparison with the Mafa from the Gouzda area can help to give more meaning to the cosmological concept of freshness. I learned from my Mafa friends that the concept of freshness as life force could be linked to the growing season (Muller-Kosack, 2003), an ethnographic detail which encourages me to consider something similar in Dghwedè, but I never explored this interpretation while I was with my Dghwedè friends. We know that the Mafa only formed as the dominating ethnic group after the DGB era had come to an end, and the same presumably applies to the Dghwedè as we came to know them. Still, I was able to establish (Muller-Kosack, 2004) that small apertures as the main feature of ritual beer pots could only be found to the north, and not to the south of the DGB complex. This coincides with the south-to-north migration we linked to the Tur tradition. The fact that ritual beer pots with small apertures were not only found in the mountains but also among the groups around the foothills of the Gwoza hills suggests an earlier date for the distribution of such pots, perhaps when the DGB sites were still active as places for promoting freshness during earlier periods of drought.

We will not elaborate any further on this here, but hope that our chapter section exploring the question of why the ritual beer pots the Dghwedè referred to as *tughdhe* had such small apertures is a useful one. We do think that the forefathers of our Dghwedè friends might well have had similar cosmological ideas about freshness as the Mafa, and that the small aperture was not just a practical means of keeping sorghum beer fresh while on a ritual journey, but that it was rooted in their view of the world and the successful promotion of fecundity.

In the next section we will explore the types of ritual pots found in a Dghwedè house, followed by more exploration of relevant ritual spaces in and around such a house. The loft (*gude tighè*) in the lower room of the first wife and the entry area of a house come to mind. The latter required the threshing ritual *har gwazgafte*, best translated as 'slaughtering for divinity'.

Types of ritual pots found in a traditional Dghwedè house

We have presumed so far that the small aperture served to control the freshness of the beer, and we concluded from the use of *tughdhe kule* during *har ghwe* that this was useful for the timing of its ritual consumption. It also made the serving of the beer a memorable experience, because it could be poured very gently. We further pointed out that the concept of freshness might be linked to the planting and growing season, and as such had a cosmological dimension. The religious significance of sorghum beer perhaps represented the continuity and renewal of that freshness, and *har ghwe* and *har jije* as bi-annual core rituals of a family home made the deceased father and grandfather the most important extended family members to be remembered.

We further showed that an eating bowl *ndafa* was used, together with the ritual bowl *jahurimbe*, to libate sorghum beer over the relevant ancestor stones. Most ritual pots unfolded their reach in the context of every house where *zal thaghaya* and his nuclear family formed the corporate base unit. That would have made the ritual density of houses as places of religious observance very high. We realise that *har ghwe* and *har jije* exemplified such a dense network of ritual exchanges represented by senior brothers and their grandfathers' generation mates acting as family priests across shared connections of patrilineal descent. Together with the fathers of each family home

as a place of worship, they were responsible for the handling of key pots dedicated to their deceased fathers and grandfathers, forming patrilocal networks of patrilineal brotherhoods.⁴

Bulama Ngatha (1995) generally distinguished for us the following basic categories of terracotta pots in Dghwede:

- *Tughdhe* - general name for a beer pot
- *Ndughwe* - general name for a pot used for cooking beer and storing water
- *Shire* - general name for a pot used to fetch water
- *Sake* - general name for a cooking pot used to prepare food or sauce
- *Ndafa* - general name for an eating bowl and to serve sauce

We note that a *ndughwe* can be used for cooking beer and for storing water. In the previous chapter we saw a large pot for brewing beer inside one of the lower kitchens, and we also saw a large water pot next to an old grinding stone outside a house, presumably used to water animals. A *tughdhe* is generally much smaller and was only used to pour beer for ritual consumption. We already know that they generally have small apertures, and we present their various uses below.

A *shire* is a pot to fetch water and is much lighter than a *ndughwe* because it often needs to be carried over long distances. These routes become much longer during the dry season, and I remember hearing women talking while they were walking by my house before sunrise to fetch water from a distant source. After it had arrived safely at the house, the water was then poured into the large *ndughwe*. We spoke about the social division of labour in an earlier chapter, and that it was mainly a female task to collect water for the house.

I do not know much about cooking pots (*sake*), but we have seen some in the previous chapter, piled up on top of the grinding stones in one of the upper kitchens. They are used to cook food and sauce, which is mainly millet or sorghum mash with various sauces made of leaves. We remember, from the list in an earlier chapter about working the land, how the leaves of the various trees around the houses would be used to cook sauces. However, the border between the mundane and the ritual seems to be fluid, and an ordinary cooking pot that was regularly used to cook ritual meals might eventually have come to be referred to as *sak batiwe*, a specific ritual cooking pot.

A more sophisticated version of the above seems to be the one portrayed in Plate 40a, which has three legs. We saw an example of this in Kalakwa's father's ancestor room at the end of the previous chapter (Plate 35e), where we referred to it as *sak batiw gajije* (cooking pot for room of *jije*). This particular ritual cooking pot was called a *sak sage*, which is best translated as 'cooking pot on legs' (*sage* = legs). The only other similar ritual pot with a bowl on top was the already mentioned *jahurimbe*, which had a decorated stand rather than three legs. It was used for serving beer and sauce. A *jahurimbe* was much more finely made and was only used in ritual contexts. Another three-legged cooking pot was referred to as *sakgharhfire*, which meant 'cooking pot above the bed'. We show in Plate 40a below, the one bulama Ngatha allowed me to photograph in 1995.

A *sak sage* became a *sakgharhfire* as a result of a ritual transformation from a 'cooking pot on three legs' to a 'cooking pot above the bed', and seems to be of interesting ritual significance. A *sak sage* was transformed from a three-legged ritual cooking pot to a spirit pot when the first wife successfully reached the seventh month of her first pregnancy. The transformational process was marked by a ritual called *kdafa* which involved the cooking of a ritual meal by a male friend of the husband, and on the same day the wife's hair was shaved for the first time since the beginning of her pregnancy. After bulama Ngatha had himself carried out such a ritual, he took

⁴ Chapter 3.6 listed such social relationships as *sknukwe* (lineage brothers who could not intermarry) or *ghwagha* (group in a line of agnatic descent who could not intermarry) as opposed to *mbthawa* (lineage brothers who could intermarry).

the pot home. There he installed it above the head of his bed as his *sakgharhfire* or personal spirit or god pot, and added that not every *sakgharhfire* was a transformed *sak sage*.

We are not sure what bulama Ngatha's statement meant, but it seems to imply that anything could become a personal spirit pot above a man's bed. This possibly resulted in a variety of such personal spirit pots, but always seems to refer to a cooking pot (*sake*). Bulama Ngatha referred to his *sakgharhfire* as his personal god pot by using the word *gwazgafte* for the Supreme Being as well as in the sense of his personal god. We discover below that children too had such personal god pots or personal spirit pots, and that they were called *dungwe*, while women reportedly did not have such personal spirit pots because their husbands looked after their spiritual wellbeing. That at least was what I was told, and we will put that view into a more comprehensive ethnographic context later, in our chapter about cosmology and worldview.

We can see in Plate 40a that bulama Ngatha's three-legged spirit or god pot is a former *sak sage* which became his *sakgharhfire*. It was fixed on top of a forked branch above his bed. We can see the black around the outside of the pot which indicates it was once used for ritual cooking, most likely in the context of his *kdafa* ritual. If we compare the image again with Kalakwa's grandfather's tiny ancestor room in Plate 35e, we see that both seem to have a second cooking pot on top. On the other hand, perhaps that was just how a *sak sage* pot appeared. Unfortunately we do not have the answer, and perhaps the cooking pot on top was the genuine part of a *sak sage*.

Plate 40a: Bulama Ngatha's three legged personal spirit or god pot above his bed in 1995



We ask ourselves whether it had to be an exogamous lineage brother of the father of the house who cooked the ritual sauce for the first wife. We also wonder whether the *kdafa* ritual was in any way linked to the hope that the first wife would not only celebrate the seventh month of her first pregnancy, but that in the future she would become the mother of a seventh son (*thaghaya*).

We can even speculate further, and assume that because the pot used for *kdafa* became the personal spirit pot to guard the health of a man during the night while asleep, it makes the desire to also have a seventh son born to the first wife very much a male affair. We wonder whether the protection had to do with assisting in carrying out some kind of religious control, by appropriating the reproductive capacity of the first wife. After all, women had the natural advantage in being able to give birth, and by taking ritual control over their reproductive capacity, men might have felt the need for some extra spirit protection. We should also note that the *kdafa* ritual was possibly also connected

to the hope that the firstborn child would be a son, making such a son the potential senior brother of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*) as his seventh-born brother. It would be his house in which the first *dada* ritual would be carried out, also known as *kaba* ritual (see Chapter 3.14), following the death of the father.

That a father and owner of a house was referred to as *zal thaghaya*, meaning a husband who wants to become the father of a seventh-born son, indirectly underpins our suggestion that the

kdafa ritual concerned that hope. We remember the ritual sauce kitchen of *zal thaghaya*, where an exogamous lineage brother cooked ritual sauce for his deceased father's *har ghwe* sacrifice. In both examples males cooked a ritual sauce, in one case for a deceased father and in the other for a seven-month-old foetus, one for a past life and the other for a new and future life of the family. We will learn in Chapter 3.18 that there was also the belief that the embryonic development of a foetus was seen to take recognisable human shape after the seventh month of its conception.

We have already mentioned the *sak sage* in the ancestor room of Kalakwa's grandfather in the backyard of his house (see Plate 35e). It was referred to as *sak batiw gajije*, meaning ritual cooking pot in *jije's* room, but we do not know what it represented. We can only assume that it was not a former *sakgharhfire* spirit pot, since the room of the person in which it was kept had died, but instead a ritual cooking pot used during *har jije*. On the other hand, this would have required a reverse transformation into a *sak sage* or three-legged cooking pot. Perhaps it was used to libate beer over the ancestor stone of *jije*, or in another context of the house as a place of worship. It might have even been taken to the grave to cook a meal there, we cannot tell because we did not ask.

We now take another look at the image of Kalakwa's *tughdhe batiw gajije* (Plate 35c) which was positioned next to his deceased father's *sak sage* version of a *sak batiw gajije* (Plate 35e). In comparison, Kalakwa's father's *tughdhe kule* was positioned between the roof of his father's ancestor room and his upper room. This positioning of the pot possibly marked the transitory aspect of having moved out of the upper room by becoming a family ancestor. We remember that there was no *tughdhe thala* for a deceased father inside the house shrine, but only a *tughdhe kule* to be taken to his grave during *har ghwe*. Next to it, already disconnected from the upper room of the main house, was *batiw gajije* (Plate 35b), whose deceased grandfather was an established family ancestor and therefore not only had a *tughdhe batiw gajije* inside his tiny ancestor room but also a *tughdhe thala* (called *zal jije*) inside the 'stomach' of *thala*.

There was another category of ritual pot which was generally referred to as *dungwe*, and they were for children and maybe also for mothers. There were two types which seem to belong together, one being a small cooking pot (Plate 41a) and the other a small aperture pot (Plate 41b). I only saw the ones under their parents' granaries shown here, but bulama Ngatha pointed out that they were kept in their mothers' rooms while active. This means that the two under the granaries were retired *dungwe* pots. We think that the little cooking pot under Buba's granary was also a retired *dungwe*, because we found out that a mother would have cooked beans in it before it was ritually removed from her room after her child had reached a certain age.

Plate 41a: Retired *dungwe* cooking pot for child under bulama Ngatha's granary (1995)



Plate 41b: Retired *dungwe* spirit pot for child under Buba's granary (2005)



According to bulama Ngatha and others, women did not have personal spirit pots, while he referred to those of children as personal god pots as he did for his *sakgharhfire*. They were not three-legged however, and not kept above the bed of a child but in the mother's room, and rituals would have been carried out during the night so as not to disturb others. We do not know whether a child's spirit pot was independent of gender. We know that a sacrificial meal prepared for a child's spirit pot consisted only of milk or chicken which was prepared in a *dungwe*. The

father would eat first, then the mother, followed by the child. We do not know which ritual was carried out with the small aperture pot visible in Plate 41b, or whether the beer was once served in it.

Plate 41c: Calabash on top of a twin pot for a girl under one of Buba's granaries

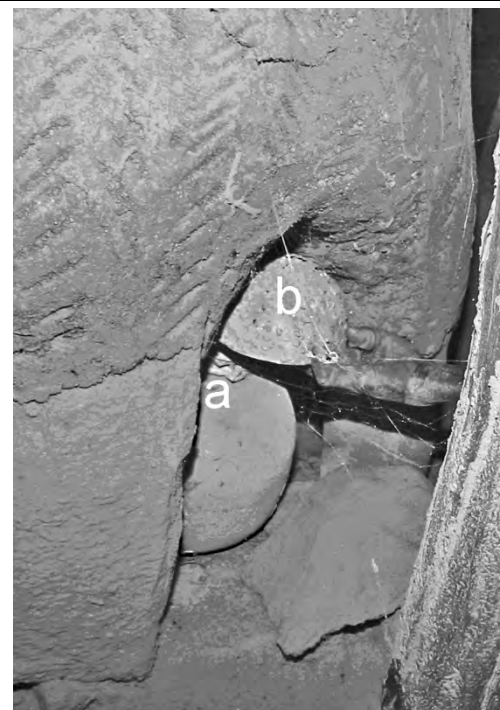


Plate 41d: A twin pot of a girl with the typically divided aperture under one of Buba's granaries

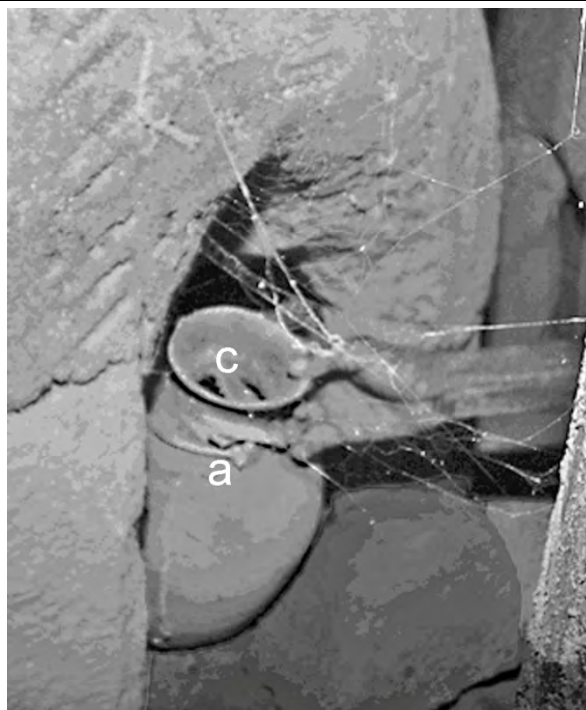
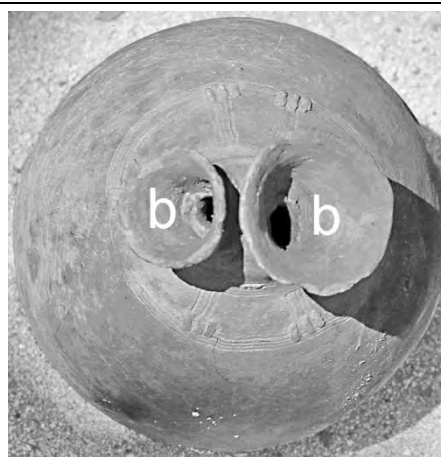
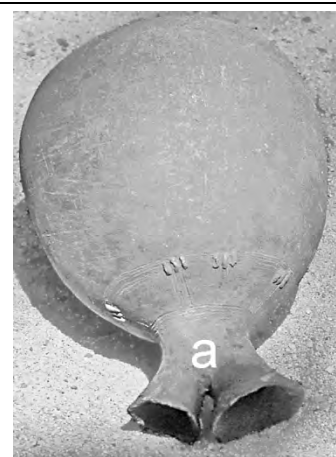


Plate 41c and 41b show a *tughdhe ghwala*, a twin pot for a girl, which was also kept under one of Buba's granaries. Plate 41b shows a divided aperture and the tongue-shaped bridge across the aperture (c), representing a clitoris according to dada Dukwa. We discuss the rituals around the birth of twins in great detail in Chapter 3.19. Buba's pot had some fibre around its neck (a) and reportedly it always had to be covered by a calabash (b). During ancestor ceremonies such as *har ghwe* or *har jije* these pots had to be filled with beer, as were all the other ritual pots.

Plate 42a shows a twin pot for a boy, and we see how the mouth is divided into two funnels (a) with two small apertures (b). Unfortunately we do not know the meaning of their shape, but recognise the difference between a twin pot for a girl and one for a boy. Neither do we know whether this twin pot for a boy would also have to be covered by a calabash while not in use, as it was presented to me outside of its familiar spatial context.

Plate 42a: Twin pot for a boy has two small apertures (b)



We will learn more about the importance of twins later in the relevant chapter, but want to point out here that the Mafa had a pot which looked like the twin pot for a girl. However, unlike the Dghwedè girl twin pot, the Mafa one was not for a twin girl but for a child born feet first. My Mafa friends explained that the

divide represented exactly that (Muller-Kosack 1988), which shows that the same feature can have a different meaning between ethnic neighbours, despite them being so close. The Dghwedë also considered children born with their feet first to be extraordinary, but used the same small aperture pots for them as for children born the usual way, as in Plate 41b.

There was another ritual pot called *sunde*, which was a pot used to bury the placenta after birth. Parts of this pot would be visible, and a sacrifice would be performed over them. Unfortunately we have no further data on this, but placenta pots were a very familiar cultural feature across the Mandara Mountains. For example, among the Mafa it meant that someone originated from the house where the placenta was buried, and people took from this evidential fact the entitlement to participate in some of their birth families' rituals (Muller-Kosack 2003:125).

Even though women did not have personal spirit pots in Dghwedë culture, deceased mothers reportedly could have them. Bulama Ngatha explained that the pot was used to wash the mother's dead body and that it was kept under a rock near her grave. The pot was also used to prepare a sacrificial meal at her grave, for which meat was cooked together with a piece of cow skin, beans, ground fat and bones. There was another ritual pot which would have been kept in her former kitchen. This pot was called *dung ga baya* (pot for a deceased mother) and was filled with beer, and it was her oldest son who would have started the ritual consumption of such beer. If there were grandchildren they would have participated also. Considering that the pot used to serve beer for a deceased mother in her kitchen was not called *tughdhe*, we strongly assume that it did not have a small aperture, unless it was like a *dungwe* spirit pot similar to those for children as shown in Plate 41b.

Table 8 below provides us with an alphabetic list of ritual pots I compiled together with the help of John Zakariya, from his translations during interviews with various local sources⁵, which we subsequently reviewed and completed in the context of compiling this section about types of ritual pots. We do not claim our list to be in any way complete, but it does give a good insight into the importance of ceramics in Dghwedë ritual culture. We can for example see how ritual pottery was linked to certain places in the house, and how they were related to themes of cosmological dimension and religious belief. This especially applies if we see them in the 'stomach' of *thala* and the granaries, or the ancestor stones and the tiny ancestor rooms that were outside but still close to the house. We have already learned that *khalale*, as the place of worship for local lineage groups, no longer had any ritual pottery attached to it, not even a cooking pot stored nearby, this being the case with the grave of a recently deceased mother.

We learned that almost all ritual beer pots were linked solely through the father and husband (*zal thaghaya*) of a family home as the living representative of his deceased father and grandfather. We remember that a man's wives became members of his patrilineage, and that there was a potential splitting point between sons of different mothers referred to as 'kitchen' (*kudige*). In the context of this, the lower kitchen (*kudig tighe*) of the first wife was next to the 'stomach' of *thala* as the main part of a Dghwedë house shrine. Only after her death would each have a ritual beer pot stored in her former kitchen, for which the oldest son of her 'kitchen' (*kudige*) had the ritual responsibility. We do not know whether her ancestral beer pot had a small aperture or whether it was a cooking pot, but if it did, it was only for that particular woman we know about and does not imply universality. We can only assume that this was not only a result of patrilineality, but also the patrilocal rule of residence. All other beer pots with small apertures (*tughdhe*) were male, but they did not go beyond the deceased grandfather (*zal jije*), who appears to be at the centre of Dghwedë ancestral family worship. We know there was the deceased great grandfather, but he did not have a ritual ancestor pot in the 'stomach' of *thala*, and was only represented by a potsherd aligned with his ancestor stone.

We learned about the functions of some of the various ritual *tughdhe*, and how the freshness of the beer was maintained with the help of the small aperture technique, especially in the context of the *tughdhe kule* for drinking at the grave of the deceased father during *har ghwe*. We remind

⁵ Mainly bulama Ngatha, Fada Mofuke, dada Dukwa, dada Dga, Zakariya Kire and Gambo Ghamba

ourselves here that the deceased mother also received ritual attention at her grave, while we do not know whether the grandfather did likewise. In this sense, it was the deceased father and his first wife who were awarded special ritual attention outside the house, most likely on a personal piece of land on the hillside nearby. Unfortunately I do not know much about the burial traditions of the Dghwedê, but we know that A.B. Mathews (1934) made some notes in this respect.

Table 8: Annotated list of ritual pots found in a traditional Dghwedê house

<i>dungwe</i>	Small ritual beer pot with small aperture for small children, and a small ritual cooking pot. Were kept together under parents granaries when no longer in use
<i>dung ga baya</i>	Ritual beer pot for a deceased mother kept in her kitchen
<i>jahurimbe</i>	Ritual bowl on decorated stand to consume beer during <i>dzum zugune</i> and <i>har ghwe</i> . Was kept in the 'stomach' of <i>thala</i> or first wife's lower <i>gude</i> (<i>gude tighe</i>)
<i>sak batiwe</i>	A <i>sak batiw</i> was a ritual cooking pot for a particular room, either from a transformed ordinary cooking pot or a ritual 'cooking pot on three legs' = <i>sak sage</i> .
<i>sakgharhfire</i>	Personal god/spirit pot for fathers and perhaps also children
<i>sak sage</i>	Ritual cooking pot with three legs
<i>sunde</i>	Ritually buried placenta pot
<i>suteke</i>	Ritual beer pot with small aperture only used during <i>dzum zugune</i> (adult initiation)
<i>tughdhe</i>	General term for beer pot with small aperture, mainly for ritual use in relation to male family members
<i>tughdhe batiw gadada</i>	Pot with small aperture kept in tiny ancestor room for <i>dada</i> (deceased father)
<i>tughdhe batiw gajije</i>	Pot with small aperture kept in miniature ancestor room for <i>jije</i> (deceased grandfather)
<i>tughdhe batiw tighe</i>	Small beer pot with small aperture kept in loft (<i>gude</i>) of <i>batiw tighe</i> (lower room of the first wife)
<i>tughdhe dzum zugune</i>	Ritual pot with small aperture for adult initiation (is the same as <i>suteke</i> , which was the more common expression)
<i>tughdhe fke</i>	Big beer pot with small aperture to serve the public
<i>tughdhe ghwala</i>	Twin pot with dual apertures for twin boys
<i>tughdhe gude</i>	Pot with small aperture kept in upper part (<i>gude</i>) of <i>batiw tighe</i> (presumably the same as <i>tughdhe batiw tighe</i>)
<i>tughdhe kule</i>	Ritual pot with small aperture used for father's grave
<i>tughdhe thala</i>	Two ritual beer pots with small apertures kept in 'stomach' of <i>thala</i> . One was the personal <i>tughdhe thala</i> for father and owner of the house while the other was for the deceased paternal grandfather and was referred to as <i>zal jije</i> .

There are some ritual pots on the list which we have not yet discussed. One of them is *tughdhe gude* and another is *tughdhe batiw tighe*. We can only assume that they were the same, and will discuss them in the next subsection. The other one is *tughdhe dzum zugune*, which was certainly identical with *suteke*. We have not discussed *tughdhe fke* either yet, and finally there are the twin pots (*tughdhe gwala*). The different types of twin pots and their ritual use will be discussed in greater detail in the appropriate chapter, and the same applies to *suteke*, which plays a particular role in the *ftsaha* ritual during the adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). This was also the case for the ritual bowl on a decorated stand, called *jahurimbe*, which played a crucial role in the opening ceremony of *dzum zugune*. *Suteke* and *jahurimbe* are mentioned as opposites, the former being for a wider public and the latter for a more intimate ritual setting. *Tughdhe fke* was used for a yet larger public attendance, presumably for most communal ritual events.

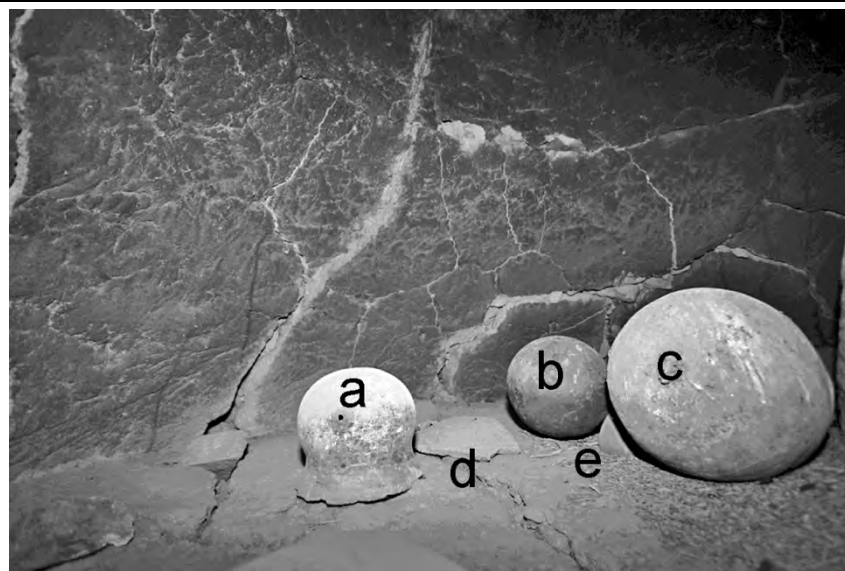
The ritual significance of the loft (*gude*) above the lower room of the first wife

We refer to *gude* as the two loft areas above the lower and the upper rooms. They consist of domes made of clay, with an entrance through the ceiling which was accessible by a ladder from the side of the room. My understanding is that both the adobe dome and the storage space it created inside were called *gude*. In the previous chapter we saw a photograph of Buba's first wife's lower room, and also one of her *gude*, where the built-in clay container was partly visible (Plate 32d). We remember that the container was for grain and other valuable things. The image below shows another view of the inside of Kalakwa's first wife's lower loft (*gude tighe*), but this time including the corner where the ritual pot referred to as *tughdhe gude* was stored, together with other ritual pots linked to her loft area.

We see in Plate 43a what looks like an upturned cooking pot to the left (a), and perhaps not only one, but two *tughdhe* next to each other, a small one to the left (b) and a much larger one (c) to the right. There is also a potsherd (d) to the right of the cooking pot, and a small calabash (e) underneath the larger beer pot. We remember potsherds being important in representing family ancestors inside the 'stomach' of *thala* during *har ghwe*. Because we can only see the bases of the two presumed beer pots, we cannot be sure which one is the *tughdhe gude* or the *tughdhe batiw tighe*. We can see the bottom of the smaller pot (b) looking slightly blackened, and perhaps it is also a cooking pot and not a *tughdhe* at all, but the image does not reveal what type of pot it is.

The name *tughdhe batiw tighe* refers to a ritual beer pot of the lower room (*batiw tighe*), which belonged to the first wife and was where she slept, while *tughdhe gude* refers to a similar ancestor-related pot kept in the loft of that room. Bulama Ngatha had informed me that *gude* also contained a ritual pot related to the deceased father. Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga told me there was a *gude* ritual which would be carried out before *har gwazgafte*, meaning before threshing. We are not sure whether there was a separate *gude* ritual, but recognise its potential significance, and neither do we know for sure whether *tughdhe batiw tighe* and *tughdhe gude* were simply two different words for the same ritual beer pot.

Plate 43a: *Tughdhe gude* and other pots in Kalakwa's first wife's *gude*



We were also told at one point that a *jahurimbe* beer bowl and/or a *suteke* beer pot, both used during adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), could be stored inside the first wife's *gude*. Of course all this gives the lower *gude* a high ritual significance, like many other female related elements of the architecture of a traditional

Dghwedé house. We remember that the lower kitchen and the 'stomach' of *thala* were next to each other, while the granary of the first wife was next to the ritual sauce kitchen of her husband. There was also the space above the entrance the connecting lower and upper room, where *tughdhe gude* was placed overnight during the *har ghwe* ritual. We remember the use of a sauce bowl *ndafe* which was used to libate beer over the ancestor stones. Perhaps the potsherd seen in our lower *gude* image was a representation of the deceased father, but this is only an informed guess. It does however suggest that the lower *gude* was indeed a place of

worship and not just a storage place for ritual pots.

Unfortunately, our information of there being a separate *gude* ritual which could be brought into sequence with other rituals marking the calendrical order of the Dghwedè tradition is not sufficiently supported. The only source is one sentence from an interview with Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga, who pointed out that 'the ritual upstairs' (*gude*) was done after *har khagwa* and before *har gwazgafte*. We know that *har khagwa* was the closing ritual for *har ghwe* and *har jije*, and that it was done after, and not before, *har gwazgafte*. This is at least in tune with what bulama Ngatha and bulama Bala from Korana Basa stated, who both said that *har gwazgafte* was done before and not after threshing. I am quite sure that I misunderstood what Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga were saying about the sequential order of *har khagwa*, and that it was done before the bull festival (*har daghile*) and not before the threshing ritual (*har gwazgafte*). The closing ritual for *har ghwe* and *har jije* was performed in sequence with *har gwazgafte* only after the guinea corn had been harvested, threshed, and safely stored inside the granaries in the foyer of the house.

We will learn, in the chapter about the bull festival, how the lower room continues to play an important role as a place of worship, for example when the bull is ritually slaughtered, and we will continue to show the gender interplay of the architectural groundplan of a Dghwedè house in the context of the rituals of reproduction. We wonder whether the lower *gude* has a particular symbolic meaning, considering that the Dghwedè like to use anatomical metaphors to describe some of their cosmological ideas. 'Stomach' of *thala* is a good example of this, and perhaps lower *gude* could be interpreted similarly. It is certainly a place where the first wife and mother of *thaghaya* stored valuable things, where grain and ritual pots were stored, and following from this we are quite certain that her *gude tigre* was a ritual place in its own right.

***Har gwazgafte* – slaughtering a he-goat for divinity before threshing guinea corn**

Har gwazgafte was the main ritual linked to the threshing of guinea corn, and a man who had a full storage basket (*kawire*) sitting in his front yard would die if he did not carry it out as requested, so bulama Bala explained. The emphasis here was on the word 'full', but this time it was not a known family ancestor who might make the demand in a dream, but a more universal supernatural force. The sentiment bulama Ngatha describes was based on the Dghwedè belief in *gwazgafte*, which is not only their word for divinity but also for the all-powerful God, and the fear of dying if the processes of threshing and storing the freshly harvested guinea corn were carried out without the required sacrifices. This was of particular importance if the temporary storage facility near the house was full. We saw photos of open granaries in the previous chapter. To do this successfully, not only did a he-goat have to be slaughtered, but the road would be blocked off, and the rest of the family had to stay indoors while the father of the house applied intestinal and stomach contents to the temporary storage facility of the guinea corn. Another sacrifice to the doorposts marking the entrance area of a house completed his activity, which bulama Ngatha described to us as a ritual dedicated to his 'house god', a translation we will discuss further below.

Before we describe what we know from our few oral data on the ritual of *har gwazgafte*, we need to remind ourselves of the geographical space forming the outside of Buba's house. Plates 44a to 44c show Buba's front yard and entrance area on the same platform level, but we need to keep in mind that the storage facility outside a house and the main entrance might indeed have been on different topographical levels. Also, the threshing ground, not visible below, could have been further away depending on the topography of the hillside of the settlement unit. However, in Buba's case the storage facility was on the same platform level as the main entrance, and we have seen him, together with his wife, sitting on the base of one in Plate 23a (see Chapter 3.11). Unfortunately we only have images of Buba's entrance platform taken during a millet year, but we use them here because we want to demonstrate the spatial aspect of the ritual of *har gwazgafte* in the context of a topographical example with which we are already familiar.

Plate 44a shows the access point (1) to the shared entrance platform of Buba's (a) and his neighbour's (b) house. If we compare Plate 44a with Plate 24a from the previous chapter, where we showed how both neighbours were topographically positioned on the hillside of Dzga, we recognise that the tree (c) and the two storage facilities in front of it (d) appear very close to his neighbour's entrance side of the shared platform. In Plate 44a we can just about see one of the neighbour's thatched roofs at the bottom left (e), and opposite to the right we recognise the waypoint (1) connecting the shared platform with the main road or pathway (f). In the background of Plate 44a we can see Buba's roof of *thala* (2), which emphasises the length of his side of the shared platform. In this particular context our main point is to show where Buba most likely would have blocked the road (1) for his *har gwazgafte* ritual.

Plate 44a: Possible important waypoints for Buba during *har gwazgafte*



It is at the waypoint marked '1' in the front right of the image above, where we suggest that Buba barred the road for *har gwazgafte*, but we wonder whether this could have also blocked the entrance to his neighbour's house. We see the main pathway (f) leading up along the foot of the upper high terrace wall (g) with Stella and John leaning against it. We also see the high terrace wall (h) forming the base of Buba's entrance platform, abutting with the front yard (b) which was part of his neighbour's platform. We do not know, but there might well have been an arrangement between them, and perhaps they even performed *har gwazgafte* together. This is important, especially when we consider how little space there was generally available, which throws a meaningful light on the already mentioned ritual density and the need for regulation. To manage the shortage of resources by ritual means was not only typical for the Dghwede, but for most montagnards of the northern Mandara Mountains, but we are not aiming for a comparison at this point.

Plates 44b and 44c show two more views of Buba's entrance area. Plate 44b shows the solid stone foundation of a room bordering the front entrance (a). We are not aware of the function of this room, but do know that it was not part of the original house complex but was added later, as we have documented in the previous chapter. We see John standing between the doorposts made of wooden sticks (b) looking towards Buba's long entrance platform seen in Plate 44c. We saw the same platform from the other direction in Plate 44a. In Plate 44c we see the terrace wall (g) forming the platform border on the right. At the very end of the

platform we see the neighbour's house (c), and a storage facility (d) which he might have owned. We see Buba's storage facility (dd) in front of the tree, with a single room next to it (e). We also see the terrace wall at the beginning of the platform to the left (f), behind the entrance of the house as shown in Plate 44b. Above we see the road passing by, as shown in Plate 44a.



Plate 44b:
Buba's main
entrance from
inside (left)

Plate 44c:
Buba's long
entrance
platform (below)



Plate 45a below shows a temporary storage facility (*kawire*) full of guinea corn in Korana Basa (a). It is clearly positioned on the western hillside, overlooking the plain of Gwoza. Plate 45b shows bulama Ngatha of Hudimche in front of his main entrance. We can see his *wuts gwazgafte* (in front of God's passageway) represented by the wooden sticks forming his doorposts (b) on each side of the main entrance area of his homestead (see also Plate 23b).

We already know that during a guinea corn year threshing was done by men only, as was bringing the corn

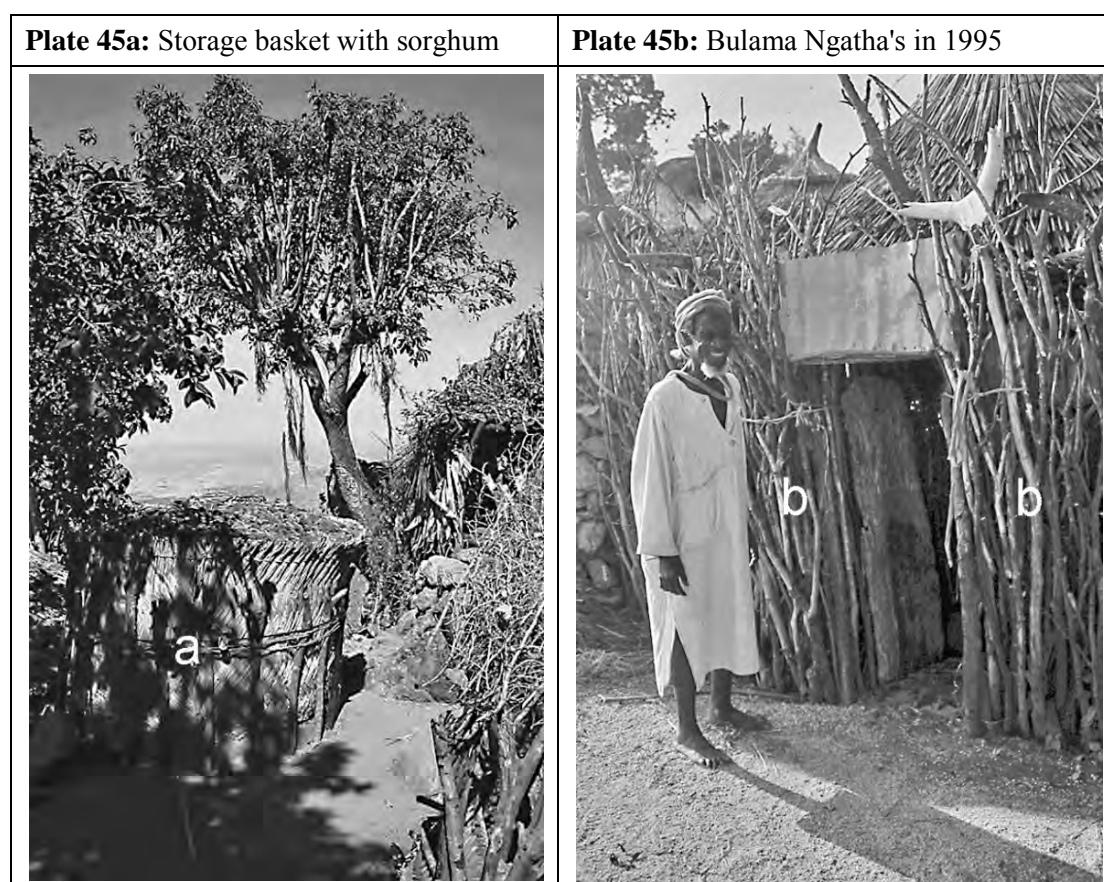
into the granaries after threshing. During *har gwazgafte* the road to the house would be blocked off from possible passers by, and neighbours would avoid talking to the person carrying out the core element of *har gwazgafte*. The father of the house carried it out while the rest of his family had to stay indoors. The ritual consisted of throwing some contents of the intestines of the slaughtered he-goat onto the outer frame of fibre mats of which the temporary storage facility was made, after which the stomach contents were placed on top of the sorghum harvest inside.

Unfortunately we do not have an oral description of the exact ritual performed at the doorpost, but here present what bulama Ngatha had to say about it in 1995:

The sacrifice at the doorpost is for the house god, *wuts gwazgafte* [*wuts* = in front of]. If somebody comes along during that performance and you sacrifice a he-goat, he will bring a cockerel. If you sacrifice a cockerel and someone comes along, he will bring milk. That means that nobody should come along while you do that sacrifice.

We will discuss the word *gwazgafte* as the Dghwede concept of divinity in the chapter on worldview and cosmology, but notice here that bulama Ngatha has already twice provided us with his idea of *gwazgafte*, one in the context of his personal god pot above his bed, which he also referred to as his personal god pot, and now in referring to *wuts gwazgafte* as his 'house god'. We remember the word *wuts* also being a prefix for the passageways in front of the lower and the upper kitchen. If we consider the front entrance as being the most vulnerable transition point between the outside and the inside of a traditional house, we can perhaps

explain why the doorposts might have been seen as a representation of the divinity (*gwazgafte*) watching over the house. The idea of God as Supreme Being seems to become localised or personalised as 'house god' represented by the entrance posts of the house, in a similar way to the god pot watching over the father while he sleeps.



At the beginning of this section we quoted bulama Bala saying that if a man who had a storage basket full of sorghum for threshing did not perform *har gwazgafte*, meaning 'slaughtering for God', he would die. This meant in reverse that if someone did not have a full storage basket, he did not necessarily need to perform *har gwazgafte*. This at least was what bulama Bala of Korana Kwandama and elders explained to us in 1995, that in the past there were perhaps more domestic animals, but due to epidemics, livestock might suddenly be wiped out. In such a case one elder would sacrifice a he-goat on behalf of the rest of the community. We also remember that in the past more people invested in cows, and leased them out to those neighbours who could not afford cows to produce sufficient manure.

This all changed with the use of chemical fertiliser, but here we are imagining a time when the production of animal manure was still a key activity. During the rainy season after planting, the domestic animals had been taken into the house, or kept in a temporary enclosure outside and fed with grasses. The manure of the bull and the cows would be moved through a small window into the yard behind the sheds by men only, while the goat manure from the second shed of the lower room could be emptied by women. The manure was exposed to rain in the backyard for further maturing and was then brought out to the terrace fields by the women before planting. The animals would then be released after the harvest, apart from the bull which was ritually released, recaptured and sacrificed, after the he-goat slaughtering period was over, according to the bi-annual cycle of the guinea corn year.

Bulama Bala's explanations confirm that the participation in the prescribed chain of ritual events was much influenced by how well a household performed economically, which involved careful planning and resource management, a process embedded into a cycle linked to the biannual calendar of crop rotation. In the context of this, most billy goats and fattened

bulls were slaughtered in a guinea corn year, but if someone who did not have a full storage basket could not perform *har ghwe*, he could instead do *duf dala*. This was a ritual that did not involve the sacrifice of a he-goat or any other domestic animal, and consisted only of a beer libation to the three ancestor stones. The beer was then communally consumed as in a *har ghwe* ritual. We already know that the *duf dala* ritual could even be carried out during the next rainy season of a millet year, but according to bulama Bala it had to be done before *har gwazgafte* came up the following guinea corn year.

The ritual application of guts and stomach contents seems to be typical, in particular for the ritual calendar covering the period between harvesting and threshing, which shows the importance of the production of manure for the cycle of ritual events. Unlike a deceased father complaining of neglect in a he-goat not being slaughtered for *har ghwe*, as in the dream of bulama Ngatha, it is now *gwazgafte* as a representation of divinity which seems to make the demand. This is also indicated by the spatial context of the area in front of the main entrance called *wuts gwazgafte*, marked by the wooden sticks bound together as door posts on either side. As we have seen in Buba's example, *har gwazgafte* not only involved the application of guts and stomach contents of the sacrificed he-goat to the main entrance and the temporary storage facility, but efficient management of the limited space outside a house, which had to be ritually separated at specific waypoints with the aid of thorns.

Before *har gwazgafte*, the harvest ritual *tswila* was carried out, being the throwing of intestinal contents of a sacrificial he-goat into the ripe guinea corn. No beer was brewed for *tswila*, and it was followed by the *tikwa kupe* ritual, which had to be performed by older men only and consisted of old and newly harvested sorghum grain being ground together. The mix was then dissolved in water and some of it poured over the ancestor stones, before it was shared and communally consumed (see Chapter 3.8 again for the calendar details).

The above illustrates what bulama Bala had explained, namely that in the past meat was consumed in ritual contexts only, unless an animal had died. The other main function of domestic animals was to produce manure for making good soil for successful terrace farming, preferably nearby the house. We have referred to that part of a settlement as *khudi luwa*, meaning the 'stomach of the settlement'. The individual household was, in that context, the base station of a farming system in which religion and agriculture had become very closely intertwined. The element of the house shrine (*thala*) referred to as 'stomach' (*khudi*) is semantically analogous to this, and as we see in the next chapter, the roof of *thala* is even more so as a cosmological symbol of successful reproduction, somewhat like the 'crown' of successful terrace farming when it was ritually raised above the homestead and decorated with items of personal wealth during the bull festival.

For our chapter about working the terraced land, bulama Bala had summarised a range of sacrifices involving a he-goat, all of which were all related to the house. In the context of this he also listed a sacrifice called *har ghaya*, meaning slaughtering for the house. He spoke of this as the public aspect of *har gwazgafte*, after the road was unblocked again and relatives and neighbours could arrive to help celebrate the successful storage of guinea corn in the granaries. Bulama Bala also distinguished personal sacrifices of he-goats from the obligatory sacrifices, and mentioned in that context the personal spirit pot *sakgharhfire* above the bed of the father of the house. He referred to this as a *har batiwe*, meaning the sacrifice for a room, rather than one concerning the whole house. Another personal sacrifice he mentioned was *chuwila*, which was against the fear of bad luck, and it involved a sacrificial he-goat or a live chicken being revolved three times around the person's head before it was slaughtered. Bulama Bala said that the decision of which animal to use was decided by divination, but we have neglected the context of divination for all the rituals related to the house, as I failed to research them.

We will end this chapter on slaughtering a he-goat for divinity (*gwazgafte*) by repeating a quote by bulama Ngatha (1995) about *har ghwe*. This quote again demonstrates that *har gwazgafte* had to be performed before threshing, and that the slaughtering of a he-goat for the

deceased father was done after the sorghum was successfully stored in the granaries. The quote contains a brief description of brewing beer from guinea corn, and the importance of intestinal contents being placed on the ancestor stones and under the granary of the father of the house, underpinning once more the ritual aspect of manure production:

After threshing, the corn is taken into the granary. Now he starts preparing towards *har ghwe*. He takes some guinea corn and puts it into water. The following day he takes it out of the water and keeps it to germinate. After 3 to 4 days of germination, it will be dried in the sun. Now they will grind it. Now it is cooked for two days and then it is kept in one jar for two days. On the 3rd day they will slaughter he-goats. But before slaughtering he-goats the beer (*ghuze*) is put into several containers called *tughdhe*. They go round to invite people to share food, meat and beer. The intestinal and the stomach contents are put on the three stones and the remains of it they put into a broken pot and place it underneath the father's granary.

Bulama Ngatha tells us here how the remaining guts and stomach contents were ritually placed in a broken pot underneath the husband's granary. John Zakariya (1995) added that this was all done on the actual slaughtering day, and we remember from our earlier description of *har ghwe* that also on that day the ritual sauce and the beer from the two *tughdhe thala* was poured into the *jahurimbe* beer bowl and the *ndafa* eating bowl, to be libated over the ancestor stones. John also said that some of the gut contents of the slaughtered he-goat were put on the chest and belly of the male children. This shows again how important it was that the fertility of the land and the ownership of land were linked in ritual terms to the upcoming paternal line. Perhaps a girl did not have the gut contents placed on her chest and belly because she would move to live and work with the family of her husband after marriage. There her labour contribution would increase the yield of the terrace fields of her husband, and she and the children would remain indoors when he brought the guinea corn harvest into his house.

About the use of rainstones

We have already discussed the importance of stones used for rainmaking, in the chapter about interacting with the seasons, where we showed how Ndruwe Dzguma's junior brother used them in his house to make rain. We also introduced Ndruwe Dzguma, a respected senior rainmaker from Gharaza, as he was talking about his rainmaking skills. Before we present Ndruwe Dzguma's memories about the ritual importance of the senior rainmaker's house for all the other rainmakers of the past, we will show in Plate 46a a set of rainstones in Kalakwa's house. He belonged to the rainmaker lineage Gaske but was no longer practising rainmaking.

Plate 46a: Retired rainstones in Kalakwa Wila's house



While Kalakwa Wila's old house was already quite derelict in many ways, and its location is not exactly remembered, we photographed the retired rainstones he showed us. As far as I could establish, we were in the granary area of the foyer of his house. We can see they are stored in what looks like a broken bowl. They consist of round pebbles, some of which might have high quartz content, and some other longish stones of

which one stands erect, which looks like gneiss. Rainstones were generally called *kwir yewe*, meaning 'stones for rain'.

We remember from the arrangement of the two images of Plate 14 (Chapter 3.8) which showed the younger brother of Ndruwe Dzguma making rain in his house in Tatsa in 1996, that he also had arranged his rainstones in what looked like a large piece of potsherd. However he was using a modern metal bowl to pour the mix of sorghum flour and water over the rainstones, which resembled a symbolic arrangement of mountains. We therefore suggest that the rainstones and potsherd need to be seen as an intentional arrangement, in which the potsherd reminds us of the role of potsherds as representations of a shared ancestral past in other ritual arrangements.

We do not know for sure whether rainstones were never taken out of the house, as Ndruwe Dzguma told us, and there might have been exceptions. What we can gather from his account below is that in the past rainmakers went to the houses of their senior Gaske rainmakers and carried out rituals using the particularly powerful rainstones kept there. Ndruwe Dzguma began by giving a sequential summary of the different traditional sacrifices, which we have already quoted in parts in the chapter about the distribution and custodianship of local shrines. There he referred to *man skwe* as an obligatory ritual which included sorghum flour in water being poured over the ancestor stones. Perhaps Ndruwe Dzguma was referring to serving the ancestor stones in his own house to preserve the power of his rainstones.

We will learn more about the concept of *man skwe* (*man* = handling; *skwe* = ritual treatment), and the different types of *skwe* as ownerships of a variety of ritual treatments, in Chapter 3.23. The *man skwe* Ndruwe Dzguma referred to was in our opinion linked to the rainstones as part of the *skwe* a rainmaker owned, the ground sorghum flour in water poured over them being part of the ritual treatment. According to Ndruwe Dzguma, it was the rainstones of Viringwa Ruta of Ghwa'a which were the most powerful. He claimed that Viringwa Ruta was once the most senior Dghwedé rainmaker, but we do not know the location of his house in Ghwa'a. Ndruwe Dzguma tells us about one particularly impressive rain stone in Viringwa Ruta's house which was used as a grinding stone for making clan medicines by all the rainmakers. This throws additional light on the importance of stone, not only as a building material and ancestor stones, but as a ritual tool, in this case the large rainstone of a senior Dghwedé rainmaker as a medicine grinding stone.

Rainmaker Ndruwe Dzguma from Gharaza (1995) explained:

Thaghaya, the seventh born, is the one who inherits all the equipment for rainmaking, including the house, but it is the firstborn, *vjir mile* (*vjir* = child; *mile* = first), who does all the necessary sacrifices before *thaghaya* can act upon his task using the equipment. Ndruwe is now *thaghaya* because the one who was *thaghaya* before him has left. *Perda* is the name of his older brother and he is the senior brother who comes to his house doing the traditional Dghwedé sacrifices and this is the same across Dghwedé.

God has distributed all sorts of gifts and talents, and the Gaske have the ability to make rain, while the Dagha people were given the ability to use *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*). Ndruwe said that he did not learn how to make rain, and that some children of the same father might be more gifted than others. One can perform, just like that, he says, and adds: 'Nobody knows at the beginning whether he has that gift. It is only when you perform that people will be surprised. But even when you are gifted you have to wait for your elder brother to allow you to use the equipment. It is also not necessarily *thaghaya* who is the most gifted, but it is *thaghaya* who inherits the father's house and with it the equipment for rainmaking since it cannot be removed from the house.'

For making rain he uses:

<i>kwire yewe</i>	rainstones [<i>kwire</i> = stone; <i>yewe</i> = water, rain]
<i>tgija</i>	grass used by rainmaker [see Plate 19b, Plate 20b and Table 7b in Chapter 3.10 for more details of its use]
<i>humtara</i>	a variety of <i>vavanza</i> used to put in he-goats mouth which will burst, and it will die instead of being slaughtered by knife [this way of sacrificing a he-goat was done before threshing or immediately after harvesting]
<i>dag mbarde</i>	medicine mixture to increase the yield [is similar to <i>magulisa</i> - see Chapter 3.10 for more details]

All mixtures are used together according to need. They put them in a pot on a fire together with oil, and fry it before grinding it again. And this how they apply it to the crops.

A ram is only sacrificed when lightning kills people. They will then slaughter the ram, mix the blood with mahogany oil and use the leaves of the *ngurangura* tree [*Diospyros mespiliformis*; see Table 7a in Chapter 3.10 for details] and put leaves into the blood and oil so that the lightning will not kill them, otherwise it would kill people again. Against lightning, they also use *huba fite* (*fite* = lightning). [There were different types of *huba* (*Urginea maritima*) but the general name is *huba*; see Plate 20a in Chapter 3.10 for details]

Cockerel is slaughtered as sacrifice before using all kinds of *vavanza* and *huba*. He-goat is also used for that. Cow is not sacrificed but only bull for bull festival.

The stones they use for rainmaking are inherited from their great great grandfathers. It was given to them as a gift from God but nowadays they do not find them anymore. The reason is that their sacrifices are no longer as powerful as before due to the coming of Islam and Christianity.

The rainstones their ancestors used are kept in Viringwa Ruta's house. This is their original house in Ghwa'a and this man who was also a rainmaker lives there now. If I would see these stones I would be surprised, the rainmaker adds. The rainmakers from Gharaza go there to make rain with these stones as well. Among these stones there is one stone they turn, to grind *dag mbarda* on it. There is one object of iron consisting of a bent shape they tie together, called *ta'iya ngare* (*ta'iya* is the bent shaped iron object and *ngare* = beans) and apart from beans it also contains *vavanza* medicine (*Cissus quadrangularis*) inside.

Rainmakers hang their bundles through the hole of the *gude* (loft) to show it hanging there exposed to the eye, and then take it back again. This means there will be lots of beans that year. The rainmaker does this for example in Viringwa Ruta's house when he goes there to do rituals. In the past when the farm products grew bad they went to Ghwa'a to turn that stone to grind *dag mbarda*, and also used the *ta'iya ngare*. But before they did that, the people of Ghwa'a brought he-goats to sacrifice over these items. After the sacrifice was offered it would rain.

During the dry season, they keep the stones where they were.

In the past, they ate stones as food. Stones were soft. Then, when time went on, guinea corn was brought by a dog and they started using it to cook food. Later stones became so hard that they were uneatable.

Ndruwe Dzguma explained that the rainstones were inherited from their forefathers, and he names Viringwa Ruta's house in Ghwa'a where the most ancient rainstones were kept and where rainmakers would like to go and use them. He thought of them as being particularly effective.

He also told us that the rainmaker would hang his 'bundle' in the hole of Viringwa Dzguma's loft (*gude*) to make them more powerful. Unfortunately we do not know whether it was Viringwa Dzguma's upper loft or the lower loft of his first wife. Rainmakers also made parts of the medicinal mixture of *dag mbarde* in Viringwa Dzguma's house, which was, according to bulama Mbaldawa of Tatsa, a general name for the medicine for taking care of crops and beans. Ndruwe Dzguma explained that one of the rainstones in Viringwa Ruta's house was turned upside down and used to grind some of the ingredients for this. Ndruwe Dzguma seemed to further suggest that rainmakers went to Viringwa Ruta's house to carry out important rain rituals, and to produce a whole variety of medicines to improve the yield of crops. We described, in our chapter about working the land, the medicine called *magulisa* which contained charcoal and *huba* (*Urginea maritima*), a wild onion, which was used to increase the yield of crops and animals. *Huba* with water was also given to the goats and sheep before they were released after the harvest, to increase their reproductive capacity. We also remember that Kumba Zadvu, the founding ancestor of the Zelidiva, revived his children with *huba*, which he had discovered following the advice of a female spirit agent linked to water.

A *ta'iya ngare* was presumably an iron amulet filled with *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) and beans (*ngare*), which was mentioned by Ndruwe Dzguma as part of his rainmaker's 'bundle', and we infer that the same applied to the *tgija* grass. We therefore think that this grass was also part of the rainmakers 'bundle' which was hung in the opening of the loft

(*gude*) of clients' houses. Unfortunately we do not know whether the 'bundle' was hung in the opening of the upper (male) or the lower (female) loft of the client, while the rainmaker went around binding *magulisa* to make the beans flower successfully during a millet year, but remember that it was intended to be visible. We can only guess that it might also have visibly hung there to bless the agricultural efficacy of the farmstead, and we remember that the lowered animal stalls were interlinked with the architecture of the lower and upper room complex, so it would be seen from there also.

Ndruwe Dzguma also mentions *humtara*, a variety of *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*), which was used to put into a he-goats mouth, which would subsequently burst and the goat would die instead of being slaughtered by the knife. John explained to us that this kind of sacrificing was often done before harvesting or threshing of guinea corn. However we do not know whether this meant that a he-goat was ritually killed in that way for the *tswila* and the *har gwazgafte* rituals, but know that these were the main rituals in which a he-goat was sacrificed during the period of harvesting and threshing guinea corn. Perhaps it was also done when the crops grew really badly, as described by Ndruwe Dzguma, and *dag mbarde* was produced in Viringwa Ruta's house, and the people of Ghwa'a brought a he-goat to be sacrificed over the rainmaker's ritual 'bundle' itself. We learn later in Chapter 3.21 that rainmakers could be forced by local lineage majorities to make rain in certain places if there was an extreme shortage of rainfall.

The above was a worst case scenario in which the Gaske lineage had to produce rain or face the anger of the local lineage majority. Still, it seems that the house of their senior rainmaker, where the most ancient and powerful rainstones were kept, played a central role in the rainmaking rituals for the larger community. However there were possible far worse case scenarios, such as when a sacrifice to Durghwe, the main rain shrine of our subregion, needed to be attended, but such sacrifices would have been carried out under the custodianship of the lineage priest or *thaghaya* of Ghwa'a. We know he was from the Btha lineage and was not a member of the specialist rainmaker lineage Gaske. For the Gaske of the past, the house of Viringwa Ruta of Ghwa'a remains, according to Ndruwe Dzguma, the most important place of their ritual presence in Dghwedē. Unfortunately the man who lived there during the time of my visit had, according to our sources, already given up rainmaking.

Conclusion

In this chapter we worked out that the worship of family ancestors did not go beyond the deceased great grandfather (*wuje*) of an extended family. In the context of that, it was the deceased father (*dada*) and the deceased grandfather (*jije*) who received special ritual attention in the form of the two dedicated ceremonies *har ghwe* and *har jije*. If we consider that an extended family might have consisted of individual household compounds of the sons of a deceased father, it was the oldest son who introduced all his younger brothers into the worship of their deceased father. In contrast, it was the different wives of a man who determined which 'kitchen' (*kudige*) those sons would belong to, and in the context of that, it was the first wife and her seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) who received special attention. Implied with this was that neither the seventh born nor the first wife needed to be the actual seventh born or the actual first wife, but it was the role that counted. This was for example expressed by the fact that the firstborn had to serve his seventh-born brother (who might have a different mother) first before he could serve all his other younger brothers. The architecture of the house displayed the institutionalised ritual aspect of gender, which was particularly powerful in the husband's sauce kitchen adjacent to the first wife's lower kitchen and the 'stomach' of the house shrine (*thala*). During *har ghwe* an exogamous lineage brother cooked a sauce there, which was then used in combination with the ritual beer brewed in the first wife's lower kitchen and libated over the ancestor stones.

We showed that the ritual aspect of the house as a place of worship was interconnected via a network of extended family members which widened over three generations as represented by

the shifting ancestor stones. After the fourth generation, the great grandfather's ancestor stone was stored under the father's granary, as were other ritual pots whose ceremonial function had ceased, apart from the personal house shrine pot (*tughdhe thala*) of the father of the house. The latter marked the entry point into the network of the extended family-related ancestor worship system of the Dghwede, and was smashed a certain way upon his death and replaced by the small-aperture beer pot dedicated to the grave (*tughdhe kule*) of the deceased father. At the same time, the previous *tughdhe kule* was replaced by a *zal jije* pot, representing the only ancestor pot to be stored in the 'stomach' of *thala*, and we infer that it played the central role during *har jije*. Unfortunately, we have not many oral data on the sacrifice for a deceased grandfather, but know that the generation mate (*skmama*) of that grandfather was seen as the ideal family priest for *har jije*.

We also showed that the main entrance of a homestead was called *wuts gwazgafte*, meaning 'in front of divinity or God'. We pointed out that the idea of a Supreme Being was rather fluid and that for example the three-legged personal spirit pot of a man could also be seen as a personal god pot. We further showed that the representation of divinity as part of the *har gwazgafte* ritual could be referred to as a sacrifice to the house god. We also learned that the personalised aspects of a Supreme Being only seemed to apply to the father of the house, who could die if he did not carry out the required rituals. We illustrated how they were linked to the front yard and main entrance area of a house for which he was responsible on behalf of his family, which is underpinned by the fact that the father of the house blocked his neighbours or strangers from crossing the path of his property during *har gwazgafte*. People who walked by unintentionally were obliged to compensate the owner of the property for their unplanned interference in a man's ritual relationship with his house god.

We described how the foyer of the house could be divided into a left and a right side, in which the left side, with the lower kitchen, the ritual sauce kitchen and the granary of the first wife, displayed more female-related architectural features. We were able to demonstrate that the ritual significance of the male/female architectural aspects continued in the lower/upper part of the house, such as above the door between the lower and the upper room, and the adobe dome of the lower loft (*gude tighe*) of the first wife's room. Concerning the journey of the ritual beer pots involved, we described the small aperture as a technological development with the underlying purpose of keeping the sorghum beer fresh for several days. We linked this aspect with the cosmological concept of 'freshness' versus dryness, not only as an aspect of successful reproduction but also of bi-annual renewal. We underpinned this view with ethnographic data I previously collected among the Mafa and their concept of 'freshness' as part of their belief system. This was done to point to the possibility of a typical subregional similarity in terms of cosmological thinking, since they were exposed to the same semi-arid mountainous environment.

We linked the technical significance of the small aperture with the potential archaeological interpretation of pots with small apertures found among the pottery at the DGB sites. We further showed that ritual beer pots with small apertures were kept in situ in the foyer area of an ancient ruin of a Dghwede house, and also illustrated the broken mouths of such pots placed on a rubbish heap next to it, and thus underpinned the importance of the Dghwede house as a place of worship long after it had been abandoned. Finally, we produced a list of types of ritual pots found in a house, including personal spirit pots for children, and pointed out that there was only one such pot for a deceased mother, while all the others seem to be for husbands and their deceased fathers and grandfathers. We also showed the importance of cooking pots and eating bowls made into ritual beer pots, especially in the context of children, and also for the paternal family ancestors represented by the 'stomach' of the house shrine (*thala*).

We further showed how important the production of manure was for the ritual performances, especially for the rituals before *har ghwe* and *har jije*, and how in particular the harvesting and threshing period entailed the ritual use of guts and stomach contents. They were applied to the guinea corn before the harvest, and then to the guinea corn temporarily stored in the

extended platform area of the front yard of the house. We learned that it was not unusual in the past for not everyone to be able to afford to slaughter a he-goat for the rituals mentioned, and that one lineage elder might have done the sacrifice for the rest of the extended family or local lineage group, while the others might have used sorghum flour mixed with water. A situation of that kind could have occurred as a result of an epidemic, which might have reduced the quantity of livestock. We described the animal sheds as integrated parts of the lower and upper room complex, and emphasised their importance for the production of animal manure, and how its application was managed, including the release of domestic animals after the harvest. This had already changed long before Boko Haram, mainly due to the increasing use of chemical fertiliser. Concerning the rituals related to the family ancestors, this had led decades ago to the transformation of the bi-annual ritual cycle into an annual one, and to important community festivals such as the bull festival no longer being performed.

We finally showed the importance of the traditional house as a centre for rainmaking, and how the rainmaker would hang his ritual 'bundle' in the opening of the adobe dome *gude* (loft) of the houses he visited, to encourage the growth of beans. We also showed how rainmakers used sorghum flour in a calabash of water to pour over the rainstones to make rain, and learned that the most ancient rainstones were kept in the senior rainmaker's house of Viringwa Ruta in Ghwa'a. We showed an image of retired rainstones in Kalakwa's house, who had been a member of the Gaske lineage, and we pointed out that such rainstones were passed on from father to son. We further explained that although the rainstones in Viringwa Ruta's house were in the past used in worst case scenarios of severe drought, we pointed out that his ritual responsibility as senior rainmaker did not extend to a lineage shrine outside his house. We concluded from this that the house of the most senior rainmaker was the most important ritual centre for the rainmaker lineage Gaske, rather than a public shrine. We pointed to Durghwe as the most important Dghwedè rain shrine, which remained under the control of the Btha lineage as the seventh born (*thaghaya* lineage) of the descendants of Thakara who were the most numerous lineage group in Ghwa'a

Our next chapter is concerned with the reconstruction of key elements of the Dghwedè bull festival from oral fragments I collected some years before Boko Haram finally destroyed the last remains of Dghwedè ritual culture. We will see for example how the roof of *thala*, which we have so far neglected, was renewed before the bull festival as part of the thatching of roofs at this time. We will learn about other ritual installations linked to the bull festival, such as the planting of the ritual *tsaga* stick (a freshly cut branch from a particular type of tree) in the upper passageway, reaching through the flat roof into the sky (Figure 21a). After the chapter about the bull festival, we will reconstruct the adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), which had already disappeared before the bull festival as the most important communal festival vanished. We will see not only how the house continues to be a central place of ritual activity, but how Ghwa'a as a mountainous landscape is included according to the ritual stages which unfold there. This will lead us later to explore more deeply the underlying cosmological interpretation of the Dghwedè view of the world, from the memory fragments of our main oral protagonists.

Chapter 3.13

The Dghwedè bull festival (*har daghile*)

Introduction

The Dghwedè word for the bull festival is *har daghile*, which means 'slaughtering a bull'. The bull festival has already been mentioned several times in our construction of the Dghwedè oral history retold from the grassroots. The first time was in the context of Katala-Wandala the daughter of Wandala-Mbra, who married Tasa, a son of Dghwedè-Mbra, and they had two sons, Gudule and Ske (Gaske). We also learned that not only Tasa had been married to a daughter of Wandala, but also Zedima, a mythical Dghwedè leader. The legend of Zedima mentions a beer which he made to give to his people after they helped to put animal manure onto his terrace fields. That beer had been poisoned by Wandala's daughter, and the people died from it. However, the daughter stayed loyal to her husband, and told him what her father had asked her to do. To take revenge on the chief of Wandala, Zedima went inside the earth from where he collected the 'roots of the sun', which he then used to cause a severe drought. Only Durghwe, the main rain shrine, still had water during the time of adversity described, but this was only accessible by Zedima, and as a result the chief of Wandala had to leave for Kirawa, after he had managed to survive by the grace of Zedima.

Both myths put emphasis on the control of rain, and the reference to manure in the Zedima legend points to the importance of its regular application to the terrace fields. The bull festival can also be interpreted in such a context. We have already learned in the previous chapter how important for example was the ritual application of intestinal matter during the harvesting and threshing period of guinea corn. We also remember the legendary traditions of the mythological pairing of the cornblessor and the rainmaker lineages, as shown in the Amuda and Ganjara tale. We spoke about the cosmological dimension of blessings from below related to cornblessing, and blessings from above in terms of rainmaking. We were able to establish that cornblessing had to do with increasing the yield of the harvest, while rainmaking was important during the growing period of crops.

In Dghwedè, the legend about Gudule and Gaske, of how the two brothers became ritual specialists, tells a very similar story. Here it was Gazhiwe, one of the sons of Gudule, who eventually became the most important Dghwedè cornblessor lineage. According to the legend, Gudule was punished for cutting off the white tail of his father's cow to give it to a girl he desired. As a result of Gudule's misbehaviour, Tasa removed the gift of rainmaking from him and gave it to his brother Ske, but Gudule remained cornblessor and custodian of the land, and had the role of starting of the bull festival for the whole of Dghwedè. Our oral sources speak of Zhiwe, Linga and Mangala as the 'sons' of Gudule who stayed behind after their 'brothers' decided to leave for Gudulyewe (meaning 'water of Gudul'), which is the Dghwedè name for Gudur. The reason why some of the Gudule left was that they had been finally defeated by the expanding Vaghagaya, who then asked the Gudule not to leave completely. The names of their lineage brothers who left for Gudur (Gudulyewe) are not known, but from then on the Gudule had to listen for the sound of the drums of the bull festival coming from Gudur before they could start their own festival for the rest of Dghwedè.

Some of our oral history accounts claim that Gudule himself did not come from Gudur, but only wanted to leave for Gudur, and that the brothers wanted to take their potent clan medicine with them to increase in number. We remember that Mughuze-Ruwa, the father of Vaghagaya, was once considered a local nobody who married the daughter of Hembe, and that Gudule and Hembe were considered as early settlers of a pre-Korana southern Dghwedè. We like to hypothesise that the Vaghagaya needed them to take care of the fecundity of the land, being the dedicated first comers. Because the bull festival was seen as the main communal festival, the ritual role of the Gudule as its custodians was subsequently applied to

the whole of Dghwedè and not just to the Vaghagaya. We presume that this greater integration happened during the later part of the pre-colonial period, perhaps as late as the Fulbe expansion.

The previous two chapters have been about the architecture of the house, including the house as a place of worship. We have shown how the system of generation mates (*skmama*), up to the paternal great grandfather, ritually interacted in small neighbourhoods of farmsteads on terraced hillsides. We suggested that the 'stomach' of *thala* represented the cosmological belly of the Dghwedè house shrine, with the three ancestor stones at its inner front and with specific ritual pots stored inside. There was also the ritual sauce kitchen for a man's exogamous lineage brother, and the two kitchens, one to the left and the other to the right, of a smooth front dry stone wall. The granaries were situated on the inner side of a foyer area, between the central passageway with its row of sitting stones and the upper passageway leading to the lower and upper room complex. We referred to the lower part of the house as the foyer area containing the ritual centre of a traditional homestead. We explained the interconnectedness of the animal sheds which were linked to the lower and upper room complex, and the architectural gender divisions across such a household compound. The bull shed was adjacent to the upper room of the father and owner of the house, and we were told that this was because a father and husband of a house (*zal thaghaya*) always wanted to be near his beloved bull.

While we have been looking inwards, understanding the inner makings of a house, we are now looking outwards, towards the legendary and mythological past, and how this helped in shaping Dghwedè ritual traditions promoting fecundity. We mentioned the dry and the wet seasons and how the production of manure and the control of rainfall were embedded in Dghwedè cosmological thinking. The latter was also a result of past collective experiences of regular exposure to drought and the resulting loss of 'freshness' as a precondition for fertility. The legend of Gudule beating the drums for their brothers in Gudulyewe on the other side of the northern Mandara Mountains tells of an audial connection with the wider world, going from the intimate rituals inside a house to a chain of social celebration connecting communities, stamping the very ground of their mountain existence.

The newly thatched roof of *thala* had the ritual stick called *tsaga* protruding from the flat roof behind it, with branches reaching into the sky. The stick was covered with a tent of zana mats¹ and decorated with traditional clothing which was also hung over other parts of the newly thatched roof of *thala*. Family members would put on this clothing when the bull was ritually released, and then dance together with the celebrating crowd. The Gudule were responsible for starting both the roofing and the bull festival, but before the bull festival they beat the drums and put their ears to the ground to listen for the responses of the drums of Gudulyewe. We know that the chief of Gudur was once seen as a major rainmaker in his region, someone who had specialist ritual powers. His lineage ownership of a clan medicine for increasing fecundity seemed to increase in proportion to the distance between the locality of Gudur and some of the montagnard groups claiming they once had access to it. The link to water was not only in the name Gudulyewe (*yewe* = water), but appeared in different contexts across the wider region. For example, my unpublished 1988 fieldnotes concerning the Vreke clan of the Moskota hills (see Figure 4) contain the information that the chief of Gudur would prepare his *kule* (clan medicine) on a fire lighted on top of a dedicated waterhole.²

¹ *Zana* is a Hausa word, while the Dghwedè for 'zana mat' was *dhava* (see list of useful grasses). We continue to use the Hausa word for such mats here. The Dghwedè used the Hausa word more often during my fieldwork, which illustrates how the language had already changed by then.

² Another version of his *kule* also included the sacrifice of a bull or an ox without horns to the spirit of the waterhole. In Mouhour (half way between Mokolo and Goudour) a local man explained that the chief of Gudur was a regional rainmaker. In the DGB area I was told that the first bull ever to be used for a bull festival was born to a cow previously owned by a water spirit, and sprinkling earth on the backs of cows would prevent the water spirit from taking them back (Muller-Kosack 2003:110). David and Sterner (2005)

We also need to mention again the role of the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*), which we know the father and owner of a house hoped his first wife would bear. *Thaghaya* was a symbol of his fecundity, not only as a successful husband (*zal thaghaya*), but also for ensuring future custodianship of the land. We can even go so far as imagining that the descendants of Gudule represented the luck of the seventh born for the whole of Dghwede. The legend of how he cut the tail of his father's favoured cow out of fancy for a female indicates he wanted to marry of his own accord rather than be subject to marriage by promise. We will discuss the historic ways of marrying in Dghwede in Chapter 3.20, but need to mention here that a first wife married by fancy was not in the past considered to be the ideal mother of a seventh-born son (*thaghaya*). Still, Gudule remained *thaghaya*, and was punished by his father Tasa by the loss of the ritual entitlement for rainmaking, and we can only assume that Tasa still held the entitlement for cornblessing and rainmaking. We also need to remind ourselves that it was Katala, the daughter of Wandala, who was Tasa's first wife, and that their sons Gudule and Ske (Gaske rainmaker) were brothers of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*).

We will explore this view in a subregional context in the hope of better understanding the position and role of Gudule in Dghwede. First we will look beyond Dghwede to see which groups of the Gwoza hills performed the bull festival as a travelling bi-annual communal event. Next we will explore possible pre-existing connections to Gudur. In the context of this, we will examine cross-border links on the other side of the eastern plain, in particular the Moskota hills, and possible oral-historical links to the Gwoza hills. There the chief of Vreke was the main representative of the chief of Gudur for many Mafa villages of the northwestern Mandara Mountains.³ He owned various clan medicines, and collected his *kule* for the increase of fecundity during a pilgrimage to Gudur, then ritually distributed it in the Mafa communities through which he passed on his return. We will also explore the Dghwede traditions connecting the Vile clan of Hidkala (Hambagda) with the Vreke clan, due to their ability to control smallpox. In the context of this, we will briefly discuss possible subregional layers emerging from my previous fieldwork, but will not go into them too deeply.

Coming to a description of the bull festival itself, it was already a thing of the past when I started my ethnographic work in Dghwede, which meant that John and I had to reconstruct it from memories recounted to us. As we realised that Gudule was the lineage responsible for starting it, we mainly interviewed people from Gudule, and also a few others. After presenting the legend of the beginning of the bull festival, we will describe the role in it played by the Gudule. Our data on the various performance elements of the Dghwede bull festival are very limited indeed, and imagination will have to play a part in understanding what an important public event it once was. We will describe some of the key elements, such as the release of the bull, which involved breaking into the side of his shed, his recapture and subsequent slaughter.

We will tell how a Dagha diviner would check whether the bull was vicious and too dangerous to release. If that was the case the Dagha would apply his special *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) to calm the animal down. We will also describe the previously mentioned decorations on top of the ritual *tsaga* stick planted in the ground of the upper passageway of the foyer area, between the granaries and the entrance to the lower and upper room complex.

mention a local myth in which Biya, a former chief of Gudur, who was originally from Wandala, passed through a place called Mowo where the dying chief gifted him a set of magical rainstones and a bull which led him to the 'mountain of the world'. Durghwe also had legendary links to bulls and was seen as the regional rain shrine.

³ The Mafa word is *biy Vreke*. *Biy* or *bay* means great or 'the Great' in Mafa and *biy Vreke* is best translated as 'the Great Vreke', being a reference to his ritual power rather than as the chief of Vreke. The same applies to *biy Gudur* or *bay* of Gudur. While Gudur refers to the place, Gudul was a reference to his clan ethnicity, as in being of Gudul descent but from the locality of Gudur. The Mofu-Gudur are distinguished from the Mofu-Diamare, being the two main Mofu groups (Figure 4).

We will then discuss the position of the bull when slaughtered, with his body in the lower room of the first wife and his head stretched across the foundation stones (*ghar malga*) of the upper passageway. Finally we will present our source material on how the bull festival once travelled across the different settlement units of Dghwede, reinforcing the communal aspect and the unity it brought to its two main parts. We then show an illustration of how the bull festival travelled from Gudur to Gudule in Dghwede by the sound of drumbeats, and how it travelled from Gudur via Podoko in the Mora hills to the Vreke of the Moskota hills.

There was another communal festival called *thagla*, which we translate as 'harvest festival'. This was mentioned earlier in the context of the discussion of the Dghwede seasonal calendar. We placed it in terms of its sequential ritual order after the end of *har ghwe* and *har jije* (slaughtering of a he-goat to the deceased father and grandfather) but before the bull festival (*har daghile*). Unfortunately our fieldnotes on *thagla* are very limited, and there is contradicting data on its position in the calendar. Because *thagla* was a religious festival belonging to the community as a whole, and not just the extended family and close neighbourhood of generation mates, it will be discussed before the bull festival. We will further discover that the discussion of *thagla* as a communal annual event is of oral historical importance in the context of a similar harvest festival starting in the Moskota hills. In the past they travelled from the Vreke to the Glavda and neighbours, and we will learn more about the resulting cross-border connection after describing the Dghwede harvest festival in the first section of this chapter.

The ritual place of *thagla* (harvest festival)

We already pointed out that *thagla* was most likely performed annually, that is during both a millet and a guinea corn year, and that those who could afford to sacrifice a bull did not have to perform *thagla* during that year, only *har ghwe*. Because the bull festival was already a thing of the past during the early independence period or before, we wonder when *thagla* also came to an end. The first interview I did in Dghwede was in December 1994, with Musa Kalakwa Dawa and a group of elders in Barawa. Musa Kalakwa Dawa was a Christian, in his 80s at the time, and my translator was Ibrahim Vile from Gwoza town, which meant that the interview was in the Hausa language. I quote below what Kalakwa Dawa had to say about *thagla*:

The *thagla* festival is a communal sacrifice. It is announced communally that the *thagla* festival is going to take place. The whole community is involved. That means all of them cook beer for the sacrifice and offer animals. After the horn is blown to inform all the people, the elderly people will get tobacco and a hen. In return, the elders give the people a word of wisdom and pray for the safety of the strangers who are coming to grace the festival and to have peace among themselves and to avoid calamity during the festival. The elders will be called upon to pray before the festival. The festival involves the whole community, but the sacrifice done has no specific pottery.

Musa Kalakwa Dawa and elders clearly say that *thagla* was a communal festival, in which 'strangers' also participated, and that there was no specific ritual pottery linked to it. By strangers he means visitors from other parts of Dghwede, perhaps even from neighbouring groups like Gvoko, Chikide or Lamang. He said elsewhere that *thagla* was done before *har ghwe*, which differs from what bulama Ngatha said in 1995 (see Chapter 3.8).

Also, Zakariya Kwire (1996) explained that *thagla* was done in both years, but only in the guinea corn year was it done after *har ghwe* and before the bull festival, while during a millet year it was done after threshing and before *har ghwe*. He also confirmed that in the past *har ghwe* and *har jije* were done only in a guinea corn year, a claim we have already addressed in the context of the bi-annual calendar of crop rotation. We give below a short description of what Zakariya Kwire had to say about the performance elements of *thagla*:

Before putting grain into the water for *thagla*, a trumpet is blown. Everybody who wants to perform *thagla* now puts grain into water. Then, when the grain is ground, the trumpet is blown again. The day of the beginning of *thagla* celebration, the *thagaya* of Ghwa'a starts consuming

the beer, and after that everybody else can follow suit as they like. The following day the *thagla* beer is enjoyed communally and traditional dances take place. The trumpet and other musical instruments are played. This goes over three days. On the day of dancing people wear their traditional dresses. During *thagla*, slaughtering only takes place for communal consumption, and not for any ritual purposes of the house. Those who do not have sorghum to prepare beer for *thagla* can use sorrel (*bathi'a*). They grind *bathi'a* and cook it to make a sauce, as a statement to God that they do not have anything. Or they grind *ndighuva*, which are the seeds of the fruit of a tree used to cook a sauce. They throw the unwanted particles on the path as a statement that they do not have anything.

The day before the *thagla* beer is consumed, some elders and all mature men go up to Durghwe where they slaughter a he-goat or a bull. Young men will run around Durghwe while the elders throw the intestines of the slaughtered animal towards Durghwe. Most elders would pretend to throw, and finally someone would really throw the intestines, and this would mean that this person would die in the same year. Now all the others would throw as well. The young men would also blow the trumpet and flutes. After the meat was cooked, the elders would eat before the young men. The young men would also do wrestling and fight in a playful way over the meat. Some of the meat would be brought back from Durghwe to give to men and boys for tasting at home. Everyone would be back now from Durghwe and *thagla* would begin at Nwiva Gaduwatha's house, who was *thaghaya* of Ghwa'a at the time.

The beginning of *thagla* was called *tikwa thagla*. *Tikwa* refers to any liquid being poured over the three ancestor stones. The next day the main celebrations would start. The grain used for the beer of *thagla* can only be from the wife's granary if the husband has done *har ghwe*. If he has not done *har ghwe* yet, meaning in particular during a guinea corn year, he has to go to his neighbour to borrow corn to prepare beer for *thagla*.

There are two types of stores for unthreshed guinea corn, *gudahiya* and *gamaka*. *Gamaka* is a type of hangar where millet is also stored. In the case of guinea corn for threshing being stored in *gamaka*, one can use guinea corn from the wife's granary even if one has not been able to perform *har ghwe* in that guinea corn year. If a man has stored it in *gudahiya*, one can only use guinea corn from the wife's granary if her husband had performed *har ghwe*. It would have to be this way, otherwise the ritual would be spoiled and even the beer would not be good.

During a millet year, a man could take corn for preparing the beer of *thagla* from his wife's granary without any problem, because *har ghwe* was not performed during a millet year. During a millet year, a man could even use sorghum from his own granary.

Zakariya Kwire's account makes it clear that *thagla* was performed during both years, and that the ritual complications of preparing the beer of *thagla* only occurred during a guinea corn year. Because *har ghwe* was in the past done only during a guinea corn year, the beer of *thagla* for such a year could only come out of the wife's granary if her husband was wealthy enough to perform it. In this sense, it was the reproductive capacity represented by his first wife which gave him the potential to be a successful husband and father of a seventh born (*zal thaghaya*). He relied on the guinea corn from his first wife's granary to celebrate his success as head of a family. Only if the guinea corn for threshing was stored in his *gudahiya* (*hiya* = guinea corn)⁴ as the correct storage facility did that mean something. It would have spoilt the ritual if it had not been done in that way. We can see the aesthetic sense of Dghwedé's ritual culture shining through Zakariya Kwire's statement when he says that in that case even the beer would not have been good.

We do not know whether the sacrifice to Durghwe as part of the harvest festival (*thagla*) was only done in a guinea corn year, but assume that this was the case. The account once more confirms the overall ritual importance of guinea corn in Dghwedé ritual culture, something we know from other parts of the Mandara Mountains. Another aspect was the wrestling and playful struggling over the sacrificial meat by the young men, and that parts of the meat were taken back to the farmsteads to feed the men and boys, but not the women and girls. Also, the ritual sequence of *thagla* is confirmed by this account, by placing it clearly before the bull

⁴ We are not sure whether it should be *ghuda hiya*, meaning 'cutting' as in harvesting the guinea corn.

festival, although those who performed the bull festival that year did not themselves have to perform *thagla*.

Finally, Zakariya Kwire mentioned the house of Nwiva Gaduwatha, who was the custodian of the land (*thagaya*) of Ghwa'a at the time. We see later, in the description of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), that his house played an important role in some of the stages of this (see Chapter 3.14). We know that the celebration of *dzum zugune* had ended years before the bull festival. Unfortunately we do not have a list of the *thagaya* or custodians of Ghwa'a over time, so we cannot say when and for how long Nwiva Gaduwatha lived. It does however confirm that *thagla* was no longer performed during my time, because when I was there the already mentioned Ghamba Vunga was *thagaya* of Ghwa'a.

We have identified *thagla* as a harvest festival in the calendar section, and perhaps this is the best way to view it. It was dedicated to the community as a whole and was done before the bull festival, while during the millet year it was done after threshing but without any ritual elements, at least as far as we can say from the little we know about it. It was a festival which embraced the community of Dghwedè as a whole and was done every year, but it too had long disappeared. Perhaps it lasted longer than the bull festival, especially in its non-ritual version as it was done during the millet year, which might be the reason why some of my friends in Korana Basa (1995) thought it was only done in the millet year.

It seems that only the sacrifice for a deceased father (*har ghwe*) had survived, and was already performed annually during my time, but it most likely ceased with the arrival of Boko Haram. In a way, it was the last remaining ritual linked to the slaughtering period, and it had indirectly replaced both the harvest festival (*thagla*) and the bull festival (*har daghile*). The harvest festival was originally performed annually but it had no specific sacrifice of the house attached to it, apart from a communal one for Durghwe during a guinea corn year. The bull festival was bi-annual only and in the past had substituted the harvest festival during a guinea corn year, but only for those who could afford to sacrifice a bull, which made the bull festival the most important communal festival of the past. This was not the same across the Gwoza hills, as there are additional wider subregional complexities such as the late pre-colonial role of the Vreke clan of Moskota or a possible past link to the Mafa rainmakers of Moudoukwa.

Bull festival among Dghwedè neighbours and its wider subregional complexities

The first thing that stands out when comparing my 1994 and 2000/2001 field data concerning the Gwoza hills neighbours of the Dghwedè, is that the Chikidè, Chinene and the Guduf did not seem to have celebrated their bull festival as a travelling communal event as the Dghwedè did. This was despite them being otherwise very similar, as we have seen for example with the architecture of their houses. These three similar montagnard neighbours neither had any link to Gudur, and they only celebrated the bull festival on the level of the individual household. For example, the Guduf stall-fed their bulls for manure production for up to five years before they released and sacrificed them. The same seems to have applied to all the other groups, in particular around the northern edge of the Gwoza hills including the Zelidva and Glavda, while the Lamang of Hidkala (Vile, Hambagda and Hudukum) shared a communal bull festival that started in Vile. As in Dghwedè, this was celebrated in a bi-annual cycle during a guinea corn year, but neither have we any record of a link to Gudulyewe or Gudur among them.

This makes the Dghwedè and the role of the Gudule unique in our area, and therefore we look across the international border, in particular to the Vreke clan of the Mafa from the Moskota hills. They are the closest neighbouring group with a strong link to Gudur, and also claim past marriage links to the groups of the Gwoza hills, to whom they refer as Godaliy. The Vreke of the Moskota hills also have links to Kughum, which is the only Mafa village of the Gwoza LGA, and most likely Huduwa too, the latter being across the border in Cameroon. Kughum, Huduwe and Vreke are next-door neighbours of the Gudule in the southeastern corner of Dghwedè. If we take another look at Figure 3 and Figure 4 we recognise their geographical

proximity. We need to remember that the international boundary cutting through our subregion is a result of World War One and has only existed since the 1920s.⁵

It is however not so much the bull festival that is central to the Vreke link to Gudur, but the control of epidemics and diseases. In the light of this, they have a similarity to the Vile clan of Hidkala, who in the past controlled smallpox. Like the Vreke, the Vile used their clan medicine as a tool of power with their neighbours. However, according to my 1994 field data, the Vile never had a conflict with the Dghwedè over this, but always provided them with their clan medicine if needed and used the Gaske rainmakers of the Dghwedè in exchange. Also, the Vile did not develop into a specialist clan founded on the ritual ownership of clan medicines expressed by powerful status, as did the *biy* Vreke, who once had, as chief of Vreke, regional control over the distribution of clan medicines.

My data from Vile provide unclear information about a possible link with Vreke, and only one local source from Vile confirmed they had originated from Vreke, while all other sources denied such a connection. There is one interview from Kunde (1995) in Dghwedè, which claimed that the Vile were, in reality, Vreke, and that they had moved from Vreke to Vile via Huduwa. When John and I visited the Mafa of Huduwa, we could not find any such link, but were told that some of their local clans had direct links to Vreke, while most of them came from Itire. We can see in Figure 4 that Itire is situated on the foot of the northern slopes of the Oupay massif on the way to Moudoukwa, which belongs to our DGB research area.

In Huduwa I was told another piece of information, which we mention here because it reiterates the ritual importance of specialist clans. I was informed in Huduwa that their rainmakers too were Gaske, because they could claim to be sons of Tasa. I was accompanied by a Gaske rainmaker from Gharaza, and vividly remember his astonishment. This would have been common knowledge in colonial times, before the international boundary made neighbouring villages foreigners to each other, and perhaps it demonstrates how quickly oral narratives are forgotten if they are no longer shared. The main difference however was that the Gaske of Huduwa claimed to have originally come from Itire, which connects to the Mafa rainmakers of Moudoukwa.

We referred to Moudoukwa in the context of discussing Moisel's map of 1913, in the chapter about the local history of names and places. We only want to summarise quickly here, and point out that neither the Vreke clan nor the rainmakers of Moudoukwa were of Mafa origin but were outsiders. They were both from specialist clans and were at the same time the most important Mafa personalities in ritual terms. The Vreke clan officially claimed a legendary origin from Gudur, but unofficially they might have come from the Madagali area (Muller-Kosack 1988), but the Mafa rainmaker of Moudoukwa belonged to the Gozla clan and was of Muktele origin.⁶ As we said earlier, we do not want to go too deeply into this, but feel the need to point out that specialist lineages or clans could become quite powerful and far-reaching. We suggest that the fact that they were known to have gained regional importance was possibly a development which might not long predate late pre-colonial times. It is our

⁵ We remember how long the Wandala controlled the eastern plains of today's GLGA, with tribute payments being taken to Mozogo, as was remembered by dada 'Dga and Zakariya Kwire. Even when Hamman Yaji was finally arrested, they tried to find protection from the Wandala, before they carried on with their journey under the leadership of Vaima, first to Dikwa and then to Maiduguri.

⁶ My Mafa research has shown that the rainmakers of the wider DGB area are all descendants of the Gozla clan (Muller-Kosack 2003). This shows how unreliable many of our traditions of origin are in a strict ethnohistorical sense, especially when they are only discussed and taken into account as local traditions. The northern Mandara Mountains are in this sense like a large puzzle, and the more we look beyond the local, the more variations in terms of cultural traditions we see emerging. The Gudur tradition is surely one of them, and takes on different forms. For some reason it has taken its very own local form in the role the Gudule clan plays for Dghwedè.

preferred view to link it to the formation of the Mafa as the largest ethnic group after the DGB sites were abandoned.

Before we discuss the role of Gudur in our wider subregion in a little more detail, we want to highlight the link between the Vreke and the Glavda and their *utiva* celebrations, an annual festival bearing a lot of similarities to *thagla* in Dghwede. Coming from Vreke, where it was called *matamai*, it travelled to Glavda and from there to Guduf, Chikide, Chinene and Zelidva, but not to Dghwede. It did however include all the Glavda villages in the eastern plain, in particular Atagara and Agapalawa. The Glavda occupied the Moskota hills before they were driven out by the Vreke, presumably in the context of the expansion of the Mafa. Based on my Mafa and Gwoza hills research, I make the claim here that the Vreke clan was incorporated by the Mafa. We think that their role in starting a travelling annual festival for the northern Gwoza hills and the intramountainous eastern plain goes back to a time when they shared the Moskota hills with the Glavda.

This is the reason why we find the unofficial version of the Vreke having originated from the Madagali area to be the more convincing one, especially since the official Gudur tradition might well be a geopolitical myth of later pre-colonial origin. David and Sterner (2005) argue that the Gudur tradition was based on the ritual importance attached to it by some of its montagnard neighbours, and as such was a result of population dispersions caused by the Fulbe expansion across the region during the 19th century. However, we believe its development must be linked to a longer historical process, which needs to be understood in the context of the ethnogenesis of the Mafa and not only the Fulbe expansion.

It is important to realise in this context that the Mafa consist of many clans of different ethnic origin from the western and the eastern fringes of the northern Mandara Mountains. I have studied the organisational processes of their political formation in detail within the DGB research area (Muller-Kosack 2003). Specialist clans or lineages are not only responsible for rainmaking or cornblessing, but are frequently in possession of many different types of clan medicines. As such they serve a whole variety of purposes among which the promotion of fecundity is surely a central one, especially while under the regular threat of a bad harvest caused by periods of aridity and/or locusts, or any other plague or epidemic disease.

Regionally administered clan medicines can become more legendary when they are represented by chiefly personalities. My research in Vreke (unpublished fieldnotes from 1988) shows that the announcement of the bull festival by the chief of Vreke was secondary to his role as representative of the chief of Gudur, and central to this was the clan medicine that the chief of Vreke collected from the chief of Gudur. The narrative goes that he regularly travelled to Gudur to collect it, and subsequently distributed it on the way back. The last Vreke who ever travelled to Gudur was Gatama Ngoye, which was about 50 years before 1988 when I collected my field data in Vreke. This implies that it was some time in the late 1930s or early 1940s. We do not know for sure whether he actually went to Gudur, or only travelled through parts of Mafa land to distribute his clan medicine known as *kule*.

His journey was reported as being a spectacular event, with a whole entourage accompanying him, and I also found evidence of it from collective memories of people in my main Mafa research area of Gouzda. Concerning the bull festival, the chief of Vreke had to wait until it had moved sufficiently northwards along the eastern side of the plain of Koza, namely from the Mineo to the Muktele, before he could announce it for the Moskota hills. This reiterates that the Vreke clan of Moskota did not particularly connect the bull festival with the Gudur tradition at all. On the other hand, the chief of Vreke was very important when it came to announcing the harvest festival *matamai*, which happened after he had endured a month-long period of seclusion indoors, from which he was ritually brought out as part of a public spectacle (Muller-Kosack 2003:191). This marks him as a potential divine entity for the promotion of a good harvest, and as mentioned, his ritual announcement of the harvest festival expanded across the eastern plains and into the Gwoza hills, even as far as Chikide.

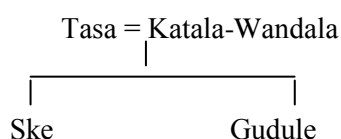
This is certainly at odds with the Gudur tradition found in Dghwede, and also concerning the Mafa of Kughum. During my visit in 1995, the belief of the Mafa of Kughum endured that it was the chief of Vreke who started the bull festival among the Mafa, as he had originated from Gudur. It seems that Kughum acknowledged this as an important past memory, but it is crucial to remember in this context that the Gudule of Dghwede did not seem to have waited for the Vreke clan of Moskota, but listened instead for the drums of their relatives in Gudulyewe. This variation further underpins that it is better to accept Gudur more as a place of legendary origin rather than of geographical chiefly origin.

However, in its historical phenomenon as a travelling myth, it was more likely connected to the most recent wave of immigration from the eastern fringes of the northern Mandara Mountains bordering the plain of Diamare, from where came not only the Gudur tradition but also the large Mafa clans. The two most important ones were the Vuzay and Djele, who eventually grew into the most numerous Mafa clans in the centre of the northern Mandara Mountains. Similar to the Mughuze-Ruwa in southern Dghwede, they became the dominating local clan groups in almost every Mafa village, where they incorporated many smaller clan groups by forming ritual allegiances, a process I have described in *The Way of the Beer* (Muller-Kosack 2003).

This happened long after the process of labour-intensive terrace cultivation of sorghum had most likely started in the DGB area, which might well have already been connected not only to rainmaking but also the celebration of manure production. In that very sense, the Gudur tradition can be seen as a cultural accomplishment, but more in the form of a much later regional manifestation of an egalitarian travelling myth about the spread and success of the early agricultural revolution. The terrace cultivation of sorghum might have brought about a particularly distinct culture of managing the high risk of food scarcity due to regular droughts. This was in palaeoclimatic terms particularly severe in the most northerly part of the Mandara Mountains. We will refer to this aspect of crisis exposure and its ritual management in the chapter on the Dghwede adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*), but will concentrate here on the Dghwede legend of how Gudule was banned from rainmaking and hence became a cornblessor and initiator of the bull festival.

Legend of how Gudule was banned from rainmaking and its ritual implications

We know that Katala-Wandala was remembered by many of my Gudule protagonists as the first wife of Tasa and that their two sons were Ske (Gaske) and Gudule.



My Gudule friends (1995) told me that they were brothers of Ske, and what had separated them from Ske was that Gudule cut off the white tail of Tasa's favoured cow, which led to Gudule being banned from rainmaking. Apparently Gudule cut the white tail of his father's favoured cow because he wanted to impress his girlfriend. When Tasa saw the missing tail, he called Ske and Gudule and said to them:

'I saw that the white tail has been cut off. Whoever did that, do not be afraid to tell me. He will be the best child for me and I will give a special gift to that child.' Gudule now admitted that he was the one who had cut the white tail off the cow. The father said to him: 'If you did that you will not make rain. You will have the *vavanza* to increase the yield of farm produce. On top of that, you will be the *thaghaya* and you will be the first to start the bull festival, the roofing of the houses and other traditional activities and sacrifices.'

There had first been a discussion of whether it was a bull's or a cow's tail, but the group of men from Gudule finally agreed that it was a cow. Why would Gudule have wanted to please

the girl he liked with a white tail of a cow rather than that of a bull? We have already learned that in the past cows were a valuable investment for manure production in those who had the ability to make iron. Cows had been traditionally leased to people who were unable to produce sufficient manure, and cows were also used for payments, including bridewealth. Another factor presumably linked to this is that cows could calve every two years, which was a particularly good local investment. This of course was long before meat production became more important than the production of manure, and the symbolic meaning of bridewealth has also changed as we believe it was considered differently in late pre-colonial times.

The above interpretation of why it was more likely a cow rather than a bull is somewhat constructed, but the only other indirect reference to cows is stripes of white cow skin being worn as bandoliers and around the waists of performers in the second stage of the adult initiation rituals. We will describe these rituals in the next chapter, but want to mention here that this particular stage involved the mixing of male and female dress elements. The other context concerned a sacrifice of a white bull to the Durghwe mountain shrine, which was the main rain shrine, and we will discuss that aspect in greater detail later in a separate chapter. We can perhaps presume, regardless of whether it was the white tail of a cow or a tail of a bull, that in both cases the white tail can be symbolically better linked to dung production and cornblessing than to rainmaking. Still, we should keep in mind that both cornblessing and rainmaking can be interpreted as mirror images of cosmological pairing in the Dghwedé ritual culture of fecundity from below and above from the perspective of this world.

The other reference made in the context of the severed white tail is that Gudule was promised a special gift in exchange for being excluded from rainmaking, which was the *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) used to increase the yield of farm produce. Besides, Gudule rather than his brother Ske was the seventh born and made custodian (*thaghaya*), a privilege which gave Gudule the right to start the bull festival and other traditional activities and sacrifices related to the concept we have described as ‘blessings from below’. One of the other main activities the Gudule initiated was the roofing of houses, and apparently the Gudule also performed *har ghwe* before everyone else, because they were considered to be *thaghaya* of Dghwedé. We remember that the sacrifice for a deceased father (*har ghwe*) was in the past only carried out during a guinea corn year, but that it became annual after the bull festival disappeared.

It remains unclear why the special gifts Gudule received, and which had led to the separation of the two tasks of rainmaking and cornblessing, were seen as a punishment. My friend John Zakariya thought that the punishment of being banned from rainmaking was firstly a result of his having misbehaved as *thaghaya* (seventh born). It is only now, while I am writing and reviewing my Dghwedé notes, that I realise that it might have been the fact that he did not wait for the girl to whom he had most likely already been promised in marriage. We will learn about the three historic ways of marrying in Chapter 3.20, among which ‘marriage by promise’ was the one a father arranged for his son by befriending the mother of a newborn girl from a patrilineage with which he could intermarry. Perhaps Gudule tried to break such a pre-arranged marriage because he fancied another girl.

There is another dimension to Gudule's lost opportunity to marry and reproduce according to the rules, and like his father before him retain control over cornblessing and rainmaking as combined ritual blessings from below and above. It was indeed he, rather than his matrilineal full brother Ske, who owned the ritual entitlement to promote a good yield related to soil fertility. The division of ritual labour which occurred as a result of his punishment for disobeying the rules might also have had to do with the loss of the status of the Gudule as the most numerous local group. It seems that despite that loss there was the advantage of their position as first settlers, and hence the first movers in the most important communal festival celebrating the cosmological importance of manure production.

We have already discussed aspects of the division of ritual labour between the various specialist clans and lineages of the Dghwedé, a perspective we circumscribed as ‘blessings

from above and from below', by trying to make connections to their cosmological view of the world. We can therefore interpret the statement of our Gudule protagonists, in that even though they played no role in starting the harvest, it was still the Gazhiwe lineage which traditionally owned the ritual *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) for increasing the yield of guinea corn and millet, which people would attach to plants before the harvest. This was often also done before threshing, and was explicitly not linked to the growing period but instead to the yield, especially the yield of guinea corn. Even though the other two specialist lineages, the Gaske rainmakers and the Dagha peacemakers, were both in possession of the same *vavanza*, it was the *vavanza* of the Gazhiwe which was considered to be the ritually most powerful version. We interpret this as an example of a typical 'blessing from below' linked here to the Gazhiwe or Zhiwe as being one of the sons of Gudule who stayed behind after they had decreased in number to the point of being finally defeated by the expanding Vaghagaya-Mughuze.

It was further explained to me in Kunde (1995), that it was as if the Gudule were the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*), while the descendants of Thakara (the ancestor of the Dghwedè of Ghwa'a) were the firstborn son, and this was the reason why the Gudule had the role of starting many sacrifices. This is another possible way of explaining the ritual importance of the Gudule from a Ghwa'a perspective, namely by not seeing the Gudule as first settlers but as a specialist clan that not only had the right to first perform *har ghwe*, but also to start the bull festival on behalf of all Dghwedè. We already know, from the house as a place of worship, that it was *thaghaya* who was served first by his oldest brother in the sacrifice to a deceased father (*har ghwe*). In this way the descendants of Thakara maintained their oral-historical seniority, by describing themselves as 'senior brothers of the Gudule'.

This explanation also confirms why the Gudule were not involved in certain other activities, such as ritually starting planting. We remember that it was the descendants of his brother Ske, the rainmaker lineage Gaske, who in the past started the ritual planting of guinea corn at the beginning of the growing period. We will see further below that it was the role of the Gudule to start the process of putting guinea corn into the water to make the ritual beer to be served during the bull festival. In my opinion it is important to understand the qualitative difference of the division of ritual labour between the two legendary sons of Tasa. One was responsible for managing rainfall during the growing period, while the other was responsible for ritually managing the yield during the harvest followed by the responsibility of opening the cycle of sacrifices connected to the subsequent slaughtering period.

We obtained an altogether alternative view of Gudule from Kunde, in the claim that the Gaske and the Gudule had not been 'brothers', but that the Gudule were more related to the Vile clan of Hidkala. The same group of elders from Kunde thought that Gaske was a twin brother of Dagha, and not a son of Tasa at all. We described in Chapter 3.7 the tendency of our various Dghwedè protagonists to describe the cosmological pairing of rainmaking and cornblessing by using the concept of twinhood. That our Kunde friends claimed that the Gudule were more related to the Vile of Hidkala, is perhaps another way of seeing the Gudule as a specialist clan in the context of their ritual position, their ownership of the best clan medicines for increasing the yield being a source of that entitlement. We know that the Gudule once owned a special medicine for population growth, which they tried to take with them to Gudulyewe after they were outnumbered by the descendants of Mughuze-Ruwa, but were convinced by the Mughuze-Ruwa not to leave completely, perhaps for that very reason.

Mathews mentions the shrinking Gudule in his account of 1934:

The Gudile [Gudule] ancestor is Mangala, whose son Gudile lived where Korana Basa is now. When Korana Basa people came and increased in size, he left and went to live where Haraza [Gharaza] is now. Similarly, when Haraza people came and increased, he moved to where Gudile now is. They claim to have been first settlers at both Korana Basa and Haraza.

Mathews (ibid) also mentions the Gudule trying to arrange marriages:

To this day, they do not go in for the marriage by capture (and subsequent payment of bride price) which is common among the others. They prefer to arrange their marriage by negotiations beforehand.

We first have to point out that Mathews' 'Mangala' was not the ancestor of Gudule, but one of the three 'sons' of Gudule who stayed behind after the Gudule were defeated by the Vaghagaya-Mughuze. What is interesting is that sixty years before my research, Mathews already says that the Gudule were reduced in size and left Korana for Gharaza and subsequently moved to Gudule. He also considers the Gudule to be the first settlers of what I have sometimes referred to as the southern part of Dghwedë. Whatever is the case, we can fairly safely infer that the Gudule are in oral-historical terms the representatives of the once most numerous pre-Korana clan group of what was then still referred to, from the perspective of Ghwa'a, as 'Gharguze'.

Mathews' second quote brings us back to the marriage system of the Dghwedë, and that the Gudule preferred arranged marriages over marriage by capture. We already mentioned a third option, called marriage by love or fancy, and pointed out that Gudule, as the seventh-born son of Tasa and his first wife Katala (daughter of Wandala), misbehaved by cutting the white tail of his father's beloved cow to give it to the girl with whom he had fallen in love. That Mathews writes that marriage by capture 'is common among the others' is correct, because that was indeed the rare option of marrying when marriage by promise did not allow sufficient suitable marriage partners. The tale of how Gudule was excluded from rainmaking seems to be a many-sided story, but it is obvious the Gudule formed a specialist clan in Dghwedë with ritual responsibilities for the whole of Dghwedë, not because they increased in number, but because they reduced, although unlike the Dagha and the Gaske, the Gudule have their own settlement and clan territory.

Typical performance elements of the bull festival in Gudule

The following account is from our interview with a group of elders in Gudule in 1995. As before, we leave the interview in the ethnographic present but break it up into individual paragraphs to produce short summaries with comments and interpretations. Please remember that any field text in (...) was part of the original field translation, while [...] are comments or explanations added later for better comprehension. We also need to remember that the elders reported from memories of one or two generations ago, when the bull festival was last performed:

The first preparations for the bull festival are to do *har ghwe* and *har jije*, followed by *har khagwa*. Next, you put guinea corn into the water to do *har daghile*. You remove the guinea corn from the water so that it will germinate. After germination, you dry it. On the day you dry it, you carry the big drum to Gulve (in Gudule). There they beat the drum for their brothers in Gudulyewe. After that has been done, the germinated and dried grain will be ground. It now gets cooked in water and then it gets cooled and then cooked again the second day after it has shown signs of fermentation (*tha'a*). After that it is kept in a large pot and after two days it is put into a beer pot (*tughdhe*). During this process people come dancing because you have a bull in your house. After the beer has been put into *tughdhe*, the following will happen on the main day of the bull festival.

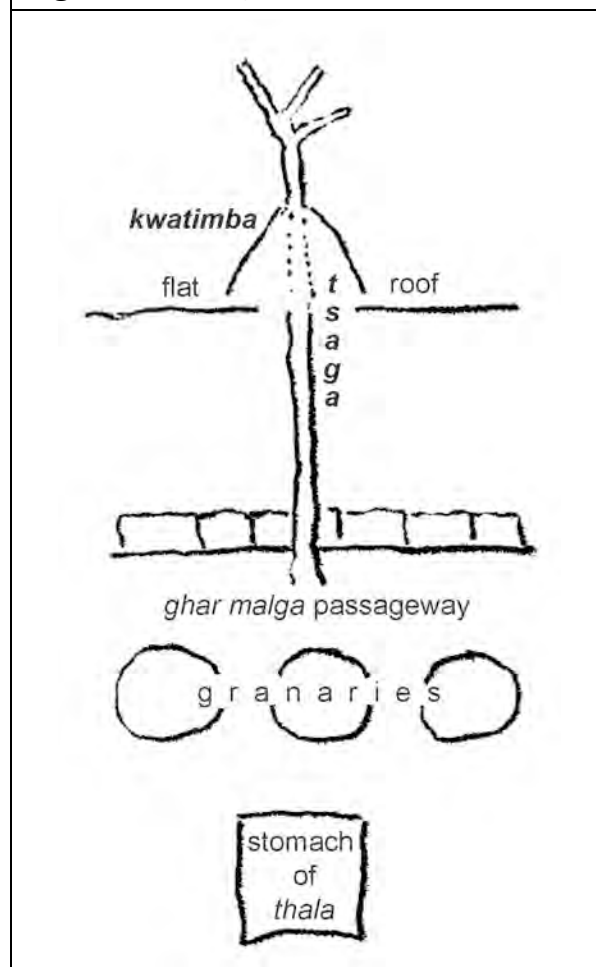
We are already familiar, from our chapter about the house as a place of worship, with the slaughtering period after the threshing of guinea corn, and know about the sacrifices to the deceased father (*har ghwe*) and the deceased grandfather (*har jije*). Unfortunately we do not have much to add about the closing ritual (*har khagwa*), except perhaps that parts of the meat from *har ghwe* and *har jije* were kept and then cooked together for *har khagwa* as part of a ritual related to the continuity of the extended family. Bulama Ngatha (1995) added that only in Ghwa'a would they have used a weak and dying goat for *har khagwa*, which raises the question of whether within Dghwedë there had been differences in how the closing ritual was performed.

'Gulve' was a rock in the southeastern corner of Gudule where the drums were beaten. From there one could look across the range of the northern Mandara Mountains towards the west in the direction of Gudulyewe (Gudur), which could allegedly be seen from the rock of Gulve. Bulama Ngatha (1995) believed that they waited until their brothers in Gudulyewe beat the drums, and that was when the Gudule could announce the bull festival. They subsequently continued the making of the ritual beer, which soon lost its original sweetness and turned acidic as it fermented. When the beer was finished it was kept in large pots, to be transferred into a beer pot with a small aperture (*tughdhe*) when the public was dancing and praising the owner of the bull to be released and sacrificed. But before this the *tsaga* stick had to be planted:

On that first day, they make one long stick called *tsaga* (from *shiwe* or *lave* tree). This stick has been already cut maybe two months before. The stick is now placed at *ghar malga* (foundation stones of the upper passageway). While this takes place there is lots of dancing going on at the same time and others are drinking beer. Around the *tsaga* stick they attach a zana mat called *kwatimba*. This mat has been made purposely to cover *tsaga* during the bull festival. The *kwatimba* mat is put around the *tsaga* stick on top of the flat roof [*gadike*] like a tent. The whole flat roof including the stick *tsaga*, which has branches sticking of the top of the tent, will be decorated with clothes. In the past, these clothes were kept for only the bull festival and funerals.

There were variations on when the stick of *tsaga* was cut from a *shiwe* or *lave* tree (see Table 7a). Bulama Ngatha (1995) believed that those who could afford to sacrifice a bull would delay *har khagwa* and combine it with the start of the bull festival, and cut it the day before. Whatever the case, after the beer had been brewed and transferred into the *tughdhe* pot, the *tsaga* stick was placed onto *ghar malga*. This was the upper passageway with the large foundation stones which formed a step behind the granaries leading up to the lower and upper room complex of the house.

Figure 21a: *Tsaga* branch and *kwatimba* tent



In Figure 21a we can see the *tsaga* branch sticking out through the flat roof and the mat called *kwatimba* around it like a tent. We see how some branches are splaying out at the upper end of the *tsaga* stick, above the tent of *kwatimba*. The splaying branches of the *tsaga* stick were decorated with items of dress only used for the bull festival and funerals. We infer here that the reference to funerals was relevant, and that the sacrifice of the bull was a sad affair for the father of the house.

We know that his bull had lived in the lower room connected with his upper room for up to two or even three years. While all of this was happening, the gathering crowd outside the house danced while others drank the freshly brewed sorghum beer. Next, the Dagha diviner arrived:

Before they release the bull they call the diviner (Dagha). The Dagha finds out whether there is something wrong with the bull. If the bull is so fierce that he might fight people, then they use some *vavanza* (*Cissus quadrangularis*) to calm him down.

In the early afternoon they call the eldest of the descent group, who now performs *pagh yewe*

(*pagh* means 'pour it away', *yewe* means water). During that performance people blow horns and play flutes, while women make those guttural sounds called *yaka*. *Pagh yewe* is the cutting of a certain *vavanza* into water. The name of this *vavanza* is *mandatha*. The water is poured over the feeding place of the bull who is still in his shed. This feeding place is called *ma'ira*. This is done three times. Now the room is cut open in the external side of the shed so that the bull can come out.

The Dagha diviner first assessed whether the bull was dangerous, and if he thought this was the case he used a specific type of ritual *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz mandatha* to calm the bull down. This seemed to happen in the morning, as in the early afternoon the eldest of the lineage of the owner of the house came to perform *pagh yewe*, which consisted of water with slices of *vavanz mandatha* swimming about in it, being poured three times over the bull's feeding place. The feeding place was called *ma'ia* and we know that it was the threshold between the bull shed and the upper room of the father of the house (see Plate 34b).⁷ We do not know whether the eldest of the lineage was the actual eldest or a generation mate (*skmama*). Next, the shed was cut open on the outside and the bull released into the backyard. We do not know how the shed was cut open, but need to remember that it was made of solid dry stone walling and it was about one meter deep into the ground compared to the floor of the father's upper room.

We are not sure how the bull escaped from the backyard after release. We remember that the bull shed was directly connected to the upper room of the father and owner of the house, and therefore was an element of the main house (see Figure 19a and 19b). This presumably meant that perhaps further arrangements had to be made to get the bull out into the open space of the terraced hillside of the settlement, where it was caught and tied to a tree with a special rope:

The bull runs and the people run as well and some young men even try to catch the bull. After the bull has been caught they tie him to a tree. There is a special rope for that, which is called *matatala*. Now they take the drum and beat it over the bull's back. At the same time the wife of the owner holds her calabash over the bull's backside. If he has two wives the other one holds her calabash over the hump. The husband is now dancing and singing together with the people.

Young men try to recapture the running bull and tie him with a special rope called *matatala* to a tree nearby. We do not know what *matatala* means, but remember that ropemaking was an exclusively male task (see Plate 16a). We also know, from the Lamang bull festival of Hidkala, that their rope for tying the bull after release was also called *matatala*, and that the Vile people passed a *matalala* rope on to Hambagda after the Vile had finished their bull festival (Gwoza notes 1994). Also among the Mafa, a ritual rope called *teba* played an important role, and I have described that in great detail (Muller-Kosack 2003). We do not know whether the Gudule passed a *matatala* rope to Hembe (see Table 9) after they had completed their bull festival. We can therefore only assume that passing on a *matalala* rope meant that the sequential order of the travelling bull festival was a unifying bond between settlement units.

We need to imagine that it was most likely a rather large crowd playing flutes and trumpets, moving backwards and forwards so that the sound of the music undulated, echoing around the hillside of Gudule.⁸ It seems the funeral drum (*timbe*) was beaten over the bull's back after he was recaptured and tied to a tree. Perhaps the funeral drum was beaten because the beloved bull of the father of the house was about to be taken back inside to be sacrificed. We think it was the first wife who held her calabash over the bull's backside, while the hump was reserved for a further wife. It is not impossible that the calabash of the first wife was from the loft of her lower room, where we know important ritual tools were stored. The husband did not participate in this, but instead danced and sang with the crowd. The reason might have been that he was very upset

⁷ There are some questions arising from the variety of *vavanza* used, and whether it had to be a Dagha from the peacemaker lineage or whether a regular Dagha diviner would have been enough. We know that *mandatha* literally means 'to calm down', but the same *vavanz mandatha* was also used for divining (Chapter 3.21). One property of *vavanz mandatha* was that it floated in water, and the fact that the eldest used slices of it in water and poured it three times over the feeding place before the bull's release suggests that his action was to calm the bull down.

⁸ In 2000 I witnessed the bull festival of Zlama, a Mafa village on the eastern slopes of Mount Ziver, and recommend the reader to visit the slideshow at: www.mandaras.info/NorthernMontagnards.html

at seeing his beloved bull being prepared by his wives for sacrifice between the lower room and upper passageway:

The bull is now taken near the *tsaga*, where they slaughter him with his back half in the room *batiw tighé*. He is held with sticks halfway in that room. They cut open the loose skin hanging from his throat and then stab him in the gullet/throat. The blood comes out and is gathered in a container. The bull breaks down. The bull is cut into pieces, and the meat, including the intestines, is put under the zana mat tent around the *tsaga* on top of the flat foyer roof. Those who have done the slaughtering get a big pot of beer, a calabash of ground tigernuts and a calabash of sesame.

The second day you gather your people and friends for a ceremonial meal. You cook enough meat so everyone can eat.

We can imagine how the bull stood with hind legs in the lower room of the first wife, while his front legs were outside, near the *tsaga* stick in the upper passageway, perhaps with his head facing the granary of the father of the house. When his front legs broke down on the top passageway, his middle part would have come to rest on the entry step to the lower room formed by one of the large foundation stones (*ghar malga*). His hind legs would also have broken down after he had been stabbed in his gullet or throat. The blood was collected in a container (presumably a clay pot, but we do not know which one), and then he was taken apart and the meat and intestines put under the *kwatimba* tent around the *tsaga* stick on top of the flat roof (*gadike*). We do not know who did the slaughtering but they received a pot of beer and a calabash of ground tigernuts and sesame.

If we look at Plate 28a and 28c of Buba's house, in the earlier chapter about the house as a place of family worship, we can see narrowness of the *ghar malga* passageway. Plate 31a shows the back passageway, this time of Abubakar's house, and the entry step to the lower room of his first wife is visible, opposite Abubakar's granary. Plate 31d shows Kalakwa's first wife's lower entry, but this time we see Kalakwa's granary very close, on the other side of the passageway. We recognise the standard architectural structure, and can imagine that all three houses had seen the ritual slaughter of bulls across their *ghar malga* thresholds. It is also possible to imagine how the *tsaga* sticks had once been planted there, ascending through the flat roofs, covered by *kwatimba* tents as illustrated in Figure 21a. We think that the flat roof of *gadike* had most likely been partially opened up above the passageway to allow the meat to be placed .

These were the main events of the first day of the bull festival, and on the second day more guests would come for a ceremonial meal, for which it had to be ensured enough meat was cooked. The rest of our interview was more general, about certain conventions about the bull festival, which we will now summarise in the last few paragraphs of this chapter section.

The first person in Gudule to ritually release his bull was the lineage custodian (*thaghaya*) of Gudule, who in that context was the first and therefore *thaghaya* for the whole of Dghwedé. He was followed in Gudule, first by the various elders, presumably senior lineage elders or seniors in terms of age, within their extended families. Some bulls had been kept in their sheds for two, and others for three years, before they were ritually released and sacrificed. This meant that a man might have started fattening a bull in a millet year, and then waited until the next bull festival, but it would not have been the one of the following guinea corn year.

I was also told in Gudule that they involved the Dagha diviners at a very early stage of preparing for the bull festival, to identify the bulls that might be very dangerous on release. One of the reasons was that some younger men would take huge risks in catching them, especially if the bull was labelled dangerous. Because it was such a great challenge to catch a vicious bull it was considered to be a great achievement, and he who did so would reportedly be seen as the strongest, a desirable status to pursue.

It was the dung produced by the bull which was important, but a bull was also stall-fed for fattening because if he had been released during the dry season he would have run around free and therefore lost weight. In keeping a bull in the dedicated shed, the hump would also grow fat as he was eating with his head raised, and in that context we remember that the shed was lowered about one metre into the ground. A castrated bull might be used, which was not considered the

right thing to do, but if that was the case a he-goat had to be slaughtered first. To have a bull to sacrifice was, according to my Gudule friends, very much a matter of pride.

This presumably was similar to the pride felt when successfully performing the various stages of the adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*). I was told later in Kunde that the Gudule people were the only clan group in Dghwede not to perform *dzum zugune*. Why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune* is indeed a puzzling question, considering that they started an important communal celebration such as the bull festival. We will discuss possible reasons for this in a dedicated section of the next chapter. We now present how the bull festival once travelled through the various traditional Dghwede settlement units and beyond.

How the bull festival travelled in Dghwede and beyond

After the Gudule took the germinating guinea corn out of the water and started drying it on the rocks, they went to the Gulve rock to beat the drums. After their brothers from Gudulyewe had responded, they went back home and ground the dried sorghum corn and started making the beer for the bull festival. Now the other clans of Dghwede also started preparing, that is those who had a bull ready to be ritually released and sacrificed in their house. Bulama Mbasuwe and elders from Korana Basa (1995) explained that the chain of how the bull festival travelled was done in stages, to give enough time for neighbours, relatives and in-laws to enjoy feasting together. According to them, the other reason was that it was the son-in-law of a family who would untie the bull from the tree and bring it back to the house for slaughtering. As his own family might also be sacrificing a bull that year, timing was of great importance.

There had also been changes in the way the bull festival travelled across Dghwede, and we present our final list in Table 9 below, which relies much on bulama Ngatha of Hudimche with subsequent corrections by bulama Mbasuwe of Korana Basa. We include it so we can see which smaller settlement units might have celebrated with larger ones:

Table 9: Sequences of how the bull festival travelled in Dghwede

Sequence	Main units	Subunits	Subunits
<i>First</i>	Gudule		
<i>Second</i>	Hembe		
<i>Second</i>	Vaghagaya	Korana Basa, Korana Kwandame, Hudimche, Gharaza	
<i>Second</i>	Tokweshe		
<i>Third</i>	Gathaghure		
<i>Third</i>	Ghwa'a	Tatsa	Taghadigile
<i>Third</i>	Kunde		
<i>Fourth</i>	Kwalika		
<i>Fifth</i>	Gvoko		

We can see above that under 'Vaghagaya' as a main traditional settlement unit, bulama Ngatha included the subunits Korana Basa, Korana Kwandame, Hudimche and Gharaza. We know these were the settlement units linked to the descendants of Vaghagaya-Mughuze, and remember that the Vaghagaya lineage shrine (*khalale*) was in Korana Kwandame, and that our Ghwa'a sources still referred to this late pre-colonial part of colonial or modern Korana Basa as 'Gharghuze' (see again Figure 8 in Chapter 3.1).

We see that Hembe, Vaghagaya and Tokweshe celebrated together, and were followed by Gathaghure, Ghwa'a (which included Tatsa and Taghadigile) and Kunde. We wonder why Gathaghure did not celebrate with Hembe and Vaghagaya, especially considering Gathaghure was so close to Hembe. We remember that Mughuze gave his first son to Hembe and that he became the founding ancestor of Gathaghure, and we also know about the late pre-colonial war alliance between Hembe, Gathaghure and Gudule (Figure 8a in Chapter 3.2). Bulama

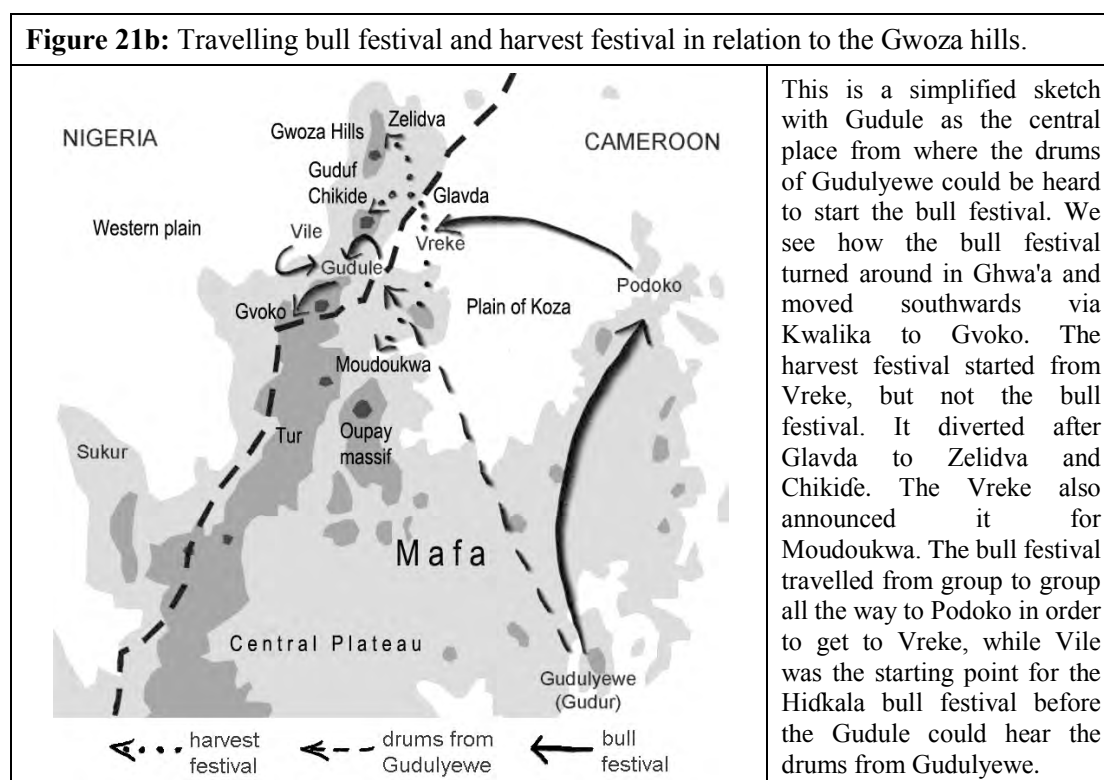
Mbasuwe explained to us however that Gathaghure changed to Ghwa'a, and we can see below that the change took place later, during early colonial times, and that it was to do with loyalty issues around the attacks of Hamman Yaji:

Gathaghure which was in earlier times celebrating with Vaghagaya, eventually changed to Ghwa'a. The reason was that Hamman Yaji had come up as far as Vaghagaya and then moved on to Gathaghure. Gathaghure thought that Vaghagaya had brought him, and cancelled the bull festival with them. Administratively they have been with Ghwa'a ever since.

The different settlement units listed in Table 9 participated in one another's bull festivals, but we were told that they followed each other within indefinable periods. The events were sometimes only separated by a day, and other times even up to two weeks. We infer here that this had to do with the size of the settlement unit in question. Tatsa and Taghadigile were for example small settlement units, as was Tokweshe. We can also see that Kwalika was the final place to start the bull festival in Dghwede, and after that it moved on to Gvoko. This means that the bull festival travelled from Dghwede southwards to the Tur heights, which was the opposite direction of the Tur tradition, meaning it travelled back to where most of our local groups claimed to have originally come from.

Concerning the Lamang groups of Hidkala, the bull festival began with the Vile and always took place before Dghwede. According to my Vile friends, the main reason for this was that they performed the bull festival before and not after sacrificing to the deceased fathers, and it is interesting that the Vile also called that sacrifice *har ghwe*. We remember that Hidkala was the only other group of the Gwoza hills to perform a communal bull festival, except perhaps for Gvoko, although we are not entirely sure how the bull festival was performed in Gvoko. For most of the other Gwoza hills groups it was the harvest festival which travelled from group to group. We have already said that the harvest festival started after the chief of Vreke came out of seclusion, and that it moved from the Moskota hills to Glavda, then uphill via Guduf and Zelidva to Chikide. Neither the Chikide nor the Guduf, who were otherwise the most similar to the Dghwede, performed the bull festival as an interethnic travelling event, which makes the Dghwede and the role of Gudule, with their legendary link to Gudur, very unique indeed.

Figure 21b gives a generalised version of how the bull festival and the harvest festival once travelled through the Gwoza hills and across the northern Mandara Mountains:



We doubt that there is any strict historical value in this chain of travel, but perhaps there is a phenomenological value in how oral history was constructed as a socio-spatial expression of local group formation. If we look for example first at Dghwedè, and then beyond Dghwedè, we can see evidence of this. There the bull festival travelled from the recently formed settlement area of Vaghagaya to the more ancient one of Ghwa'a, meaning it started from what we have referred to as the more recent southern Dghwedè and then moved to the more ancient northern Dghwedè. There it stopped, because Chikidè did not pick it up, and instead it turned around and reversed in the direction of to the Tur tradition, almost as if it were returning to the place the majority of the Dghwedè clans claimed to have originated.

We can also construct a structural similarity with the bull festival coming from Pokoko across the plain of Koza to the Vreke of the Moskota hills, after it had travelled north from Mineo and Muktele. We know that the Podoko settled not only in Dghwedè but also in Guduf, before they moved across to where they settled to the south of Mora in the east. We infer that this happened as the result of a famine, perhaps caused by a plague of locusts, at least this was one of the oral-historical traditions I collected in Zelidva (Muller-Kosack 1994). Unfortunately, we have no explanation as to why neither the Zelidva, Guduf, Chikidè, Chinene nor the Glavda celebrated a travelling bull festival, while their Mafa neighbours to the east did so, as did the Dghwedè, the Lamang and most likely also the Gvoko.

In the northeastern chain of the Mandara Mountains the travelling bull festival ended in Vreke, while a similar pattern emerged concerning the harvest festival, which we know travelled from Vreke via the Glavda into the northern part of the Gwoza hills. We remember that the Glavda once occupied the Moskota hills where the Vreke clan now lives. From Glavda it continued to Zelidva, again in the same opposite direction to how the migratory traditions of the clans and lineages claim to have moved in the past, which was southwards, meaning via Guduf to Chikidè but not as far as Dghwedè. We have already mentioned the puzzling aspect of travelling communal festivals in general, and want to emphasise again that the Chikidè and the Guduf did not perform a communal bull festival, despite having been so similar to the Dghwedè in many other ways.

Figure 21b also shows how the Vreke connected with Moudoukwa, where we know the main rainmaker (*biy yam*) of the northeastern Mafa lived. The rainmaker of Moudoukwa and the chief of Vreke were, according to my Mafa research (Muller-Kosack 2003:191ff), the ritual initiators of the Mafa harvest festival. We mentioned that the chief of Vreke announced the harvest festival after he came out of seclusion, and the Glavda picked it up and passed it on to the northern part of the Gwoza hills. At the same time, the chief of Vreke also announced it to the rainmaker of Moudoukwa, by ritually throwing a grass used for mat-making towards Moudoukwa, where the rainmaker would find it in an old grinding stone (*ibid*). This indicated that the Mafa of our wider subregion (including the Mafa of the Gouzda area) could now start germinating sorghum grain to make the beer for their harvest festival.

As for the Mafa bull festival, we know that the Mafa who lived higher up in the hills, that is the whole of the northwestern massif of our subregion, performed it on a bi-annual level as the Dghwedè did, while those along the western foothills and plains of the Ziver-Oupay massif only performed it irregularly every three or four years (Muller-Kosack 2003:210ff). What is perhaps significant to us is that the Mafa who lived on the upper mountain ranges started it, and afterwards it travelled down towards the plain of Koza. We know for example that the Hide of Tur played an important role in that context, and also need to remember that for example Gvoko, where the bull festival continued after Dghwedè had completed it, are a cross-border ethnic group who also have settlements on the Cameroonian side. This is a reminder once more of how disruptive the colonial period must have been for the oral traditions of the travelling bull festival in our subregion.

We pointed out earlier that the Gudule, who started the bull festival in Dghwedè, did not carry out the adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*), while not only the other Dghwedè clans but also the Chikidè, Chinene, Guduf and Glavda did carry out a form of adult initiation. They all had

their ritual ways of celebrating it, but it still had many similarities to the Dghwede *dzum zugune* celebration. We reconstruct and describe the complex cycles of this in the next chapter, with the knowledge that it had not been performed for decades and that the Gudule reportedly never celebrated it all. One of the reasons given to me as to why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune* was that they were not part of the same clans as all the other Dghwede, suggesting that they were somehow altogether of separate origin. Unfortunately we are not sure whether the specialist lineages, particularly the Gaske and the Dagha peacemaker lineages did not perform it either, and will return to that question later.

Conclusion

The chapter about the Dghwede bull festival is a reconstruction, and we have highlighted the important role of Gudule. By so doing we have pointed out the ritual division of labour between cornblessing and rainmaking. We have highlighted the importance of manure production, as it was narrated in the legendary account of Zedima. We showed that the bull festival was a true communal festival, and we explored how best to explain that the Gudule were not only considered as first settlers, but also had a legendary link to Gudulyewe. We acknowledged that the ritual significance of Gudur was presumably a later pre-colonial development, which needs to be understood in the context of the formation of the Mafa as the largest ethnic group in the centre of the northern Mandara Mountains.

Having acknowledged this, we were hopefully also able to show that the knowledge of terrace farming, and with it the importance of manure production, was in prehistoric terms much older than the formation of the Mafa and the Dghwede. We hypothesised that it needs to be linked to the DGB sites and the formation of the Wandala state in Kirawa. This raised the question about the importance of the terrace cultivation system practised in the Gwoza hills, especially since they were not only geographically but also prehistorically sandwiched between the DGB sites and Kirawa. In the context of that, we emphasised the climatic circumstances and the labour-intensive and cultural aspects expressed in the Dghwede bull festival, and also showed that the stall-feeding of bulls did not necessarily indicate a travelling bull festival, as was the case with the otherwise very similar Chikide or Guduf.

We have given a wider view of the role of the bull festival in the Gwoza hills and beyond, and discovered that the Vreke of Moskota played a role in starting the harvest festival for those communities of the Gwoza hills who did not perform a travelling bull festival. We were able to show that local explanations were not always what they seemed on first hearing, but that in general terms the role of managing fecundity was central to many ritual activities. This included the control of clan medicines by specialist lineages. We pointed out for example that the Gaske rainmakers were also known in Huduwa, and we were able to link them to the powerful Gozla rainmakers of Muktele origin found among the Mafa of Moudoukwa. In this chapter about the bull festival we took a view beyond Dghwede, to show that local traditions have the tendency to vary in their organisational expression but are often similar in underlying cultural function.

We have described the Dghwede bull festival from the collective local memory of our Gudule protagonists because we know that they had the role of announcing it for the whole of Dghwede. We saw that the roofs of a homestead played a particular role, not only in terms of the starting of roofing before the bull festival, but also in relation to the *tsaga* stick and the tent of zana mats (*kwatimba*) on the flat roof (*gadike*) behind the roof of *thala*. We learned that the bull was ritually released through the side wall of the bull shed, and after recapture brought back in by the son-in-law to be ritually slaughtered at the foot of the stick of *tsaga*. We have no knowledge of what the *tsaga* stick represented, but showed that it was rooted to the floor of the upper passageway and reached through the flat roof up into the sky, with some splaying branches of *tsaga* visible above the zana mat tent *kwatimba*.

The roof area above the foyer, together with the zana mat tent, was decorated with items of dress worn by the family of the owner of the bull, which in our opinion represented the desire

for prosperity. We also recognised how much both the harvest festival and the bull festival were communal activities representing the success of the whole Dghwedè community, and the important ritual role the seventh born (*thaghaya*) played as the fortunate one, but we need to remember that the eighth-born child could in the past fall victim to infanticide. This indicates that the success via the seventh born was not at all guaranteed, which returns us to the risk of bad luck. We infer that this can perhaps best be linked to the potential risk of food shortage, which was always lurking in the background as a result of severe aridity and other disastrous environmental events. This risk might not only have brought about conflict and competition over local resources, but also a great need for unity and peace in better times, not only for Dghwedè, but perhaps even beyond, something the travelling bull festival and harvest festival across interethnic boundaries might once have represented.

In the next chapter we will present the Dghwedè adult initiation rituals *dzum zugune*, literally meaning 'going male', for becoming an accomplished adult. It could only be performed by married men and must therefore be distinguished from other initiation rites which only mark the transition from adolescence to early manhood. We will discuss possible reasons why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune*, despite them having been the custodians (*thaghaya*) of starting the bull festival in Dghwedè.

Chapter 3.14

Becoming an accomplished male (*dzum zugune*)

Introduction

In the previous chapter we highlighted manure production as being perhaps the most important symbolic ingredient of Dghwedé ritual culture. We developed this idea from our oral data on soils being kept fertile behind terrace walls, and by remembering the relevance of the cosmological concept of the stomach in the most vital part of the shrine in the foyer of a traditional house. In the chapter on the house as a place of worship, we described how the three ancestor stones were placed on the ground in front of the 'stomach' of the house shrine opposite the granaries, and how the senior brother of the owner of the house and the generation mate of the deceased grandfather came to assist in carrying out the sacrifice to the deceased father (*har ghwe*). We also learned in the previous chapter that the patrilineal family ancestors had to be served before the bull festival could be performed as the most important communal symbol of manure production.

We have seen how the bull was slaughtered, with his rear in the lower room of the first wife of the house, while his head faced the granary of the husband in the upper passageway of the foyer (*ghar malga*). From our ethnographic evidence so far we have concluded that maintenance of the reproductive continuity of Dghwedé society by ritual means was very important, and we now want to show that becoming an accomplished adult by performing the rituals of *dzum zugune* was equally so. We will show that not only was the collective aspect valuable, but also the effort of the individual. The overall target was for every participant to fill his three granaries, an individual strategy for future crisis prevention. We will learn from our reconstruction that completing *dzum zugune* was not an easy task, and if someone's father had not done it, none of his sons could even consider starting it as long as their father was alive. Rules of entry along the lines of seniority, denoting who could begin to perform *dzum zugune* and thus prove themselves an accomplished adult, existed not only between sons and fathers, but also among brothers and their mother's brothers.

We pointed out that *dzum zugune* literally means 'going male'. Altogether it consisted of four stages, and each stage had to be performed during a guinea corn year, which brings us to a total of seven years providing there were no interruptions, which was not always the case. There was some confusion among our oral protagonists as to whether preparations could start after the harvest festival (*thagla*) of a millet year, which was the only communal festival the Dghwedé performed annually. In such a case it would only have taken a man six years to complete it. We will discuss this issue, together with questions of succession arising if a man's father or older brother had not completed all four stages of *dzum zugune*. Unfortunately we do not have sufficient oral data available, but will distinguish between what we know and do not know, and cases where we are only making an informed guess.

When I heard about the Dghwedé adult initiation stages for the first time in Korana Basa in 1995, I remember it being mentioned as something historically important, but about which little was known. This shows how greatly Dghwedé ritual culture had changed over time and that only the slaughtering of he-goats for extended family ancestors (*har ghwe* and perhaps *har jije*) had survived. The harvest festival (*thagla*), the bull festival (*har daghile*) and the adult initiation rituals (*dzum zugune*), being the three most important community events, had ceased being performed. Besides this, *har ghwe* had become an annual rather than a bi-annual event, meaning it was no longer connected to the guinea corn harvest. This presumably also meant that *har khagwa*, the closing ritual for *har ghwe* and *har jije*, which had originally been the preceding ritual for those who wanted to perform the bull festival, had also come to an end. Later in this chapter we will revisit some of the underlying socio-economic changes we

consider most likely to have been responsible for this transformation, but we have already pointed out that the introduction of chemical fertiliser was probably crucial.

Our main oral protagonists in reconstructing the stages of *dzum zugune* are Kwire Zakariya and dada Dga from Ghwa, who in 1996 were about 85 and 90 years of age, and we rely on their memories. The fact that not all of our elderly male friends had performed *dzum zugune*, or who had not fully completed it when it stopped being performed about fifty years earlier (mid- to late-1940s), made it very difficult to find reliable sources who could recount from personal experience. This chapter begins by reproducing a reconstruction of the four stages of a typical *dzum zugune* which I drafted while in Dzga in 1996. I have decided to make only very marginal changes to that field summary as it was written while under the impression of the actual field situation, because it contains summaries I would not be able to reproduce any better in hindsight. I consulted John Zakariya extensively while writing it, and want to thank John for his assistance at that time.

During the 1996 field session, some people still had material items relating to the various objects used or worn in celebrating *dzum zugune*, and they kindly lent them to me for a few hours for documentation. Unfortunately I cannot remember whether I saw those items before or after writing the field summary of the four stages. Stella Cattini, who was also present at the time, corrected the English of my account. She also assisted in the documentation of the material items presented later in the chapter section containing photographs and drawings. The drawings were made by Stella in Dzga in 1996 as an addition to my photographs, and she has kindly allowed me to reproduce these as additional illustrations.

Dzum zugune had a strong spatial dimension, in that particular places played a role in public performances, depending on which stage the group was trying to complete. There might have been an athletic dimension, for example during the second stage the participants had to take part in a running competition. I have failed to exactly map all the relevant places, and can therefore only give an approximate indication of how the different locations related to Ghwa'a in a geographical sense. This is illustrated in Figure 22, and it is important to note that the boundary drawn around Ghwa'a is equally only an approximation. After presenting a summarised reconstruction of a typical *dzum zugune*, we will explain the spatial aspect of the various stages, together with documentation of material culture relating to them for better visualisation.

In terms of the material culture linked to the various stages of the Dghwede adult initiation rituals, the various items of dress worn by the participants in each stage will be emphasised. Changing ritual dress for each performance stage was an important part of *dzum zugune*, and it often happened in a specific spatial context. For example, after participants had run downhill they had to change their dress before they could dance back uphill. We will learn how important the different materials were, such as fibre, cowrie shells, leather and goatskin, and also war helmets, shields and weaponry. We will interpret items of dress, not only in the context of the progressive stages, but also in the sense of the materials of which they were made. For example we will see that bandoliers played an important role and that the materials of which they were made started with fibre and plants and progressed to leather, then war helmets were added and finally full traditional war gear was worn on the journey towards completion of *dzum zugune*.

Apart from our initial field description and the presentation of its material aspects, we will attempt a critical appraisal of what we have presented so far, by revisiting the remaining fragments of our fieldnotes and adding elements not yet mentioned, and discuss possible variations and other complexities such as questions of kinship or links to rituals covered in earlier chapters. This includes the question of why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune*. Then we will give a summary of how the equivalent to *dzum zugune* was performed among neighbours in the Gwoza hills. Finally we will attempt to review the function of *dzum zugune* as a communal ritual, and will suggest that it can be interpreted as a cultural form of crisis

management, especially in the light of subsequent social transformations and technical approaches to terrace farming.

The first chapter section about the four stages of *dzum zugune* starts with *kaba*, a ritual that has been briefly mentioned before, which was crucial regarding an individual's ritual entitlement to start the first stage of *dzum zugune*. Producing plenty of sorghum beer to share with family and neighbours for this was not all about becoming intoxicated but was a valid socio-economic indicator for being a successful terrace farmer. Unfortunately we do not know enough about the conditions of a man's entitlement if his father had not performed *dzum zugune*, but know there was what we refer to as a 'patrilineal seniority rule'.

We know that *dzum zugune* was very much a family tradition, and men whose fathers and older brothers had not performed it were not allowed to perform it. In that way seniority counted. A man would even have to compensate his mother's brother with a specially decorated billy goat, a pot of beer and a meal, if he wanted to perform it before him. We therefore think that even if a man's entitlement to start *dzum zugune* changed with the death of his father, he would still have to wait for his senior brother to perform it. We will discuss this more later, including any other questions arising out of the apparent seniority rule, and the potential death of any of the patrilineal family members who were part of the genealogical chain.

We have kept the reconstructed field summary mainly in the ethnographic present, and list many Dghwede words concerning *dzum zugune*. We will not always translate them, as it would interrupt the flow of the narrative, but will translate them afterwards.

The four stages of *dzum zugune* – a reconstructed field summary from 1996

After the death of a man's father, he had to perform *kaba* before he could carry out his independent sacrifice to his deceased father. Since a great deal of beer needed to be brewed, and food preparation as well as goats to be slaughtered, it could take years following the death of a man's father for him to be in a position to perform *kaba*. First *kaba* and then *har ghwe* were essential for a man who wished to perform *dzum zugune*, to free him from the economic and social pressure to demonstrate full responsible manhood.

To perform *dzum zugune* was much more difficult than achieving *kaba*. All three granaries of a house had to be full, and therefore a man and his family could not consume all of their harvest every year, as part of it needed to be saved to gradually fill the granaries.

The four main stages of *dzum zugune* were:

1. *Ngwa hamtiwe*
2. *Ngwa garda* and *ngwa kwalanglanga*
3. *Ngwa yiye*
4. *Bak zalika*

These performances took place in the period between *har ghwe*, the sacrifice for a deceased father after a man had successfully performed the *kaba* ritual, and *har daghile* (bull festival). *Har ghwe* opened the ritual cycle and *har daghile* closed it.

Every man from Ghwa'a who was ready to perform *dzum zugune* would first perform *har ghwe*, then carry a pot called *jahurimbe* filled with beer, to a local place called Fkagh Dzga. The number of pots of beer brought to this place indicated the number of men wanting to perform *dzum zugune* in that particular guinea corn year. These men would wear a special dress for their *har ghwe* to show they wanted to start the entry stage *ngwa hamtiwe*. Thereby they received a better share of the sacrificial meal for their dead father, as it was recognised that they wanted to start *dzum zugune*.

The day after *har ghwe*, the beer pots were counted by the local elders who had gathered at Fkagh Dzga. For the dresses, the entrants tied a goat skin around their hips, and three ropes of

spear grass (*thardé*), two diagonally across the chest and shoulders and one around the waist. Another plant called *hamtiwe* was wound around the neck with the fruits hanging over the chest. This plant gave its name to the first stage of *dzum zugune*.

Each of the performers had two men attached to them, called *zal duf dala* and *zal fstaha*. The first had not yet performed *dzum zugune*, whereas the second had already done so. The second man, *zal fstaha*, helped to finalise the dress of his performer by attaching crotal bells made of brass to his waist. All the other local men who had already performed *dzum zugune* were present. Then they all went to another local place nearby called Fkagh ga Maruwa. There the beginners of *dzum zugune* danced in their special dresses for the next few days. After the performance of the dance, *ngwa hamtiwe* was over. The performers then went to take off their dresses.

Next, those who had already performed *ngwa hamtiwe* in the previous guinea corn year put their dresses on to start *ngwa garda*, the first step of the second stage. They too had their *zal fstaha* to assist them. The diagonal chest and shoulder sashes were now made of sheepskin decorated with cowrie shells. The speargrass sashes were wound around the neck, where the plant *hamtiwe* had previously been worn. The speargrass was worn in five layers. On top of the sheepskin around the hips, a band of black and white cotton was wound around the waist. They held a ceremonial knife or sickle called *ndange* in their hands.

The performers of *ngwa garda* now gathered with the performers of the third stage, *ngwa yiye*, at a local place called Fkagh Gwatadhe. The *ngwa yiye* performers were in their third guinea corn year of *dzum zugune*. They wore long black cotton robes and traditional war helmets covered with strips of sheepskin. In one hand they held an iron sword called *magrata*, and in the other hand a stick which they brandished in a threatening manner towards those performing the first step of the second stage, the already mentioned *ngwa garda*.

During this performance, the ones doing *ngwa yiye* were called *thah lusa*, meaning 'black cow', and those doing *ngwa garda* were called *thah tva*, meaning 'red cow'. While the 'black cows' were waving their sticks in the air at the 'red cows', the 'red cows' were kneeling to demonstrate obedience towards the 'black cows', to show recognition of their seniority.

At this point it should be mentioned that the celebration was not a matter of age, but rather one of being further advanced in the performance of *dzum zugune*. A person could have been 40 years of age and been a 'red cow', and at the same time someone of 30 years of age could have been a 'black cow', and therefore his senior.

The performers of the second stage then prepared to run downhill to a place called Yawa. A trumpet was blown and the race began. Each of the participants held a stick in the air, decorated on top with a ram's beard and entwined with coloured bands. Since the age range was very mixed, the first to reach the local place Yawa was usually one of the younger performers. He threw his stick into a certain target point at the finish and was therefore considered to be the winner of the race.

Immediately after the red cows had started their race downhill, the performers of the third stage, dressed in their black cotton robes, set off from the upper place Fkagh Gwatadhe for the house of the senior Dghwede rainmaker. Nearby the rainmaker's house was a cylindrical hole about two feet deep, filled with animal manure. This hole was ancient and had existed since the very first performance of *dzum zugune*.

The senior rainmaker then removed the top layer of manure and replaced it with a fresh layer. The performers of the third stage, the black cows, were calling out: 'Yi Ye, Yi Ye, Yi Ye'. A group of young warriors then came along calling out: 'If there is a stranger around here, he should be killed'. Next, the rainmaker planted a special spear which had been kept in his house, in the dunghole. This performance was called *nzav ruwa*, meaning 'the planting of the spear'.

After the planting of the spear in the dunghole, the participants of the stage *ngwa yiye* joined together with the senior rainmaker in a public initiation ceremony called *fstaha*. The senior rainmaker was the one who started the traditional year of the Dghwede, by planting a guinea corn seed along with a piece of manure, weeks before the first rain was expected.

In the meantime, the performers of the first step of the second stage *ngwa garda* had changed their dresses at the place down the hill. With the help of their *zal fstaha*, they had wrapped themselves around the hips in several layers of skins belonging to elder women. Next, two strips of white cow skin were tied diagonally over the chest and shoulders to replace the leather and cowrie sashes worn previously. A third strip of white cow skin was tied on top of the skins around the waist. They also attached belts of bells and rattles made from brass around their waists and ankles. A war helmet was worn, with fine metal strips hanging down over the sides of the face.

The *ngwa garda* had now changed to *ngwa kwalanglanga* to start the journey back uphill again, to complete the second step of the second stage. This time it was not a race but rather a dance, in that they walked up to certain places and danced there before moving on. The most important stopping place on the way up was the house of the lineage priest *thagaya* (meaning seventh born/custodian) of Ghwa'a. Traditionally his task was to perform the most important local rituals before other heads of families could perform their own.

The performers danced at his house for some time and then went on to a place called 'Bag Haya, halfway to Fkagh ga Maruwa. There their wives showered them with guinea corn flour and the flour of tiger nuts. At the same time the women sang and praised their performing husbands. After leaving 'Bag Haya, the performers of *ngwa kwalanglanga* went back to Fkagh Gwatadhe, the place where they had started the race as *ngwa garda*, and continued from there to Fkagh ga Maruwa.

The ones who had performed *ngwa yiye*, the third stage, had come to Fkagh ga Maruwa also and they watched the *ngwa kwalanglanga* as they arrived. Everybody then joined in the dancing at this local place in Ghwa'a. Next, the participants of *ngwa kwalanglanga* emerged from the group and ran towards a small hill nearby and surrounded it, and then returned to Fkagh ga Maruwa, where they now performed on their own the actual dance of *ngwa kwalanglanga*.

Young men who had not yet started *dzum zugune* at all, appeared in traditional dresses and started to dance at another local place in Ghwa'a, called Sarara, near the border of Vaghagaya, the southern part of traditional Dghwede. On the following day these same young men would come to Fkagh ga Maruwa to dance there as well.

The *ngwa kwalanglanga* would then go to perform the final step of the second stage called *fstaha*. I mentioned earlier that the performers of the third stage, *ngwa yiye*, had done their *fstaha* at the rainmaker's house. The *fstaha* was the beer ceremony performed after the ritual planting of the spear into the dunghole. The *fstaha* ceremonies for both stages were similar, but while the *fstaha* of the *ngwa yiye* took place at the rainmaker's house, the *fstaha* for the *ngwa kwalanglanga* took place within their homes.

For the *fstaha* ceremony of *ngwa kwalanglanga*, a person sat down on a traditional stool (*vde*). Another held a small beer pot called *suteke*. The pot *jahurimbe*, from the entry ceremony of *dzum zugune* (*ngwa hamtiwe*), was also part of this ceremony. *Zal fstaha* (the initiated assistant) took a calabash filled with beer which he swirled three times around *suteke*. This was held for him by a young unmarried girl. *Zal fstaha* offered this beer to the person sitting on the stool, who refused by indicating with his hands. *Zal fstaha* swirled the beer around the pot to offer to a second person. This person also refused. After moving the calabash around the beer pot for the third time, *zal fstaha* drank the beer from the calabash at the same time as the performer, both their heads together. After that, no one rejected the offer and all enjoyed the beer together.

The second step of *fstaha* involved a calabash containing three portions of cooked guinea corn placed one on top of the other. *Zal fstaha* took the top portion in his two hands and broke it into two parts over the head of the performer. He gave one part to the performer's family and shared the second part with the performer and the other participants of the ritual. The two remaining portions were shared out between the other spectators and neighbours. A lot of food and beer was then shared out between the people gathered in the performer's house. This was the celebration of *fstaha*. As already mentioned, *fstaha* for the performers of the second stage *ngwa kwalanglanga* took place at each performer's house, whereas for the third stage, the *ngwa yiye*, the beer ceremony was enacted for each of the performers at the rainmaker's house.

After the *ngwa yiye* left the rainmaker's house, they divided into two groups and went to two different rocks in Ghwa'a, depending on which rock was closer to their house. They all had to jump from one of those rocks. It was important to land firmly and not lose balance because this would mean loss of life that year for that person. After that, the *yiye* went around their neighbourhood to let everyone know that they had just completed *ngwa yiye*, the third stage of *dzum zugune*. At home, much beer and food was prepared for family and neighbours. They now had to wait until the next guinea corn year to finally complete the process.

The fourth and final stage of *dzum zugune* was called *bak zalika*. When the performers of the first stage *ngwa hamtiwe* had completed it after four days of dancing, the performers of the second stage had to run downhill and return uphill to the lineage priest's house, having changed their dresses down the hill to transform from *ngwa garda* into *ngwa kalanglanga*. The *ngwa yiye* too, having performed their part dressed in black cotton robes as 'black cows', helped to plant the rainmaker's spear in the dunghole. When all these groups had performed their *fstaha* and were now celebrating by sharing out beer and food, the performers of the last and final stage, *bak zalika*, had gathered at a local place called Fkagh Bak Zalika.

There, the performers of *bak zalika*, who had already transformed through all the other stages over the last three guinea corn years, wore traditional war dress. This consisted of a helmet, shield, and a bow and arrow or spear. Gathered at this place in Ghwa'a called Fkagh Bak Zalika, they formed one big group, moving from one side of the place to the other, telling everyone there that they had just completed *dzum zugune*. They held up their shields in triumph, knowing that they no longer had to save guinea corn to prove themselves, and were now free to consume from their granaries whenever they wanted.

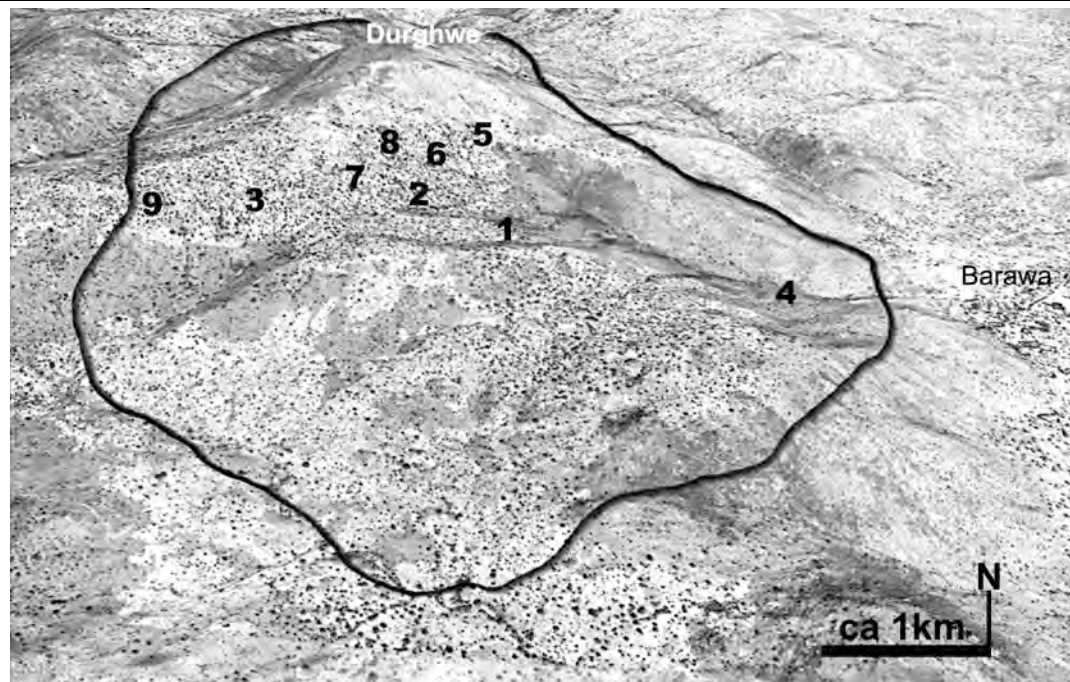
Documentation of places and material culture linked to *dzum zugune*

Figure 22 shows the key stations of *dzum zugune* during the various stages over the suggested seven years of its performance. We marked nine places, but also need to imagine all the individual houses of the various candidates participating more or less simultaneously every guinea corn year. We know that the first stage of *dzum zugune* started immediately after the sacrifice to the deceased father (*har ghwe*), and Zakariya Kwire claimed that it was not always finished before the bull festival (*har daghile*) and that the last two stages could be done afterwards, presumably depending on the number of participants in one guinea corn year.

We have no figures available, but if we infer that over fifty years ago there might well have been several hundred households in Ghwa'a, we can only imagine what a celebration this was, even if only half of the married men performed it, depending on which stage they were at the time and how many novices had brought their *jahurimbe* beer bowls to Fkagh Dzga (1) to be counted every alternate year. On top of that, we need to imagine the wives supporting their husbands at the various stages, and all the married and unmarried females watching the young males (married and unmarried) who were anticipating starting *ngwa hamtiwe* while dancing at the place known as Sarara (9).

Finally of course, everyone who did not directly participate, but who was possibly a neighbour, or from the wives' families, brothers-in-law and their families were also present. They had all dressed up for *dzum zugune*, the biggest public event to take place in Dghwede. We have already learned, from our description of *har daghile*, how the course of the bull festival was timed so that all the representatives of the various extended families could take part in a way that did not disturb their own performance plans.

Figure 22 : Key stations of *dzum zugune* in Ghwa'a



- 1 - Fkagh Dzga (*jahurimbe* pots for *ngwa hamtiwe* novices were counted here)
- 2 - Fkagh ga Maruwa (the *ngwa hamtiwe* performed their four days dance here)
- 3 - Fkagh Gwatadhe (second stage *ngwa garda* started their downhill race from here)
- 4 - Yawa (*ngwa garda* changed here into *ngwa kwalanglanga* for their uphill dance)
- 5 - House of *thaghaya* of Ghwa'a (*ngwa kwalanglanga* danced and continued to Fkagh 'Bag Haya)
- 6 - Fkagh 'Bag Haya (wives of *ngwa kwalanglanga* threw flour over their dancing husbands)
- 7 - House of rainmaker (*ngwa yiye* gathered for *fstaha* and to plant spear into ritual dunghole)
- 8 - Fkagh Bak Zalika (*bak zalika* dressed in their war gear gathered here in triumph)
- 9 - Sarara (the place where the young and hopeful, who had not yet started *dzum zugune*, danced)

We see that Fkagh Dzga (1) is at the beginning of the upper plateau called Dzga, which is at about 900m above sea level. The foot of the mountain is at about 500m. We have not marked the heights separately, but will refer to them in the course of this section, also to show the importance of physical fitness. This was particularly apparent in the downhill race of the *ngwa garda*, in which the participants of stage two of *dzum zugune* took part. In the context of this, we think that the place Fkagh Gwatadhe (3), where the race started, was somewhere above 1000m, while Yawa (4), where the race ended, was perhaps a little under 700m. We further infer that the distance between Fkagh Gwatadhe and Yawa was about 4 km over terraced fields and rocks, with a height difference of perhaps 300m to 400m, and the participants of this downhill race had to negotiate this.

At Yawa (4), the *ngwa garda* changed into *ngwa kwalanglanga* by putting on a different dress with the help of their ritual assistants, and advanced uphill and danced, stopping at the house of the *thaghaya* (the seventh born and lineage priest) for the whole of Ghwa'a (5), which was quite high up towards Durghwe at about 1200m. In the course of this, they stopped at several places, but the house of the *thaghaya* of Ghwa'a was mentioned to me as a key stop. After they had danced at his house, they continued across the upper slopes of Durghwe and reached a flat place called 'Bag Haya (6). There their wives showered them with guinea corn

and tigernut flour, then they continued to Fkagh Gwatidhe and then to Fkagh ga Maruwa (2), which marked the completion of stage two.

The house of the senior rainmaker (7) was where the *ngwa yiye* participants of the third stage performed, which included the rainmaker planting a spear into the ritual dunghole near his house. They also did their *fstaha* (initiation ceremony) there. At over 1000m it was quite high up. Finally there was Fkagh Bak Zalika (8), where the final stage of *dzum zugune* took place at about 1100m. Here the performers put on their war costumes, and in triumph celebrated the completion of a presumably seven-year journey to becoming accomplished adults.

We also mentioned the place known as Sarara (9), near the border of modern Korana Basa (or 'Gharguze' of the late pre-colonial past). There the young and hopeful, those who were ready to start *dzum zugune* as soon as possible, would have gathered. They gathered again at Fkagh ga Maruwa, where the *ngwa hamtiwe* as the new participants had already danced and the second and third stage performers had gathered. This made Fkagh ga Maruwa one of the most important public places, but not only in the context of *dzum zugune*. During my time this place had turned into a local marketplace (see Plate 60c) with a shop where one could recharge mobile phones with a generator.

We have not mapped any houses of the performers, which were of course other places where many of the rituals relating to *dzum zugune* would have taken place, as was the case with the *fstaha* (initiation) ceremony of the *ngwa kwalanglanga*. We mentioned that perhaps more than a couple of hundred local men might have done *dzum zugune* during a guinea corn year. We need to imagine that those houses were inside the boundaries of traditional Ghwa'a, as roughly marked in Figure 22. If we consult Table 3, we see that in 1925 captain Lewis lists 540 houses or more for Ghwa'a, indicating the same number of house owners. We have not marked the two rocks from where the *ngwa yiye* jumped. We are not sure whether there were only two such rocks, but as with some other preliminary inferences we made in the 1996 field summary, we will further discuss such grey areas in the next subsection.

Illustration of dress and body adornment plus other items used for dzum zugune

We now present objects of material culture, traditional dresses and body adornments, and lances and other objects made of iron, wood or clay, used ritually and in warfare. Quite a few of the items worn as body adornments are of recycled aluminium, and since it was already smelted and forged by the Nupe of Bida in 1913 or earlier, if we follow Norma Wolff (1986:40-44), we can infer that somehow it might have found its way into the Gwoza hills by the 1940s. After I had a sufficient understanding of *dzum zugune*, I asked around in the neighbourhood to find out who still had these objects, and they were brought to me over several days. I photographed them and asked Stella to make sketches, and interviewed Zakariya Kwire and other people present, about what they were called and what their function had been. I subsequently returned them to their owners. We have categorised and numbered the illustrations the following way:

- Plate 47a - 51b (items worn by males and females)
- Plate 52a - 55b (items only worn by females)
- Plate 56a - 58e (items only worn by males)
- Plate 59a - 59l (other objects used for *dzum zugune*)

They are structured according to use by gender, and listed as worn on the head, neck, hands, arms, chest, waist, lower back, legs and ankles. There is a separate section for items not worn on the body which played a specific role during *dzum zugune*. Many were also worn by the public, considering it was such a big event. They are presented as they were documented in the field, with annotations on use, and key items will be discussed later, connecting them to the four stages of *dzum zugune*. As there are many, we only include items that have specific relevance to *dzum zugune* in the glossary at the end of the book, a principle already applied in several previous chapters.

Objects worn by males and females

Objects worn on the head:

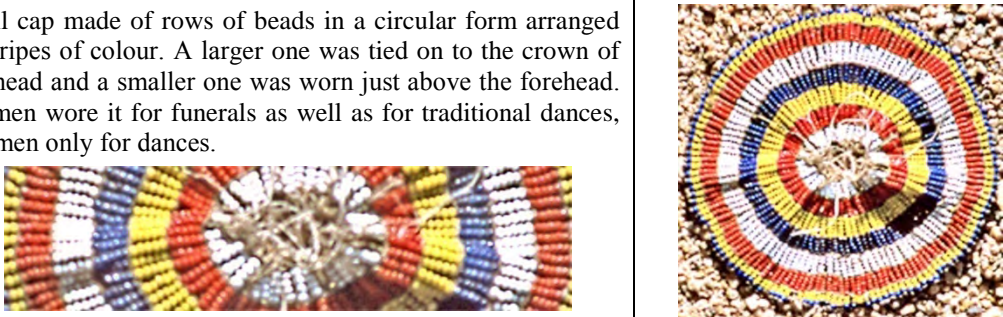
Plate 47a: GAYAGAYA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Skull cap made of rows of beads in a circular form arranged in stripes of colour. A larger one was tied on to the crown of the head and a smaller one was worn just above the forehead. Women wore it for funerals as well as for traditional dances, but men only for dances.</p>	

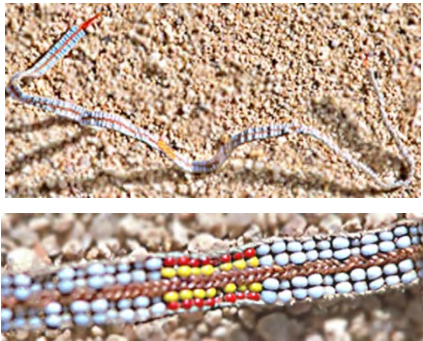
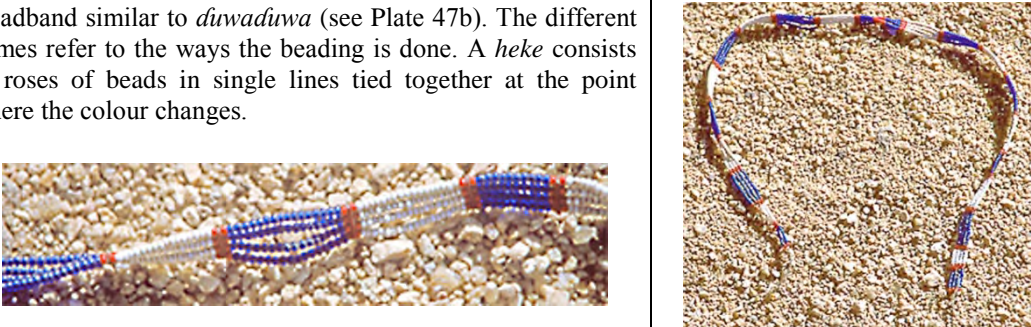
Plate 47b: DUWADUWA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>The headband was worn in everyday life by women, and also during dances or funeral celebrations. Men wore it only during traditional dances. Regarding technique, the rows of beads are fixed together and are strengthened by a leather backing. The beads are on both sides, which is the reason why a <i>duwadiwa</i> headband was stiffer than the <i>heke</i> headband below. We are certain that men wore them also during <i>dzum zugune</i>.</p>	

Plate 47c: HEKE – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Headband similar to <i>duwadiwa</i> (see Plate 47b). The different names refer to the ways the beading is done. A <i>heke</i> consists of roses of beads in single lines tied together at the point where the colour changes.</p>	

Objects worn around the neck:

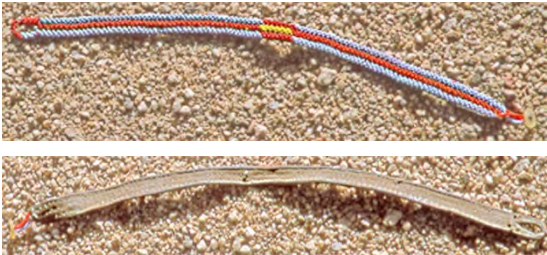
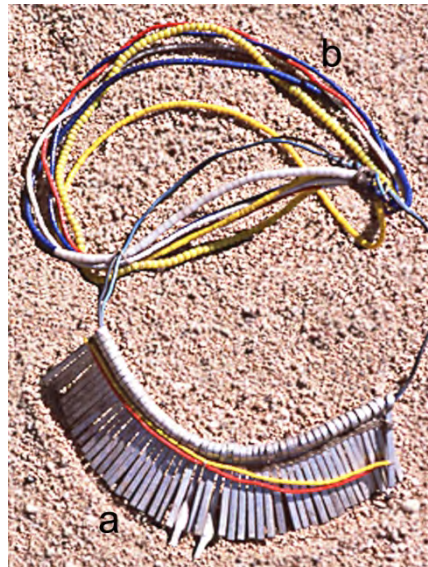
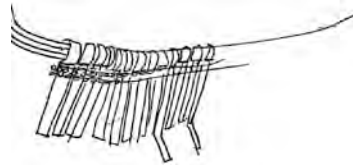
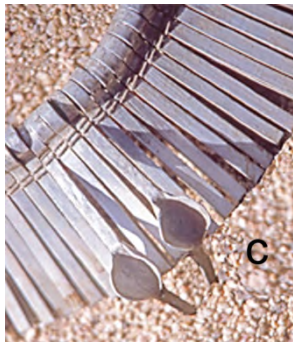
Plate 48a: SAMBALA – also worn by men anticipating <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Neckband for men and women for traditional dances and funerals. The beading is sewn onto a leather strip, half an inch in three rows having several tiny beads in each, consisting of various colour stripes. It has one section of a specific colour in the centre and a loop or rope at the ends for fastening. It was also worn by the young men at Sarara (see Figure 22) who had not yet started <i>dzum zugune</i>.</p>	

Plate 48b: TSKUMA and DIRA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Women used *tskuma* (a) and *dira* (b) together, but the men only wore the *tskuma* element. While the men put the *tskuma* around the back of the neck, the women wore *tskuma* and *dira* over their breasts. Both married and unmarried men and women wore these objects for traditional dances and funerals. The *tskuma* element is made from aluminium strips, fixed round wire and sewn with a strip. Two rows of red and yellow beads are attached across the front of the *tskuma*, while the back (c) shows two open semispherical shapes in the centre. We can be more or less sure that they were worn by men and women during *dzum zugune*.



Objects worn on wrist:

Plate 49a: DING MADAKWA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Bracelet for the wrist. Worn by men and women for dancing and funerals. It is made from aluminium and cast or forged into a circular shape with several rounded grooves which have some indentations for decoration. It is open on one side. The bands are tied together on the closed side (a) with fibre string.

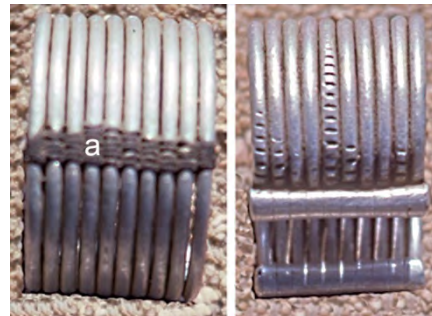


Plate 49b: DING DAWANA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Bracelet worn on the wrist. For traditional dances, funerals and everyday life, worn by both men and women. A lost wax brass casting. It is decorated with rounded grooves alternating with spiral decoration. At the centre is a spiral with a knob. There are enhanced versions, as seen in our example with four spirals surrounding the centre knob.



It is open at the side and has at each end a circular decoration.



Objects worn on arms:






Plate 50a: ZAWYA – also worn by men anticipating <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Brass armlets with opening. Worn on upper arms. For traditional dances and funerals. They were part of the dress code for the <i>gabajuwala</i>, for the men (married or unmarried) who had not yet performed <i>dzum zugune</i>. We know that they were also worn by women, and perhaps some of the <i>vjardghawa</i> (young unmarried women) liked to receive them to dance in them the next day.</p> 	

Plate 50b: GWA LANGLANGA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Aluminium, double armlet, with no opening. For traditional dances and funerals. We are quite certain that they were also worn by men and women during <i>dzum zugune</i> celebrations.</p> 	 

Objects worn about the waist:







Plate 51a: GJUWA – was also worn by <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i>	
<p><i>Gjuwa</i> – goatskin for older women, known as 'old skins'. Women wore them over their backs. The <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> wore several turned inside out (a), and packed them round their hips to make them look big. Strips cut from a white cow skin (<i>dhambada</i>) were used as bandoliers and also wrapped around the waist to hold up the layers of 'old skins'. There were two more animal skins used during <i>dzum zugune</i>, but we do not have illustrations of them. The name of the first was <i>vighitha'a</i>. This was from a cow or a black goat and for men anticipating doing <i>dzum zugune</i>. The other was called <i>vghe tuwighe</i> and was a sheepskin with cowrie decoration (<i>hargwa</i>) at the tail. It was worn by the <i>ngwa garda</i> during the first step of the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i>.</p>  	

Plate 51b: PATSAKDUKA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Waistband consisting of a single row of cowries on a leather strip decorated with vertical rows of various coloured beads. Was worn for traditional dances and funerals by men and women. Women tied this band at the front, but men tied it at the back. The men fixed the band onto a goatskin or sheepskin they were wearing.</p>  	

Objects only worn by females

Objects worn on the head:

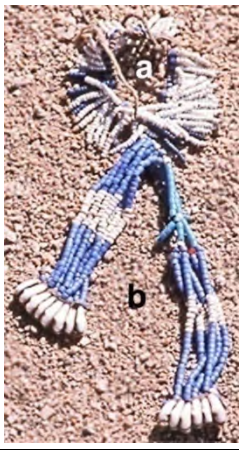

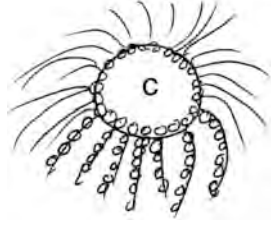
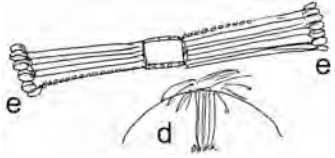
Plate 52a: PETSE PETSE GHARE and PAPA GHARE – also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p><i>Petse petse ghare</i> (a) a top element, and <i>Papa ghare</i> (b) a bottom element, are shown together in the image to the right, which is how they were brought to me for documentation. The circular element shown below (c) is the <i>petse petse ghare</i>. It lies on top of the head and consists of a beaded circle with strings of blue and white beads.</p>	
 	
<p>The <i>papa ghare</i> – beaded strip (drawing to the right) hung over the forehead (d). Cowrie shells were sewn together at each end (e) with 6 strips of blue/white/blue beads (5cm long) at one end and eight strips at the other end.</p>	


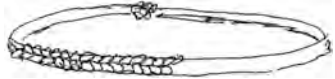

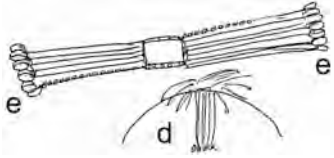

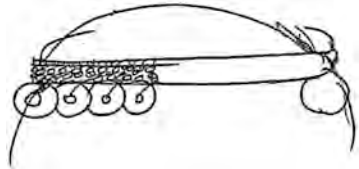

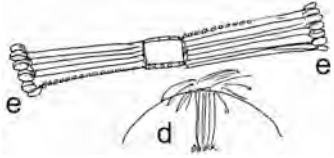
Plate 52b: MATHPASTA – worn for <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i>	
<p>Headband made of palm leaves worn by an unmarried girl who held the beer pot <i>suteke</i> while <i>zal fstaha</i> ritually circulated a full calabash (<i>kwata</i>) around the pot as part of celebrating <i>fstaha</i> in the house of his <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i>.</p>	
 	

Plate 52c: DZAG ANINA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Headband worn on the crown of the head by married and unmarried women, for funerals and dances. Made from a metal zip with strips of tiny beads. British West Africa 1946 half-penny coins fixed all around.</p>	
 	

Objects worn around the neck:



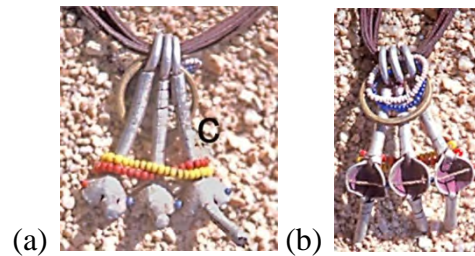
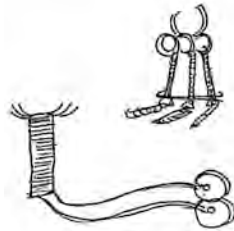
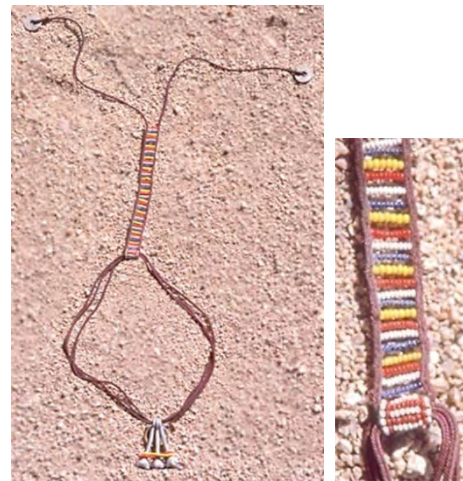
Plate 53a: THINGKWATA – presumably also worn during <i>dzum zugune</i>	
<p>Resembles a small horn and was made from calabash or gourd. Women tied this onto a beaded string to the front of the neck. It moved when they moved their throats. Was used in everyday life. Decorated with beads and bands of string around the neck of the gourd.</p>	 

Plate 53b: JAGRGRA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

The necklace was worn about the neck with centre decoration between the breasts, while the striped piece hung down the back. Three laces with a cluster of objects: a brass ring, two fine beaded rings and three aluminium rods hung at the front. At the other side was a long strip of horizontal beads. It was worn over the back with two thongs with ten-pence shaped metal rings on the ends. The righthand image shows the whole *jagrgra*. The detail next to it shows the striped piece with beads hanging down the back with the three laces worn around the neck. The three aluminium objects on the brass and bead rings are shown underneath. The one to the right (b) shows the open hemispherical elements. They touch the skin, while the image next to it (a) shows the ends of the aluminium rods protruding. Bands of aluminium are wound around fibre (c).



Objects worn about chest and waist:

Plate 54a: DADIR – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Beaded waistband covered by a metal film (perhaps tin or lead). A waistband of this kind might have been given to a girl someone wanted to marry. Perhaps they were even worn by some of the unmarried women to see the men in question while they were doing their dance at the place Sarara. We were told by Zakariya Kwire that some of the men who had not yet started *dzum zugune* also liked to give their dress after they had danced to young unmarried women to dance in them the next day.



Plate 54b: DIRA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Strings of coloured beads worn diagonally across the chest and around the waist, for funerals and traditional dances. We think they were, like most other items listed here, also worn for *dzum zugune*, perhaps even by the wives of some of the performers. It is interesting that they were worn diagonally over shoulders and chest, also so typical for *dzum zugune*.



Plate 54c: LAKINE – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Was tied around the waist for everyday life and was worn for dances and funerals. Made of woven palm fibre inside, surrounded by fine zinc from corrugated iron.



Plate 54d: MOLA GUHE – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Strip for the waist. Women wore this in everyday life, funerals and traditional dances. Three leather bands in fine strips. Tiny beads are sewn onto fine alternating stripes of 5cm wide in blue, white and blue. It was most likely also worn during *dzum zugune*, perhaps by the wives of the performers?

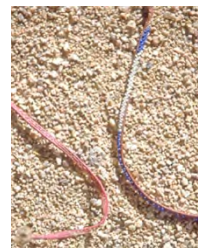
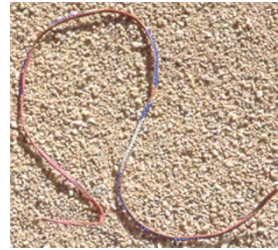
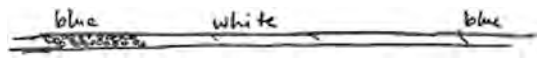


Plate 54e: PAKDINDA – presumably also worn during *ngwa kwalanglanga*

Worn by married women on the front of a waistband. Decoration (rectangular) of beads on leather attached to a beaded strip. Zinc rods hang from the strip dangling with beads at the join. We think *pakdindas* hung from sides of the war helmets of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* (Figure 23b)



Objects worn on lower back:

Plate 55a: BIZGARATA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

For unmarried and newly married women. Worn (instead of *ndadudha* – see Plate 55b below) on the back over the bottom. Brass ring from which hang two beaded strips about 4cm long. From the two strips hang many fine beaded strips in a variety of colours. Attached to one are five more dangling brass rings. We strongly assume that it was worn for *dzum zugune* too.

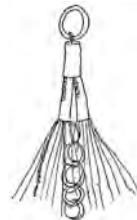
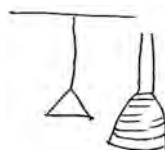


Plate 55b: NDANDUGHA – presumably also worn during *dzum zugune*

Fixed onto the waistband, and hung with leaves to cover the bottom in absence of textiles. Was worn only by married women in everyday life. A horizontal metal bar and a vertical bar from centre of above. A knob at the centre at end of the bar. We think women also wore it during *dzum zugune*.



Objects only worn by males

Objects worn on the head:

Plate 56a: KBA – worn by *ngwa kwalanglanga*, *ngwa yiye* and *bak zalika*

Kba – helmet worn for war, traditional dances and funerals. Made of sorrel fibre, plaited/woven inside, the outside is cotton weave, and ram's beard for plumage. War helmets were part of the dress code during *dzum zugune* and were worn by the *ngwa kwalanglanga*, the *ngwa yiye* and the *bak zalika*.

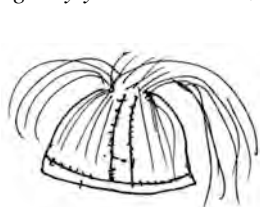


Plate 56b: KWATAMA – worn by men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Kwatama – headdress made of cow- or bull-hide. Decorated with beads, a knob on top and a circular rope about the head. Two flaps on the side and small flaps on the back. Was worn by keen young men who had not yet started *dzum zugune* while dancing at the place Sarara. The rope *difirfira* (a) went around *kwatama*.



Objects worn over neck, chest and shoulders:

Plate 57a: HAMTIWE – worn by *ngwa hamtiwe*

Hamtiwe – several branches of leaves of the *hamtiwe* plant (a Vitaceae variety), with the fruits hanging over the chest, were worn around the neck by the first stage initiates of *dzum zugune* called *ngwa hamtiwe*, meaning they were wearing *hamtiwe*. They also wore ropes of speargrass weed (*tharde*), and crotal bells (*khwa khwa*) around the waist (see Plate 57b and 57c). See the illustrations of the two additional objects below for more detail.



Plate 57b: THARDE – made and worn by *ngwa hamtiwe*

Speargrass was used by the *ngwa hamtiwe* for making ceremonial ropes. It was a weed and also used for making brooms (image to the right). The *ngwa hamtiwe* wore one around the waist and two as bandoliers. We are not sure whether they had to put them on in public or at home. Our oral data suggest that the candidates had to weave these weed ropes themselves. See also the illustration of the speargrass neckband called *garda* (Plate 57c), which was worn by the *ngwa garda* during the first step of the second stage of *dzum zugune*.



Plate 57c: GARDA – worn by *ngwa garda*

Weed neckband woven of five layers of speargrass (*tharde*), put on by the *ngwa garda* at home with help of their *zal fstaha*, for the first step of the second stage of *dzum zugune*. It gave the performers of *ngwa garda* their name, but instead of speargrass ropes, now cowrie-embellished leather sashes, *pagbagha*, (Plate 57d) became bandoliers on top of the *vghe tuwighe* (Plate 51a) sheepskin with *hargwa* (cowrie decoration) at the tail. They also wore a cotton sash, *gwambariya* (Plate 58b), as a belt around the waist. They held a *ndange* (Plate 59k) iron in their right hand. During the downhill run, each of them carried a *tikwa ghriba* (Plate 59i) stick, which the winner released first into the ground at the place Yawa (Figure 22).

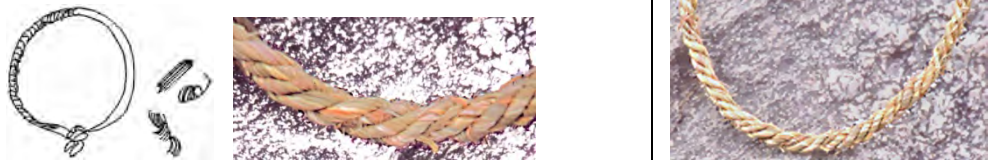


Plate 57d: PAGBAGHA – worn by *ngwa garda*

Double row of cowries sewn onto a leather strip. Two of them were worn diagonally over shoulders and chest by the *ngwa garda*. In the image to the right, John shows how it was worn. Married women used them for funeral dances, and wore them diagonally with another around the waist. Wearing strips as bandoliers was very common during *dzum zugune*. The *ngwa hamtiwe* of the first stage of *dzum zugune* wore ropes made of speargrass (*tharde*) in that way. The *ngwa kwalanglanga* put on white cow skin bandoliers for the second step of the second stage of *dzum zugune* at Yawa, to replace the *pagbagha* of the *ngwa garda*.

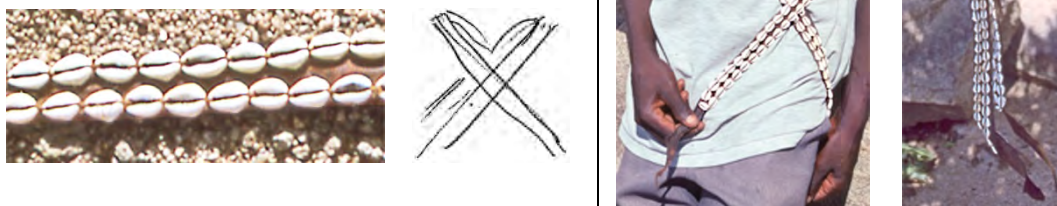


Plate 57e: TA'AYA DAWANA – presumably worn generally during *dzum zugune*

Iron chains hung with brass pods. Worn diagonally across the chest for dancing. We assume here that they did not play a role in the *dzum zugune* dress code but could be worn by any man who wanted to participate in dancing. Interestingly they were worn as bandoliers, as so many other objects listed here also were.



Plate 57f: JILBA LGE – presumably worn generally during *dzum zugune*

Was also worn diagonally over back and chest. Originally made of metal (head-ring made of the same metal used for any type of *jilba*). We are not sure on which occasion they were worn, but assume they could be worn by any man. See the illustration of a *jilba gargra* underneath.



Plate 57g: JILBA GARGRA – worn by men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Originally made from palm fibre, worn diagonally over neck and across the chest together with *gwargwara*. We are not sure how it links to the *jilba lge* shown in Plate 57f above, but perhaps the head-ring was presumably already of metal, long before the fibre *jilbas* were enhanced with zinc.



Plate 57h: GWARGWARA – worn by men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Leather straps hung from the back of both shoulders so the beads moved while dancing. There are metal strips on one side. Consists of six blue glass beads on either side, plus two bone beads and one wooden bead in the centre. Worn by young men who had not yet performed *dzum zugune*.



Plate 57i: DARKE – worn by *ngwa yiye*

Several blue indigo cotton strips sewn together. The Dghwedé do not have a word for indigo blue and refer to it as black (*lusa*). It was worn by the *ngwa yiye*, the third stage participants of *dzum zugune* who were also referred to as 'black cows' (*thah lusa*) or simply '*lusa*' due to the dark cotton robes worn as part of their dress code. The colour black can be interpreted as a symbol of fertility with an underlying reference to manure production, something explained in greater detail later in the discussion of the third stage of *dzum zugune*.



Objects worn on the waist, legs and ankles:

Plate 58a: KWALANGLANGA – worn by *ngwa kwalanglanga*

Brass bells used for the second step of the second stage of *dzum zugune*. They are larger than the crotal bells called *khwa khwa* (see Plate 58d below). The smaller *khwa khwa* were used by young men who had not yet performed *dzum zugune* and also by the *ngwa hamtiwe*, the beginners of *dzum zugune*. The larger *kwalanglanga* bells give the name to the *ngwa kwalanglanga* dress code, in the way the *hamtiwe* plant gives the name to the *ngwa hamtiwe* dress code. The *kwalanglanga* bell on an iron chain (to the right) once hung from the waist of a performer while he was dancing back uphill from Yawa (see Figure 22). The *ngwa kwalanglanga* also wore female dress items, such as layers of reversed *gjuwa* skins (Plate 51a) over their hips, which were usually worn over the back by older women. They also used *pakdinda* rods (Plate 54e), traditionally only worn by married women, which they hung from the sides of their war helmets (*kba*). We will discuss the female dress items worn by the *ngwa kwalanglanga* in detail in the next chapter section.

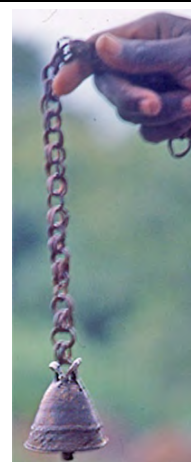


Plate 58b: GWAMBARIYA – worn by *ngwa garda*

Bands of up to twelve alternate strips of black and white woven cotton, sewn together. They were worn around the waist by the *ngwa garda*. The *ngwa hamtiwe* used them to wrap around the neck of a billy goat, which a candidate gave to his mother's brother if he wanted to start performing *dzum zugune* ahead of him. They could be used by the men anticipating *dzum zugune* to tie the *gwargwara* (Plate 57h) on the back of shoulders.

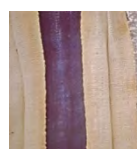


Plate 58c: PATSA PATSA – worn generally during *dzum zugune*

Leg decorations. The hide was tied round the legs with strips of leather fibre (or bean twigs or even plastic). Beads are attached along with the upper band. We have no record of whether they played a specific role during *dzum zugune*, but assume they were worn by men who might not yet have performed it but who participated in the dances and celebrations of neighbours who had recently performed it.



Plate 58d: KHWA KHWA – worn by *ngwa hamtiwe* and men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Worn around ankles or waist during traditional dances. The crotal bells made mainly of brass were attached to a string. Apparently in the past fibre was used to fix them around the ankles for dancing. They were worn by the young men who had not yet started *dzum zugune*, when performing the dance at the place called Sarara (see Figure 22). *Khwa khwa* crotal bells were also worn at the place Fkagh ga Maruwa, by the performers of *ngwa hamtiwe*, the first stage of *dzum zugune*. They would have put on the dresses at the place Fkagh Dzga the day before, by tying the *khwa khwa* around the waist. This was after they had put on their goatskins and speargrass ropes, and had hung the *hamtiwe* plant around their necks. This all took place in front of the elders who had already completed *dzum zugune*, and who had just finished counting the *jahurimbe* pots of the *ngwa hamtiwe*.



Plate 58e: DZADZA – worn by men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Lower leg covers made of fresh palm fronds worn on both legs. It formed part of the dress young men who had not yet started *dzum zugune*. My friend Zakariya Kwire, who had experienced *dzum zugune* in the 1940s, made two new *dzadza* for us, and we see John wearing them. We remember the many uses of the *wurighe* tree (*Borassus aethiopum*) from Chapter 3.10, and remember that the *wurighe* tree was one of the trees *thagaya* (the seventh born) inherited.



Other objects used for *dzum zugune*

Plate 59a: JAHURIMBE – used by *ngwa hamtiwe* and during *fstaha*

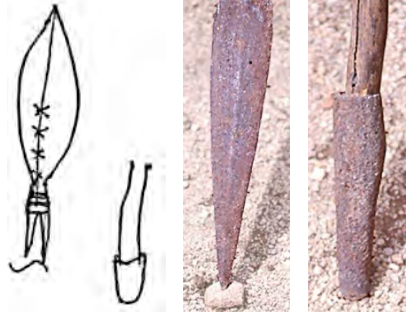
Jahurimbe – clay pot used for beer to perform *ngwa hamtiwe*, the first stage of *dzum zugune*. Existed in a variety of sizes. The pot was a bowl on a decorated stand. Each of the *ngwa hamtiwe* brought a *jahurimbe* filled with beer to Fkagh Dzga (see Figure 22) to be counted by the elders of Ghwa'a who had completed *dzum zugune*. The pot was stored in the 'stomach' of *thala*, or together with the *suteke* pot inside the lower loft (*gude tighe*) of the first wife's room.



Was also used by the *ngwa kwalanglanga* and the *ngwa yiye* to perform *fstaha*

Plate 59b: BALWAYA and ZALIKA – used by *ngwa yiye*

Balwaya – lance made of iron, used for *ngwa yiye* during the third stage of *dzum zugune*. It was also used for war and funerals, in the latter case as part of mock encounters.



Zalika – lance made of iron, used for *ngwa yiye* during the third stage of *dzum zugune*. It was also used for hunting leopards. We do not know whether it was used by the *bak zalika* as the name would suggest.

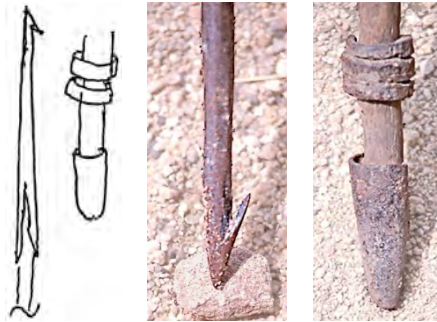


Plate 59c: RUMA – used by *ngwa yiye*

Spear or lance with two functional ends. The spearhead has two sharp and two blunt sides on one side, while the other end is sharply pointed, fixed with a piece of twined iron. It was used by the *ngwa yiye* who in their *darke*, the indigo dress (Plate 57i), were known as '*lusa*' or 'black cows'. The rainmaker would have planted his *ruma* into a ritual dunghole (Plate 60a) found nearby his house, which involved a series of sacrifices being carried out before and afterwards. This all happened in the presence of the lineage elders of Ghwa'a who were resting on dedicated sitting stones nearby (Plate 60b). Afterwards the *ngwa yiye* would have celebrated their *fstaha* near the ritual dunghole.

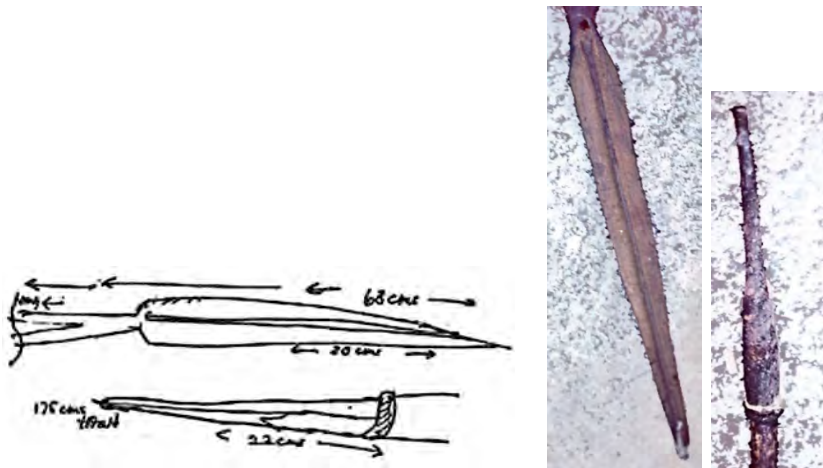


Plate 59e: VDE – used by *ngwa kwalanglanga*

Stool made from *Acacia albida* (*gagha*). A piece of trunk from a tree carved into a shape with three legs. Two males sat on a *vde* while they ritually refused to drink beer from a calabash during the *fstaha* ceremony at the house of *ngwa kwalanglanga*. Such stools were also used in everyday life, for example to offer a seat to a visiting stranger.



Plate 59f: SUTEKE – used by *ngwa kwalanglanga*

Clay pot for *fstaha* (initiation ritual as part of *dzum zugune*). The pot was also known as *tughdhe dzum zugune*. There are knobbls around the narrow neck and line patterns around the bowl. After the *ngwa kwalanglanga* completed their uphill dance they went to the houses to do the *fstaha* initiation ceremony, with this pot being held by an unmarried girl wearing a *mathpasta* (headband made of palm leaves – see Plate 52b). I am not sure how big it was but it was said that *suteke* was a smaller pot, although I doubt it was particularly small. It has already been mentioned that *suteke* could be stored in the loft (*gude tighe*) of the room of a husband's (*zal thaghaya*) first wife, together with *jahurimbe*.



Plate 59g: NDAFA – also used during *dzum zugune*

Saucepot made of clay. Burnished and decorated around the rim. It was used for sauce for meals and festivals. Was also used during *dzum zugune* to celebrate *fstaha* but it had multiple ritual functions (see chapter on the house as place of worship).



A *ndafa* pot was kept in the 'stomach' of *thala* to serve beer and sauce to a deceased father or grandfather.

Plate 59h: KWATA – used by *ngwa kwalanglanga*

Small calabash used for *fstaha* during *dzum zugune*. Was ritually circulated around the *suteke* pot by *zal fstaha* while an unmarried girl, wearing a *mathpasta* headband, held the *suteke* pot.



Plate 59i: TIKWA GHRIBA – carried by *ngwa garda*

A wooden stick about two metres long and bound with fine strips of different coloured plastic and aluminium. It was pointed at one end and had a ram's beard on top. In the past strips of aluminium only were used. It was carried by the *ngwa garda*, while running downhill, in the first part of the second stage of *dzum zugune*. The run started at the place Fkagh Gwatadhe, down to Yawa (see Figure 22) where the winner would be the first to plant his *tikwa ghriba* into the ground. While at Yawa the *ngwa garda* changed dress, with the help of their *zal fstaha*, into that of a *ngwa kwalanglanga* performer, and began the dance back uphill. We know they stopped at certain places, such as the house of the lineage priest (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a and afterwards were showered with sorghum and tigernut flour by their wives at the place Fkagh Bag Haya.

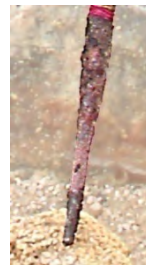


Plate 59j: ZINGE ZINGE – was also carried during *dzum zugune*

Was made of iron and used for dancing, most likely also for *dzum zugune* (presumably by men and women). Was used as a weapon in traditional warfare in the past. In terms of art history it can be classified together with the *ndange* shown in Plate 59k underneath the same family of F-shaped 'throwing kives' that are so widely known. However, the *ndange* was never used as a weapon but only for celebratory purposes, specifically by the *ngwa garda* participants of *dzum zugune*, and in my opinion the generalisation of 'throwing knives' should only apply to the *zinge zinge*.

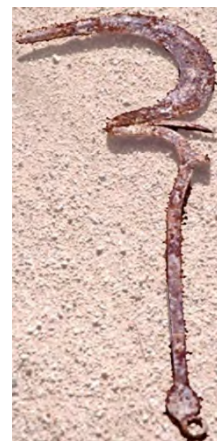
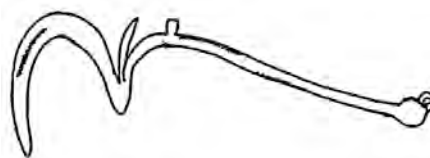


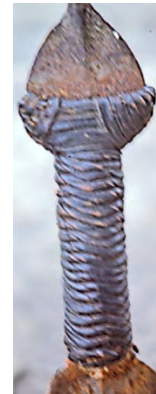
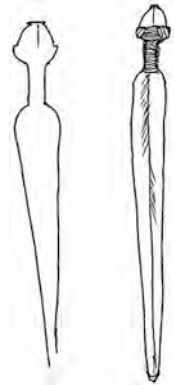
Plate 59k: NDANGE – used by *ngwa garda*

A celebratory iron sickle or knife which belongs to the family of F-shaped 'throwing knives', but this one was not thrown, despite it possibly representing a bird. Instead it was carried by the *ngwa garda* in the right hand during the first step of the second stage of *dzum zugune*. We do not know whether they took their *ndange* on the competitive run downhill, but doubt it, and infer here that it was perhaps exchanged for the *tikwa ghriba*, the decorated two-metre long wooden stick presented in Plate 59i.



Plate 59l: MAGRATA – carried by *ngwa yiye*

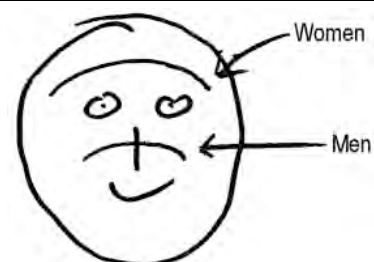
Forged iron sword with bevelled edge and woven leather handle with internal padding. Each *ngwa yiye* held up a *magrata* sword and a fighting stick (*kiba*) in a threatening manner while they ran together across Fkagh Gwatadhe. There they forced the *ngwa garda*, who were at the other side, to kneel in respect of their senior position. The *ngwa yiye* not only wore their *darke* (indigo robe) but also war helmets (*kba*) which they had covered with sheepskin and other decorative items hung around.



Facial makeup:

Figure 23a: Wushighwe – used by men anticipating *dzum zugune*

Facial makeup was most likely made from ochre. It went across the nose in males and across the forehead in females. It was used by young men (married or unmarried) who had not yet performed *dzum zugune*. They were referred to as *gabajuwala*, while young women (unmarried) were referred to as *vjardghawa*. We do not know whether the young unmarried women wore the facial make-up as shown in our sketch, and neither do we know whether the same facial make-up was also used for both genders in other contexts.



Discussion of dress codes and other performance elements of *dzum zugune*

During the 1996 field session I made some rough sketches to remind myself of how the various participants of the different stages of *dzum zugune* might have looked. In this section we will try to make a descriptive sketch using what we know so far from the objects of material culture presented in the previous section. We start with the married and unmarried young men (*gabajuwala*) dancing at the place called Sarara. We know they also danced the following day at Fkagh ga Maruwa, and we mentioned that they might have given some of the objects they wore to unmarried females (*vardghawa*), such as the brass armlets for the upper arms known as *zawya* (see Plate 50a).

Quite a few of the keen young men who participated were unmarried, and were most likely already committed to a girl through a marriage by promise. Such a promise was not necessarily romantic but was based on the friendship the son's father had initiated with the girl's mother on the birth of her daughter (see Chapter 3.20). We do not know how serious a girl who had been promised in that way might have been, despite her family already having accepted the gifts the father of the boy had given as an investment in her becoming a member of his patrilineage. It would have been a completely different courtship scenario for married men and unmarried women if the men were looking for a secondary marriage. Besides, *dzum zugune* was very much a family event, and especially in its initial stages it mattered whether or not senior extended family members had started it. The fact that a brother could not advance beyond the stage of his older sibling was presumably a ritual management of socio-economic ambition.

In a similar sense, *dzum zugune* also had a strong religious component, shown by the fact that a new candidate had to prove his socio-economic independence by performing *kaba* before he could show honour and reverence to his deceased father during *har ghwe*. *Kaba* required the sharing of much beer with neighbours and extended family members by such a man aiming for ritual independence. This would have required him to at least have a first wife who would hopefully give him a seventh-born son (*thayagha*) at some point in his future career as a successful mountain farmer. In that sense *dzum zugune* was designed to maintain a certain social order, which it was necessary to defend and which was embedded in the cosmology and worldview of the Dghwedè.

We will return to the Dghwedè worldview expressed by ritual culture, and the wish for socio-economic independence in the performers, when discussing the dress codes of the various stages of *dzum zugune*. Questions will arise from ethnographic uncertainties, due to the fragmentary nature of our data. We begin with the dress code of those to whom I referred as the 'keen young men', because their eagerness seemed to us to give an additional sentimental flavour to the documentation, bringing it alive a little, hopefully rendering it more than simply a reconstructed socio-economic event to be imagined in late pre-colonial Dghwedè:

Dress code for married or unmarried young men (*gabajuwala*) dancing for *dzum zugune*:

- *Kwatama* – leather cap of cow or bull hide (Plate 56b)
- *Wushighwe* – facial makeup across nose (Figure 23a)
- *Difirfira* – rope to cover leather cap (Plate 56b, detail: a)
- *Sambala* – neckband made of beads (Plate 48a)
- *Gwargwara* – glass beads worn over both shoulders on the back (Plate 57g)
- *Jilba lge* – metal chain worn diagonally across the chest (Plate 57f)
- *Jilba gargra* – originally fibre, worn diagonally over neck and chest (Plate 57g)
- *Ding dva* – general term for wrist bracelets (e.g. *ding dawana*, Plate 49b)
- *Zawya* – bracelets around upper arms (Plate 50a)
- *Vighita'a* – skin of cow or goat for hips (no illustration)
- *Gwambariya* – black and white cotton used to tie the *gwargwara* (Plate 58a)
- *Khwa khwa* – brass crotal bells worn around ankles and waist (Plate 58d)
- *Dzadza* – palm tree, young leaves, worn on ankles (Plate 58e)

Discussion of the first stage (ngwa hamtiwe)

The dress code of the *ngwa hamtiwe* looks at first sight much less sophisticated than that of the *gabajuwala*, although we are not sure which elements we are missing, and perhaps we only documented the most significant ones. What certainly stands out is the organic plant material, in particular the *hamtiwe*, a Vitaceae variety (most likely of the *Cissus* genre), and a weed called *tharde* (speargrass). The latter was made into a rope which the *ngwa hamtiwe* reportedly had to produce themselves. We know that rope-making was a typical male activity and that women were not allowed to make ropes as it could have led to a husband's death. We do not know the name of the rope worn by the *ngwa hamtiwe*, but two of them were worn as bandoliers over both shoulders and across the chest and one was tied around the waist.

We did not explore why a variety of speargrass weed was used in an important part of the dress code of the *ngwa hamtiwe*. It was not used for rope-making but brooms, which played a role in marriage ceremonies, but we know almost nothing about that. Perhaps its ritual use had to do with the relentless weeding that formed part of the hard labour during the hoeing period. After all, *dzum zugune* was about tough achievements, and that the first stage involved a speargrass weed in ceremonial bandoliers could represent a hardworking attitude. Unfortunately we do not know, and the reason might have been completely different.

The other plant material was *hamtiwe*, which was also used for making sauce, but to my knowledge *hamtiwe* was not a plant of very common use. However there is some hint as to its importance ritually as a botanical type. It belongs to the Vitaceae (grape) family and is most likely a *Cissus* in terms of genus, which is the same taxon as the ritually important *Cissus quadrangularis*. Perhaps *hamtiwe* as part of the name for the dress code of the first stage of *dzum zugune* needs to be seen in the light of this botanical link. Still, as with the weed *tharde*, we do not know and have to admit that this is no more than informed guesswork.

It was also said that the *ngwa hamtiwe* had to put on the dress in front of the elders at the place called Fkagh Dzga, where the elders counted the *jahurimbe* beer bowls, but in our 1996 field reconstruction presented earlier it was claimed that they were already wearing the dresses for the preceding sacrifice to the deceased father (*har ghwe*). Unfortunately we cannot determine which one of the two accounts is correct, but perhaps both are viable as it is possible that only the *hamtiwe* plant was put around the neck in front of the elders, and then the *khwa khwa* rattles were put on the following day for the dance at Fkagh ga Maruwa. There was also a contradiction about whether the counting of the *jahurimbe* pots had already taken place after the harvest festival (*thagla*) during the preceding millet year, but Zakariya Kwire insisted this was not the case. We have decided to stick with Zakariya Kwire here, which puts all four stages of *dzum zugune* into a guinea corn year.

We infer that the *ngwa hamtiwe* had their two ritual assistants, the *zal duf dala* and the *zal fstaha*, with them for the first time at Fkagh Dzga. While the *zal duf dala* had not yet performed *dzum zugune*, the *zal fstaha* had done so. We know that *duf dala* literally means 'warmed-up soup', and this was a term for the guinea corn beer ritually poured over the ancestor stones in absence of a billy goat during the bi-annual sacrifice to deceased father (*har ghwe*). The word *fstaha* had no literal meaning, but in the case of *zal fstaha* it meant someone who was already initiated as an accomplished adult. In that sense we translate *fstaha* to mean 'initiation'. We can perhaps conclude that *zal duf dala* was in a way the poor equivalent of *zal fstaha*, being someone who had not yet reached socio-economic independence, which in our view included ritual independence.

We will now briefly summarise and discuss what we know about the social entitlement to start *dzum zugune*. We know that younger brothers had to wait for their fathers and older brothers to do it before them. In the context of this, it did not matter whether the seniority of brothers was conditional on being born to the first wife, or any of the other wives of the husband and father of the house. Concerning their mothers, we know that her brothers were important in this case, in that a man had to give his mother's brother a billy goat with a *gwambariya* (a black and white cotton sash) wrapped around its neck, a pot of beer and a

meal, if he wanted to start *dzum zugune* before him. This obligation coincides with the matrilineal exogamy rule *zbe* (Chapter 3.6), and perhaps suggests socio-economic cooperation between affinal parilineages, a mutual support structure on the kindred level, to pass through the stages of *dzum zugune*.

It seems that the genealogical chain of potential entitlement to begin *ngwa hamtiwe* changed after the death of a father or senior brother. As a son, one still had to perform *kaba* and have a lot of beer and food to share around for one's first *har ghwe* – but what would happen in the case of a death of a senior brother? We infer here that *kaba* also applied to the sons of the senior brother, which presumably involved the younger brothers having to wait for the older ones to perform *dzum zugune*, unless one of the senior brothers died. We think this was the case because otherwise the chain of potential entitlement would have never been broken, and an extended family would have been stuck for generations in not being able to begin *dzum zugune*.

There might well have been ways to break the seniority rule by other means than death, but we must admit that we simply do not know. However we do know that it potentially only applied to patrilineal descent, and that a man would be able to buy himself free of his mother's brother's lack of socio-economic success. We therefore think it is correct to infer that the individual effort in successful terrace farming counted greatly, and this was of paramount importance for the whole community. If the *dzum zugune* entitlement rules had extended beyond the lifetime of the candidate's patrilineal senior, the emotive force of the keen young man (*gabajuwala*) and his entry into the first stage (*ngwa hamtiwe*) of *dzum zugune* would have been paralysed. Our interpretation implies that *dzum zugune* was a family affair, and not just the ambition of one individual, and we like to think that the keen young men dancing at Sarara performed not only for themselves but for the greater good and long term success of the whole Dghwede local terrace farming community.

Dress code and objects for *ngwa hamtiwe* (first stage of *dzum zugune*):

- *Hamtiwe* – leaves hanging around neck with fruits over chest (Plate 57a)
- *Tharde* – two speargrass ropes worn diagonally across chest (Plate 57b)
- *Tharde* – one speargrass rope worn around waist (see also Plate 57c)
- *Vighita'a* – goat skin put around hips (no illustration)
- *Khwa khwa* – brass crotal bells worn around the waist (Plate 58d)
- *Jahurimbe* – ritual beer bowl on stand taken to Fkagh Dzga (Plate 59a)
- *Gwambariya* – cotton strips wrapped around neck of billy goat (Plate 58b)

Discussion of the second stage (ngwa garda and ngwa kwalanglanga)

For the dress code of the second stage of *dzum zugune*, we need to differentiate between the two steps *ngwa garda* and *ngwa kwalanglanga*. The first thing to recognise is that organic plant materials became less prominent across the two steps. The *ngwa garda* still wore a five-layered speargrass rope around the neck, but the one across the chest was replaced by leather sashes with two rows of cowrie decorations. According to John there were four sashes altogether, that is two for each side, which were presumably connected over the shoulders.

We want to add one detail here about the interaction between the *ngwa garda* and their ritual assistants (*zal duf dala*) who had not yet performed *dzum zugune*, at the place called Fkagh Gwatadhe where the downhill running competition to Yawa began. In this place the *zal duf dala* apparently put on their traditional dresses and performed the dance *skila* in front of the *ngwa garda*, who were also in full gear and ready to run with wooden sticks in their hands. In so doing the *ngwa garda* struck attitudes of starting to run. Now a trumpet was blown, and the race began. It is surely no coincidence that this dance *skila* was done by the uninitiated assistant *zal duf dala*, but it would perhaps be an over-interpretation to see it as a warming-up exercise, due to the wide age range of the *ngwa garda* performers. It might have been more of

a dramatisation by the *zal duf dala* as a self-encouragement towards becoming *ngwa garda* before they grew too old to win.

Moving on to the dress code of the performers of the second stage, we note that from now on a war helmet (*kba*) was worn, which in the case of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* was decorated with a *pakdinda* on each side. We know that normally only one *pakdinda* was worn, and only by a married woman, and that it would hang over the front of her waistband. There was another item of female dress worn by the *ngwa kwalanglanga*, consisting of several so-called 'old skins'. These were usually only worn by older women (presumably women who had passed menopause) and hung over their backsides. Now they were turned inside out and packed in layers over the hips of the *ngwa kwalanglanga*, with the intention of making them look large and elevated.

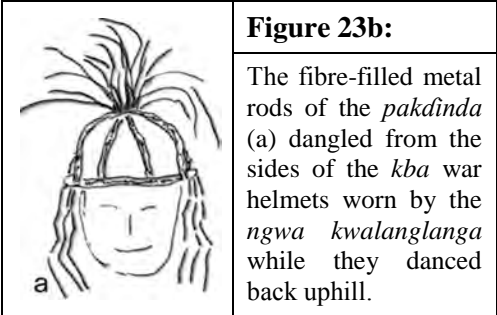


Figure 23b:
The fibre-filled metal rods of the *pakdinda* (a) dangled from the sides of the *kba* war helmets worn by the *ngwa kwalanglanga* while they danced back uphill.

I failed to explore a possible interpretation of this, and can therefore only say that the wearing of female dress items might indicate the importance of adult women to the men who were about to progress through the stages of *dzum zugune*. One item is something worn by married women of childbearing age, as shown on the war helmet in Figure 23b, and the other is worn by older women beyond that age, turned inside out and worn over the hips to make them look heavy. We

know that the *ngwa kwalanglanga* danced up the hillside and that they were showered with sorghum flour and flour of tiger nuts by women, at the place called Fkagh 'Bag Haya, after they had danced at the house of the custodian and seventh born of Ghwa'a, their lineage and local earth priest (*thaghaya*).

We also remember the young unmarried females, dressed in *mathpasta* headbands made from palm leaves, holding *suteke* beer pots with small apertures, during the *fstaha* ritual in the individual houses of the *ngwa kwalanglanga*. The young girl could be seen to indicate the opposite of the 'old skins', and perhaps the *pakdinda* rods dangling from the war helmets represented the ambition of wanting many heirs. The stages in the reproductive age of women might have represented good luck for the prosperity and welfare of a large family, wished for by a husband and potential father of a seventh born (*zal thaghaya*). We remember that the eighth-born child could fall victim to infanticide or be cast out, indicating the risk attached to not being able to feed everyone in times of crisis. We will discuss this further in Chapter 3.18, but mention here that twins were not included in the category of the eighth born and never fell victim to that tradition, which underpins reproductive success indeed being an integrated part of the Dghwede cosmological belief system.

Before moving on to discuss the dress code of the third stage *ngwa yiye*, we want to discuss whereabouts in the house of a *ngwa kwalanglanga*, the *fstaha* ritual was possibly performed. We have already given a detailed description of *fstaha*, and we know that the *ngwa yiye* performed it at the ritual dunghole near the senior rainmaker's house after he had planted the spear *ruma*. We infer that the main difference was that one *fstaha* was celebrated inside the house while the other one was in public, but both were directly or indirectly connected with animal manure, this being the key material of pre-colonial wealth creation, central to which was the achievement of a surplus for long-term food storage.

We will go on to discuss the public setting the *ngwa yiye* used for their *fstaha* near the ritual dunghole next to the rainmaker's house, but now need to remind ourselves of the most sacred area of the house, which was the foyer. Since we do not know exactly where the *fstaha* of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* was performed, we can only assume that it was on the sitting stones in front of the three granaries. Another possibility is that the *ngwa kwalanglanga* sat on the foundation stones separating the foyer from the lower and upper room complex. For example,

the father of a house would sit on one of these when he initiated a promised girl into his patrilineage by sprinkling water on her as the future wife of his son (see Chapter 3.20).

We remember the gender aspect of the architectural layout of the foyer, with the ritual sauce kitchen for the *zal thaghaya* next to it. The fattened bull, one of the most powerful symbols of manure production, would be imprisoned with his rear in the lower room of the first wife, and slaughtered over the foundation stones of the upper passageway. The various female aspects of the dress code of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* seem to underpin a similar aesthetic inclination of Dghwedë material culture, and it might therefore be no coincidence that the *ngwa kwalanglanga* carried out the *fstaha* in their houses before performing the next stage *ngwa yiye* near the ritual dunghole at the rainmaker's house. The chronological sequence of *dzum zugune* coincides with other ritual performances beginning in the family home before socially and spatially reaching out into the wider community at local places of worship.

We also want to state at this point that we do not know the identities of the participants of *fstaha*, for example whether *zal fstaha* would be a senior brother or the *zal dif dala* a junior brother, or the specific social relationship of the unmarried girl who held the dedicated beer pot *suteke*. Neither do we know who the two persons were who sat on the stools twice refusing the ritual beer, and nor do we have any idea who received the portions of food from the calabash. We do not know whether the ancestor stones received a share of the *fstaha* beer, and which of the extended family would have been responsible for that. What we do know is that much food and beer would have had to be prepared, because many people from far and wide would have gathered at the houses of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* on that day.

Dress code and objects for the two steps of the second stage of *dzum zugune*:

Ngwa garda (first step)

- *Kba* – war helmet
- *Garda* – rope of speargrass (*tharde*) worn around neck (Plate 57c)
- *Pagbagha* – cowrie leather strips worn diagonally across chest (Plate 57d)
- *Vghe tuwighe* – sheepskin with cowrie decorated tail (no illustration)
- *Gwambariya* – alternating bands of black and white cotton around waist (Plate 58b)
- *Ndange* – ceremonial iron carried by *ngwa garda* (Plate 59k)
- *Tikwa ghriba* – ceremonial wooden stick carried by *ngwa garda* (Plate 59i?)

Ngwa kwalanglanga (second step)



- *Kba* – war helmet (Plate 56a)
- *Pakdinda* – here worn on each side of war helmet (Plate 54e and Figure 23b)
- *Dhambada* – white cow skin strips worn diagonally across chest (no illustration)
- *Kwalanglanga* – brass bells hang on iron chains from waist (Plate 58a)
- *Gjuwa* – 'old skin' for females, several layers are put on hips (Plate 51a)
- *Dhambada* – white cow skin strip is also worn around waist (no illustration)
- *Jahurimbe* – bowl with decorated stand is used for *fstaha* (Plate 59a)
- *Suteke* – ritual beer pot held by girl during *fstaha* ceremony (Plate 59f)
- *Mathpasta* – girl holding *suteke* wore this headband during *fstaha* (Plate 52b)
- *Kwata* – calabash for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59h)
- *Vde* – wooden stool used for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59e)
- *Ndafa* – sauce pot for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59g)

This at least confirms that another aspect of traditional wealth was about sharing. Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga, our main protagonists who remembered *dzum zugune*, pointed out that someone who wanted to perform *dzum zugune* had to plan it very well in order to have enough guinea corn in his granaries. All three granaries needed to be full when a man reached the second stage, to provide enough food and beer on completion of *dzum zugune*. They said his neighbours and relatives would therefore have been helping him to fill his granaries in order to be ready for it. This indirectly confirms the importance of the communal aspect of

dzum zugune. The *fstaha* ritual was in that sense the conclusion of the second stage of adult initiation, the first step of successful sharing and redistribution. Its ongoing progress was equally about the gaining of as much personal freedom as possible through individual wealth creation for the long-term greater good.

Discussion of the third stage (ngwa yiye)

We have already mentioned that the *ngwa yiye* performed their *fstaha* near the dunghole where the senior rainmaker planted the spear *ruma* in the ritual *nzav ruma*, meaning 'planting the spear'. The dunghole allegedly existed from the first time *dzum zugune* was performed, and the spear was planted there by the father and grandfather of Tada Nzige.¹ Plates 60a and 60b show what was left of the ritual dunghole near the senior rainmaker's house, and the rocks as seats for the lineage elders of Ghwa'a, with Tada Nzige (with a beard) sitting to the left. The dunghole was marked by a rock so it could be found, and it was opened up for me to be photographed.

Plate 60a : Ritual dunghole	Plate 60b: Group of rock seats for lineage elders nearby
	

Tada Nzige gave us the following account on the rainmaker's role at this occasion:

The elders were sitting on the seats reserved for the representatives of the lineages Btha, Dzata, Ngaladewe, Nighine, Gaske and Dagha.

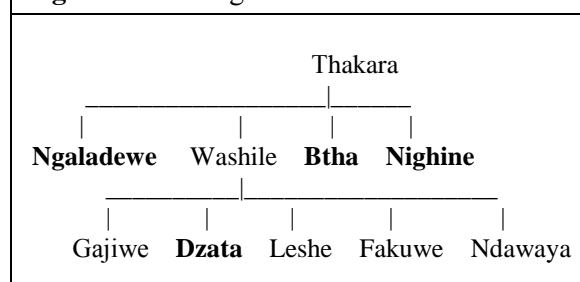
For the start of *dzum zugune* they made a sacrifice at *durghwe* [the local mountain shrine] with a bull. It was the *thaghaya* for all Dghwedè lineages of Ghwa'a who was responsible for this sacrifice. Only after that *dzum zugune* could start and the *ngwa garda* could run to Yawa. While they were running to Yawa, the elders of the different lineages would have sat on their stones enjoying the beer from *jahurimbe*. When they each came up as *kwalanglanga*, these elders would ask: 'Who was the first person to reach Yawa, who was it?' Now the elders threw flour from ground tiger nuts and guinea corn, which was subsequently done by the others.

After that, they did a sacrifice to *ruma* before planting it. This sacrifice consisted of a he-goat. Now they brought out *ruma* and poured corn and tigernut flour over it. The elders had brought this flour and the beer. Next, the rainmaker planted the spear. The spear was left in the dunghole for three days but the elders would go home. After three days the spear was taken back in but a black he-goat was sacrificed. The he-goat was black to indicate the green colour of vegetation.

¹ The name Tada indicates that Tada Nzige was the seventh born and therefore he inherited the house. We know that Viringwa Ruta's house, which was mentioned by our still practising Gharaza rainmaker friend Ndruwe Dzguma, was not the same as Tada Nzige's house, despite the fact that he seemed to have once owned the most ancient and powerful rainstone to grind clan medicine to increase the yield.

We already know that 'Btha' was *thaghaya* (seventh born), which meant he was the elder who was the lineage priest responsible for sacrificing a bull at Durghwe, and we will discuss the cosmographic imagery of Durghwe as an important mountain and rain shrine in Chapter 3.17. We also know that the Gaske and the 'Dagha were the specialist lineages responsible for rainmaking and peacemaking respectively. Before discussing some of the other points mentioned by Tada Nzige, such as the significance of the colour black (*lusa*) as a symbol for the green of vegetation, we reproduce in Figure 24 the Thakara lineage tree, and mark in bold the patrilineages of the elders who attended the performance of the senior rainmaker planting the spear (*nzav ruma*) in the ritual dunghole. This and some other performances had to take place before the *ngwa yiye* could complete their public *fstaha* initiation ritual.

Figure 24: Lineage tree of Thakara of Ghwa'a



The fact that Fkagh ga Maruwa, the central place of *dzum zugune* celebrations, was very close to the rainmaker's house, suggests that the lineage elders used their dedicated seats not only for observing the ritual of planting the spear but also for other stages of *dzum zugune*. This means the elders might well have sat on these rock seats when they drank beer from *jahurimbe* and started the throwing of corn

and tigernut flour as soon as they received confirmation that the *ngwa garda* had reached Yawa. They would have known by then that they had transformed into *ngwa kwalanglanga* long before reaching Fkagh ga Maruwa, having passed through 'Bag Haya where the wives of the performers had done the same. We wonder whether the custodian (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a did not need to be at home when the *ngwa kwalanglanga* danced at his house, but according to Tada Nzige his place was the central stone seat outside the rainmaker's house.

If we compare it with Figure 22, we can see that Fkagh ga Maruwa in Plate 60c was very near to the seats where the elders sat at the foot of the senior rainmaker's house (Plate 60b):

Plate 60c: Fkagh ga Maruwa



Tada Nzige's account gives us new insights but also highlights the very fragmentary nature of our reconstruction of *dzum zugune*. What seems to be clear is that the elders were on their rock seats when the senior rainmaker performed *nzav ruma* at the ritual dunghole, and most likely also during the subsequent *fstaha* celebrations of the *ngwa yiye*. The *ngwa yiye* had arrived as 'black cows' in their dark indigo cotton robes, in our opinion representing the fertility of the land.

We tend to think that this was perhaps a reference to manure, not only in its technical role as an agricultural agent, but also as a cosmological symbol that promoted fecundity by religiously interacting with (blessing) the environment.

There are several other ethnographic hints already mentioned which support this view, such as the black he-goat sacrificed after the spear was planted in the ritual dunghole, or the charcoal used as an ingredient for *magulisa* (Plate 20a) to increase the yield. We will see later in Chapter 3.23 that charcoal was not only used by the rainmaker, but also by various others who had specialist ownership of types of ritual treatment (*skwe*) and their ritual handling (*man skwe*), which were mostly inherited along the patriline, as was the ritual handling of charcoal. What immediately springs to mind is that charcoal was an important product linked to terrace farming, and that cows and iron smelting were in the past socio-economically

interlinked. The 'black cows' or '*lusa*' were represented by the *darke*, the dark indigo coloured woven dress they wore, while the *ngwa garda* still wore the black and white cotton waistband called *gwambariya*, which a man also had to give his brother-in-law wrapped around the neck of a billy goat if he wanted to start *dzum zugune* before him. Before that, it was bandoliers made of tough speargrass weed which were the predominant element of dress. The *darke* of the *ngwa yiye* presumably stood for the advanced stage of successful mountain farming they were proven to have reached.

The *ngwa yiye* wore no bandoliers and neither any items of female dress. In place of *pakdinda* rods their war helmets were now decorated with sheepskin strips hanging from the sides. We were also told, in 1995 by Bulama Tada Zangav from Hudimche, that *dzum zugune* performers would try to make their heads look big by wrapping sheepskin around them. We infer that perhaps this also applied to the *ngwa yiye*, and there also seemed to be iron objects used as weapons, ceremonial lances, spears and a sword (*magrata*). The latter was used by the *ngwa yiye*, together with a wooden fighting stick (*kiba*), to force the *ngwa garda* into ritual submission at Fkagh Gwatadhe, to establish their seniority as 'black cows' over the 'red cows' before the race.

We realise that '*tva*' for the 'red cows' referred to an orangey-red², and that the '*lusa*' were senior to the '*tva*', suggesting a strong aspect of gathering strength to defend the land and the fertility it contained against potential strangers. We remember that soil fertility behind terrace walls was produced through hard labour over generations, and defending it on behalf of the whole community was paramount. We also know that the rearing of cows was central to the production of manure, and that in the past cows were leased to less successful farmers who kept the manure. Furthermore, cows were often acquired in the first place through iron production. Whether those who had completed the third stage of *dzum zugune* were the richest in cows must however remain an open question.

A good question to ask ourselves would be why the second stage of *dzum zugune* had more female aspects in the dress code. Maybe the expressions of femininity and masculinity were not only a social gender issue, but also a cosmographic expression of the belief system embedded in Dghwedë material and immaterial culture. Whether the colour red stood for femininity and black for masculinity, we simply do not know. Perhaps red represented 'young and active' and black 'old and mature', but we do not know to what extent the age range of the performers of each stage differed. In the context of the 'cows', we notice that they were not called red or black 'bulls', considering that the bull was perhaps the epitome of masculinity. What we do know is that the *ngwa yiye* as 'black cows' had no female items in their dress code, while the *ngwa garda* as 'red cows' still had to prove themselves and dance back uphill in gender-exaggerated dress before they could transform into *ngwa kwalanglanga*.

Dress code and objects for *ngwa yiye* (third stage of *dzum zugune*):

- *Kba* – war helmet (Plate 56a) decorated with strips of sheep skin
- *Darke* – dark indigo robe worn by *ngwa yiye* (Plate 57i)
- *Magrata* – sword held up (Plate 59l) together with *kiba*
- *Balwaya* – lance used in war and mock encounters (Plate 59b)
- *Zalika* – lance also used to hunt leopards (Plate 59b)
- *Ruma* – spear planted into ritual dunghole by rainmaker (Plate 59c)
- *Kiba* – fighting stick used to threaten *ngwa garda* (no illustration)
- *Suteke* – ritual beer pot held by girl during *fstaha* ceremony (Plate 59f)
- *Mathpasta* – girl holding *suteke* wore this headband during *fstaha* (Plate 52b)
- *Kwata* – calabash for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59h)
- *Vde* – wooden stool used for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59e)
- *Ndafa* – eating bowl for celebrating *fstaha* (Plate 59g)

² *tva-kul-kule* (see Chapter 3.22) means an orangey-red and also refers to the red spots of a cow.

The *ngwa kwalanglanga* performed their *fstaha* initiation in the house, while the *ngwa yiye* performed in public. The *ngwa yiye* also had to show their fitness as the *ngwa garda* did, by jumping off the two rocks. They also went around telling everybody that they had completed the third stage of *dzum zugune*. They had reached a stage of independence and freedom of expression which was not available in the previous stages. They had transformed into accomplished adults regardless of their age, and had proved themselves in front of their lineage elders, and had been initiated in public. They presumably could not wait for the final fourth stage to ritually demonstrate their achievement as *bak zalika*!

Discussion of the fourth and final stage (bak zalika)

The first thing that stands out is that the expression *bak zalika* does not contain the word *ngwa*, translated as 'dressing up', but instead the prefix *bak*, the meaning of which we do not know. It also has the word *zalika*, and we do not know what that could refer to, other than a lance to kill leopards. Interestingly, a *zalika* lance was already worn by the *ngwa yiye*, but it is not listed as an object used by the *bak zalika*. We neither know whether there was any exaggeration in their dress code, but only notice that they went out in what was presumably full war gear. This included a war helmet, shield, bow and arrow with sheath, lance or spear and perhaps a throwing knife. We neither know whether they wore a sheep or goat skin, or whether they had any other body adornment, something which might have been good for dancing but perhaps not for actual warfare. After all, it was the social unity and individual freedom as an accomplished man that was being celebrated and they were not going to war.

While the *tva* (the 'red' or 'red cows') went to *Yawa*, and the *lusa* (the 'blacks' or 'black cows') went to the rainmaker's house, the *bak zalika* would go to Fkagh Bak Zalika, which was also known as Fkagh Vdungwe. Dressed in full war gear they ran as a group from one side of this place to the other, telling everybody that they had completed everything and that now they were free. They held up their shields, knowing that everything they harvested from now on was all for consumption by themselves and their families. They no longer had to save for *dzum zugune* but could eat whenever they wanted. After their appearance at Fkagh Bak Zalika, they went to Fkaha ga Maruwa to watch the 'red cows' performing the dance *kwalanglanga*, or they watched the 'black cows' performing the *yiye* at the ritual dunghole with the lineage elders sitting on their rock seats near the rainmaker's house.

We notice from the above description that the *bak zalika* had become spectators now that they had completed *dzum zugune*. In the context of this, they watched the other performers, in particular the *ngwa kwalanglanga* and the *ngwa yiye*, performing dances bearing the names of their dress codes. We also realise that the *ngwa kwalanglanga* were still referred to here as 'red cows', and wonder whether this is correct. However, we acknowledge at this point that there was a dance called *kwalanglanga*, which presumably included rattles and ringing bells as one of the signature items. We also know that the *ngwa garda* wore a smaller version of those bells, as did the anticipating young men. They were possibly all dancing at Fkagh ga Maruwa, including the public in their festive dresses. After all, Fkagh ga Maruwa was the central place for such public events in Ghwa'a.

Not far away from the rock seats of the elders at Fkagh ga Maruwa was where the *ngwa yiye* witnessed the rainmaker planting the spear, all dressed in the exaggerated war helmets wrapped with sheep skin, at the same time dancing and presumably holding up the *zalika* and *balwaya* or their *magrata* swords, shouting 'Yi Ye, Yi Ye'. Here the *bak zalika* are onlookers, and we can imagine how the sound of the bells and rattles travelled up to them from Fkagh ga Maruwa as they watched the *ngwa yiye* shouting and dancing. How accomplished and enriched the *bak zalika* must have felt!

In terms of the seasonal embeddedness of *dzum zugune* into the Dghwede ritual calendar, at least if we follow the memories of Zakariya Kwire, the day of *ngwa kwalanglanga* was also the day of the *ngwa yiye* and *bak zalika*. Zakariya Kwire pointed out to us that these

performances took place after the bull festival, while the *ngwa garda* and the *ngwa hamtiwe* had started around the same time as the sacrifice to the deceased father (*har ghwe*). We conclude from this that *dzum zugune* could indeed go on beyond the bull festival. It is of course difficult to imagine that the two steps of the second stage could be divided, and that it was only the first stage that was completed before the bull festival while the other three stages coincided with it.

At this point we need to remind ourselves that the bull festival survived longer historically than *dzum zugune*, and that the latter, from listening to Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga, might have ended fifty or more years before it was reconstructed from their memories for me in 1996. At the time, which we infer was during the mid- to late-1940s, our two main protagonists would have been in their early thirties, but we failed to ask whether they had ever performed it. They had certainly witnessed it, and they reported from a time of the tail end of late pre-colonial history. It was still alive in many ways during British colonial times, but we are only able to reconstruct its basic performance structure from oral sources.

We infer that the unsettling period at the end of World War One and the raids of Hamman Yaji might have contributed to *dzum zugune* being more difficult to perform, while it stopped altogether during the later colonial period when the failed resettlement scheme resulted in the killing of lawan Buba. Unfortunately I did not come across any mention of adult initiation traditions in written colonial sources, and only very little regarding the bull festival, but we believe that the latter might well have lasted into the early days of national independence. We therefore consider ourselves lucky to have been able to reconstruct such a detailed memory account of *dzum zugune* and have been able to present it here as a genuine piece of oral history. What we can perhaps be sure of is that *dzum zugune* played a key role in late pre-colonial Dghwede ritual culture and it did not survive colonial times, but our protagonists have provided us with sound data for our Dghwede oral history retold.

Open questions arising from our oral sources about the role of Gudule

Perhaps this is a good moment to discuss why the Gudule, according to our oral sources, did not perform *dzum zugune*, especially considering their relevance to the bull festival. After all, *dzum zugune* was about keeping land fertile over generations and defending it against the invasion of strangers by a competitive system of family traditions that could even produce a food surplus. In their role as *thagaya* (seventh born) of Dghwede, the Gudule were very important ritual representatives for Dghwede as a whole. We therefore wonder about the claim of some of our oral protagonists, that Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune* because they did not belong to Dghwede, despite them being considered first settlers. Several questions arise by following that claim, but most of these questions about their alleged difference in local origin cannot be answered with satisfaction from oral sources.

One of the claims was that the Gudule started the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede because they were first settlers, but we have already worked out that this was more connected with the oral history of southern Dghwede. The Gudule, together with the Hembe clan, were seen as early settlers before the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa, after a long battle in the course of which the Vaghagaya-Mughuze eventually defeated them in Gharaza. We have also argued that the Tur tradition itself might have been quite a late pre-colonial development, considering that Mughuze himself was an outsider who had originally been fostered by Hembe. The claim by some of our oral sources that the Gudule were different but at the same time autochthonous seems a contradiction in terms. Even the name 'Gudule' is somewhat puzzling, considering that it is the same as 'Gudul' for the Mofu-Gudur on the eastern side of the northern Mandara Mountains. We know that the Gudule were said to have listened to the drums of their 'brothers' in Gudulyewe (Gudur) across the northern mountain range.

The situation reminds me of an oral-historical detail from the Mafa of Mazay, where a small clan called 'Ruwa' represented the autochthonous settlers for the more numerous clans of

Mazay (Muller-Kosack 2003:309ff). The latter had increased in number and therefore claimed the ritual lead for the village as a whole. Because all the original 'Ruwa' had left Mazay, the new majority clans resettled a representative of the 'Ruwa' in Mazay to begin certain rituals for them. The role of the 'Ruwa' was to legitimize the new majorities so they could exploit the fertility of the land. Perhaps the Dghwede legend about three brothers of the defeated descendants of the Gudule, who had been asked by the expanding Vaghagaya-Mughuze to stay behind and settle in Gudule, has a similar meaning. The Gudule subsequently became cornblessers and initiators of the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede, and were also seen as past owners of a powerful clan medicine for population growth (called *huba yige*) which they had taken with them to Gudulyewe.

If we consider the above to be a valid hypothesis, meaning that the Gudule were the ritual replacement of the autochthonous settlers of southern Dghwede (similar to the Ruwa of Mazay), we can see why the Gudule might have been considered different. This view is supported by the name Gudule as a reminder of 'Gudul' or Gudur, which we linked to the expansion of the Mafa. We know that the Mafa of our subregion did not practice initiation rituals either, but had a strong link to Gudur as a regional place for the ritual promotion of fecundity, and it was the chief of Vreke who represented that link (see Chapter 3.13). However we also showed that the link to Gudur represented by the chief of Vreke had nothing to do with the bull festival but was associated with a clan medicine called *kule*, which he collected in Gudur and then distributed among the other Mafa clans. We do not claim here that the Gudule were the name-givers to Gudul or Gudur, but only that the Gudule of Dghwede might not have performed *dzum zugune* because they were seen as ritual replacements of the original representatives of autochthonous clans which preceded the expansion of the Mughuze-Ruwa in southern Dghwede.

The Gudule were also seen as seventh born (*thagaya*) of Dghwede, not only in southern but also in northern Dghwede, which indeed made them custodians of unity for the whole of Dghwede. That the Gudule started the bull festival, while the descendants of Thakara of Ghwa'a, who saw themselves as their senior brothers, had to wait for it to be performed in former 'Gharghuze' (now dominated by the Vaghagaya-Mughuze) underpins this point. It suggests, with the Mughuze-Ruwa being the largest descent group in Dghwede, that population number overrode seniority in ritual terms in the context of this most important communal festival. We also described the Dghwede bull festival as most likely being a late pre-colonial development in accordance with the unique role of the Gudule in Dghwede. That the Gudule were perhaps ritual representatives of the original descendants of an earlier pre-colonial autochthonous layer of pre-Korana settlers might indeed explain why they did not perform *dzum zugune*. This would also make *dzum zugune*, in the way it was relayed to us from the memories of our Dghwede protagonists, a later pre-colonial development.

Unfortunately, we lack oral data to support this view, as we also do not know whether the Gudule had a seat among the elders who attended the *ngwa yiye* in their public celebration of *fstaha*. We know that the senior rainmaker and the senior peacemaker had seats near the ritual dunghole in Ghwa'a, but unfortunately we do not know whether they did *dzum zugune* themselves. There was of course a difference between them and the Gudule, which was that the Gudule had their clan territory and lineage shrines (*khalale*) while the Gaske and the Dagha most likely did not. The ritual role of the Gudule derived from a geopolitical legend in which Gudule himself was punished for breaking the rules of his privileged status as the seventh-born son of Tasa, which led to the loss of the rainmaking ability. We have described the cosmographic context of the Gudule's ritual representation of blessings from below, by referring to them as custodians of the ethnic unity of late pre-colonial Dghwede.

Although we do not have sufficient oral evidence to explore the question of why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune*, we do know that all the lineage sections descending from Mughuze and Thakara did perform it. We make this generalisation even though we have not asked the question of every clan of Dghwede, such as for example the Hembe. We remember that the Hembe fostered Mughuze who then married Hembe's daughter as his first wife, and

their son became the founder of Gathaghure. The oral-historical narrative concerning Gudule is quite different, but we do not have comparative data such as we have for Ghwa'a about the performance of *dzum zugune* in southern Dghwede. Therefore, one of the circumstantial open questions is whether the Vaghagaya-Mughuze lineages also had a ritual dunghole and a public place with lineage seats, and if the answer is yes, would the Gudule have had a place there?

We know that the two specialist lineages, the Gaske rainmakers and Dagha peacemakers, also played a ritual role for Dghwede as a whole, but without owning independent lineage shrines. The household compound was their only place of worship. This was why we think that in the case of *dzum zugune* in Ghwa'a, the ritual dunghole was found near the senior rainmaker's house, where the Ghwa'a elders came to sit nearby. To establish the ritual seniority of the Thakara descendants for Ghwa'a, a bull had to be sacrificed by the seventh born and custodian of Ghwa'a at the Durghwe mountain shrine before the senior rainmaker could plant the spear *ruma* into the ritual dunghole near his house to promote the *ngwa yiye*. We also know that the spear he used was kept inside the senior rainmaker's house, and that the spear had to be brought out and taken back in again following certain rituals in which the colour black (*lusa*) played a key role.

We demonstrated in earlier chapters on architecture that a traditional house could have had quite a long history of occupation, and that the idea of a lineage shrine developed from a rock nearby a house against which the new settler had first rested his weapons. Such an ideal traditional house had historically been passed on through the seventh born (*thagaya*), so this must have been the house of Tada Nzige, the senior Dghwede rainmaker living in Ghwa'a. The other oral history about the ritual importance of a rainmaker's homestead was the house of Viringwa Ruta, who once possessed the most ancient rainstones of Dghwede. This at least was the declaration of his close relative, the rainmaker Ndruwe Dzguma of Gharaza. He told us that his father and grandfather still went to Viringwa Ruta's house in Ghwa'a to make a medicine for cornblessing, called *dag mbarde*, by using the largest rainstone as a grinding stone. Maybe for hypothetical reasons we can consider the rainstones in Viringwa Ruta's house to be somewhat like the ritual equivalent of a Gaske specialist lineage shrine.

Keeping this idea in the back of our mind, we would like to pretend for a moment that the ritual equivalent of Tada Nzige's house in Ghwa'a was Ndruwe Dzguma's house in Gharaza. We can further imagine that he too had a ritual dunghole, and lineage seats nearby, but this time for the elders of the descendants of Vaghagaya. If we assume such a scenario, do we think that the Gudule would have had once a seat there also? By taking the oral history of Gharaza into account, we can further assume with good reason that they most likely would have had a seat there, because the Gudule were seen as former settlers of Gharaza. We can go so far as to imagine that the custodian of the Gudule might have performed a sacrifice at their local lineage shrine before the custodian of the Vaghagaya would have done his sacrifice at their lineage shrine in Korana Kwandame. We also assume that all of this would have taken place before the planting of the spear *ruma* into the ritual dunghole by Ndruwe Dzguma's father or grandfather. By accepting the Gudule as representatives of the previous custodians of 'Gharguze', the Thakara of Ghwa'a also accepted the oral truth of the legend that the Vaghagaya considered them as first settlers. How would the descendants of the Vaghagaya lineage sections have maintained the ritual continuity of the custodianship over the fecundity of their land, other than by also giving some kind of ritual privilege to the Gudule in the context of *dzum zugune*?

An alternative to the scenario constructed above would be that the Gudule did not have a seat near the rainmaker's house in Gharaza, and the Vaghagaya lineages did not have to wait for them to carry out their own sacrifice in Korana Kwandame. Instead, the Gudule initiated the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede before any *ngwa yiye* initiation could take place. We remember that Zakariya Kwire believed that *ngwa yiye* happened after the bull festival, while *ngwa hamtiwe* was done following the sacrifice to a deceased father (*har ghwe*). Looking at Zakariya Kwire's statement in this way, it would not have been a question of how many adults wanted to perform *dzum zugune* in a guinea corn year, but it would have been more

about the geopolitical aspect of ritual sequencing: first there was *har ghwe* as the ritual of the house, next came the bull festival started by the Gudule, followed by the Vaghagaya as the more numerous lineage section, followed by Ghwa'a as the more senior section of Dghwedè. Such a view answers the question why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune*, because it was secondary to their role as custodians of the bull festival, in which they represented, as legendary autochthonous clan group, the ethnic unity of late pre-colonial Dghwedè.

We do not know whether *dzum zugune* already existed when the Gudule was finally defeated by the expanding Vaghagaya-Mughuze lineages in Gharaza, an event we placed at the beginning of the late pre-colonial period when we think Dghwedè formed. We think that *dzum zugune* ended in the 1940s and that the bull festival ended about twenty years later. We cannot conclude from this reconstruction from our oral sources of the 1990s, whether *dzum zugune* existed in the same way during pre-Korana times, meaning before the expansion of the Vaghagaya. Neither do we know how the bull festival was celebrated at that time, except that in both cases the continuing production of manure was long known to be crucial for successful terrace farming. All these factors make our exercise about ritual sequencing rather academic for the question of why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune* in the late 1940s.

Unfortunately we could not establish any reliable oral-historical sequence of group formation to suggest which of the ritual services for Dghwedè as a whole might be the most recent, including the custodianship of the Gudule for starting the bull festival. It nevertheless makes sense to infer that this custodianship only came about after Gudule was finally defeated, and southern Dghwedè came under the ritual control of the Vaghagaya. This would also explain why the legendary connection with Gudur was established, and we suggested earlier that this perhaps also happened in the context of the expansion of the Mafa in the wider subregion. We know that the Mafa also expanded during late pre-colonial times, which was, in the light of the bigger palaeoclimatic picture, the reason why we think the formation of the Dghwedè falls into that same period of increased rainfall in the northern parts of our subregion.

Much of our palaeoclimatic evidence supports the view that the Gwoza hills were once an ancient and well-established terrace culture at the northern geographical edge of repetitive cyclical droughts, in which management of chronic resource shortage was a permanent factor. The beginning of that development might well have gone back to ancient links with the DGB sites, as documented by archaeological and early written sources concerning early state formation at the northern foot of the Gwoza hills. Our table of contemporaneity in Part Two tried to demonstrate this, and we linked the 17th century, as the last most humid period, to the most recent development, most likely triggering a south-to-north migration resulting eventually in the formation of the Dghwedè as presented in this book. A local history in fragments from the grassroots, meaning a description of the Dghwedè as it was told to us by our oral protagonists before Boko Haram destroyed their culture, was a culture which had already changed by the time John and I collected those remaining collective memory fragments of their shared oral history.

The description of *dzum zugune* from the memory of our two main protagonists underpins this fragmentary approach, and tells us how little we know about Dghwedè oral history, and how limited is our attempt of retelling it. In the next subsection we will show how the neighbours of the Dghwedè celebrated their equivalent of *dzum zugune*, demonstrating that it was a typical subregional cultural event, perhaps very much confined to those groups who share the Tur tradition, and therefore enforcing our view that the Gwoza hills were idiosyncratic and that they might indeed represent a cultural-historical manifestation of an innovation that began hundreds of years earlier with the DGB sites. Our description of *dzum zugune* is an illustration of that possibility, an example of how a competitive system of terrace cultivation produced a lasting legacy of ritual resource management in an unreliable semi-arid environment, as is the northwesterly extension of the Mandara Mountains.

Comparison of the equivalent of *dzum zugune* among the Dghwede neighbours

Other than the distribution of the bull festival as a communal event, we seem to have less data on the equivalent of *dzum zugune* among the Dghwede neighbours. In a comparison John Zakariya carried out for us about *dzum zugune* and some other key features of Dghwede culture, he only mentions the Gvoko, the Chikide and the Glavda as having something similar to *dzum zugune*. However, the data are rather rudimentary and he did not ask about the Guduf or the Chinene. Apart from the groups mentioned, he also inquired about the Mafa, Lamang and Zelidva, and whether any of them had anything that could be compared to *dzum zugune*. Since John's inquiry was not substantial, we cannot be at all sure about that result, except of course for the Mafa because we know for certain that they did not have anything comparable.

Table 10: John's list of comparison of equivalents to the Dghwede *dzum zugune* stages

Glavda (John's Glavda source was Baba Katighaya Thga, age unknown)	<i>Tsufga</i>	The Glavda had <i>tsufga</i> like the Dghwede had <i>dzum zugune</i> . If they planned to perform <i>tsufga</i> they would not have eaten green leaves for a whole year during the night because it was against the rule of the <i>tsufga</i> ritual. During <i>tsufga</i> the Glavda only wore a goatskin and when they went to the place Zaghandara, people would carry the candidate on their back to that place, and on their return they would hide because the <i>tsufga</i> performers would beat them with lashes. The Glavda <i>tsufga</i> took up to three years to complete, while the Dghwede needed up to five years. Another difference was that <i>tsufga</i> performers could not marry each other's wife or daughter and during a traditional fight they could not fight one another. Also when one of them died they would not attend the funeral on the first day because it was against their practice. It was also against the rule of <i>tsufga</i> to wrestle with a <i>tsufga</i> mate. Another difference was that <i>dzum zugune</i> included running while <i>tsufga</i> did not include a running competition.
Gvoko (John's Gvoko source was Baba Dukwa Bala, aged 80)	<i>Pughu</i>	<i>Pughu</i> in Gvoko was done by someone who had become rich. To perform <i>pughu</i> he would have prepared enough beer and food for the people to eat and drink while they gathered around him. The people were dancing and singing while the person performing <i>pughu</i> would have sat on a stool to show that he was a man for himself. The Gvoko performed their <i>pughu</i> for only one year. The Gvoko <i>pughu</i> procedures differed from Dghwede because the Gvoko tradition allowed people to perform it without their fathers or elder brothers performing it first. The Dghwede did theirs over five years while the Gvoko did theirs only in one year.
Chikide (John's Chikide source was Baba Huparda Zgah, aged 95)	<i>Fstaha</i>	<i>Fstaha</i> in Chikide took four years to complete. In the first year, they used the skin from an aborted goat and would not wear anything else. In the second year, the performer would get a goatskin and put it around his neck and would have been dancing all around the village with it. In the third year, they would have put on certain types of dresses. These dresses consisted of ram skin, goatskin, and also clothes made of cotton with a big traditional helmet on their heads and with a very big stick in their hand. The sticks had some spots on them and they would go around the village dancing and hitting the sticks on the rocks or on any solid things that would sound very well. In the fourth year, they would dress like somebody going to war with shields and spears and everything else needed for warfare. Early in the night, they would go to Gava to get a fruit of a mahogany tree and come home with it. In the morning people would be hiding because they beat people if they saw anyone outdoors. Next, they would climb a small rock and jump down three times and that was the end of it. During jumping down the rock they would not want any stone to hit or touch their legs since the performer could otherwise die.

Among those three Gwoza hills groups listed by John, the Chikide and the Glavda appear to have a ritual which can be compared to *dzum zugune* in terms of a man having to go through several stages over consecutive years, while the Gvoko have a celebration called *pughu* which certainly bears similarities to the idea of *dzum zugune*, but as an individual accomplishment which does not seem to have much of a collective performance aspect. It was performed only once, although we cannot be entirely sure about that. The Chikide equivalent of *dzum zugune*

is called *fstaha*, which instantly rings a bell from our Dghwedé description, while the Glavda call theirs *tsufga*. The latter was embedded in their big annual festival known as *utiva*.

We have already mentioned *utiva* in the context of *thagla*, the annual harvest festival of the Dghwedé. Luckily we have a good description of *tsufga* among the Glavda of Ngoshe Kasa by Elisabeth Gula (1996), which we will use here to compare with *dzum zugune*, but before doing that we want to have a look at Table 10 above, where we summarised what John Zakariya (2001) reported about *pughu* and *fstaha* from Gvoko and Chikidé, as well as about the *tsufga* stages in Glavda.

We do not know for sure whether John's informants were Glavda, Gvoko or Chikidé, but we can see that he had chosen somewhat older men, presumably because they still had memories of the traditions in question. The account of *tsufga* we will discuss later in the context of Eli Gula's work, but want to mention here that the rule of not eating green leaves during the night possibly means a sauce made of green leaves. However, this example shows that it will be difficult to say much about that rule. We also see there were other rules, especially among the performers of *tsufga*, such as not marrying each other's daughters or not fighting each other during warfare, or even wrestling with a *tsufga* mate, as well as not attending the funeral in the case of the death of a fellow performer. On the other hand, those who did not perform *tsufga* had to carry performers on their back and hid afterwards because they feared being beaten up by them on their way back from a certain place. One of the main differences with *dzum zugune* pointed out was that *tsufga* performers did not have a running competition. It seems to accord with the rules that they were not allowed to wrestle among themselves and were not allowed to fight one another in warfare. The other aspect of this account is that *tsufga* performers had certain dress codes which involved the use of animal skins. We hope to make more sense of it all when later we compare it with Eli Gula's description of *tsufga*.

As for the Gvoko, the message that only someone rich could perform *pughu* comes very close to the meaning of what we established for *dzum zugune*, in that the performer sat on a stool demonstrating his independence while his people danced and enjoyed the beer and food he shared out. It demonstrates individual achievement and sharing as signalling wealth in an otherwise egalitarian society. What stands out is that the Gvoko had no ritual stages of achievement going over several years, and neither did John's source give any hint of a family tradition for achieving *pughu*, or a seniority rule being applied in that context.

We do not know whether the above was the case for the Chikidé to the north, who like the Gvoko to the south were adjacent neighbours of the Dghwedé. They certainly organised their adult initiation (*fstaha*) over several stages, but it seems a slightly shorter period than the Glavda. What is interesting is that the Chikidé went to Gava, which is in Guduf, bordering the Glavda, and we wonder about the meaning of that. They too wore animal skins which they replaced in certain ways throughout the stages, and we wonder what John meant by the skin of an aborted goat. Was it a newborn baby goat or was it a baby goatskin, the abortion of which was artificially induced for the first stage of *fstaha*? We also recognise that goatskin was worn around the head in a later stage, as well as jumping off a rock and avoiding being hit by a stone since this would have meant bad luck. Finally, dressing up in war gear as part of the last stage also sounds familiar, indicating that someone was now free to consume whatever he wanted, as in the case of the Dghwedé *ngwa yiye* and *bak zalika* in the last two stages of *dzum zugune*.

While the Dghwedé bull festival was similar to that of the Lamang, they do not seem to have had an equivalent of *dzum zugune*, and neither did the Zelidva, even though the ancestors of the Zelidva originally came from Dghwedé. However, they were adopted as local outsiders and promoted by their Lamang-speaking local predecessors, as we have learned in the founding legend of Kumba Zadvá. That the Gvoko as well as the Glavda had something like *dzum zugune*, could again be interpreted in a similar context, namely that the Glavda had close oral-historical links to Gvoko in terms of their tradition of origin. This gives a vague suggestion that perhaps *dzum zugune* had something to do with the Tur tradition. However,

we do not want to invest in that idea, since other key features of cross-cultural significance, such as the concept of the seventh born being a symbol of good luck, were distributed differently, as was the belief about the reincarnation of twins.

We will go on to compare the distribution of twin culture and the belief about the seventh born being special, but here want to concentrate on what else we know about the Glavda *tsufga*, and contrast it with the Dghwedè *dzum zugune*, in the hope of making *dzum zugune* more distinctive as a cultural variation. Cultural variation seems typical for the Gwoza hills and the Mandara Mountains as a whole. We know for example that initiation of the youth into adulthood was quite common among the Sukur and the ethnic Wula to the south of Tur, a tradition also found among the Margi of Futu and the Fali of Mubi. On the other hand, initiation for married men into adulthood was more to be found to the north of Tur. We wonder whether the different climates have anything to do with that. After all, the 11th degree latitude is a climatically recognised frontier between the more humid southern and the much dryer northern Mandara Mountains. We realise that this climatic frontier is almost identical to where the Tur heights share the same latitude with the DGB sites on the northern slopes of the Ziver-Oupay massif.

In the above we are only making a preliminary cultural-historical suggestion as it is perhaps a shared palaeoclimatic circumstance. We will return to it when discussing the transitional socio-economic changes in terms of crisis management as a result of negotiating the risk of food shortage, in the final section of this chapter. To master food shortages by producing a surplus for storage was likely to have been more important in the dryer north of the western Mandara Mountains than in its more humid southern parts. Next we are going to compare the Dghwedè *dzum zugune* stages with elements of the Glavda *tsufga*, one as mountain farmers and the other as farmers of the adjacent intramountainous eastern plain.

According to Eli Gula (1996), *tsufga* was a core element of a bigger festival known as *utiva*, and according to her there are no literal translations known in Glavda for *tsufga* or *utiva*. Eli Gula points out that *tsufga* signified becoming an accomplished adult as a married Glavda man, once he had performed all six stages. She also mentions Peter Athba (1989) who wrote his final year essay on the Glavda, but he referred *tsufga* only briefly and claimed it consisted of only five and not six stages. Both Eli Gula and Peter Athba had relatives in Ngoshe, but unlike Eli, Peter was a native speaker, while Eli had to rely on her cousin John Debawa as translator. John Debawa was also my Glavda interpreter during my ethnographic survey of the Gwoza hills in 1994, during which time I also met Eli. Sadly, Eli Gula died in 2020, and this account is in honour of her memory.

We have already mentioned *utiva*, the harvest festival which travelled across the northern part of the Gwoza hills, including Zelidva and Guduf, and which presumably started with the Vreke clan in the Moskota hills, but we know that the Glavda occupied the Moskota hills before the expansion of the Mafa. My research in Vreke did not find any link to *tsufga*, but we were able to establish that *utiva* was known as *matamai* in the Moskota hills, and we also know that it was similar to the annual harvest festival that the Dghwedè called *thagla*. We remember that *thagla* was the only communal ritual that took place annually in Dghwedè, and it was explained that all communal festivals had ended due to recent cultural transformations. These changes likely led to the end of *thagla*, while the sacrifice to the deceased father of a married man (*har ghwe*) was eventually performed annually instead of bi-annually.

We do not know for sure whether *tsufga* was actually a core element of *utiva*, or whether it was performed only during a guinea corn year, as was the case with *dzum zugune* in Dghwedè. Neither do we know as such about *fstaha*, the equivalent of adult initiation in Chikidè, but we do know that *utiva* travelled as far as Chikidè but did not go into Dghwedè. It is therefore difficult to say whether *tsufga* and *fstaha* were performed annually only recently, or were likewise in the past. We neither know how long along ago *tsufga* and *utiva* stopped being performed, but assume that *utiva* lasted longer, as did the Dghwedè *thagla* festival. The opinion of Bulama Ngatha that the first stage of *dzum zugune* started with *thagla*, a view

contested by Zakariya Kwire who insisted that the early stages of *dzum zugune* started after *har ghwe* and only during a guinea corn year, shows how memories about ritual sequences can differ.

Eli Gula (ibid) points out that it was told to her that if one did not perform *tsufga*, one's wealth could disappear and that performing it brought about prosperity. Like in Dghwede, achieving *tsufga* did not depend on age, and Eli Gula explains that even during social consumption of sorghum beer the younger men who had performed it would have the calabash handed to them before any elder who had not performed it. She also speaks of sacrifices to a deceased father or grandfather, which a man who had not performed *tsufga* could not make. She further adds that it was usually men above twenty years of age who could start considering doing *tsufga*, but that someone would have to wait for anyone senior in their extended family, as he had to perform it first. There were however additional complications related to age, and she admits that she has not tried to work them out, but mentions a situation in which a cousin who was too young to perform it but who was next in line would sit on a stool while his older cousin would start to perform it.

Eli Gula lists six stages, and according to her only one stage is performed in one year, and the number of years it would take for someone to finish it depended on the size of the family in terms of their potential male participants. She points out that it was not performed in a progression of six years, and that someone who had performed the first stage might wait several years before he could perform the second stage. During the intervening times, other cousins or persons next in line would have performed it, and each year there would be men in the community performing different stages, and those of the same stage would group together, dress and behave in the same way. She further explains that apart from the difference of the various stages there were a few things they all had common, for example each man performing *tsufga* had a young boy who followed him around as a ritual assistant, holding a stool which was used to sit on whenever they stopped.

We will not list all six stages of the Glavda *tsufga* ritual mentioned by Eli Gula, but will provide a summary, and in the light of this will see what appears to have been essentially different but also similar in comparison to *dzum zugune*. The first thing, on reading through the six stages, is that the last two stages were similar in terms of the attitude of the performers, especially the last stage in which they no longer performed but just came to enjoy their achievement. Also, the second stage bears a certain similarity, in that it was the one most concerned with femininity aspects, not only in appearance but also in presentation. For example, an interesting detail is: 'they walk slowly like a Glavda bride being taken to her husband's house amidst hailing, and as he keeps walking certain people would be pouring oil on his head and pouring grain flour over him' (ibid:27). This reminds us of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* dancing uphill with their old women's sheepskins packed in layers on their hips, and they too were showered with grain flour. Also, the Glavda second stage performers wore similar metal bells called *kwalanga*, and Eli Gula gave us some altogether beautiful drawings of those bells (thanks also to the support of Jim Wade) and many other items used during the different stages of *tsufga*.

In the third stage of *tsufga*, performers also wore *kwalanga* bells, and they also carried a wooden pestle which they beat on the ground, especially if they came to the front of a house and expected people to come out and give them something to eat. They would reportedly eat so much they would have running stomachs, and then would relieve themselves in front of the house of someone who had made fun of them in the past, or of a girl who might have refused to accept them, and they would have relieved themselves into the grinding stone of her kitchen. Although this sounds rather comical, it was also out of order, and it seems that this was one of the differences between *dzum zugune* and *tsufga*. The *tsufga* performers took liberties which included beating people up, and also quite extreme indulgence in terms of overeating and appearing to get fat. There is no mention of any ritual dunghole or a reference to manure production or warfare in defence of fertile terrace fields, as was the case with the

ngwa yiye in Dghwede. Nor were there any running competitions mentioned as part of *tsufga*, but only in the context of the harvest festival *utiva*.

Concerning the entry from John Zakariya's comparison above in Table 10, we can identify the stage he describes as the completion of the first stage, where they wore only a goatskin and were much sought out by the performers of the second stage and were beaten up by them. This reminds us of the relationship between the *ngwa garda* as 'red cows' and the *ngwa yiye* as 'black cows' in which the former were threatened with a stick by the latter, and forced to kneel before they could perform their downhill running competition. We do not know whether the first-stage performers of *tsufga* had to carry the second-stage performers on their backs, but the first-stage performers were certainly the ones who were beaten up. Apart from that, there were quite a few insults directed towards the participating public during *tsufga*, but it also seemed to have a comical aspect to it. In terms of dress code, we find the use of lances or spears from stage one onwards and we also find the use of different types of bandoliers, including one made of garden eggs (*Solanum aethiopicum*). Around their waists they might have worn strings of grass, and at one point during an earlier stage performers of *tsufga* would even walk naked.

Altogether, *dzum zugune* seems to have been a much more serious business, more linked to true achievement in all its symbolism, and had a less carnival-esque dimension, despite the fact of overdressing and displaying female aspects during the second stage. The performers of *tsufga* did not appear in full war gear at the final stage, but were dressed in an altogether more average way in comparison to the exaggerations in appearance and presentation during the previous stages. We are of course not sure how much Eli Gula's account is flavoured by her eagerness to convey the extraordinary aspect of her cultural heritage. Altogether it is a beautiful and lively description of *tsufga* as a core ritual of the Glavda harvest festival *utiva*, with all the different stages mixing in a colourful and exciting way. Unlike in Dghwede, it was performed annually, but with the same goal of celebrating the socio-economic achievement of male individuals in the context of sequential seniority in extended families. Unfortunately, we do not know when *tsufga* was last performed, or whether it had any other historical aspects which we might have missed.

From traditional to modern – socio-economic changes and crisis management

We think that potential food crisis was a crucial factor behind the type of initiation ritual in becoming an accomplished male which was practised by the Dghwede and other groups to the north of the Tur heights. We know that the climate to the north of the 11th degree latitude was significantly drier than to the south, and if we look at Figure 2 we can see that Ngoshe Sama was exactly on the border of it. Further south the Tur heights began, and once the migrants had crossed them and arrived in the Gwoza hills they were confronted with a much tougher climatic environment. This must have had cultural-historical consequences for the northwestern Mandara Mountains as a climatic subregion. We like to assume here that a more humid climate to the south of the Tur heights perhaps puts a stronger emphasis on the initiation of youth into early adulthood, while to the north of the Tur heights the celebration of the farming success of adults was more central to initiation rituals. In comparison to that, the northeastern Mafa did not have any similar initiation traditions, and neither to my knowledge did any of the other groups from the eastern part of the northern Mandara Mountains, whereas the Wula and Sakon, as well as some of the southern Mafa known as the Bulahay, did practice youth initiation. We do not know why most of the Mafa did not practice initiation, and acknowledge that the adult initiation found in the Gwoza hills is unique, as were other cultural variations, such as the importance of the seventh born and the belief in the communal reincarnation of twins being a result of the struggle to promote fecundity by ritual means.

We have tried to establish that the making and maintenance of fertile soils behind terrace walls were an essential part of the Dghwede subsistence economy, and that it was not only embedded in their material but also in their ritual culture. We have shown how the ritual

calendar changed from bi-annual to annual celebrations, and that the big communal festivals most likely disappeared before the smaller scale ones. We were able to establish a relative chronological sequence in which we inferred that adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) might have disappeared in the second half of the 1940s, followed about twenty years later by the bull festival (*har daghile*) and then the harvest festival (*thagla*), which were all, apart from *thagla*, linked to the guinea corn year. We mentioned that the sacrifice to lineage shrines (*har khalale*) by the various lineage priests (*thaghaya*) might well have originally been linked to *thagla*, and tend to think that perhaps they became gradually disconnected when *thagla* ended. Other communal roles of custodianship (*thaghaya*), such as that of the rainmaker in planting the first guinea corn, might have survived, including the privileged position of a seventh born as *thaghaya* of an extended family with his right to be served first during the sacrifice to his deceased father (*har ghwe*) or grandfather (*har jije*). *Har ghwe* might even have replaced *thagla* in being performed annually by some families, especially when their male representatives might have been away from home for seasonal work during the agriculturally less active part of the year, which was the period when it would have been performed.

These changes might have coincided with the arrival in the hills of Christianity and Islam throughout the 1960s and 1970s, connecting the zone with new ideas and technologies such as chemical fertiliser, and hence the disappearance of dung production. These new social and technical developments were also inspired by a new labour market system, leading to the development of Dghwede communities in Maiduguri and Yola which might have become further established throughout the 1980s. The completion of that period brought about the second generation of young adult males working away from home, and part of that development coincided with the period when I started my ethnographic work in the Gwoza hills in 1994.

I remember how I was trying to catch up with some of the fading traditions, particularly in Dghwede, in a period that was brutally ended with the arrival of Boko Haram who finally took over the hills in 2013. During that violent crisis it was the remaining Traditionalists who became the saddest victims, because they were forced into conversion for the sake of physical survival, as they had no opportunity to abandon the hills and presumably saw no other possibility than to surrender. We know that they were used by the occupying members of Boko Haram, to farm for them and pay tribute in the form of food supplies, since at least 2017. It was only in early 2019 that the insurgent fighters started to leave the hills, because they reportedly felt too isolated to continue living under such remote circumstances.

Before we present my field data on changes in crisis management initiated by the food crisis during the rainy season of 1998, we want to show how the socio-economic circumstances of traditional crisis management had presumably already begun to change for the Dghwede during colonial times, not through the arrival of a new religion, but more as the result of world political and technical influences. At the root of this might have been a severe locust invasion in the early 1930s, as mentioned in colonial reports (Stanhope White 1949-57 and the 1930 Report to League Nations) and also ritual adjustments made by the British to avoid conflict between ritually interconnected villages, by stopping successive communal festivals and replacing them with simultaneous ones to avoid neighbouring villages fighting as a result of an alleged overindulgence in beer during feasting (Colonial Report to League of Nations 1935:18). Technical changes might have been introduced by new methods of combatting locust infestation (ibid 1930/31), and chemical fertiliser is mentioned in Stanhope White's exchange of letters with the resident of Borno between 1949 and 1957 (ibid). The colonial political agenda not to listen to Stanhope White's suggestions was also linked to the attempt to bring people down from the hills to better control them, the eventual consequence of which was a new local Islamic elite in Gwoza town.

We have discussed this in Part Two, and now want to add that it was believed at the time that the agricultural terraces of Ghwa'a (Johode) in particular, described by Stanhope White as a unique cultural heritage, would not erode as a result of abandonment, because of their inferred

rewilding by a natural process of reforestation. This view was of course driven by political rather than ecological considerations, and the maintenance of the fertility of the soils by long-term manuring was not even mentioned by the opponents of Stanhope White, only natural reforestation. Also, Stanhope White was possibly not aware of the extent to which the maintenance of terrace fertility was not only a matter of repairing them regularly, but also one of continuing the presumably functioning subsistence economy of mixed farming and manure production. We now know that the final death blow regarding any chance of reviving the terrace cultivation system of the Gwoza hills, for example through sustainable tourism, was dealt by Boko Haram, who used the mountains and their remaining traditional inhabitants as a backup for their own survival as invaders. Neither the Nigerian government nor the international community did anything to stop that from happening.

Before the arrival of Boko Haram, the environmental vulnerability to food shortage as a result of bad harvest was particularly apparent in the eastern plains during a severe food crisis across the Gwoza LGA between July and September 1998. This was already four years into my time of visiting Dghwede, and so I was particularly aware of serious famine in the former resettlement area of Barawa, while the people up in Ghwa'a reportedly suffered to a lesser extent. One of the reasons given was that up in the hills they still had granaries. This experience led me, during one of my following visits to Dzga, to sit down with John Zakariya and talk about changes in land tenure and crisis management. That interview is reproduced in parts in Chapter 3.10: 'Working the terraced land', where for example socio-economic changes in leasing out of land were addressed. One of the new methods was the system of short-term leases for money, and one of the impacts of this was the reversal of the importance of the guinea corn year in favour of the millet year for cash crop production. In the second part of the same interview John explains how and why the changes in crisis management failed the local community of Barawa during the famine of 1998.

Crisis resolution in change (drafted in collaboration with John Zakariya in Dzga, shortly after the severe food crisis leading to famine in Barawa between August and September 1998):

The concept of wealth and wellbeing was based in the past on the view that a father of a house could sustain a crisis caused by a bad harvest by relying on the surplus of foodstuffs (mainly guinea corn, beans, and millet) he had stored in his granaries. This was ideologically backed up by having a system of initiation into responsible adulthood, which a man had the chance to achieve over seven years. This was known in Dghwede as *dzum zugune* (*dzum* means referring to, going or becoming, and *zugune* means male, therefore manhood means 'going male' in the sense of becoming a responsible adult in an environment of very scarce resources). Having completed *dzum zugune* meant that a man had freed himself from being confronted with a future food crisis by having filled all his granaries, and he demonstrated this in the last stage of the initiation ceremony by being capable of sharing out a whole granary among his fellow villagers. *Dzum zugune* was, until about fifty years ago, a type of preventative crisis management system to sustain a serious shortage of food that would otherwise have led to famine.

Nowadays the concept of achieving manhood has changed, and with it the way of managing a potential crisis. This is mainly down to the introduction of a market economy leading to cash crops and meat for sale, the production of which is now at the heart of the concept of being considered a successful man. Hiring land for cash crop production and the storage of crops, millet, beans and groundnuts, does not have the purpose of sustaining through a shortage of food, but the crops are to be resold for cash to make a profit. It is much more difficult nowadays to find a man who keeps all his three granaries filled, meaning having two full granaries in reserve. Nowadays normally one full granary is seen to be enough to feed a family for one year.

Also to mention in this context is the production of local beer, which is sold for cash on local markets. The women who make the beer and sell it often use guinea corn to make cash. The cash might be used for buying clothes, cooking oil, salt, Maggi cubes, to buy animals or even to pay the bridewealth for a son.

The possibility of a shortage of food appears towards the end of the rainy season, one or two months before the new harvest. If the harvest is very bad, the following year might lead to serious famine. Reasons for a bad harvest are mostly natural circumstances such as too little or too much

rain. Rain can fall too early, too much, too late, or lack the right distribution throughout the agricultural year. Too much rain at the end of the growing season might also lead to a bad harvest. Other reasons are insects or locusts, etc.

What is striking in this context is that the famine (1998 July to September), in the Gwoza Local Government Area, affected the plain population more seriously than the mountain population. The reason was that there was a serious shortage of rainfall all over the north of the Mandara Mountains the year before, but rainfall was still better in the mountains than in the adjacent plains. Another reason was that the mountain population in general keeps a higher level of stored guinea corn and millet than those who have already settled in the plains. People in the plains tend to sell the guinea corn they have kept from the last guinea corn year, whereas the mountain population is hesitant to do so.

The philosophy of subsistence economy is still more alive in the mountains than in the plains. People in the hills are proud to still have products in storage from past years, while in the adjacent plains this pride is replaced by pride in having money or access to a more modern lifestyle. Money circulation happens more in the plains than in the mountains. However, what can happen in the mountains is that too much guinea corn is sold in the form of beer throughout the year.

All this leads us to infer that natural causes for a bad harvest are only partly responsible for the occurrence of serious famine. Modern personhood builds its self esteem through acquiring a modern lifestyle, which seems to make people more vulnerable to the effects of natural causes, leading to food shortages. Prices go high in such times, and people can no longer afford to buy guinea corn, millet or beans if such shortages become as serious as they became this year in 1998.

During the planting season (1998 May to July) the price of a measure of seeds was between 100 and 150 Naira. Now after the harvest, the price of a measure of guinea corn is between 25 and 30 Naira. People still had millet and beans to eat from the year before. From July to September famine appeared with its peak in August 1998. People had run out of millet and beans, especially in the plains, because they had either already sold too much or they had hired out land for onions, groundnuts and cotton. Now the cause for the famine was a shortage of basic foodstuffs due to household management, whose leading principles are guided by a market rather than a subsistence economy. Therefore around August 1998 there was a shortage of foodstuffs, leading to prices running high which in turn resulted in too little money being available to pay for what was needed.

The Nigerian government did not provide help from a welfare or emergency fund. Christians only received money from Peter [a German from Gava who worked for the Basel Mission]. Only a few Moslems and Traditionalists profited from the bags of millet and maize which Peter had bought with his own money.

People who went to Adamawa to buy foodstuffs from the market were troubled by police and customs officers on the way. I am not aware of any international aid coming into the Gwoza Local Government Area. This was different on the Cameroonian side of the northern Mandara Mountains, where the European Community supplied bags of foodstuffs (mainly maize) to be distributed among the suffering local communities. This was thanks to the Northern Mandara Development Project of this area having good links with the European Community and other international organisations.

The above account contrasts the modern market economy with the traditional subsistence economy, and illustrates the shortcomings of the former in cases of food crisis. It also refers to changes in value orientations which impact the self perception of personhood as part of that modern development. Even though Traditionalism had long been reduced to the purely economic aspect of subsistence as a form of day-to-day survival, the mountains still had a potential advantage due to the cultural habit of keeping at least one granary filled for emergencies. This shows that it was not just the potentially higher rainfalls in the mountains which helped to get through the food crisis during the rainy season of 1998, but the habit of keeping crops in reserve.

This was the same old cultural style of subsistence that was exploited by Boko Haram in Gwoza town when they used the hills as a backup and a retreat, until they left and no longer needed it. Because the national defense system had failed, there had been no possible defense. Defence against the invasion of strangers, as seen in the ritual performance of the *ngwa yiye*

dancing the *yiye* and shouting 'Yi Ye, Yi Ye', was certainly not an option. We know that Boko Haram took over Gwoza town and turned it into an Islamic caliphate for about six months between August 2014 and March 2015, before it was freed by the Nigerian army, but the mountains were never liberated and were just left to their own devices.

We do not know what exactly happened in Ghwa'a during that period, or later or even now, but we do know that it was and partially still is in a terrible crisis, and that it must have left serious traces in their collective memory and sense of identity. If we speak of the Dghwede now, we have to acknowledge that the majority of them no longer live in their familiar homelands, neither in the mountains nor in the adjacent plains. In the context of this, the Dghwede originating from Ghwa'a and Barawa might have been hit the hardest, because Barawa, as the former resettlement linked to Ghwa'a, is in the eastern intramountainous plain. Some of the land there is much contested, since it is very good for profitable onion cultivation, while the terraced hillsides of Ghwa'a are still not freed. We pointed out earlier that an unknown number of our oral protagonists fell victim to Boko Haram, and the surviving Traditionalists were then forced by the terrorists as their temporary rulers to farm for them.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that *dzum zugune* was perhaps the most distinct ritual aspect of sustainable risk management and crisis prevention once practised by the Dghwede. Our reconstruction of the tradition is by far the most convincing demonstration of how culturally sophisticated and well established in socio-economic terms the method of terrace cultivation still was in this part of the Gwoza hills, at least during early colonial times. We remember how Stanhope White tried to alert his colonial colleagues to the importance of preserving the physical part of the rich terrace culture of Ghwa'a, but the history of it being labelled an Unsettled District did not allow for that, even leading in 1953 to the killing of the former village head of Gwoza, lawan Buba, in Ghwa'a, an event that deeply traumatised and marginalised this part of Dghwede for a long time afterwards. The sad development of how Dghwede eventually fell victim to Boko Haram, who used the hills as an operational base to launch attacks in the adjacent plains, and then as a means for survival, is indeed heartbreaking.

It is in particular the immaterial cultural aspect of *dzum zugune* which shows how, in an egalitarian society, individuality and wealth creation found a space to express itself for the general good and long-term wellbeing of the Dghwede community of Ghwa'a. On the one hand there was the aspect of family tradition and the support family members gave to one another in keeping *dzum zugune* going for the living. On the other hand, the death of the next person in line to start *dzum zugune* would reopen the cycle for new candidates, if that deceased senior had not managed to perform it during his lifetime. However, any potential successor had to demonstrate, with his first sacrifice to his deceased father (*kaba*), that he could save enough guinea corn to provide beer and food for all his extended family members before he could even consider starting it. As a family tradition, *dzum zugune* also included the kindred of the various mothers of the sons of a man, and their sons too would have passed on beer and a billy goat to their maternal uncles if they wanted to perform *dzum zugune* ahead of them.

The system of saving crops as a sign of the economic success of the head of a household compound marks the nuclear family out, not only as the residential but also as the basic corporate group when it came to preventing a potential food crisis. The Dghwede system of *dzum zugune* not only promoted competition among individual family heads, but also cooperation between extended family members, by not just relying on age but on personal ability to succeed. Someone who had achieved *dzum zugune* would have achieved a status that was very desirable for members of the wider Dghwede community. Our comparison with for example the Glavda *tsufga* ritual has shown how that status was reflected in the sequential

order of traditional beer consumption. The one who had completed *tsufga* could drink before a senior male who had not done so. I have described the sequential order of ritual beer drinking among the Mafa, and we wonder whether a similar rule also applied in the past in Ghwa'a, at least when it came to someone who had achieved *dzum zugune*.

In earlier chapters we demonstrated the geopolitical dimension of Dghwede ritual behaviour, consisting mainly of providing first for the patrilineal ancestors of the extended family before religious performances reaching out to the lineage level and the wider local community. The same spatial pattern also became clear in the two types of social space of *fstaha* as the core initiation ritual of becoming an accomplished adult. While the *fstaha* ritual of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* (second stage) took place inside the privacy of the house, the *fstaha* initiation of the *ngwa yiye* (third stage) was performed communally and in public. In the context of food production, we had first the individual farmstead as a household compound forming the elementary corporate group of food production, and then the ritual dunghole near the rainmaker's house as a communal representation of the same for Ghwa'a as a whole. The significance of manure production for successful food production was represented by the 'black cows' shouting 'Yi Ye Yi Ye' at the ritual dunghole, and at the same time being ready to defend it.

We went through all the dress codes of the various stages, and tried to explore what might have been their meaning. One of the key features was the use of different materials for making sets of bandoliers and waistbands, firstly made of speargrass, but then the speargrass bandoliers and waistbands were reduced to necklaces of speargrass while the bandoliers and waistbands were replaced by leather strips decorated with rows of cowrie shells. In the next stage, white strips of cow skin replaced the cowrie leather strips, and finally strips of cotton attached together into a blanket dress called *darke*, dyed dark indigo, which John always translated as 'black' for *lusa*. We have a separate chapter on symbolic classification and the classification of things, where we also discuss the colour schemes of the Dghwede, and demonstrate that there was traditional thinking about shades of colours. The colour *lusa* is connected to the green of the vegetation according to Tada Nzige, and we also mentioned charcoal as an important ritual material where the translation of *lusa* for 'black' was correct from our view. On the other hand, the indigo coloured *darke* dress was also referred to as being 'black' by John, but this was of course the word for shades of dark colours such as indigo (see Chapter 3.22).

We discussed the use of female dress items, and saw that more fibre and plant materials were used during the earlier stages of *dzum zugune*, while textiles were used more towards the end. Also, iron objects as ritual items and weapons played a larger role, the closer a participant came to the two final stages of *dzum zugune*. The carrying of war helmets was noticeable, and presumably not just to demonstrate the readiness of the local community to defend their valuable land resources, but also as symbols of pride and personal achievement. We showed the hierarchy of the more senior stage levels in comparison to the more junior levels, dramatised by the *ngwa garda* (first step of the second stage) as 'red cows' who were ritually forced by the *ngwa yiye* (third stage) 'black cows' to kneel in submission in front of them at the place where the downhill running competition of *ngwa garda* began. We pointed to the mixed age range of the participants, in that there could be older men among them whose extended families had not done so well for some reason, and there might have been younger men who forced older men to ritually kneel on the ground for them.

We also tried to picture the geographical dimension of *dzum zugune* in Ghwa'a, by considering all the topographical positions of the different places, such as for example the downhill run and the uphill dance, and the role of the two ritual assistants: *zal fstaha* as the one who had performed *dzum zugune*, and *zal dud dala* as the one who had not. We remember how they helped the second stage performers to change dress at the bottom of the hill at the place called Yawa, before they danced uphill again, meaning that the change of dress code was embedded in the topography of the local landscape. We also remember the keen young men dancing at a place near the border of the part of modern Korana Basa, which was once

called 'Gharghuze'. The lineage sections of the Vaghagaya of southern Dghwede were, in late pre-colonial times, the main territorial competitors of the Thakara of Ghwa'a. There was also the place where the wives of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* (second stage) performers threw guinea corn and tigernut flour over their husbands while they were dancing past, as they arrived from the house of the seventh born, the lineage custodian (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a. Not to forget Fkagh ga Maruwa, the central location where most of the dances took place, or Fkagh Dzga where the *ngwa hamtiwe* (first stage) brought their beer-filled *jahurimbe* bowls to be counted by the elders. These were all naturally flat places kept for communal ritual use in the otherwise often rocky but mostly terraced and highly populated hillside of Ghwa'a, which was crowned by the mountain Durghwe with the most important subregional rain shrine at its summit. We remind ourselves that Durghwe, with its three distinctly visible rock pillars, represented an interethnic place of ritual unity, and it also had a cosmographic dimension in which the three pillars were seen as three granaries. We will present more oral data on the Dghwede cosmography of Durghwe in greater detail later, as part of Chapter 3.17.

The summary descriptions I produced in the field in 1996, and which followed our map of public points and places important for *dzum zugune* (Figure 22), was possibly a bit confusing at first, and it might have taken the reader some time to become familiar with the performance elements of *dzum zugune*, overlapping and/or running alongside one another depending on the various ritual stages. Of course, our presentation is a reconstruction, and we are aware that it might not exactly follow reality, but we have to remember that the whole account is based on memories from the mid-1940s or earlier, when it most likely stopped being performed. We also discussed the fact that *dzum zugune* was in sequential calendar terms not only performed between the sacrifice to a deceased father (*har ghwe*) and the bull festival (*har daghile*), but that the higher stages, in particular the communal initiation (*fstaha*) near the rainmaker's house, might have been performed after the bull festival had been started by the Gudule. We know from the description of the bull festival that it first travelled through southern Dghwede before it reached the northern part of Dghwede, despite the latter being seen as more senior in terms of settlement period and local group formation.

We also tried to explore why the Gudule did not perform *dzum zugune*, especially considering their key role as custodians of the bull festival. The sequential order of their starting the bull festival, as shown by the fact that the senior rainmaker had to wait for them before ritually planting the spear, potentially gives meaning to the legendary account of Gudule and Ske having been ancestral brothers of the same mother, of whom Gudule was the seventh born. As custodian of the bull festival for the whole of Dghwede, he had to begin before his ancestral senior brother from the Gaske rainmaker lineage could plant the spear in the ritual dunghole. Only after that could the *ngwa yiye* have their public initiation (*fstaha*) nearby. However, the seventh born of Ghwa'a had to sacrifice a bull to Durghwe even before the rainmaker could place the spear in the ritual dunghole. Unfortunately we do not know whether the sacrifice of a bull by the seventh born of Ghwa'a at Durghwe happened before or after the Gudule started the bull festival. We remember that the Gudule themselves had to wait for their 'brothers' in Gudulyewe (Gudur) to beat the drums, to indicate that they had started it also.

Our presentation of ritual sequencing is far too fragmented to draw informed oral-historical conclusions. This renders most of our hypothetical assumptions uncertain and speculative, since some of the sequences might have just been a local coincidence, but they might well have been a reflection of past ritual sequences across Dghwede as a whole. We finally came to realise that there were too many open questions concerning how *dzum zugune* might have been embedded in the wider ritual calendar of Dghwede as a whole. We tried to overcome our severe lack of oral data by employing ethnologically-informed speculation about a possible scenario of an equivalent of the *ngwa yiye* stage of *fstaha* in Gharaza. Our scenario included the role of the rainmaker and that of the Gudule in the context of *dzum zugune* in southern Dghwede. We posed the hypothetical question of whether the Gudule had a seat among the lineage elders of Vaghagaya in Gharaza, considering that the Vaghagaya had finally defeated the Gudule as first settlers of southern Dghwede. We now have to admit that we will never

know, and have only been able to make the assumption that the start of the bull festival was perhaps also conditional on part of a bigger picture of past ritual sequencing traditions.

We also tried to compare *dzum zugune* in the subregional context of the Gwoza hills, and again realised our potential shortage of data. We realised however that not only did the *tsufga* ritual of the Glavda have distinct similarities, but also that perhaps the Gvoko and the Chikide performed something like it. We had to admit that we do not know whether the Guduf performed it, but at the same time it was suggested by our very limited data that neither the Lamang nor the Zelidva did so. Luckily we have Eli Gula's (1996) work about adult initiation among the Glavda (*tsufga*), and were able to establish that despite *tsufga* being quite different in terms of presentation, it served the similar purpose of becoming an independent family man. Even though the Gvoko only performed their *pughu* ritual, it was still about the individual achievement of a man having produced a surplus of crops which he was able to ritually share with his neighbours. Among the Gvoko and the Glavda the achievement was represented by a stool upon which the performer sat. In the Glavda case this was ritually even more elaborate, because the stool was carried by the assistants of the performers, to be ready for use whenever needed. A ritual stool (*vde*) also played a crucial role as part of the initiation ritual (*fstaha*) in Ghwa'a, but there it was not for the performer, but for those who twice ritually refused the beer and food offered to them. They sat on the stool and witnessed how the *ngwa kwalanglanga* performer and his *zal fstaha* drank together from the same calabash the third time around, celebrating the completion of the second stage of *dzum zugune*.

Although *dzum zugune* has long disappeared, we were able to point out, in our section on traditional and modern crisis management in particular, that the aspect of storing crops as an emergency reserve survived until recently. We like to infer that this aspect was older than *dzum zugune* itself, and perhaps even led to the development of *dzum zugune* in the first place. In our discussion about the difference between subsistence and market economy, we saw that the subsistence factor survived for longer in the hills than in the resettlement area of the adjacent plain. It appears an unjust irony of destiny that Boko Haram could take advantage of this while hiding in the mountains and exploiting the last Dghwedè Traditionalists, those who were not only too old to flee but presumably also far too attached to their familiar mountain environment, despite it being under occupation.

In the next chapter we will explore the traditional idea of existential personhood, as it was relayed to me by some of my Dghwedè friends, mainly in the mid- to late-1990s. We have already had a taste of the strong sense of individual competitiveness while trying to understand the personality traits underlying the cultural practice of *dzum zugune*. Considering that the societal structure of Dghwedè had already significantly transformed during my time, we should not expect too much insight from the attempt, but the chapter will also serve as a transitory chapter in our Dghwedè oral history retold, since most of the following chapters are less concerned with social and material culture, and more with trying to obtain a better understanding of the worldview and ideas which might have driven individuals to take such ritual action as the Dghwedè took as part of a cultural practice of the most recent pre-colonial and colonial past.

Chapter 3.15

Dghwede ideas around existential personhood

Introduction

Here we mainly want to explore Dghwede ideas around traditional selfhood and spirithood. I have been pondering whether to make this a separate chapter, or should I include it in the next chapter about worldview and cosmology? However I have decided to separate it because it is more about the mechanisms of individual self-conceptualisation than the general mindset of society, and therefore deserves to be singled out.¹

There was a time in the mid-1990s when I asked about the Dghwede words for soul and spirit, and I tried to explore the interplay between those two concepts in the context of the local belief in witchcraft and sorcery. This was because I wanted to progress from just an understanding of institutions and local group formation, and wanted to understand the Dghwede concept of components of the mind. We will see in this chapter how oral memories about belief in witchcraft and sorcery take on specific forms, but we cannot present all the different aspects in question, such as divination. Divination is not included as a component of Dghwede existential personhood in this chapter, but we will present what we know about it in Chapter 3.21 as part of our data on past ways of decision making.

This chapter is more about personality structure and personality traits, and how we think they need to be understood from the perspective of the Dghwede structure of the mind. In previous chapters we presented the way relational personhood was embedded in a ritually dense pattern of egalitarian competitiveness, where patrilineal extended family priests were seen as managers of hope for good luck and avoidance of bad luck as part of the religious belief system. Now we will try to construct a comprehensive model towards an understanding of existential personhood, which will help us to better imagine the pre-Copernican mindset of Dghwede adults of the past, and how their view of the world was conditioned by the cosmographic orientation we will describe in the subsequent chapter. During this attempt to reconstruct the mindset and worldview of late pre-colonial Dghwede from the perspective of individual actors we will remain aware of the patrilineal kinship system practised.

In the first chapter section we start by presenting the concepts of *safa* (breath or life) and *sdukwe* (shadow), and explore the limitations of translating them respectively as soul and spirit. In the same comprehensive way we will begin to discuss the concept of divinity (*gwazgafte*), to obtain a first understanding of how the belief in the supernatural as Supreme Being influenced individual wellbeing and social action. We will explore the underlying gender aspect of the supernatural world by introducing the reader to the meaning of *ghaluwa* as the word for the cosmological world above, which was seen as a place of spiritual warfare between sorcerers and specialist healers. In light of this, we will briefly discuss the word *shatane* (shaitan in Arabic²), used by one of our protagonists for 'evil spirit', as most likely being a pre-colonial influence of Islam, and will explore the modern re-conceptualisation of Dghwede words used in the translation of the New Testament by Esther Frick (1980). We will show how the Christian belief system had already influenced the underlying Dghwede concept of existential personhood during my time. It certainly influenced my ethnographic translations, as my friend and research assistant John Zakariya was a devoted Christian. This became particularly obvious when we explored the ideas of soul and spirit, and of a celestial world above this world which had been substituted by the belief in Christian heaven and the spirit of God. Both of these constructs of spirithood were translated into the Dghwede language as part of the 1980 Bible translation. They represent concepts of divinity which have

¹ Unlike F.J. White (2013) we see existential and relational personhood as two sides of the same coin.

² Shaitan is the word for evil spirit in Islamic belief and it is derived from the Hebrew word satan.

been actively promoted by Christian missionaries since the end of the colonial period (see Chapter 2.2) and were not part of the late pre-colonial Dghwede cosmology and worldview.

In the subsequent section we will present vulnerability to supernatural attacks as being an integrated part of the Dghwede existential personhood structure of the past, and show how the aspect of gender was embedded in that structure. We will also show how witchcraft was seen to be weaker and perhaps less intentional than its deadly equivalent sorcery, and will try to compare positive and negative personality traits by exploring their pathological meanings. Negative personality traits were perceived as a natural occurrence rather than the result of sorcery. We will suggest that perhaps negative personality characteristics such as envy might have contributed to someone being accused of witchcraft. In the area of deliberate supernatural events, we will attempt to provide an idea of how particularly vicious sorcery attacks took place while potential victims were asleep. We will discuss how the concept of divinity (*gwazgaŋte*) was applied in the context of 'sacrifices' carried out by sorcerers with the captured spirits of their sleeping victims. Another aspect under discussion is the implication of negative sexual connotations in sorcery attacks, and we will explore whether this might have been an expression of social marginalisation between competing local groups.

In the next chapter section we will present a summary description of personality characteristics manifested in transformational aspects of existential personhood, and explore some of the Dghwede words to express such supernatural abilities. We will refer to the supernatural gifts and talents that were once allocated to individuals as part of specialised lineages. We will also discuss in that context how such abilities of transformational spirithood were not only attributed to humans, but also to organic and non-organic matter of the familiar mountain environment. This raises the question of an underlying belief in a form of spirit agency extending beyond the concept of the spirit of the individual human. We will ask ourselves how the belief in a transformational spirit world as part of the belief in a cosmological life force might have been conditioned by the socio-economic environment of Dghwede during late pre-colonial times.

In the final subsection we will explore the tradition of 'oath swearing' and cursing in the context of individuals accused of witchcraft or sorcery. We will show that these accusations were once part of the traditional justice system, which also dealt with offences such as stealing and adultery. We will present the earliest archival source of captain Lewis in 1925, showing that it involved the accused proclaiming innocence, and will underpin this with fieldnotes from neighbouring groups, as well as from Dghwede itself. We will finally suggest that the ritual density rooted in the need for a sufficiently high population number for a functioning egalitarian system of labour-intensive terrace farming might have impacted the self-concept of existential personhood, by favouring a high degree of individuality in opposition to the otherwise rigid regime of regulatory rituals required to manage potential conflict situations.

Reconstructing Dghwede ideas around the structure of the mind

Bulama Mbaldawa and elders of Tatsa (1995) explained to me that *safa* was the word for soul, and that it meant breath. Bulama Ngatha of Hudimche (1995) pointed out that everybody had a soul (*safa*) and if the soul was taken away a person would die, but as long as the soul was still in the body they continued breathing. He added that their forefathers told them that the body would turn into soil after the soul had been taken away. We will return later to why bulama Ngatha talked about the soul being taken away, but first we want to introduce the reader to the concept of *sdukwe vagha* as a complementary element of *safa*. While *safa* not only meant breath but also life, and can perhaps be translated as life force, *sdukwe vagha* (*sdukwe* = shadow, *vagha* = body) meant human shadow and was a reference to the human spirit rather than the vital principle of the soul. Both *safa* and *sdukwe* could be taken by a sorcerer, but only *sdukwe* could get lost while a person was alive, and *safa* could only be taken after the permanent loss of *sdukwe* after extreme sorcery had led to the death of

the individual. This was explained to us by our friends from Kwalika (1995) and also by Katiwa ga Ghuda (1996), a Dagha diviner and healer from Dzga, but now we return to bulama Ngatha (1995).

Bulama Ngatha too said that if *safa* was taken away one would die, and mentioned in this context the Dghwede word *ghaluwa*, which we translate as 'the cosmological world above'. We will discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter, but need to introduce it here as the celestial world which was thought of as a place above the firmament of this world, and which the Christian Dghwede like to translate as heaven. It is important to note that John pointed out that Traditionalists had no concept of heaven, at least not as a paradise or place of spiritual salvation, but that they saw the celestial world rather as a place where sorcerers took the abducted spirits of humans. This is what bulama Ngatha presumably meant by saying that the spirit (*sdukwa*) could be taken away from the body (*vagha*) and taken to *ghaluwa*, the world above. Our Dagha diviner friend Katiwa ga Ghuda claimed that he could bring such a kidnapped spirit back to the body without *safa* (the life force) suffering any harm, and in Chapter 3.21 we will show photographs how this was demonstrated to us. He added that *safa* was the Dghwede word for a healthy human soul, which suggests that *sdukwe* was the more vulnerable aspect of the mind. We therefore wonder how to best translate *safa* and *sdukwe* as structural elements of the Dghwede concept of existential personhood.

Before discussing the above, we want to briefly introduce the reader to the opposing concepts of *shatane* and *gwazgafte* as synonyms for a more supernatural dimension of the human spirit. While observing one of Katiwa ga Ghuda's demonstrative healing sessions, I asked which part of his mind he was using to bring back a lost spirit, and he said was using his *shatane*. Since I knew that the word *shatane* was not of Dghwede but of Arabic origin, I asked again, but now asked what a fellow Traditionalist would think he was using. He answered that he would think he was using his *gwazgafte*, which we interpret below as an integrated part of the Dghwede system of existential personhood. We will discuss the Dghwede concept of divinity (*gwazgafte*) in much greater detail in the next chapter, but as before with the concept of *ghaluwa*, we need to summarise aspects of it in this chapter so we can describe *gwazgafte* as a concept that was believed to be potentially dangerous and needed spiritual counteraction by specialist healers.

We have already pointed out that the Dghwede celestial world above was not a harmonious place, but more an area of conflict where sorcerers and healers fought over the wellbeing of the human spirit (*sdukwe*) after it had been kidnapped from the body (*vagha*) by vicious means. This happened during the night when a person was asleep, and we remember, from the chapter about the house as place of worship, the three-legged spirit or personal god pot that bulama Ngatha positioned above his bed. While sorcerers and healers were seen only as visitors from the celestial world, God (*gwazgafte*) was the overseer and maker of it all, and God also had a family and his children were seen as personal gods with an attached gender aspect. These were the personal gods of fathers and their children, and were represented by spirit pots, while mothers did not need such spirit pots. We interpret the concept of personal gods as mirror images of mortals, who kept guard over them in the divine dimension while they were sleeping. A traditional house was a protected area against supernatural attacks, and the father of the house was the custodian of that protection. This was the underlying reason why a father and husband had ritual access to his personal god while his wife did not. In the cosmological mirror image, God was the 'father' of the celestial world and as such he was the overseer and creator of this world, and sent his 'children' to protect humans. Particularly powerful healers could use their *gwazgafte* or *shatane* as talents to fight the sorcerers in the celestial world above, and were seen as ritual experts in bringing those kidnapped spirits back into the bodies of their fellow tribesmen.

We infer from this that soul, spirit, the body and divinity were not separate concepts, but were rather fluid and overlapping in meaning. One historical reason perhaps was that they came about as oral concepts in an egalitarian society, rather than as written religious dogmas as is often the case in hierarchical societies. They were not linked to a ruling class of kings or

priests, but the celestial world was exposed to competition on a fairly egalitarian scale, although gender equality was not part of that. This aspect was apparent as we will see later, for example witches were seen as not being able to go to the celestial world and carry out sorcery attacks with the same deadly efficiency as male sorcerers. In that sense we need to point out now that the ideas around the structure of the mind in traditional Dghwede society had a strong cosmological aspect of gender inequality, because the social mirror image of divinity (*gwazgafte*) was also seen as having gender.

Before continuing to explore the concept of the soul, the spirit and the supernatural as part of existential Dghwede personhood, we want to briefly examine how the words *safa* for soul and *sdukwe* for spirit were translated in the Dghwede bible. This is important, since the word soul for *safa* particularly inspired my research assistant John Zakariya as a Christian, but we will see that it also affected other translations related to my attempt to completely understand the structure of the Dghwede mind. For example, the word *safa* refers in the Dghwede bible to the Christian concept of an eternal soul, and thus takes on a much more dogmatic meaning. The same applies to the concept of *gwazgafte* or *ghaluwa*, which are used to refer to the Christian God and the Christian heaven respectively. Something similar happens to the word *sdukwe* for spirit, which is translated in the Dghwede bible as 'Sdukw ce Gwazgafte' (God's spirit or Holy Spirit). There was no concept of a 'Holy Spirit' in traditional Dghwede religion, and we show below how our Traditionalist friends explained the different meanings of *sdukwe* and *sdukwe vagha*. While the Christian interpretation of these Dghwede concepts is no older than that of a mainly Protestant missionary influence after independence in the early 1960s, the earlier-mentioned use of the word *shatane* or *shaitan* for 'evil spirit' is presumably much older and might well date back to pre-colonial Islamic influences linked to the sultanate of Wandala.

Despite the difficulties in relaying the traditional meanings of the words in question, we are sticking here with the translation of soul for *safa*, spirit for *sdukwe*, and *gwazgafte* for divinity and God, but we need to keep in mind why this is unsatisfying when it comes to presuming likely pre-colonial aspects of the structure of the Dghwede mind. In the Western secular society I come from, the dual concepts of soul and spirit often have a completely different history, and the human soul can have either a religious or a secular meaning. In contrast to this, our concept of the human spirit can much more easily be seen as an existential component of personhood. It is perhaps interesting to point out here that the etymological origin of our word 'soul' also goes back to 'breath',³ which is a good reason to retain the translation of *safa* for the human soul in this case, but rather in its literal meaning of breath and life. Other than *safa*, we see the translation of *sdukwe* more as 'the human spirit', in the sense of the shadow image of existential personhood, a concept which not only implies physical connectivity to the body but also vulnerability to sorcery attacks. We referred in that context to the Dghwede idea of personal gods as celestial mirror images of the human spirit in a contested spirit world which had a strong gender aspect. We have referred to the cosmological dimension of that mirror world (*ghaluwa*) as a place of spiritual warfare, which is not to be confused with the Christian or Moslem idea of heaven as a place of spiritual salvation.

We have so far established that there are four base elements concerning the structure of the mind and body as aspects of the Dghwede integrated self-concept (meaning the belief that individuals are integrated physical, spiritual and social beings):

- *vagha* = physical body (turns into soil after death)
- *sdukwe* = spirit (literal meaning is shadow, can be taken away by sorcerers)

³ The Hebrew word *nefeš*, literally meaning 'breath,' is the word most often translated as 'soul' in the Bible and has the same root as the Arabic word *nafs*.

- *safa* = soul (literal meaning is breath/life, can only affected by witchcraft in case of death)
- *gwazgafte* = supernatural self (also personal god, has a gender component, is used by the specialist healer to bring back *sdukwe*)

Our Dghwede friends from Kwalika explained that the concept of *sdukwe vagha* should not be confused with that of *safa* (breath, life or soul). In their opinion, *sdukwe vagha* meant not only the shadow of the human body, but it was seen as the gate through which the soul (*safa*) could be attacked. They emphasised that *safa* could not be killed in any other way than by a sorcerer finding access to a person's soul via the spirit as the shadow image of the person's body (*vagha*). We presume our Kwalika friends implied that sorcery attacks took place during the night while the body was asleep because it was a physical state in which the spirit (*sdukwe*) was seen as being most vulnerable for the success of such attacks.

That sorcery could affect the soul and lead indirectly to death in severe cases, suggests that *safa* did not survive after death, but can we infer that *sdukwe* did survive? After all, the spirit could leave the body, while the soul could not, but relied on the spirit in order for it to remain an integrated part of existential personhood. Unfortunately we do not have a yes or no answer to that question, but we do know that the traditional Dghwede religion did not have a concept of salvation as contained in Christianity and Islam. Instead they believed that the ancestors continued in the cosmological next world below, and that the extended family heads of this world sacrificed to feed them there. We will discuss the cosmographic aspects of the Dghwede belief system in the next chapter, but want to point out here that the concept of spirithood had a strong transformational dimension across the multiple worlds above and below, which was subject to ritual management. We remember the rituals related to the use of the ancestor and spirit pots, from the chapter about the house as a key place of religious observances. The Dghwede belief system was conditioned by a cosmographic worldview in which the celestial world above and the next world below were conceptualised as mirror images of this world, where the existential struggle for survival was ongoing.

In that sense, it was not only the person in its completeness which was thought to exist in the next world, but also all the social circumstances found in this world, including the rituals and beliefs and the ways they interacted with the local environment. In that respect we can draw from what we know about the self-concept of existential personhood in this world for an understanding of the cosmographic mirror worlds above and below this world. It seems that the vulnerability to sorcery attacks was specifically attached to the idea that the human spirit was somehow a representation of the divine aspect of the world above. That bulama Ngatha's spirit or god pot was a three-legged cooking pot that had been ritually transformed in the context of the first pregnancy of a man's first wife, and which was then positioned above rather than below his bed, could be interpreted as a material manifestation of this idea.

Vulnerability to witchcraft and sorcery⁴ in the light of opposing character traits

We have so far established that the word *sdukwe* for the human spirit was derived from the image of the shadow thrown by the human body (*sdukwe vagha*), and that the traditional Dghwede belief system saw it as the display of the inseparable material and immaterial condition for physical and mental wellbeing. Individual wellbeing was believed to be continuously exposed to witchcraft or sorcery attacks, which created an air of individual and collective fear of being affected by it. While milder versions of witchcraft might not have affected the soul (*safa*), severe sorcery attacks could bring about certain death because they took away a person's life force. This at least was what we indirectly concluded from our oral

⁴ Pamela A. Moro (2018) gives a good summary of the history of the different anthropological approaches to understanding witchcraft, sorcery and magic, but here we are avoiding the term 'magic' and only differentiate between witchcraft and sorcery as integrated expressions linked to existential personhood.

sources about the ritual maintenance of the unity of body, spirit and soul as a condition for mental and physical wellbeing. The vulnerability to supernatural influences was seen as an integral part of that existential self-conceptualisation.

In this chapter we will contrast supernatural and natural characteristics of existential personhood by presenting a variety of personality traits included in the Dghwedè cultural vocabulary, as we want to explore whether pathological and natural abnormalities are differentiated from supernatural ones linked to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery. However before doing that we will present a more detailed picture of the differences our local protagonists pointed out to us, to better understand any specific distinction between natural and supernatural causes that it is possible to identify. We will show that they did indeed make a distinction between pathological mental disorders and mental deterioration caused by falling victim to a sorcery attack, despite the fact that some of the personality traits, for example envy, might describe a circumstantial conflict scenario which had resulted in witchcraft or sorcery accusations. This allocation to a supernatural cause might have been a form of overcompensation, and although scapegoating was possibly a factor, there might also have been other deeper cultural-historical reasons, in that however powerful the supernatural, the Dghwedè had a system for counteracting it. Unfortunately we do not know whether the Dghwedè consider witchcraft as always being unintentional and only sorcery as intentional, but we can clearly show the gendered aspects of witchcraft and sorcery, and we tend to think this is a general feature of their ritual culture. This is possibly a result of high ritual density, but we will return to that at the end of the chapter.

According to our oral sources, the Dghwedè only used the term *wadighe* (witch) when referring to witchcraft in general, rather than *zalghede* (wizard or sorcerer). We further need to recognise that it was *zalghede* alone which seemed to include the ability to perform sorcery and also the ability to transform into a spirit agent that was capable of permanently trapping another person's spirit leading to the death of that person's soul. It was not viewed as impossible, but it would be very rare for a female to kill through sorcery. Therefore only a male *zalghede* would be able to kill another *zalghede*, were someone's spirit to come under such a deadly supernatural attack. This type of *zalghede* or sorcerer was referred to as *gwal ngurde* (*ngurde* = medicine) and is best translated as specialised healer. Most of the time they were Dagha, but a *gwal ngurde* could also be from a non-specialist lineage, being seen as someone who had the gift or talent of healing a person who was undergoing a severe spiritual attack.

This at least is how it was explained to us by our friends from Kwalika (1995), who pointed out that such specialist healers (*gwal ngurde*) could not only treat but also perform sorcery attacks themselves. They further explained that such specialist healers were very seldom women, while female witches (*wadighe*) were very common. They added that while *wadighe* could not kill adults (male and female), they were able to kill children up to the age of puberty. They added that the reason for this was the belief that the skull of a child was still soft, and that it was too hard to be broken by a witch after a child had reached sexual maturity. Our oral source also alleged that it was a common belief that sorcerers would take the spirit (*sdukwe*) out of their potential victims during the night to perform a ritual in which the victim's spirit was sacrificed to divinity (*gwazgafte*) while the person was sleeping.

We are not certain how to interpret the idea of a sorcerer sacrificing the spirit of a sleeping victim to *gwazgafte*, but considering that the Dghwedè do not have a noun for evil, and no concept of hell, negative personality traits were presumably all contained within the concept of *gwazgafte*, which was a concept of supernatural divinity that did not recognise evil in a cosmological sense. *Gwazgafte* as God included all aspects of life and death, and as a social mirror image of this world it included sorcery attacks and the ritual means of healing them. In this context we possibly need to interpret the sacrifice performed by a sorcerer to be related to the sorcerer's desire to feed off the spirit of their sleeping victims while holding them hostage in the celestial world above. As such it could be seen as a destructive aspect of divinity as a supreme cosmological force, here represented by the application selfishness and greed

resulting in the sacrifice of a fellow human's spirit while asleep. After all, the Dghwede did not actually believe that their deceased fathers and grandfathers physically ate the food sacrificed to them, so neither could a sorcerer actually sacrifice a human spirit to *gwazgafte* during this enactment of their supernatural activities.

Perhaps the following anecdote will underpin our interpretation of what our Kwalika sources meant in speaking of the kind of sacrifices allegedly performed by sorcerers. The tale was told to me in Hudimche. It was claimed that particularly dangerous sorcerers from Kwalika could be identified by the line marks left on the ground of public places by the sexual organs of their victims. These allegedly consisted either of one line caused by the clitoris of a female, or two parallel lines from the testicles of a male victim of such sacrificial sorcery. Such sexual markers left on the ground, allegedly visible as straight lines, were interpreted as a sign that a victim had been dragged through a public space during the night while asleep, and it was seen to be a mark that a particularly powerful male sorcerer left behind. This tale was told to me by someone from Ghwa'a, and we remember that Kwalika had a history of being marginalised, and they were seen as particularly dangerous people with access to the supernatural. We remember for example the role of the Dagha Kadzgwara, and that Kwalika was accused of having led Hamman Yaji into Dghwede by virtue of their access position at the western foothills.

Our friends from Kwalika denied any such thing, and said that neither sorcery nor its cure were down to any particular power that sorcerers or healers applied, but that everything was entirely down to *gwazgafte*. Perhaps this view emphasises that both the injury and the healing sides of sorcery were generally seen as different aspects of *gwazgafte* in a more overarching sense, as a universal supernatural agency which could be accessed by sorcerers and healers alike. We will see below how the Dghwede spoke of the transformational force that some talented people owned and used, and with which sorcerers and healers were seen as being equipped. Perhaps the human sex drive, as both a constructive and a destructive reproductive life force as an aspect of *gwazgafte*, should be presumed here. In that way, witchcraft and sorcery were in our hypothesis perceived as integrated parts of existential personhood, similar to the human sex drive as the most vital aspect of the force of human reproduction.

We will now present a list of sexual connotations and personality types and traits, which includes what we will refer to as natural mental illness or confusion, as opposed to illness, bad luck or even death caused by supernatural attack. In that context we will distinguish between pathological personality traits and those linked to sorcery and witchcraft. The reason for this approach is to try to produce a more distinct assessment as to whether the Dghwede traditionally distinguished between mental illness and mental deterioration caused by sorcery attacks. I need to emphasise that our comparison is purely hypothetical, but hope that it helps to sharpen our perspective on the Dghwede concept of existential personhood.

List of sexual connotations and words for types of positive and negative personality traits:

- the sex act is expressed in the word *rdā*
- *sbila* is applied to both genders if someone is over-interested in sex
- the erected penis is called *sbila ce geve*
- the clitoris is called *dadatha* or *dadakatha*
- the vagina has many names. *Ndale* is the general name, but to avoid naming it directly it is referred to as *kushe*
- *huwe* is someone who always thinks of himself first, or who always wants to have more than everyone else
- *ndabe* is someone who always wants to give, someone who is generous
- *game* means good in terms of handsome
- *wudiye* means a positive personality
- *baza* means bad in terms of ugly
- *wudiye va* means that someone is not a positive person
- a *zalghede* would be classified under *wudiye va* only

- a *gwal ngurde* can be *wudiye*, or *wudiye va* if someone could ask him for medicine to kill someone, or if he used his own medicine to kill. If someone is affected by very bad sorcery, that person might finally seek help from a *gwal ngarde* who is *wudiye va* rather than just *wudiye*, to find the right medicine to defend himself
- people who are mentally disturbed are called *kwiya*
- mentally handicapped people are called *ragha* (can also mean dangerous)
- *nzagha kwa* is someone behaves oddly, says something most people would not agree with

Our list starts with the Dghwede word *rda* for the sex act, which we also interpret as the word for sex drive in general because it refers to the action of having sex. It is perhaps interesting to note in this context that female witches could only kill children up to the age of puberty, because that was the biological moment when the sex drive indicated the beginning of physical adulthood which included the ability to give birth to new life. Once a girl or boy had reached sexual maturity, he or she could no longer be killed by a *wadighe*, but only by a *zalghede*, who might mark the ground with their clitoris or testicles as a symbol of his supernatural power. On the other hand, we have pointed out that such accusations might have had a completely different cause, perhaps rooted in a conflict over shortage of land.⁵

We also want to repeat here that women were not seen as having personal gods, while children did have them, but children's were not as powerful as those of men. In our opinion this implies that the power of *gwazgafte* as divine protection for fathers included the duty of a husband to take particular care of the supernatural wellbeing of his wives and children. We have seen, in the chapter about the house as place of worship, that the father of the house could die if he did not follow a certain ritual regime, for example performing the sacrifice to God's doorpost (*wuts gwazgafte*), which was not only the entry point of a traditional homestead but also represented a man's house god (see Chapter 3.12).

Our list shows the words for handsome (*game*) and ugly (*baza*), and also the use of those words for being good or bad. We doubt that this implies that the Dghwede concept of looks had a behavioural dimension, but the word *baza* is also used in *ski bazanana* (as described in our next section) which means someone doing bad things. This seems to imply a fair range of meanings. However, the meaning of being a good or a bad person was possibly better expressed in the term *wudiye* for a positive personality, and *wudiye va* for a negative personality. As combined expressions they could take on particular meanings, especially when it came to defining sorcery. A *zalghede* for example was only seen as *wudiye va*, while a *gwal ngurde* could be both *wudiye* and *wudiye va*. Considering that someone who owned medicine to treat severe cases of sorcery would have been seen as someone who most likely combined good as well as bad personality traits, it demonstrates how potentially dangerous and ambivalent powerful healers might once have been perceived in late pre-colonial Dghwede.

There are other personality traits in our list, which appear as oppositional concepts, such as being a generous personality (*ndabe*) or a greedy one (*huwe*). We could perhaps identify these as unselfish or selfish personality types. We do not know whether our Dghwede friends would have thought that someone who was *huwe* was more prone to committing witchcraft, or whether a specialist healer could be both *huwe* and *ndabe*. Neither do we know whether someone generous was seen as being more vulnerable to sorcery attacks than someone greedy. Of course, this is pure speculation on our side. We infer here that *ndabe* and *huwe* could refer to anyone, including those who had the special ability to commit sorcery or to heal

⁵ Godula Kosack (2012:290f) points out that the 245 Mafa women she interviewed in Gouzda in the 1990s about the frequency of sorcery accusations claimed that the most common causes for contemporary male sorcery attacks were 28% conflicts over inheritance rights linked to farmland. The next most common cause was 16% envy over the economic success of neighbours, while 14% was about a personal offence or insult and 12% was linked to spirit abduction (either to initiate an abduction or getting oneself released) and 10% had to do with everyday conflicts over witchcraft accusations.

the effects of sorcery. We think it was this supernatural ability that made a powerful sorcerer, while someone particularly selfish who did not have that ability might have been more prone to committing witchcraft (*wadighe*). Unfortunately we do not have any oral data to ascertain whether *wadighe* was seen more to be committed by females and therefore had a less intentional aspect and was therefore more seen to be driven by negative personality traits than male sorcery.

Next we want to briefly discuss the term *kwiya* (mentally disturbed). My oral source from Kwalika pointed out that someone could either naturally become *kwiya* or become *kwiya* through witchcraft or sorcery. While certain *kwiya* were treatable, others were not. Also, some people who had become *kwiya* would fight, meaning they could be physically dangerous, while others did not fight at all. It was further explained to me that regardless of whether an individual developed mental health problems through the action of a witch (*wadighe*), a *zalghe* (sorcerer) or naturally became mentally ill, in all cases a *gwal ngurde* (specialist healer) would be able to help. However I was informed that in the case of mental health problems which had developed naturally (meaning not through a sorcery attack), the healing process of a developing mental illness would only be successful during the early stages. This statement sounds similar to the psychiatric distinction between a first onset and a chronic mental illness.

I was also told by my Kwalika source that someone could become *kwiya* as a result of being possessed by God (*gwazgafte*). They pointed out that this type of mental illness caused by *gwazgafte* might have been triggered by something unexplainable that had happened while the person was walking around in the night. For example, a person might have seen something that did not exist for others. Such a person would then go to a diviner, and the diviner would deduce whether or not the person who believed they were going mad was at risk of developing a mental illness. This example demonstrates that the fear of being confronted with supernatural events was quite high, and that it was not only humans who were seen to have the ability to transform into something else, but we will learn more about that in the next chapter section.

During my inquiry it seemed difficult to identify a *gwal ngurde* who was specialised in treating *kwiya*, and it was explained to me that in the case of the first episode of such a mental illness, the family of the affected person would immediately go and find a branch from a shrub called *rda khutimbe* (*rda* = sex; *khutimbe* = a certain wild animal without a tail, somewhat like a rat but with legs like a rabbit). They would take this plant and hold it under the nose of the mentally disturbed person. The smell was very strong and was supposed to remove the hallucinations or delusions. Only if this medicine did not work would the family go and consult a diviner. The diviner would investigate the cause and then tell the family how to tackle it. The diviner might have also recommended a *gwal ngurde* (specialist healer) to treat it.

Finally, we want to mention the term *ragha* for someone mentally handicapped, and the term *nzagha kwa* for someone who behaved oddly in a way that most people would not view as normal. It seems that both types of such pathological personality traits were seen as being different from *kwiya* but we do not have much data on them. We infer here that *ragha* perhaps meant someone with a learning disability rather than a mental illness, but it was pointed out to me that someone *ragha* could potentially also behave violently to others. The term *nzagha kwa* is presumably not a learning disability but some kind of personality disorder, but we do not really know and it might be a reference to someone very eccentric or with an atypical autistic spectrum disorder.

We infer that the above two personality features were not the result of a supernatural attack, but that both cases were what was earlier referred to as natural types of disorderly behaviour which could even result in violence. This leaves *kwiya* as the only pathological personality trait which might either have been a result of supernatural attack or a result of natural causes. *Kwiya* from natural causes, namely seeing things other people did not see, was a delusional

disorder that had symptoms similar those caused by witchcraft or sorcery. However, being *kwiya* as a result of natural causes was differentiated in pathological terms from a person who was *kwiya* due to witchcraft or sorcery. We tend to conclude from this that the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was an intrinsic part of existential personhood and in that way was something to which everyone was potentially vulnerable, and that suffering from sorcery in particular was not considered as mental illness in pathological terms. It was embedded in a belief system in which supernatural events could not be detached from the cosmological dimension of being an individual actor.

This underlying belief system of existential personhood can even be interpreted to extend beyond humans, as we aim to explain in the next section. We will see how there was a belief in particularly gifted individuals who could not only see but also do extraordinary things, and that those special abilities could manifest themselves as transformational capabilities which not only applied to specially gifted humans but also to organic and non-organic matter in the familiar environment. Such a belief system is sometimes referred to as animism, and includes transmogrification, definitions we are trying to avoid here, which is the reason why we refer to it as 'the transformational aspect of existential personhood beyond human individuals'.

The transformational aspect of existential personhood beyond humans

The following three personality characteristics are the result of an interview I conducted with John Zakariya in August 2001, in an attempt to better understand the Dghwedè belief in the special talents of people who had what we have described as supernatural abilities. We will see that the first two, *thayanga* and *tsakine*, have no literal meaning, while the third, *dag-gwaya*, means 'something'⁶ which disappears magically or supernaturally'. The three listed personality characteristics in our opinion underpin the Dghwedè tradition of allocating transformational qualities, not only to humans but also to types of organic and non-organic matter which were part of the environment. This applied for example to the disappearance of guinea corn or trees, and also to stones or rocks which might have transformed into something else, such as a cow or water spirit. It seems that transformational aspects of personhood not only applied to humans but also to material objects of local importance, a personality attribute that was otherwise found among sorcerers who could also make themselves disappear. Existential personhood has here become extended beyond humans, namely into the immediate physical environment. We observe that it applies mainly to objects of value for the subsistence economy, such as crops, trees, cows, stones and water. Water in particular seems to be perceived as having strong supernatural qualities, which is no surprise considering how important it was for biological increase and wellbeing.

We now present our list, and then continue to discuss the implications of the three terms in the light of the Dghwedè ideas around existential personhood so far developed:

- *thayanga* (no literal meaning)
General meaning: People who can see things ordinary people cannot see. They can tell you things that can happen in future e.g. that someone is going to die.
- *tsakine* (no literal meaning)
General meaning: People who can do extraordinary things. They often claim to fight a 'war' in the night in the celestial world (*ghaluwa*). Witches and sorcerers belong to this class of people. Also, rainmakers (Gaske) and peacemakers (Dagha) might be classified as *tsakine*, but the difference is that they have inherited that gift from their forefathers. Another difference is that sorcerers try to do evil things. However, there is no special word for 'evil' as a noun, but the Dghwedè only say that they do bad things (*ski bazanana*). For example, a child can behave badly or a thing can look ugly or bad.

⁶ Chapter 3.22 explains how the prefix *dag/dug/dg* was used to classify living and non-living things.

- *dag-gwaya* (*dag* = something; *gwaya* = disappear)
General meaning: 'Something that disappears magically'. Sorcerers make themselves disappear magically. Your guinea corn or a tree might magically disappear. Many such things also happen during the night, e.g. a stone might transform into a cow, or a water spirit (*khalale*) appears as a human being, then suddenly disappears again.

The first two terms, *thayanga* and *tsakine*, signify personality traits in which the former was more a reference to the institutionalised versions of such especially talented people such as rainmakers, while the second was more a reference to people referred to as sorcerers. *Thayanga* can be interpreted as a positive personality trait because it served the greater good of the community, while *tsakine* was more about injuring the wellbeing of the public. John pointed out to me that there was no noun for evil or the Christian devil, but only a verb (*ski bazanana*) which was about doing bad things or behaving badly. We already mentioned that the presumed implication of *ski bazanana* was that there was no negative equivalent of God (*gwazgafte*) in the form of a noun, and that it depended instead on what humans did with their supernatural talents. In the context of this, we showed that a powerful *gwal ngurde* (specialist healer) was perceived as incorporating good and evil within himself. He was seen as being both positively and negatively talented in a supernatural dimension and was therefore a particularly dangerous personality type. We also showed that such extreme supernatural characteristics were more or less exclusively a male domain.

We have already introduced some of the more positive ritual agents as members of specialist lineages. They were for example rainmakers, who were part of the social structure. However it seems that these talents and gifts were not the result of belonging to such specialist lineages but were more the result of those talents and gifts becoming institutionalised. The second category of generally less positive agents was not all negative it seems, and included those who 'fought wars in the night in heaven (*ghaluwa*)' as John expressed it. We have already pointed out that the word 'heaven' might not be a suitable translation of *ghaluwa*, and instead have spoken of 'the cosmological world above' where supernaturally gifted healers fought equally gifted sorcerers.

We will revisit the underlying cosmological worldview linked to those ideas later. In this chapter we are only concerned with the concept of personhood and personality structure, showing that the supernatural aspect of personhood was embedded in the specific personality characteristics listed above. They were not the result of pathological confusion, and we have already demonstrated in the previous section that the Dghwede term *kwiya* was a separate concept for a mental disorder that might possibly have similar symptoms to those displayed by sufferers of witchcraft or sorcery. Supernatural personhood was part of the cosmological belief system and had a powerful transformational capacity which not only applied to humans but also to familiar objects of the Dghwede environment.

The following section on oath swearing and cursing will throw light on the ritual aspect of the belief in sorcery as the most negatively perceived dimension of the transformational powers with which some people were viewed as being endowed. We will describe the importance of local places specifically dedicated to the public treatment of chronic offenders of witchcraft and sorcery. We have chosen to include this particular fragment of our Dghwede oral history retold with this chapter, since it demonstrates another institutionalisation of the supernatural dimension of personhood, this time as part of the traditional justice system.

Proclaiming innocence by individuals accused of sorcery or witchcraft in the past

The Dghwede word for cursing is *ghawaghawa*, while the word for a place where someone was cursed was referred to as *vakwada*, best translated as 'swearing place', which is a reference to swearing an oath of innocence in public. This was what John explained to me in 1995 during a brief interview about past accusations of sorcery, which we present here in the ethnographic present:

If somebody is identified *zalghede* by a Dagha diviner he will be accused by the person who is suffering from sorcery. A *zalghede* normally denies. If he denies the elders will get involved. There will be three or four more confirmations by different Dagha, before the elders decide to curse the person. To curse somebody is called *ghawaghawa*. To do that, the elders will now go to the cursing place in their settlement which is generally referred to as *wakwada* (swearing place). The accused is taken to the swearing place where he will swear (*wada*). He normally swears that he is not a *zalghede*. Most of the time the person who is accused will cry the whole night at the cursing place before the elders come and gather the next morning and ask him to swear. There are several ways to swear. The most usual one is for the accused to turn himself round three times naked. Another one is to throw a piece of black clothing used for burial at him. This means he will be buried. He will say: 'God prove to them that I am not the one, but if I am the one I shall die'. Now he turns himself round three times. If he is the one he will die a few months later, or somebody within his family will die. If he does not die the bad luck will follow the accuser, but it will never follow the diviner.

This is all I have from Dghwedé about the tradition of oath swearing and cursing in the public arena. We know however from our archival records that proclaiming innocence in public has a long tradition, not only in Dghwedé but also in most other communities in and around the Gwoza hills. The first to refer to what he calls the 'Method of Proclaiming Innocence' was captain Lewis (1925). He provides us with short descriptions as part of a comparative listing for many of the local communities. We only quote what he has to say about 'Johode' (ibid):

An old rope (native) is tied around the head of the accused on top of which is placed a new calabash and on top of the latter is placed a small branch of the 'Makariya'-Tree. Their place of swearing oaths is an open space to which place a goat is taken and tied to a stake. The accused then says – 'If I have committed this crime, may I not find food. If I am innocent may my accuser or one of his house-holders die.' If nothing of this sort happens to the accuser in three days the accuser has won his case and the accused⁷ is subject to certain penalties decided by the elders.

Lewis makes no reference to sorcery, but refers to other wrongdoings in the locality, for example 'stealing'. Considering that his report is called 'Customs and Mode of Life about the Hill Pagans', we infer that his main objective in 1925 was to establish what kind of customary law might be suitable for the population of the Gwoza hills. After all, it was the first official report listing all the different local communities. We already referred to captain Lewis' report in Part Two in the chapter about colonial history, and also at the beginning of Part Three under the chapter: 'Names and places'.

It was part of my 1994 survey to map what I called 'places of ritual interest' at the time, and I established that most communities had a swearing or cursing place. Those places included actions such as stealing, adultery, evil spirits and witchcraft as main subjects of contention. If a person was accused of any such offences and did not speak the truth in public, that person risked death. It was also believed that someone who felt guilty for any such offences would have avoided passing such local swearing places, because by doing so they would have risked their life. As reported by Lewis and also confirmed by John, it was the accused who had to swear an oath of innocence, and it was left either to divination or subsequently to the belief in divinity as a supreme supernatural agency to punish such a person found guilty by ordeal.

The custom of cursing and the subsequent intervention of the supernatural did not only occur in the context of a public trial by ordeal, but it also happened inside families, and as such has entered the annals of oral history. We remember the case of Dugh Viye, the daughter of Hembe and first wife of the outsider Mughuze-Ruwa. She was the mother of Vaghagaya, the ancestor of the largest lineage group in Dghwedé. She was accused by her co-wives of being a witch, and when her son Kwili'a doubted her innocence, she was so angry she cursed him and said he would not grow in number. She subsequently decided to leave completely, carrying Vaghagaya on her back, but was unable to continue because of a stone Vaghagaya held in his hand. The stone was so heavy that she had to return and proclaim her innocence. This incident gave her the name

⁷ The original reads: '... and the accuser is subject to certain penalties...' I concluded that it should read: '... and the "accused" is subject to certain penalties...', otherwise it would make no sense.

Bughwithe, and Vaghagaya became the one who increased in number while Kwili'a did not. This example shows that the belief in a supernatural agency as an integrated part of personhood also appears in legendary accounts, as a justification of oral historical events related to late pre-colonial local group formation.

The example of Dugh Viye/Bughwithe (see Chapter 3.4 and Chapter 3.20), the first wife of Mughuze-Ruwa and mother of Vaghagaya, reiterates that the importance of population number was embedded in the belief in the supernatural as a transformational personality trait. Mughuze-Ruwa was an outsider and in his case it was not himself but his first wife who triggered the ordeal of proclaiming innocence. Her sense of injustice impelled her to return, because the supernatural symbolised by the stone in her son's hand forced her to succeed. It is almost as if the stone by its supernatural heaviness represented a personality trait of its own, which prevented her from leaving so she had no other choice than to return and stand her ground. Subsequently her son Vaghagaya became *thaghaya* (seventh born) and he reproduced in great number, becoming as such the legendary expression of the transformational power of the supernatural stone he had held in his hand.

The Bughwithe/Vaghagaya story could be interpreted as a conflict arising from competition rooted in environmental factors related to labour-intensive farming and high population density in an egalitarian society. It seems that proclamation of innocence following such a witchcraft accusation needed to be regulated within a traditional justice system, and the frequency of swearing and cursing was perhaps an expression of that very density. It required a highly regulated ritual system which allowed at the same time for cooperation as well as strong competition. This in turn might have also brought about highly individualised personality traits and a strong belief in the regulation of the supernatural dimension of personhood, in which struggles took place in the celestial world above as a mirror image of environmental conditions and risk management issues in this world.

Conclusion

In this chapter we showed first of all that the worldview of the Dghwedé cannot be separated from the attempt to understand their ideas around personhood. We found it difficult not only to translate the words *safa* (breath, life, soul) and *sdukwe/sdukwe vagha* (human shadow, human spirit), but also to translate *gwazgafte* (divinity and God, or Supreme Being) as structural conditions of existential personhood. We emphasised the underlying fluidity of these concepts, and have been able to establish that the concept of the spirit (*sdukwe*) played a greater role in the context of witchcraft and sorcery, since it was believed that it was *sdukwe* which could be affected by it rather than *safa*. However we were also told that the soul would not survive if the spirit was entrapped or permanently lost. We highlighted how Christianity influenced ideas around the ideas of soul, spirit, God and heaven as part of colonial and Christian influences in the Dghwedé language, and also likely pre-colonial Islamic influences which we exemplified by the Arabic word for evil spirit *shatane* or *shaitan*.

We discussed the vulnerability of the spirit, and concluded that this stemmed from an underlying belief in an aspect of divinity and God (*gwazgafte*) as a celestial dimension of personhood which sorcerers could employ to abduct the spirit of sleeping individuals. In the context of this, only male sorcerers (*zalghede*) had the power to kill. We highlighted the more powerful male-gendered aspect of sorcery, and that it needed a *gwal ngurde* (specialist healer) who himself could be a potential *zalghede* to safeguard such a lost spirit. We further explored whether the Dghwedé distinguished an individual who was affected by sorcery from an individual who might have been naturally mentally confused. We had to admit that we do not know enough about the difference between the concept of witchcraft and that of sorcery, but indirectly hinted at the possibility that witchcraft, the weaker form of supernatural attack, might not only have been caused by females. In the context of this we suggested that witchcraft might have been less intentional than sorcery.

We finally raised the question of how much ritual density as a result of population density needs to be seen as being intrinsically linked to the egalitarian structure of Dghwedè society. The intensified belief system conditioned by structural egalitarianism brought about a rigid regime of rituals not only for dealing with territorial aspects of land and its chronic shortage, but also for dealing with mental space when it came to regulating interpersonal conflict. We established that there was an underlying cosmological order embedded in the concept of existential personhood. We introduced the idea that the mirror worlds above and below were egalitarian in nature, in which the world above was seen as a place where a spirit could get lost, and where healers and sorcerers would fight a 'war'. Similarly egalitarian, we described the world below as a social mirror-image of this world, in which ancestors were imagined to have the same personality traits and conflict areas as their living counterparts.

We hinted that the image of a shadow was possibly a good image for the spirit on the level of earth as the place of home, not only for the living but also for the dead, while the world above could be interpreted as a place without shadow where the spirit could become isolated from the body (*vagha*). We introduced in that context the Dghwedè idea of spirithood, and connected it with the transformational aspect of personhood which expanded beyond humans, interestingly to socio-economically important organic and non-organic objects of the familiar environment, objects that mattered for the reproduction and subsistence of local groups. We mentioned in that context that things could magically appear or disappear or transform.

In the final section we discussed how the belief in witchcraft and sorcery as an integrated part of spirithood was embedded in the local justice system, by referring to an early colonial source and also to some of our own data of the Gwoza hills. We combined these with a Dghwedè example, and showed that the proclamation of innocence was at the very root of an established pre-colonial system of judging by ordeal. We used a legendary account to show how cursing appeared in the oral history of the later pre-colonial past, by citing the example of Bughwithe, the mother of Vaghagaya, and suggested that the story might have been linked to competition between females in their role as first wives and mothers of a seventh born son (*thaghaya*). In the next chapter we will discuss the oral history of the worldview and cosmology of the Dghwedè, and attempt to describe what we refer to as their historical localised flat-earth cosmography, which we think cognitively underlies the orientational ideas around existential personhood presented in this chapter.

Chapter 3.16

Localised flat-earth worldview and cosmology

Introduction

In cosmographic terms the fundamental cognitive orientation of the Dghwedè of the late pre-colonial past was within an archaic flat-earth model in which we think they saw themselves at the centre of the world. This cosmographic orientation inspired their ideas regarding the workings of the world, which was not a global one surrounded by a universe, but a land mass with a deeper ancestral world underneath and a celestial 'umbrella world' far above the winds and clouds. In their world, the sun rose in the morning out of the 'anus' of the deep earth in the east, and disappeared in the evening in the west to produce daylight in the next world below. This chapter puts together the various oral fragments we collected in the mid-1990s about the historic Dghwedè worldview and cosmology, and we present it here as a hypothetical model reconstructed from a limited number of oral memories which we have recast as contextualised illustrations in our ethnographic imagination.

We begin this chapter about the shape of the world by first examining the concept of *luwa* as the Dghwedè word for this world, the place where life took place. We will show how *luwa* appears in other connections, for example in *luwa haya* meaning the people of the adjacent plains, and in *ghaluwa* meaning the celestial world. We will refer back to the concept of *khudi luwa* as the word for settlement unit and its underlying meaning of 'stomach' of this world, to indicate the typical lifestyle of the Dghwedè where manure production was a key element of keeping the mountain environment fertile. We will discuss the expression *luwa mbarte* or 'bottom' of the world as being the world of the ancestors, and the idea of multiple cosmological worlds as mirror worlds not only below but also above the 'hard sky' of the ceiling of this world (*ghaluwa*). We will attempt to interpret their idea of multiple worlds by using the concept of the seventh born as a cosmographic expression of reproduction, which here takes the form of cosmological fecundity.

We will compare the cosmographic ideas of the Dghwedè with similar ideas among the Mafa of Gouzda and the DGB area, and also point out a couple of differences. By doing so we are not suggesting any historical link to the 'Godaliy' tradition (see Chapter 3.3) of the DGB area, but only want to underpin our limited Dghwedè field data. For illustration we will conclude the section about the most likely cosmographic orientation of the late pre-colonial Dghwedè with an illustrative model in which a mountain chain forms the outer rim of the inhabitable world, and where a snake (*sishe*) surrounds the living world (*luwa*) by holding her tail in her mouth. We will point out that the snake eating its tail is a universal image known as Ouroboros, and we will briefly discuss its presumed meaning in light of the Dghwedè worldview. In that context we will emphasise that the Dghwedè cosmological snake is more a symbol of reproduction than one of eternal renewal, by pointing to their subsistence economy and the chronic climatic insecurity stemming from their palaeoclimatic embeddedness in the semi-arid environment of the Gwoza hills.

In the following section we will discuss the Dghwedè mythological tale about how stones stopped being the main source of food when guinea corn was brought from the celestial world by a dog. We will again use comparative oral data from the Mafa of Gouzda to underpin the regional dimension of this tale. As for our cosmographic model, our oral sources are very limited, but we will see how the tale can be linked to the emergence of terrace cultivation, and that it underlines the importance of the arrival of guinea corn, and we will link it to the development of manure production. We will discuss why bulama Ngatha condensed such a long-term prehistoric development into such an immediate event, as if it had happened in a moment. By doing so we will try to understand the workings of the underlying worldview expressed in bulama Ngatha's approach to oral history, by showing how he connects the

mythological tale about the arrival of sorghum to the legendary tale from colonial times about the arrest of Hamman Yaji.

In the final section we will discuss the Dghwede belief in a Supreme Being (*gwazgafte*). We will show that the Dghwede viewed God as having a family and children residing in the world above the 'hard sky' (*ghaluwa*), and address the gender aspect of *gwazgafte* as creator and overseer. We will explore the social mirror aspects of this cosmological model by showing how it not only repeats itself in the ancestral world below but also in the celestial world above, by introducing the belief that God and his wife were parents themselves. We not only show how the children of God can be seen as personal gods of humans, but that they were also exposed to death as humans are. We will describe an aspect of divinity which killed people, perceived as 'god the thief'. We will refer back to the material manifestation of the belief in personal gods by discussing the gender aspects of the architecture of the house as a place of worship.

As so often before in this book, our oral sources are extremely limited and fragmentary. Our main protagonists on local cosmologies are bulama Ngatha of Hudimche and bulama Mbaldawa of Tatsa and elders (1995). At the time my main objective was to compare the cosmological ideas of the Dghwede with what I already knew about the Mafa of the Gouzda area (Muller-Kosack 2003). In a later stage of our fieldwork, John and I also asked Zakariya Kwire of Ghwa'a to review some of the local traditional ideas on cosmography. Concerning our Mafa sources, we will use them mainly to refer to local similarities but will also discuss some important differences. We will not pursue a wider comparison of these concepts, but prefer to assume that some of them could have been quite widespread while others might have been typical for the Dghwede only.

This world (*luwa*) as a mountainous disc with a hard sky above (*ghaluwa*)

Any Dghwede expression referring to the world as a whole would be misleading if we were to see the earth as a globe. We therefore first need to point out that the Dghwede of the past perceived the world as a large disc in which their mountains were seen at the centre of the earthly universe. In that sense, *luwa* meant 'earth as far as one can see' from a local Dghwede perspective. This included not only all Dghwede settlements but also those of their Gwoza hills neighbours and those in the adjacent plains. In that sense, *luwa* referred to the familiar physical world around them from the perspective of how the Dghwede people lived, worked and reproduced. From such a localised montagnard viewpoint, the word *luwa* was a reference to the civilised world and the general notion of human settlement.

Before attempting to relay a late pre-colonial traditional Dghwede cosmographic view of the world by summarising and discussing the oral sources available to us, we will list relevant expressions in which *luwa* appears in different contexts:

- *luwa* (general word for this world with an emphasis on human settlement)
- *luwa haya* (settlements of the people living in the plains)
- *khudi luwa* (agglomeration of houses in the hills with their infields)
- *ghaluwa* ('hard sky', the celestial world above the visible firmament)
- *gwal tung ghaluwa* (mythological creatures as earthly supports for the 'hard sky')
- *luwa cege mcenana* (world of the dead)
- *dhambal ce luwa* (the sides of the world, north and south)
- *mbart luwa* (anus or bottom of this world, meaning 'east' or 'beginning')
- *luwa mbarte* (where the sun rose in the next world, and general word for the next world)
- *ksluwa* (meaning west, no literal meaning for *ks*)

We defined the word *luwa* by referring to it as a general word for this world in the context of a localised flat-earth worldview. We pointed out that the traditional Dghwede worldview

placed the mountains where they lived at the cosmographic centre of the world. They referred to themselves as *gwal ghwa'a*, meaning 'people of the mountains' and from that topographically elevated perspective they looked at the adjacent plains and referred to them as *luwa haya*, meaning 'settlements of the plains'. The word *haya* was a reference to any flat place, even a plateau in the mountains, but in connection with *luwa* it became a reference to where the people of the adjacent plains lived. This implies that their late pre-colonial worldview distinguished between mountains and plains as basic topographical entities.

We think that the word *luwa* also meant that they looked at this world from their perspective as montagnards and terrace farmers. This implies that they used the word *khudi luwa* (*khudi* = stomach, also belly or womb) meaning here 'stomach of the settlement' to refer to the centre of the world of their labour-intensive agriculture. We demonstrated in earlier chapters how the household compounds of extended families cooperated, not only in ritual but also in socio-economic terms. We saw the 'stomach' of the house shrine (*khudi thala*) in that context, not only as a place where fathers stored their most important ritual pots but also as a cosmological symbol of successful terrace farming. We further explained, in the chapter about the seasonal calendar, how ritual sequences reflected the interaction with the invisible worlds below and above, from the point of view of ongoing survival in this world. The chapters about the bull festival and adult initiation underpinned this, as did all previous chapters in one way or another.

In this chapter we are concerned with the wider underlying Dghwede cosmological view of the world. We see that the word *luwa* not only features when referring to the familiar visible earth, but also when referring to its complementary unseen counterparts. We are familiar with the concept of *ghaluwa* from the previous chapter about existential personhood, being the cosmological world above where specialist healers fought with vicious sorcerers and where rainmakers struggled to gain control in the interest of the greater good. We aim to expand this view and explain further that *ghaluwa* can be translated as 'hard sky'. This is possibly the reason why *ghaluwa* was translated to me by John to mean literally 'belonging to *luwa*', because in cosmographic terms it formed the upper limit of *luwa*. In that sense the 'hard sky' of this world was the ceiling of *luwa* and at the same time the floor of *ghaluwa*. I came across a similar concept of a 'hard sky' as the limit for the visible sky above the earth in the Mafa area of Gouzda, including the idea that this was the place where sorcerers would abduct the individual spirits of people, and that it needed a specialist healer with supernatural powers to penetrate and rise above that 'hard sky'.

It was bulama Ngatha who first pointed out that between the surface of this world and the 'hard sky' was *vale*, forming the space where the wind blew and the clouds gathered. He compared *luwa* in that context with the room of a house in which he saw *ghaluwa* as the ceiling and a cosmic chain of outer mountains as the wall on which that ceiling rested. The earth was the floor of that room, somewhat like the terraced platform of a homestead. Bulama Mbaldawa also compared the living world (*luwa*) with a house, but thought that calabash gourds to store milk (*dhangale*) formed the wall. Zakariya Kwire claimed that four people dressed in chicken skin formed the four corners of *luwa*, and if we look at our list we see the expression *gwal tung ghaluwa*, meaning 'the people who hold up the hard sky'. The Mafa of the Gouzda area had a similar belief, but in their case four wooden supports held up the 'hard sky', while an old woman was seen to be sweeping the termites so that the sky would not collapse.

It is very seductive to translate *ghaluwa* as outer space or the cosmos, but it was more like an umbrella or ceiling, because the world was not perceived as a globe but as a level space above a primordial ground. That space was limited by the 'hard sky' visible as the firmament, while the clouds, wind or air could be likened to the earth's atmosphere which we have already identified as *vale*. This was the space the rainmakers observed to predict the weather, but to influence it they had to go deep inside the earth to find 'the roots of the sun', and some could also travel into the higher world above the 'hard sky' referred to as *ghaluwa*. We could interpret the war of the rainmakers high in the air as a dramatisation of gaining control over

the weather, and to achieve this they had to rely on divinity in the form of God (*gwazgafte*) as the Supreme Being who resided at the highest possible point above the multiple upper worlds called *ghaluwa*.

In cosmographic terms we have conflicting information as to how many *ghaluwa* there were above one another. For example, Zakariya Kwire was convinced that there were altogether nine worlds above, and that the earth was constantly moving. Bulama Ngatha insisted that there were seven worlds above and seven worlds below the 'room' of *luwa* (this world) and referred to them as *ghaluwa* (worlds above) and *luwa mbarte* (worlds below). We do not know whether Zakariya Kwire had ever been influenced by the concept of a spherical worldview, but during my time in Dghwedē I spoke to other people who were convinced that the earth was a disc with an umbrella world above. They had no concept of planetary movements or that the earth orbited the sun, a cosmographic view linked to Copernican heliocentrism. The cosmographic orientation of the pre-colonial Dghwedē was pre-Copernican, underpinned by the seasonal experience of their mountain environment, and in oral historical terms this was addressed by legendary and mythological accounts.

There seem to be several expressions referring to the next world, one is *luwa mbarte* while another is *luwa cege mcenana* (*mcenana* meaning 'the dead'). There is also the word *fke*, meaning 'hole', which dada Dga used to refer to the world beyond. It seems that *luwa mbarte* was the more common expression, and we also see in our list the same words reversed as *mbart luwa*. While *mbart luwa* referred to the east as the place where the sun reappeared daily out of the 'anus' or 'bottom' (*mbarte*) of the world, *luwa mbarte* was where the sun rose in the next world after it had disappeared in the west (*ksluwa*) of this world. As well as the 'bottom' from where the sun rose daily, the north and south of their mountainous world were referred to as the 'sides of the world' (*dhambal ce luwa*) with the same words used for both. *Dhambal* was also used to refer to the sides of the human body, but this does not imply that *dhambal ce luwa* meant the world was viewed as a human body. We know that *mbarte* not only meant 'anus' or 'bottom', marking the east and the direction from which the sun was seen to rise from the ancestral world into the world of their descendants in this world, but also meant a new beginning, as in *kambarte* for lineage section in terms of local group formation.

The cosmological sequence of mirror worlds was perceived to exist deep inside of what we refer to as the primordial ground, and high above in what we call the celestial world. This can perhaps be seen as a reflection of the desire to prepare for bad times. At first sight the association of multiple mirror worlds below this world appears in reproductive terms to be a more convincing social mirror image than God and his family living in the world above. However, regarding the cosmological journey taken by human life, bulama Ngatha claimed that humans were born from the celestial world above but died into the next world below, which hints at the religious belief of life and death as a cosmographic ideation which needed to pass through this world in order to be ritually managed. We do not know whether there was the belief that the next world below was populated only by ancestors, but we do know that they were seen to go through the same cycle of life and death as their descendants in this world, meaning that they also died and became ancestors in the world below that one.

We found a similar idea about the workings of deep earth among the Mafa of Gouzda, which confirms a regional dimension of flat-earth cosmography and the belief in multiple worlds below and above this world. In contrast, the Mafa of Gouzda had different ideas to the Dghwedē regarding the journey of the sun during the night. The Mafa imagined that the sun transformed into a ram after it had gone down in the west. The ram would then run in a semi-circle through wilderness or bushland along the outer rim of the earth imagined as a disc, to transform back into the sun again the next morning when it rose in the east. We do not know whether the Dghwedē also had a narrative of a 'wilderness' similar to that of the Mafa, but we were only told about a cosmic mountain chain forming the outer rim around this world. Looking at our illustration in Figure 25, we can only speculate as to whether the cosmic mountain chain, separated from this world by a snake eating its tail, can be interpreted as an uninhabitable space outside of this world (*luwa*). According to my research, the Mafa of

Gouzda did not entertain the idea of a cosmic snake embracing this world, but we do not know whether the Gwoza hill neighbours of the Dghwedë did so.

Neither do we know what the other groups of the Gwoza hills believed concerning the cosmographic journey of the sun. The Dghwedë belief that the sun rose from the next world after it had set in the west of this world suggests that the east of the next world was underneath the west of this world. The reversal of west and east seems to suggest the idea that the next world, besides being peopled by ancestors, was cosmographically a mirror image of this world. We never explored this with our Dghwedë friends, but it is supported by their view that the ancestors used the left hand when carrying out their rituals for their dead fathers and grandfathers. This was explained to me as the reason why a father of a house used the left hand when he performed the first ritual after the divination following the death of his father. I was explicitly told that the reason was the very belief that the left hand in the next world was comparable to the right hand in this world.

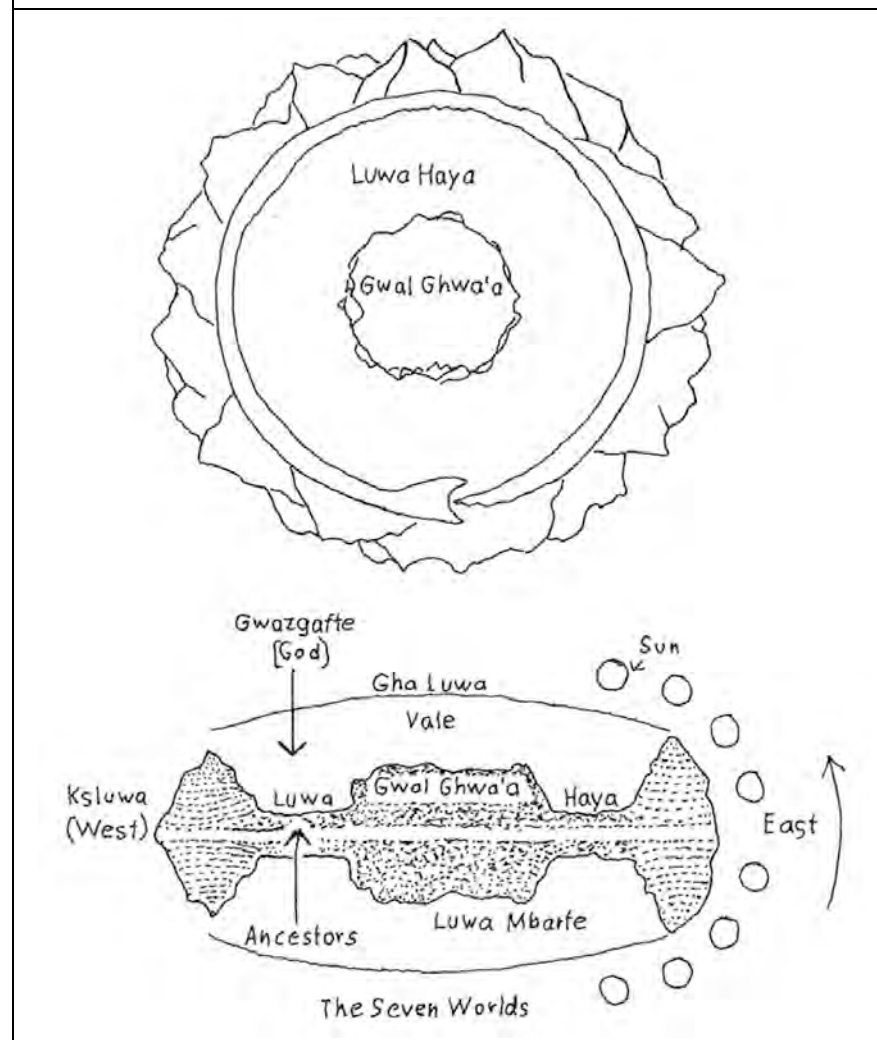
Similarly, we could equally perceive the mouth and the anus as reversals in the context of the image of the 'stomach' of the house shrine (*khudi thala*), seeing the entry point and the exit point of food as a cosmological concept for manure production. It was always important, as well as quite amusing to me, when my Dghwedë friends explained that the meaning of *mbarte* for anus also meant a new beginning. In the context of this, we refer back to the meaning of the word *kambarte* for the new beginning of a localised lineage group of the same genealogical descent (*ksage*) after splitting along the lines of different mothers, commonly known as 'kitchen' (*kudige*). We remember how our Dghwedë friends explained that a *kambarte* was the start of a new local settlement which would subsequently become a *khudi luwa*. This involved not only the building of new houses but also the development of fertile infields by manuring them over several generations. In the context of this, the patrilineal ancestors of the new local lineage branch would then become the inhabitants of a mirror world under that one, imagined as *luwa mbarte* (the cosmographic 'bottom' of a local settlement). I admit that this is only a circumstantial ethnographic conclusion.

The Dghwedë cognitive orientation in which the sun passed through the next world while it was dark in this world throws light on what we refer to as 'blessings from above and below'. While the ancestors lived in the world below (*luwa mbarte*), the world above (*ghaluwa*) was the home of *gwazgafte* as Father Almighty (God), plus his wife or wives and children. We refer to this as celestial or divine parenthood, and discuss it in the final section of this chapter together with the relevant fieldnotes. It was bulama Ngatha who told us that people were born from the world above and that they would go to the world below after they had died, which presumably makes this world the true world of the living. While the world below was connected with tracing patrilineal descent and the inheritance of assets in this world, we will see in the next section that the adoption of sorghum and the skill of making fire came from the celestial world above. This implies that the cosmological direction of reproduction was inspired from the world above, while hard human labour had created the world below and it needed to be defended by means of physical warfare in this world, while spiritual warfare happened in the world above.

We remember how individual spirits as shadow images of humans (*sdukwe vagha*) could be abducted by powerful sorcerers, and how specialist healers would fight a war in the world above to bring those spirits back into the human body. We were equally told by the rainmaker of Gharaza, how rainmakers would fight a war in the air (*vale*), and that the most powerful ones could go as far as *ghaluwa* to fight the war for rain. By remaining with our image of a cosmological above and below, we also remember the legend of Zedima who collected 'the roots of the sun', not only to control the rain but also to control drought. He used it to gain victory over the chief of Wandala, despite his wife Katala-Wandala having poisoned the local beer he shared among neighbours while they were distributing manure on the terraced fields. These narratives demonstrate how important the ritual promotion of fecundity was for the late pre-colonial Dghwedë, and interpreting them in the context of their view of the world helps towards a better understanding of the cosmological meaning of the legendary tales.

Figure 25 is an illustration I published over twenty years ago as a model of the Dghwede cosmography in which a rim of outer world mountains holds up the 'hard sky', and where a cosmological snake forms the limit and outer bounds of the living world, while the sun circulates through this and the other worlds above and below (Muller-Kosack 1996:149).¹

Figure 25: Model of the Dghwede view of cosmographic mirror worlds



In our model, the expression of multiple cosmological worlds below *luwa mbarfe* and above *ghaluwa* is an expression of the Dghwede reproductive mode of thought as applied on the cosmographic level of belief. We think it is a representation of hope for a prosperous future, perhaps taken from the idea of the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) for good luck in the face of adversity. This is not just an instance of belief in the supernatural as a source of good luck, but also the belief in human endeavour

against environmental crisis. We will discuss this way of thinking further in Chapter 3.18, concerning the significance of the seventh- and eighth-born child as expressions of good and bad luck, and also in Chapter 3.19 about the Dghwede belief in the communal reincarnation of twins, which were seen as reproductive mirror images.

Figure 25 contains the expression *gwal ghwa'a* which refers to the 'People of the hills' (*gwal* = people; *ghwa'a* = mountains) as opposed to *luwa haya*. We know that the latter refers to the settlements of the plains. We do not have any comparative data on cosmographic ideas from

¹ My artist friend David Lewis created this adaptation by following my instructions at the time, and I am grateful for his effort. When David gave me the completed illustration, I realised that he had taken the mirror image of the world literally and not only as a social mirror image. I decided to leave it as it is, despite the fact that the first picture might create the impression that the earth is not flat but spherical, however it is a view of the disc from above. The side view shows how the sun rises in this world after it has moved through the next world, and we also see in the side view that the sun circulates above the 'hard sky', which is something we are uncertain about. David also put the idea of 'The Seven Worlds' below *luwa mbarfe*, which is potentially misleading since it is meant to apply not only to the next world but also to world above, which has, according one source, as many as nine multiple worlds.

the other groups of the Gwoza hills, and can only rely on those from the Mafa of the Gouzda area. We presented some of their concepts earlier and contrasted them with details told to us by our Dghwedè friends.

Before continuing with Dghwedè cosmography, we want to introduce the reader to two tales, in the form of a footnote, which are topographically linked to the western and the eastern foothills of the Dghwedè massif. The reason is that we think that they might be interesting to future historians for further ethnoarchaeological understanding of the DGB sites. In Plate 7b we have already showed a photograph of the western foothill called Bebe (see Chapter 1.1).²

There is one more aspect of the Dghwedè cosmography to discuss a little more, which is the idea of the calabash gourds (*dhangale*) forming a wall supporting the 'hard sky' of this world (*luwa*). Mulama Mbaldawa and elders of Tatsa (1995) specified that they were the type of *dhangale* used to store milk, but did not elaborate on whether they contained milk in their cosmological function. While the Dghwedè and the other ethnolinguistic groups of the Gwoza hills consume milk, their subregional Mafa neighbours do not, and the Mafa even find the consumption of cow milk revolting. I was surprised when I found out that the Dghwedè had an elaborate culture of milk consumption, to the extent that it featured in their cosmographic ideas about the upper limits of the world. We therefore refer to that difference as another example of cultural variation, especially since we used the Mafa of Gouzda as an example to illustrate the wider subregional importance of similar cosmographic ideas.

Before we move on to the next section, perhaps a few words about the cultural history of the image of a snake biting its tail. Today this is an iconic global symbol known as the Ouroboros, which we think the Dghwedè incorporated as part of their cosmographic worldview long ago. Apart from other great civilisations, the Egyptian connection to Ouroboros is possibly the oldest on the African continent, but it was also known in Islam. The snake or serpent also played an important role as a spirit animal in African cultures across the continent. The snake that bites its tail often has a double meaning. On the one hand, the snake consumes itself and is a symbol of death, but on the other hand it symbolises reproduction and renewal. We do not think the Dghwedè used it as a symbol of eternity, which is an abstract development of the idea and more linked to modern iconographic art and romantic esoteric thinking. Our two Dghwedè sources had most likely a very practical scenario in mind when they expressed the idea that the world would come to an end if the snake died. We can only speculate, but like to think that allowing for the possibility that the cosmographic snake might die was a reference to the reality of their mountainous world being prone to environmental crises. This is a strong possibility, considering their topographical position in the semi-arid transition zone of the savannas of the southern Lake Chad basin where climate emergencies were a regular part of the palaeoclimatic circle of life and death.

Tale of how stones stopped being main source of food after arrival of guinea corn

In this chapter we will present oral fragments about the mythological importance of stones being the food of the first humans, and how this changed when a dog brought guinea corn and

² There is the legend of the foothill called *Bebe* in Vile, representing a collapsed tower which could perhaps be seen in a cosmographic context (Muller-Kosack, 1994, unpublished fieldnotes). The story goes that the people of Vile built a tower to get to the sky for much needed rain, but when they almost reached God they were warned not to build any higher. They ignored the warning and the tower gave way, so that those further down could not hear the warnings from the ones on top. This led to the Vile people being spread all over the western plain. Some eventually returned because they wanted to visit the land of their lineage ancestors. The Dghwedè also have a legend about a collapsed tower which once existed on the other side of the hills, near Barawa. Their tower story is also linked to the need for rain and the remains of it are visible as an eroded foothill called *Dheya* (ibid 1998). One could interpret the collapsed towers in both tales as cosmographic representations of former mountains, and as such as oral examples of prehistorical montagnard civilisations that had vanished as a result of climate change.

fire. There is a variation on the theme, which claims that the guinea corn came out of the Durghwe mountain shrine, and we will discuss the cosmological significance of this in the next chapter. Our sources here are the same as in the previous section, but this time bulama Ngatha of Hudimche is our main oral source, combined with a comparative version from the Mafa of the Gouzda area. It was at the beginning of my fieldwork in Dghwede in 1995 when I was interested in such tales, though only in a very sketchy way, especially about whether the Dghwede had similar mythological tales to the Mafa. We present first the Dghwede account followed by a variation of a similar account I collected in the mid-1980s among the Mafa.

This is what bulama Ngatha had to say about stones as food and how it all changed:

From the beginning, there was one man and one woman created by God. They walked around to find something to eat and they found that they could eat stones. The stones were soft. As they continued like that, it happened that a dog brought guinea corn and fire.

Dog brought guinea corn from God. God gave the dog grain to take it and to keep it where the dog lived. Dog ate the grain and when he came to earth he shit it out and it germinated from his excrement. A dog also brought fire on his tail.

The guinea corn brought by the dog was planted and it germinated and gave fruit. They planted it again and again until the complete farmland was done. When they were in the process of planting the guinea corn an old woman came along and urinated on the stones which were still soft. After she had done that the stones became hard.

After the guinea corn was discovered they started eating guinea corn. Now they were thinking of making a sacrifice to their God. Therefore they picked some grain put it into the water to wash it. They threw the grain away and used the water for sacrifice.

Now an ugly woman came. She collected the guinea corn they had thrown away and put it into one container. It lasted for a few days and it germinated. Now she ground it and cooked it for the first day. She cooked it again on the second day. She gathered the liquid part of it into one container. She kept it and after two days it fermented. When they tested it it was acidic sweet and they liked it. They asked the woman how she had done it and the woman explained. Now everybody started doing it.

When they were enjoying guinea corn and beer (*ghuze*) Hamman Yaji came. Hamman Yaji was directed by people saying that these people were very wealthy and they had goats, cows, etc. So Hamman Yaji started coming, killed people and took away their animals and all they had. He was selling people at the price of one goat or sheep per person.

In 1995 bulama Ngatha was still a Traditionalist and only converted to Islam about ten years later, most likely under the influence of his son who lived in the plains and came on regular visits to Hudimche. He emphasised that the first man and woman were created by God and that they ate stones that were soft until a dog brought guinea corn. While with God, the dog had been given guinea corn, and after the dog had eaten it he came to this world where it germinated out of his excrement and was subsequently planted by man. While the guinea corn germinated and grew, now being under the auspices of man, an old woman urinated over the stones, an act which rendered the stones uneatable.

After the stones had become hard and the people had started eating guinea corn instead of stones, they developed the first sacrifice to divinity (*gwazgafte*) by washing some of the guinea corn in water, but then threw the grain away and only used the water as a sacrifice. An old woman collected and kept that discarded wet grain which started to germinate, and was then cooked by the old woman, and that led to the discovery of sorghum beer. Now everybody did this until Hamman Yaji came and raided them, because Hamman Yaji had discovered how wealthy the Dghwede had become through their discovery of planting guinea corn. He killed people and took away their farm animals and sold the people as slaves.

The tale mixes mythological events with recent historical events, presumably to highlight that the good times of terrace cultivation had not lasted, and that the raids of Hamman Yaji had been the most traumatic experience of recent oral history. We described the arrest of Hamman Yaji, and how the Dghwede saw themselves as the initiators of this arrest because when they

realised that the Wandala could not protect them and they believed the British were unaware of Hamman Yaji's atrocities, they sent a peacemaking delegation to Maiduguri (see Chapter 2.2).

We also remember the supernatural elements of the tale represented by our Dghwede friends, in that *Cissus quadrangularis* was swallowed by Vaima, a member of the Dagha local peacemaker lineage, before he went on his journey which led to the arrest of Hamman Yaji. We interpret bulama Ngatha's reference to the arrest of Hamman Yaji as the oral historical marker for the end of pre-colonial times, a time when things were still in order and the beginning of colonial times when cultural changes came about. In a way it also marks the transitional period between traditional and modern times. Perhaps only Boko Haram can claim a similar significance in oral historical terms, but bulama Ngatha died before they arrived.

Before attempting to interpret the mythological element of the tale, we will provide a selective summary of how the story was told to me by the Mafa of the Gouzda area, by focussing on the similarities in both versions (Muller-Kosack 2003:102ff). There too the stones had once been soft and were used as food and soil was the sauce, until an old woman urinated over the 'food stones' and as a result they became hard. Until then life had been good and people lived forever, but now they buried the stones under the soil. Next, a local clan ancestor by the name of Goye stole guinea corn from God's wife. He put two grains of it under his foreskin and managed to smuggle it past God's children despite them having checked his ears, anus, mouth and armpits. Back on earth, Goye was the first to start planting sorghum, and it was still a local custom during my time for the first ceremonial beer of the year to be dedicated to Goye, who was seen as a mythological representation of the first settler.

In Gouzda, Goye was seen as someone with a supernatural talent, similar to the talent of sorcerers and specialist healers which extended beyond human personhood as we discussed earlier. According to bulama Ngatha, a dog not only brought guinea corn by digesting it, but he also brought fire by carrying it on his tail. Bulama Mbaldawa added that dogs became domesticated because they brought all these goods to man. The Mafa of Gouzda also honour dogs because they brought millet and fire. They told me that when they threw food to their dogs they would say: 'thank you for bringing us millet', while bulama Mbaldawa of Tatsa claimed that a dog brought only sorghum, and that millet had transformed from a grass called *tuve*. Unlike Goye who brought sorghum to the Mafa of Gouzda by hiding it under his foreskin, the Dghwede believed that a dog produced it through his digestive tract, and when humans saw it germinating from his excrement they planted it and started cultivating.

My Dghwede protagonists were not too rigid in the claim that stones were once the only source of food, and some claimed that the fruits of trees were also used before guinea corn was discovered. Concerning the prehistoric relationship between millet and guinea corn, we know that the cultivation of guinea corn was the more recent, and perhaps the Mafa version of linking millet rather than sorghum to a cosmological dog as the bringer of fire makes more sense prehistorically. However, these are mythological accounts after all, and what seems to be important in both tales is that it was not the discovery of millet but that of guinea corn that led to the stones to be rendered useless as food.

We therefore favour the hypothesis that the regional development of terrace cultivation as the main source of subsistence needs to be seen in the context of the adoption of guinea corn. Such a hypothesis also makes sense in the context of it being used as a sacrifice to God following the discovery of how to make sorghum beer. We also learned in earlier chapters how people who could not afford to sacrifice a he-goat used sorghum flour in water to sacrifice over their ancestor stones. This combination links sorghum beer and animal husbandry as a source of manure production to the discovery of guinea corn.

Unfortunately the mythological tale does not refer to animal husbandry, but we do know from earlier chapters that the stall feeding of animals was a crucial aspect of terrace cultivation for

the production of much-needed manure. Perhaps the only hint as to the importance of manure is found in bulama Ngatha's story about the dog's excrement which served as the delivery of the guinea corn. It is common knowledge that regional Sahel pastoralism is prehistorically more ancient than the farming of millet or guinea corn. If we take into account that guinea corn and animal husbandry formed such a successful symbiosis in the socio-economic culture of the Dghwedé, perhaps the legendary illustration is that the result was that stones eroded and became buried behind the terrace walls of the landscape. Terrace agriculture is a significant technological achievement, and the mythological interpretation of how it came about might look on the surface like a tale in which the stones had once been edible before they became soil, but it could well be interpreted as a piece of oral-historical poetry.³

There is however a variation in the tale put to us in 1998 by Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga of Ghwa'a, who claimed that guinea corn emerged from the cracks of the three stone pillars of Durghwe, which are viewed as cosmological granaries. We will discuss this tale in the next chapter dedicated to the importance of Durghwe, but want to mention here that it was not only the discovery of guinea corn that was connected to Durghwe, but also primordial water, a cosmological grinding stone and three mythological bulls. All five elements: the stones, sorghum, three bulls, granary and water could be seen as cosmological ingredients for the development of labour-intensive terrace cultivation in the region. This is why we like to think that the cultivation of sorghum and manure production were prehistorically linked.

These mythological accounts do not give any hint of when it all began, but perhaps at this point we should remind the reader of the DGB stone structures which were also buried underground, not just as a result of erosion but as an original underground system of chambers and passageways.⁴ The other aspect of which we should perhaps remind ourselves is the dating of the sites before the formation of the Mafa. We deduced that the formation of the Dghwedé was most likely a result of climate change after the earliest of the DGB sites had been abandoned. We attempted to link all of this to the emergence of the early Wandala state in Kirawa, a non-Islamic entity at the time. We further showed similarities to the pottery of the DGB sites, and the small apertures of pots as a particularly sophisticated method of ritual sorghum beer storage for commemorated family ancestors, which served, at least in Dghwedé, as a way of keeping the beer fresh. Besides this, we argued in the chapter on the house as place of worship that the idea of freshness was a cosmological concept of renewal, which we were already aware of from our Mafa research and as such could be applied to the Dghwedé worldview.

To aim for freshness and growth as a symbol of successful reproduction requiring human effort throws light on the old woman who urinated on the stones and spoilt them for serving as food. Mythologically making it the fault of an old woman points to the fact that she had passed her menopause and the reproductive cycle of giving birth. In the Mafa context we have for example the tale that the rainbow was seen as the urine of an old woman, and that the rainmaker used his rainstones to remove the rainbow to make it rain. Unfortunately, I did not enquire in Dghwedé for a comparable mythological tale, but we remember, to mention Zedima again, the legend where 'the roots of the sun' had been found deep inside the earth, because Zedima had access to those technologies. His ritual ownership gave him the entitlement to use the Durghwe mountain shrine as a regulatory method for survival, and in the legend the now diminished chief of Wandala had to leave the hills for Kirawa.

³ Richard Fardon pointed out an interesting alternative interpretation with the suggestion that the tale was perhaps a playful reversal, because stones were used to grind guinea corn into a soft state, and it was perhaps more a reference to its preparation than to its cultivation (email correspondence from 2008).

⁴ We will return to that in the next chapter about *Durghwe*, and suggest an alternative ethnoarchaeological scenario for the ritual function of the underground passageways which are so typical for the DGB sites.

In the next section we will revisit the Dghwedè concept of 'the world above', in particular the belief in celestial parenthood, with God as the male representative of the Supreme Being. This will throw light on the Dghwedè idea that wives did not have personal gods, but that their husbands owned the ritual control over the cosmological dimension of reproduction. This presumably indirectly underlines the Mafa tale of Goye stealing guinea corn from God's wife by hiding it under his foreskin while her children searched the orifices of his body. We will compare again some of the Dghwedè ideas about divinity represented by God, his celestial wife and their divine children, with our Mafa sources, to point out more similarities and differences. For example, one of the differences is that among the Mafa of the Gouzda area not only men but also women were perceived as having access to female versions of personal gods when needed.

Dghwedè ideas around the concept of a Supreme Being (*gwazgafte*)

We have discussed the concept of *gwazgafte* on many occasions in the course of this book, in the chapter about the seasonal calendar, the chapter about the house as place of worship, and in the previous chapter about ideas around existential personhood. In our cosmographic model (Figure 25) we translated *gwazgafte* as God who resides in the celestial world above the 'hard sky'. In the previous section we also mentioned God's wife, and introduced the idea of celestial parenthood. We will discover that the Dghwedè belief system was not monotheistic in a dogmatic sense, and in other contexts we have translated *gwazgafte* as 'divinity' in a general sense rather than God, but we have to admit that our oral sources on the subject are fragmentary and in this chapter section we rely more or less on the same protagonists. As before, we will quote some of their statements in the interest of greater authenticity of meaning and then produce a summary of their shared views and point out differences if we view them as significant.

There are many references to God as a Supreme Being across the corpus of our Dghwedè notes. Whether it is about rainmaking, peacemaking, planting, harvesting, sorcery or marriage, most of our Dghwedè friends, regardless of whether they were still Traditionalists or had converted to one of the global religions, referred to God as 'always having the first or the last word' so to speak. One of the most common features of this attitude seems to be when our friends were referring to the various talents people had as gifts from God. In that sense, not only were rainmaking and other ritual works carried out by specialist lineages seen as God-given tasks, but any individual's supernatural talent was also seen as a gift from God. However not only positive things came from God, but also negative ones, and that was when they seemed to become attributed to aspects of divinity. This is why in our opinion it is not always justifiable to spell God with a capital 'G' when speaking of the traditional belief in a Supreme Being, even though he was reportedly the creator and overseer of all.

While there was a strong belief in a Supreme Being referred to as *gwazgafte*, which we like to translate as God who transcends all worlds, there was also the belief that God had a wife and children. We can indirectly conclude from our oral sources that among the Dghwedè it was a generally held belief that God had a family. This was implied by the idea that every human being had a celestial mirror image outlining his future in this world. Bulama Ngatha (1995) explains:

Overall God has a wife and, like we humans, he has children. For example, one person was complaining of having no wife. That means his god does not have a wife. This man was taken to heaven and his eyes were open to see his god coming from his farm with firewood and grasses and other things to bring home. So he was told, you see, your god is not married that is why you are not married. Your god will marry and you too will get married but your god will only have one child and he will die. The same will happen to you. Other people cannot see that, only that person can see that. The God who has taken him up to heaven was the brother of his god.

The view of a celestial or divine mirror image in which the children of God functioned as personal gods of humans was also common among the Mafa of Gouzda (Muller-Kosack

2003:76ff), but it is uncertain whether the Dghwedê idea of a personal god originated in the same way. However Bulama Ngatha's account indicates that a human's personal god experienced everything the same way in the celestial world above. This is why we think that the Dghwedê too believed that humans had personal gods, but unlike among the Mafa of Gouzda, it seems in their case only males and children had representatives to be called on in rituals, while females did not. The belief that women did not have personal gods was explained to me by bulama Mbaldawa (1995) who said that women did not have them because they were powerless and did not have the sacrificial responsibilities of men.

Concerning the celestial world where God's family was a mirror image of the social world of the Dghwedê, this idea was also played out in the image of the next world below, which was also perceived as a mirror image of this world. Bulama Ngatha explained as follows:

A person without children, if he dies, will depend in the next world on others because he has no children to make a sacrifice for him. Those who have children on earth get sacrifices from their children. If a child that was only breastfed dies it will wait for his father to die. A person who has passed that stage will live in the next world on his own.

The Mafa of Gouzda also had a belief in the next world being a social mirror image of this world (ibid:82ff), and they also had a belief about 'god the thief', who was a singular being, having only one arm, one leg and one eye. 'God the thief' was held responsible for causing death (ibid:74ff). We found similar beliefs among the Dghwedê, as bulama Ngatha and bulama Mbaldawa pointed out. Both quotes from my 1995 fieldnotes refer firstly to God as the Supreme Being, but then elaborate on the other aspects of God in the form of personal gods and 'god the thief' who causes death, as well as ideas about life in the next world. We start with bulama Ngatha of Hudimche, followed by bulama Mbaldawa of Tatsa, plus some of my remarks.

Bulama Ngatha:

Every person has his own god (*gwazgafte*) but there is another god (*dzibuwa*). He is a thief. He hunts people but God is taking care of his people [in the form of personal gods], but *dzibuwa* is always hunting for people. Sometimes people see *dzibuwa* and when they see him, you will die that year. He has one leg only. There is an overall God who directs other gods to create people. If your god has three children you will have three children as well. If your god dies without children you will die without children as well. God sends his children for different purposes like any father sends his children.

Bulama Mbaldawa:

There is a God which is in heaven (*ghaluwa*) who has created everything. He created human beings and he assigned the personal gods to them to take care of them just like we as humans take care of goats. The god who kills people and is a thief has no children. He is called *dnugwe* (an old man who has no children is *dnugwe*). The reason you die is because of that thief who kills you.

The question of where we go after death was kept open and it was said that we could not know. We tried to find out more about the belief of the next world by asking why they sacrificed to their family ancestors and it was answered that they did that because they wanted something to eat.

Bulama Ngatha confirms the Dghwedê belief that God's children are the personal gods sent to look after humans. By comparing both accounts we also recognise that the god perceived as a thief had two different names. While bulama Ngatha referred to this god as *dzibuwa*, bulama Mbaldawa called him *dnugwe* (a childless old man). Unfortunately we do not have a translation for *dzibuwa*, but we know what *dnugwe* means, and we are certain it is a reference to not having a boy child. We remember in this context how an ancestor without a son would have to rely on his neighbour to feed him in the next world, because he had no male descendants in this world to sacrifice to him. This example confirms the gender aspect of God's descendants, and perhaps a childless god with one leg is an image of death because his appearance contains a physical deficiency.

We have learned so far that the word *gwazgafte* was used to refer to God as Supreme Being as well as to personal gods, while 'god the thief' was a god who never had children. However,

'god the thief' was quite powerful because he could kill without a man's personal god having any prior knowledge. We have further learned that women most likely did not need personal gods because they had no sacrificial responsibilities. Social relationships on earth were reflected in the celestial world, with God, his wife and children, plus other relatives such as God's brother, being a social mirror image of this world. Because of this, God was like the father of a house, and as overseer of the world he was male. Therefore it would be expected that God being perceived as male was the reason the father of a house ritually managed the relationship with divinity and the celestial world. We have seen however that the traditional house as a place of worship has many female aspects, not only embedded in the architecture but also in the ritual behaviour of the performers.

Regarding material objects representing the Dghwede belief in God, such as ritual pots and ancestor stones, Dghwede Christians often expressed the opinion that for Traditionalists, these objects were not symbolic representations of the divine, but that Traditionalists believed the objects themselves were gods. Their views about their forbears' pre-colonial past reminded me of the controversy between Catholics and Protestants, about whether the communion wine was the blood of Jesus or only a symbol. In my opinion it is justifiable to say that in both cases it is a matter of belief. The main difference is perhaps that in the case of the Traditionalists, the belief in the power of divinity was not manifested in the written word but was part of a localised oral culture which had a more figurative way of thinking. In this way, objects linked to daily life formed the cognitive basis of belief. We remember the eating bowls and cooking pots transformed into ritual objects to feed and nurture, and which cosmologically expressed the gender aspects of reproduction.

This brings us back to the title of this chapter, and points to the worldview of the Dghwede as a traditionally oral and egalitarian society farming in a challenging semi-arid environment. In our opinion all these environmental factors are played out in their cosmological thinking, in which myths and the belief in a Supreme Being are integrated. There is a strong socio-economic component linked to a subsistence way of life in which women were seen only as reproductive assets, a view we hope we have managed to highlight and call out by pointing to the strong gender aspects in all the rituals described. Concerning the celestial or divine world, we still do not know whether God had only one or several wives, but we would not be surprised if the Dghwede of the pre-colonial past imagined that God did have several wives, and perhaps when our Traditionalist Dghwede friends said 'God's wife' it was God's first wife to whom they were referring.

As we have discovered so far in this book, men and women cooperated along the lines of kinship and local group formation, including lineage-splitting by 'kitchen' (*kudige*). The gender division of labour was also expressed in tasks such as rope-making, and cooperation was shown by the example of a rope for tying a sacrificial bull being passed on from one settlement unit to the next, as seen in the travelling bull festival of Hidkala (Hambagda). The Dghwede belief in a Supreme Being as a male representation of divinity is ritually expressed by the fact that women were excluded from sacrificing, but at the same time this put a great weight of moral responsibility upon men as heads of families. We remember how a woman feared that her husband might die if he did not perform all the rituals in the sacrifice to his house god during *har gwazgafte* (slaughtering for divinity) in the correct way. The first wife, her co-wives and children had to remain indoors during this sacrifice to the doorpost (*wuts gwazgafte*). We further saw in the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) that fathers and husbands were seen very much as warriors, and that they cared for their families by striving for individual and collective achievement to prevent future food shortages.

Conclusion

We began this chapter with the cosmographic image of how the Traditional Dghwede thought their mountain world was embedded in a universe of multiple worlds above and below the flat-earth cosmography of this world. We described the vision behind such a cosmographic

orientation and attempted to point to the cognitive implications that such a view of the world implied. It was a mountainous living world, however the earth was not a globe circulating in seasonal sequences around the sun, but the earth was at the centre and the sun rose out of its 'rectum' bringing daylight from the east, then the sun sank back into the earth in the west where it brought daylight to the next world where the ancestors lived. Below the next world they imagined multiple other next worlds which looked exactly like this world, and it seems it was common to think that there were up to seven such next worlds, all mirror images of one another. A similar idea existed for the celestial world above, where God, his first wife and children lived. That world above this world was separated from the surface of the earth by an atmospheric space called *vale*, imagined to be below a 'hard sky' (firmament) and where the breathable air, wind and clouds were part of this world. The idea was that the 'hard sky' separated the celestial world from this world and was imagined to rest either on an outer cosmic mountain chain or a wall of calabash gourds, and a cosmological snake with its tail in its mouth surrounded the living world. It was thought that the living world would come to an end if the cosmological snake died.

We interpreted the past cosmographic orientation of the Dghwede as a contextualised version of their mythological worldview in which development had taken place over time, starting with a period when stones were soft and served as food, together with fruits of trees. It was a carefree life until an old woman urinated over the stones which caused them to become hard and no longer edible. We interpreted this as an environmental crisis in which drought and lack of fertility might have occurred, represented by a post-menstrual woman no longer able to give birth. What happened next was that dog went to the celestial world where God lived, and God gave the dog sorghum to eat. When the dog came back to earth, humans found that sorghum had germinated from the dog's excrement and they started planting sorghum. Because people wanted to honour God for the sorghum he had given them, they put the sorghum into water and used the water for libation and threw the sorghum grain away. Next, an ugly woman came along and collected the discarded sorghum, which had started to germinate because it was wet from the water. She took it and put it in a pot and cooked it repeatedly. Implied with this was that the dog had also brought fire from God by carrying it on his tail. The ugly woman left the germinated and boiled sorghum and it started to ferment, and when people tried it they found that it tasted acidic and sweet at the same time, and this was how the ancestors discovered sorghum beer (*ghuze*).

The Dghwede now lived a very carefree life again, which lasted for a long time because after they had buried the stones and built the terrace fields and houses they developed a culture of mixed farming in which they produced manure for keeping the terrace fields fertile. This went on for a long time until Hamman Yaji raided. This mythologically enhanced version of events was relayed to us by bulama Ngatha, and we discussed it here by suggesting that perhaps the traumatic raids of Hamman Yaji were the most prominent event in oral historical memory, as he continued raiding after the German colonial powers had lost their footing in Borno as a result of World War One. We referred to the Dghwede version of the arrest of Hamman Yaji in which the Dghwede sought help from the British colonial powers by the ritual means of *Cissus quadrangularis*, under the auspices of Vaima. Vaima was from the peacemaker lineage Dagha and was the first bulama of Ghwa'a during early British colonial times, and was quoted by Lewis (1925) under the name of 'Baima'. The transition from pre-colonial to colonial times, and finally to national independence and modern times during which the Dghwede culture transformed, was perceived by bulama Ngatha in such a way that in his oral account he contextualised these changes with the mythological discovery of guinea corn. We mentioned that the traumatic slave raids of Hamman Yaji during early colonial times in the Gwoza hills have only been surpassed by the occupation of Boko Haram.

We also discussed the Dghwede belief in *gwazgafte* as Supreme Being, and showed that God was perceived as male and that he had a wife, whom we presumed to be his first wife and mother of his children. Interestingly there was no name for God's wife, or any reference to her as a goddess, and in terms of sacrificial responsibilities she was as powerless as a man's first

wife. We did not elaborate on what God's wife did, but could imagine her ritual presence by going back to the chapter about the architecture of the house and its role as a place of worship. We also referred to bulama Ngatha who provided us with the image of a room or building (*batiwe*) when discussing the shape of this world (*luwa*). In that sense, most items of ritual importance relating to the Dghwede perception of divinity were found in the context of the household compound.

We remember that lineage ancestors no longer had objects of religious adoration, and that these were reserved for those who still lived in the memory of the extended family. We discussed the different aspects of God, and concluded that the personal gods of males and children were perceived to be God's children. We also explored the meaning of 'god the thief' and highlighted the possible interpretation of him as a childless man who contained the image of death as a cosmological reference to his lack of reproduction. Altogether we emphasised how important the concept of reproduction was in Dghwede ritual culture, and mentioned cooking pots and eating bowls in their cosmological dimension as celebratory vessels. They were stored in the 'stomach' of the house shrine as a cosmological symbol of food production and consumption, and played roles during the *fstaha* ritual of the *ngwa kwalanglanga* in adult initiation for the prevention of food crisis by means of surplus food storage against climate or other environmental emergency.

In the next chapter we will describe the cosmological importance of Durghwe, which is the highest mountain in Dghwede and the most important shrine, and was significant far and wide, not just for the Dghwede, according to our friend Zakariya Kwire. We have already mentioned Durghwe, and an image of the three granite pillars representing 'granaries' are on the back cover of this book, next to a man and a woman drinking sorghum beer from one calabash as a symbol of reproductive unity. We will single out Durghwe from the chapter about the distribution and custodianship of local shrines, and will detail memories of its cosmological significance. In the light of this we will revisit the importance of Durghwe regarding the discovery of sorghum, and we will show that the explorer Heinrich Barth (1853) might have referred to Durghwe as Mt Legga. We will discuss the cosmography and ritual role of Durghwe, and compare it with the DGB sites, both important prehistorical subregional places of presumed ritual significance of the early pre-colonial past.

Chapter 3.17

The importance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine

Introduction

This chapter is about the importance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine. We admit we do not know whether the word Durghwe has a literal meaning, but we do know that the shrine had an interethnic dimension and that the three rock pillars on the summit represented the Dghwedè, the Chikidè and the Guduf. Unfortunately we do not know whether this highest mountain of the central massif of the Gwoza hills was referred to as Durghwe only by the Dghwedè. The German explorer Heinrich Barth might have referred to it as Mt Legga while travelling down the western plain in early June 1851. I visited Durghwe twice between 1994 and 2010, but never explored the rocky parts of the summit with the rock pillars which were difficult to access, and only walked up from Ghwa'a and then walked and climbed around the summit area to explore the various views. I also failed to write down which pillar represented Dghwedè, but strongly think that it was the most southern one and that the one in the middle was for Chikidè while the most northern pillar represented Guduf.

We begin this chapter by showing pictures of Durghwe I took in the late 1990s, to obtain a better impression of the summit and its surroundings. By first emphasising the visibility of Durghwe from an intramountainous perspective, we will show its unique topographical position and then examine the cartographic history of its visibility from the western plain. We will try to reconstruct Barth's view from the various points he mentions in his text and map of 1857, and also present Petermann's first map of this part of 'Central Africa' from 1854, which in our opinion incorrectly reverses the positions of Mt Legga and Mt Magar. However, it was more Barth's mention of 'Mt Deladeba or Mt Dallantube' which left a lasting legacy, still appearing as 'Dalla Duba' on early British maps in 1923. It was still referred to as 'Dalladibo' by Mathews in 1934. Mathews also used the modern reference 'Zediva' or 'Zlediva' (Zelidva) and claimed that they came from 'Johodo' (Ghwa'a), which brings us back to Durghwe.

After exploring the historical cartographic context, we will present part of an interview that John and I conducted in Ghwa'a in 1998 in which Durghwe was the focus of our interest. We have intentionally singled out the oral account about Durghwe from the chapter about the spatial distribution and custodianship of local shrines, and present it here in order to stress its significance for the understanding of Dghwedè cosmology. We have reorganised the presentation of the interview to make it easier for the reader to follow, but have left essential grammatical and syntax imperfections untouched to retain the atmosphere of the field situation in which the interview was taken. The original interview was carried out on a tape recorder and then translated with the help of John. It contains some annotations from when it was translated and written down in English.

The interview puts great emphasis on the regional significance of Durghwe, and also gives a good idea of its cosmographic relevance, which we will reconstruct from the oral accounts of our two main protagonists. Then in a subsequent chapter section we will try to present a model of Durghwe from a field sketch capturing its reconstructed cosmological imagery, and discuss it as a possible ethnoarchaeological model with which to better understand the ritual function of the DGB sites. In our opinion, Durghwe represents all the key elements we found to be of great ritual importance for the promotion of montagnard fecundity, such as water, guinea corn, three bulls, a grinding stone, three granaries, and of course its role as a natural refuge in case of environmental crisis. We will attempt to present the model of Dghwedè cosmography we imagine to have still been in place during late pre-colonial times, which encompasses early June 1851 when Barth travelled down the western plain.

Photographs I took to document the various aspects of Durghwe

A close-up photograph of the 'granaries' of Durghwe are shown on the back cover page of this book, and in Plates 61a-61k we will add more images to give an improved idea of the three pillars and the surrounding summit area of this significant interethnic mountain shrine. We presented more distant views in earlier chapters, either from Dghwedè or looking towards Durghwe from afar. Unfortunately we do not have a picture of Durghwe from a similar distance in the western plain, to check how Barth might have seen it during his journey in 1851. Instead we will rely on a reconstruction presented in the next chapter section.

Before showing new images, we want to look again at those presented earlier. We start with Plate 6a (see Chapter 1.1) where we have a view from the western side of the summit of Durghwe. We recognise the Guduf saddle and the Zelidva spur while looking towards the northwest, perhaps in the direction of Mutube, which we present in Figure 26d as Barth's second view of the Gwoza hills. There he marked out the Zelidva spur, describing it as the beginning of a mountainous region. This view was presumably still somewhat further north of Mutube, and we have to wait until he almost reached Isge before he provides us with more information about what he saw. If we compare Plate 6a with Figure 26d, we can see the Guduf saddle in both pictures from opposite points of view, a reconstructed one from the western plain and another overlooking that very plain from the steep western summit of Durghwe.

Plate 10a shows one of the few distant views of Durghwe I photographed, which is from the border of Korana Basa and Kwalika in southern Dghwedè, with the summit and the rock columns of Durghwe visible in the north. Unfortunately we do not know for how long Durghwe would remain visible if we were to carry on walking south across the Tur heights, as I failed to look back and photograph Durghwe when I did this walk. While Plate 10a gives a view of the visibility of Durghwe across the mountain chain from the southwestern corner of Dghwedè, Plate 10b presents Durghwe from the east, including a view of the terraced hillside of Ghwa'a. We know that Durghwe was also visible from the Moskota hills on the other side of the plain, and we think its physical distinctiveness made it a significant sight beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Ghwa'a. Its characteristic summit and far-reaching visibility as the highest point of Ghwa'a must have contributed to its importance as the most northern subregional rain shrine, but that was only in terms of appearance.

As for the Dghwedè themselves, it was the Btha lineage of Ghwa'a that had the ritual responsibility for Durghwe, and also when it came to demands from Gvoko or further south, but we have to admit we have no comparative oral evidence from Guduf and Chikidè. They too had stopped sacrificing to their 'granaries' at Durghwe, and we strongly assume that the seventh born (*thagaya*) of Ghwa'a was the main custodian of ritual demands from further south. This makes sense, especially if we consider the historical importance of 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) as the early arrival zone from Tur. As reported earlier, the Thakara lineage remained in Ghwa'a when Irira moved on to found Chikidè (Chapter 3.3), and it is logical to infer that Ghwa'a as the early arrival zone provided the main custodians of Durghwe. Next we will present additional physical aspects of the summit as photographed from Ghwa'a.

Although we do not know how long Durghwe would remain visible if walking along the Tur heights, in Plate 61a there is a photograph showing that it was indeed visible from as far as the north side of the Sukur massif. We can just about see the Zelidva spur on the horizon far in the north, and next to it, after the Guduf saddle, there is Ghwa'a and Durghwe. After that we see a rock formation of a very distinct shape, which marks the most northern beginning of the Tur heights. Please consult Plate 11a for a close-up, taken shortly passing Ngoshe Sama of Gvoko. Plate 61b shows a much closer view of Durghwe taken from Tatsa, which is to its immediate south, and we recognise the flat place known as *tar durghwe* (*tar* = flat land on the hill) at the top southern foot of the summit of Durghwe. We will learn more later from our Dghwedè friends about Tar Durghwe as a celebratory ground. Plate 61c shows a direct view of Tar Durghwe, which according to our oral sources had very soft ground as the water table

was very close to the surface. The participants of a sacrifice to Durghwe reportedly attributed the croaking noise that the very soft ground made under their feet as they danced to an enormous toad sitting on a huge grinding stone inside Durghwe.

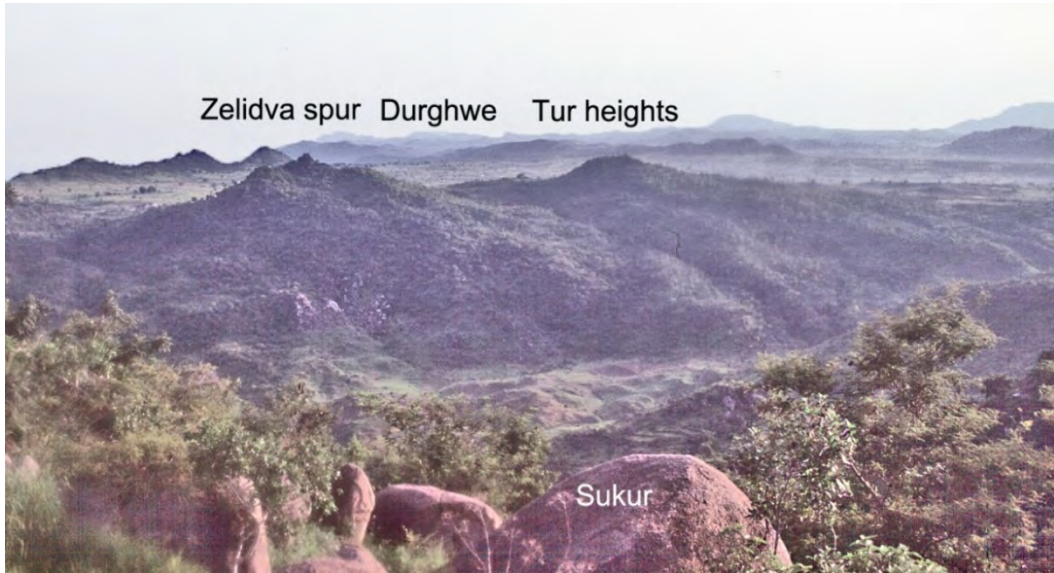
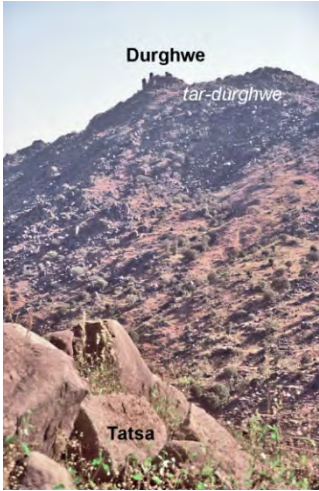



Plate 61a: View of the Gwoza hills and Tur heights as far as from the Sukur massif	
	
Plate 61b: View from Tatsa	Plate 61c: Looking south from pillars behind Tar Durghwe
	
Plate 61d: Durghwe is 1200m high	Plate 61e: View of rock pillars behind Tar Durghwe
	

Plate 61e above shows a view of the rock pillars directly behind Tar Durghwe, towards which

the guts and stomach contents of sacrificed animals were thrown, while the little map in Plate 61d shows the height of Durghwe in comparison to the slightly higher point across the Guduf saddle on the Zelidva spur. We can see that Durghwe rises steeply from the Gwoza side of the hills and that at 1200m it forms the second highest mountain of the Gwoza hills, while the Zelidva spur at 1300m is higher.

Plate 61f: View of Ziver-Oupay massif and Tur heights

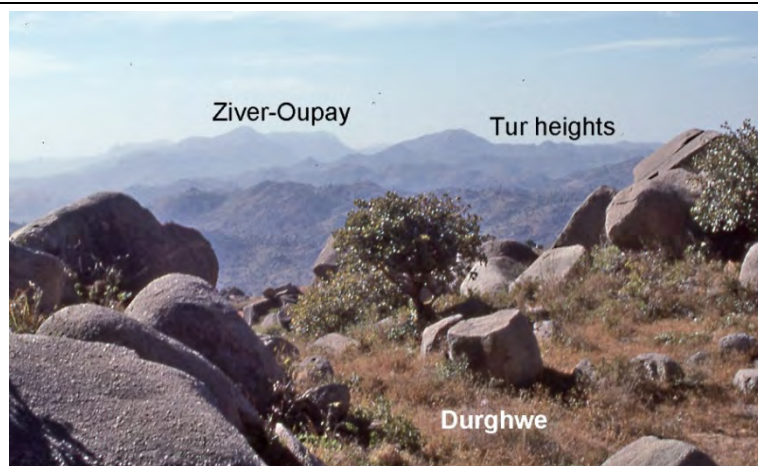


Plate 61i: Central pillar in clear weather



Plate 61g: Eastern slopes of Zelidva spur and Guduf saddle



Plate 61j: Central pillar in foggy weather



Plate 61h: Kirawa foothill across eastern intramountainous plain

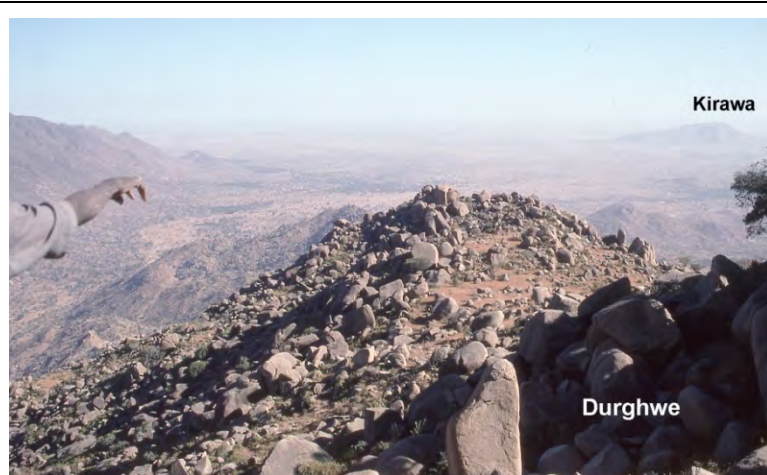
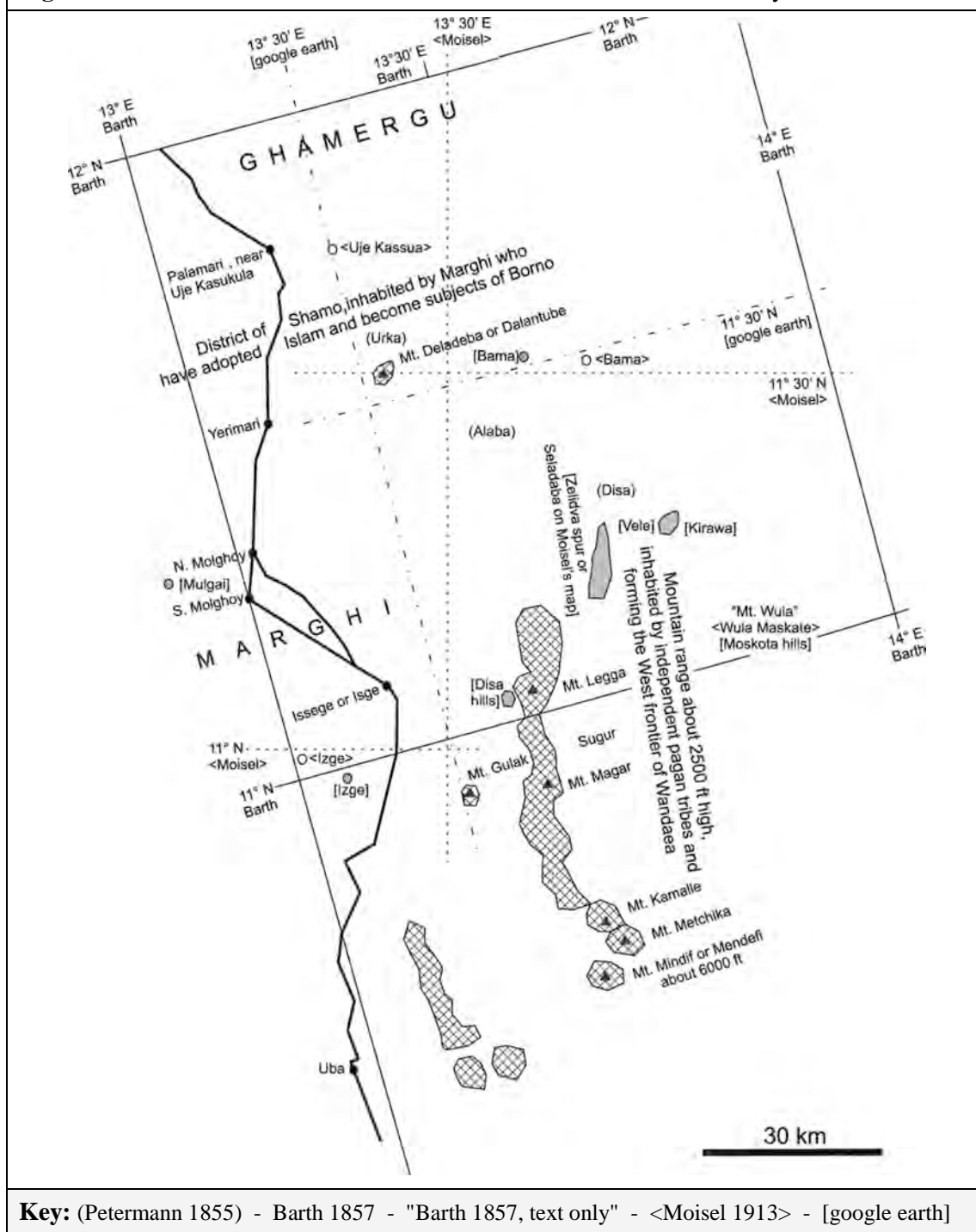


Plate 61k: Detail view of central pillar



Plate 61f shows another view from the southern side of Durghwe, and we can see the Ziver-

Figure 26b: Reconstruction of Barth's first view of the Gwoza hills in early June 1851



In Figure 26b above we attempt to reconstruct the various geographical perspectives mentioned by Barth on his first sight of the Gwoza hills between 5th and 9th June 1851 (ibid:369-401), and again about a month later on his way back from Yola in mid-July (ibid:530-538). To read the reconstruction we need to use the key, showing words presented within brackets when it is a reference to Petermann 1855, and without brackets for Barth 1857, while quotation marks refer to names of places that only Barth mentions in his text, for example "Mt Wula". The latter does not appear on Barth's map, but he only writes of a Mt Wula in a long footnote (ibid:538) together with other place names, and we provisionally identify his Mt Wula as the Moskota hills. We have included a reference by Moisel in 1913 as <Wula Maskate>, while [Moskota hills] is where it appears on Google earth.

We further see that we have placed Issege, or Isge according to Barth, as well as <Izge> where Moisel placed it, and finally [Izge] according to Google earth, and notice that Barth's placing is about 15 km north of the Google placing, while Moisel mapped it between the two. However, all mappings of Isge are quite close to the 11° latitude north, which Barth seems to have placed correctly. We remember the 11° latitude near Ngoshe Sama in Gvoko, and we recognise that Barth's Mt Legga is to the north of that, while his Mt Magar is south of Barth's Sugur. The latter is where he thought the Sukur massif was situated.

If we compare Barth's two early views of the western chain with Petermann's map (Figure 26a) and our reconstruction of Barth's own map (Figure 26b), we recognise that Petermann has correctly linked Barth's Mt Deladeba with the main mountain chain, but he puts Magar to the north of Legga, while on Barth's map Mt Legga is clearly to the north of Mt Magar. We also recognise that on Barth's map Mt Magar is at the level of latitude of Mt Gulak, while Mt Legga is nearer the latitude of Isge. We think that the reason for Petermann's reversal might be that Barth discusses Mt Magar (ibid:397) as the next massif after Mt Deladebe, but makes no mention of Mt Legga in his text.

This is all a bit confusing, and Durghwe could theoretically be either Mt Legga or Mt Magar, at least if we follow Petermann, but if we have another look at how Barth came to his view, we might understand it better. Barth must have first perceived the Zelidva spur as a single mountain far on the horizon because he could not see the chain, and only the following day was he able to recognise that it was the top end of a whole mountain region. The reason was his own change of perspective, which made him now see the Gwoza hills appearing in the east rather than in the south. This is why we think Mt Delendebe appears to be separate in Barth's view, and not as the most northern extension of a mountain range, and why on his map the remainder of the Zelidva spur is missing.

We can see in Figure 26b that we have added Moisel's 1913 view of the Zelidva spur to his mapping of the foothill of Kirawa, but recognise that Moisel's north orientation is not in tune with Barth's projection which we accorded in terms of longitude with the Google map. The Zelidva spur therefore appears too far east in our reconstruction, and disconnected from the central massif of the Gwoza hills as taken from Barth. The reason for the error is that Moisel's Zelidva spur would otherwise have appeared too far north. Neither do we know how much of the Zelidva spur is missing on Barth's projection. We have added Moisel's position of the Disa hills, which equally makes them appear too far east, meaning too close to what we have identified as the central part of the Gwoza hills on Barth's map. Further north we see Bama according to Google map, and Bama again as it appears on Moisel's map. If we double-check with the general overview map (Figure 1) at the beginning of this book, we notice that the Zelidva spur begins about 20km to the south of Bama.

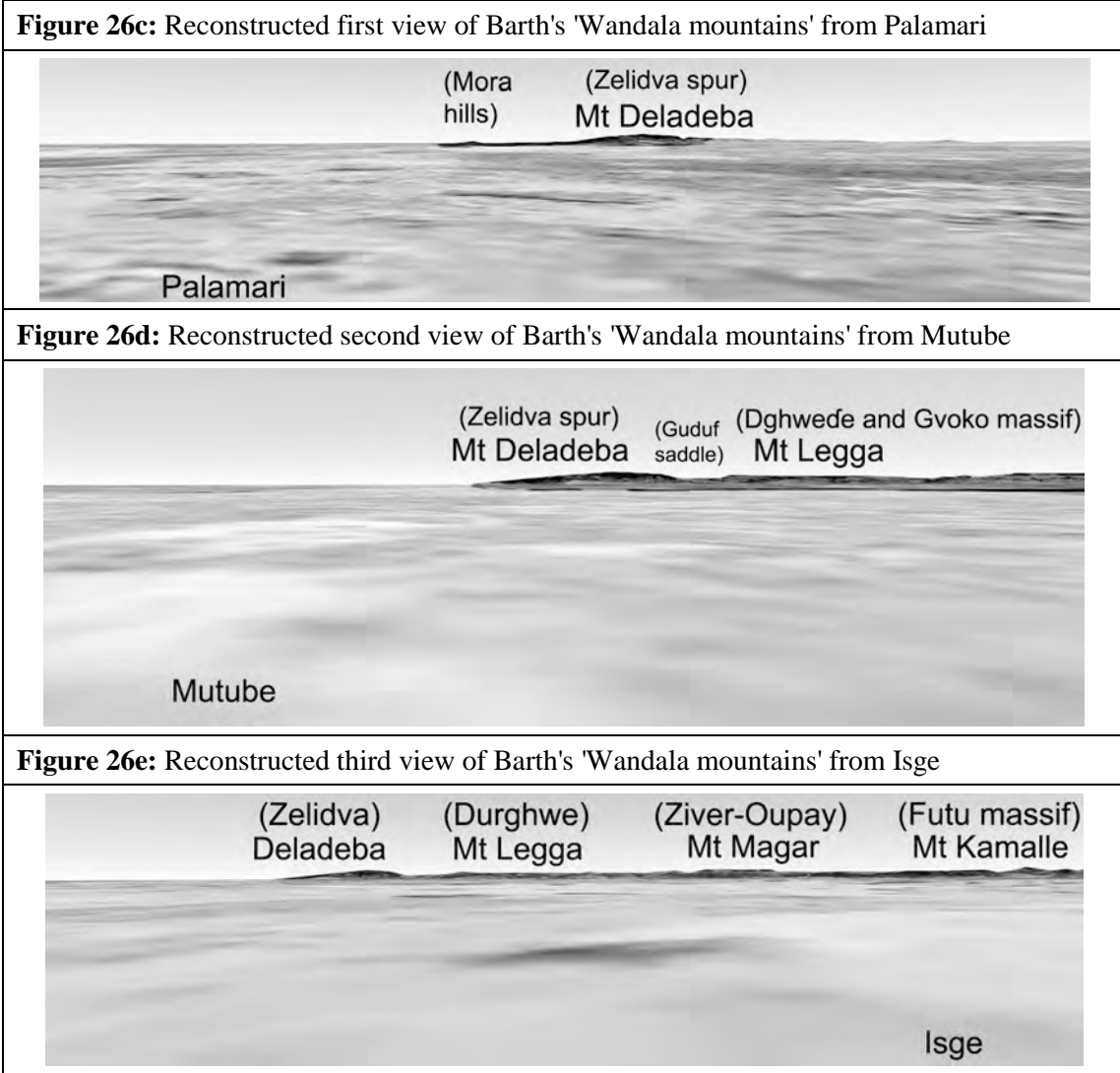
We instantly recognise that Barth's Mt Deladeba or Dalantube is too far north, and that he misjudged the distance when he first saw it on 5th June 1851, shortly after leaving Palamari. We therefore conclude that Mt Legga could well be Durghwe, but can we be certain? Barth's main perspective of the western chain of the Gwoza hills was from what he referred to as a 'fine lake' to the immediate north of Isge, and the same lake appears on Petermann's map as a 'lake full of fish'. However we can see in Figure 26b that Barth's Isge is about 10km north of where Petermann placed his Isge, on more or less the 11° latitude.

We can see in Figures 26c-26e the three reconstructed views of the Gwoza hills as Barth might have seen them. We now compare those views with a quote by Barth, from when he stood on a rock elevation nearby the 'fine lake' to the immediate north of Isge. It was from this high position that Barth (ibid:397) referred to Magar as the highest elevation of the Wandala range (figure 26e):

The whole range of mountains, which forms the western barrier of the little country of Wandala, lay open before me at a distance of about twenty miles behind it, towards the south, mountains of more varied shape, and greater elevation, became visible... The highest elevation of the Wandala range, which is called Magar, I estimated at about three thousand feet, while the chain in general

did not rise more than two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, or about one thousand five hundred feet above the plain.

We have intentionally omitted the part of Barth's quote in which he discusses Mt Kamalle because it is too far south for us, and we have ignored his excitement about Mt Mindif, because he got this seriously wrong, not only in terms of its geographical position but also concerning its height. It almost seems as if he was too carried away by the experience to observe what was right in front of him. Still, there is another mention of Magar in a footnote (ibid:397f) when he connects it to 'Gulug', meaning Mt Gulak, which he considers to be 'situated on the offshoots of the mountain range, then keeping on Magar, which seems to be the highest elevation, and from hence to Sugur'. We think he might be referring to the Ziver-Oupay massif, which is indeed known as the highest range in the Mandara Mountains.



If we look at Figure 26e we can probably recognise the Tur heights, and also parts of the Ziver-Oupay massif behind looking rather like a table, and we infer that this might be part of Barth's Magar. We therefore like to identify the mountain chain situated between Mt Legga in the north and Mt Magar in the south as including not only the Dghwede and Gvoko massifs, and the heights of Tur and the Ziver-Oupay massif, but also the Sukur massif as its most southern extension. We have not marked Sukur separately in the reconstruction, and are not entirely sure whether we have correctly identified the Futu massif.

If we examine Barth's second view from after Yerimari on his way to Molghoy, passing by our Mulgwe and Mutube (see Figure 4), in Figure 26d we recognise the visibility of the Guduf saddle. We see how the Zelidva spur forms a separate range to the Dghwede massif,

and we can vaguely recognise the western part of the high valley separating the Dghwedé massif from the Gvoko massif. Barth says he wished he had sketched this first proper view of the top end of the western chain of the Gwoza hills. The reason he did not was that Billama, his interpreter and main assistant, was not with him. Perhaps this explains why there is no text record of Mt Legga, and no mention of the Guduf saddle by Barth.

Figure 26c shows his first view, at least from close up, and not far from Uje Kassua on Moisel's map (who seems to refer to Barth's Palamari as Falama). We think this is how it might have looked to Barth when he first saw 'Mt Deladeba' and then decided to mark it as a single mountain. He was most likely not close enough, or at a slightly different angle, and therefore did not see the Mora hills visible afar in our reconstruction. I remember that view from my own journeys. Suddenly the top end of the Zelidva spur appears in a quite majestic way on the horizon, out of an otherwise very flat plain so typical for the southern Lake Chad Basin. It is a pity I never managed to travel the route that Barth took, to see for myself which mountain tops he might actually have seen.

We presented the Tur tradition in its wider subregional context in Chapter 3.3, and mentioned Mt Gulak as an early point of entry which we think resulted from an earlier pre-colonial north-to-south tradition of origin from the area of Barth's Molghoy, close to our Mutube. We then connected that tradition to the Margi of Mulgwe, and established a Margi tradition in Tur which linked back to Mt Gulak. We developed the hypothesis that the 18th century led to a strong south-to-north migration as a result of a wet period which ended about fifty years before Barth's journey. The 19th and 20th centuries were marked by frequent short-term climate emergencies of great aridity, and if we compare Barth's time in June 1851 with the palaeoclimatic context of Figure 16 (Chapter 3.8), we recognise that this might have been a rather arid phase too. We refer to that period as late pre-colonial times, and can speculate that Durghwe was possibly in high demand as an interethnic shrine at that time.

This hypothesis is supported by our conclusion that Durghwe was presumably by far the most important rain shrine north of the 11° latitude, and that Barth's Mt Legga was therefore ideally positioned as a mountain with a similar ritual purpose. We know from our oral sources that people came from outside Ghwa'a to ask for assistance for a great variety of reasons, not only because of rain. In the past this included any kind of plague such as locusts, or disease such as smallpox. It was then that interethnic sacrifices to Durghwe were most likely carried out. We can also make an informed guess that the local Btha lineage were the custodians of Durghwe during the mid-19th century, and that it was their seventh-born lineage priest (*thagaya*) who carried out such regional requests. Those requests came for example from Gvoko, and also from as far away as Tur. We know that during the end of the Hamman Yaji years Durghwe played a role as the most northern mountain shrine in the organisation of resistance, which included Tur as a key ally. They all reportedly came to Ghwa'a to participate in the campaign against the violent raids of Hamman Yaji.

In the next section we will present the oral account by Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga of Ghwa'a about the legendary significance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine, and will introduce the reader to the cosmological dimension of Durghwe. We think that the collective memories of our two protagonists were part of a late pre-colonial belief system that was in place when Barth travelled down the western plain in early June 1851. We will present Durghwe as a model case to obtain a better ethnoarchaeological understanding of the DGB sites from the northern slopes of the Oupay massif. We linked these sites to the early cultivation of sorghum in a mixed farming system where it was most likely that the production of animal manure was the critical element, and we suggested that the ritual importance of guinea corn can be linked back to that early pre-colonial period. That the three pillars of Durghwe were seen as granaries endows them with cosmological meaning, and they were believed to have given sorghum to the ancient people through the cracks, only visible to the close observer, on their otherwise impenetrable surface.

Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga of Ghwa'a explain

The interview presented below begins by explaining the calendrical ritual order in which obligatory sacrifices of the house were carried out. These rituals were followed by other house, harvest and threshing-related rituals. These eventually led to the sacrifice at the lineage shrine, and finally to Durghwe as the most important community shrine. The symbolic link of Durghwe to water is prominent, and we also briefly discuss lineage affiliations of the custodians (*thaghaya*) who over time had been responsible for Durghwe:

You first do your *har ghwe*, *har jije* and *har khagwa* [sacrifice to the deceased father and grandfather and closing ritual]. After that you do *har gude* [sacrifice in the loft area of the room of the first wife]. After *gude* comes *har gwazgafte* [slaughtering for God]. From there now you can go to do *har khalale* [sacrifice to lineage shrine] and *har durghwe* [sacrifice to Durghwe].

Since the beginning of the people of Ghwa'a it was always somebody from the Btha lineage who was responsible for *har durghwe*. Sometimes they do it with he-goats and sometimes with a bull, meaning alternating one year he-goat, one year bull [for harvest festival during millet year and bull festival during guinea corn year].

There was one occasion in the past they sacrificed a white bull and the people were dancing at a place in front of Durghwe called *tar durghwe* (*tar* = flat land on the hill) [Tar Durghwe]. When they were dancing, water came out of the ground where people were dancing.

People believe that Durghwe is a place that has its roots in the water. There was the belief that under the rocks of Durghwe, deep inside the mountain, is a flat rock. On this flat rock sits a big toad and when this toad is croaking the water under Durghwe moves into the streams and sources where people can now fetch the water. Underneath the three tall rock columns are also three big bulls. One is white, another is black, while the third one is ash colour, meaning grey. Normally in the night they come out and eat grass at *tar durghwe*. Not all people have seen these bulls, since somebody might die.

Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga even thought that I myself might have seen these bulls. At this point in the interview, we started talking about water and bulls, like bulls appearing out of water in the night which belong to the water spirit (*khalale*). Somebody might have used dung to throw it on these bulls so that the water spirit could not take them back.

Zakariya and Dga now mentioned four Bature [Europeans or white men]. Two climbed Ndololo [highest top of the Zelidva spur] and two had tried to climb Durghwe. While the two at Ndololo achieved their goal, the two at Durghwe could not because Durghwe constantly pushed them back down.

John said that it is also believed that no aeroplane could fly directly over Durghwe. Zakariya Kwire asked John to ask me what I had seen at Durghwe since there was the traditional belief that a white person can see things in Durghwe a [local] black person cannot see. Unfortunately I had not seen anything different from everybody else.

Zakariya and Dga claimed that the origin of guinea corn was from Durghwe. They said that Durghwe brought guinea corn. The three stone columns of Durghwe are called 'granaries of Durghwe' (*kavere durghwe*). If someone went close to these pillars he could see cracks on them, just like on a granary. The guinea corn came out of these cracks in the rock pillars.¹

For sacrifices to Durghwe they pick the contents of the intestines of the slaughtered he-goat or bull. It is a group of people who now throw the intestines, but they only pretend to want to throw them. However, one person will finally let go and it is said that this person will die. They throw towards the rock columns. It is a group of elders who does this.

The person to do the sacrifice was normally too old to go up to Durghwe. Therefore before any slaughtering takes place at Durghwe this very old elder will take some ashes from his hearth fire and will throw them in the direction of Durghwe. Then, before the sacrificed and prepared animal

¹ John remembered a millet year when people found guinea corn stock at Durghwe and explained to me that the people were very surprised and thought that Durghwe had given it. According to John, the next guinea corn harvest was very good, a result the local people apparently attributed to the miraculous find of guinea corn stock at Tar Durghwe during the previous millet year.

is consumed, the elders up at Durghwe will bring the one who was too old to come up to share the meat first before they enjoy it themselves.

Next, the cooked meat will be filled into clay pots and now people will traditionally wrestle to get hold of a share of it. After everything is completed people will dance, play the flutes and sing, also beating drums etc, to enjoy the occasion.

One thing that needs to be mentioned is that before the sacrifice (meaning the slaughtering), adult men will run three times around Durghwe. When there was any kind of disease or plague in the past, for example locusts, a sacrifice to Durghwe was carried out, and the same with smallpox.

Even people from Tur and Gvoko asked the Ghwa'a people to sacrifice at Durghwe in the past. People from Ghwa'a would then collect [goods] to find a bull or he-goat to be sacrificed to satisfy such a demand.

One day God himself had come out of Durghwe, by pushing a very big rock down in order to appear out of Durghwe with his children on his body. Now the people of Ghwa'a had to sacrifice a white bull. God had a very big head and people were surprised about this. Now he went back into Durghwe.²

If someone set fire to the vegetation around Durghwe, this person would have to find a he-goat to be sacrificed to Durghwe. In doing so he would have to first complete all the other sacrifices in the house, meaning *har ghwe* etc. This rule would also apply to the lineage priest (*thaghaya*) who would have to do his house-related rituals before he could carry out any sacrifice at Durghwe or *khalale* [lineage shrine].

A sacrifice at Durghwe is not necessarily on a fixed date but is rather a matter of divination. The stone pillars of Durghwe are not just something sticking out of the surface but are rooted deep inside Durghwe, deep down in water.

Deep in this water, the stone pillars are rooted in a big type of hole comparable with prehistoric grinding holes. In Dghwedè such a hole is called *ghlawe*. *Ghlawe* is the name of such holes or grinding stones nearby the house, used for giving water to animals. The one inside Durghwe is enormous and inside the hole, the already mentioned frog or toad, is sitting.

The water inside Durghwe is so deep that it has no end. Zachariya and Dga told us that in the past they pushed a corn stalk into a well southeast of Durghwe, only to discover that this particular corn stalk came back to the surface in the sand at a watercourse in Gava [Guduf].

Zachariya and Dga started telling the legend of Zedima and the daughter of the chief of Wandala.³ In the context of this, they said that in the past Durghwe was the only place to find water during times of extreme drought. People from the whole region would come to profit from that and fetch water from a place inside Durghwe.

Sacrifices or offerings are always preceded by divination to find out whether Durghwe needed something. During *thagla* [harvest festival] they would take the contents of the intestines to throw towards Durghwe before they could drink the beer of *thagla*.

Durghwe is not only for Dghwedè but for every living being, meaning all people. Nobody can take a stone away from Durghwe. If somebody does, the diviner will find out and the stone has to be returned, including an offering, for example a he-goat.

There is no common interethnic sacrifice for Durghwe. The Dghwedè do theirs first, followed by the Chikidè, and in the past the Guduf also.

The first priest for *har durghwe* was Viwaya, followed by Btha. Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga could not remember the exact chronological order and only remembered the names: Duwatha, Ngwiva, Ghuda and Tawana. All these priests were from the Btha lineage, including Viwaya who was Btha's father. The others were Nglamude and Gwama Ndura. These two were not from the Btha lineage and each died after one sacrifice. Now the priesthood came back to the Btha lineage, first with Dawa and then Ghamba. Ghamba is the current priest. Since Ghamba has not enough animals for the domestic sacrifices that have to take place before the one at Durghwe, he can currently not sacrifice at Durghwe at all.

² John said during the translation, that he himself remembered this rock coming down from Durghwe.

³ See tale presented in Chapter 2.1 the chapter section: 'The roots of the sun and the moon legend'.

Durghwe also has a regional function, for example for Tur and for Gvoko from where representatives were sent to Ghwa'a to ask for a sacrifice at Durghwe. Ghwa'a people sacrificed on their behalf, for example a he-goat. In the past, a man from Tur came to Dawa, who was the uncle of Ghamba, with 30 shillings, and asked him to sacrifice at Durghwe for regional purposes. This could have been the outbreak of diseases or disruption of the peace or any other catastrophic event.

Ghwa'a people only sacrifice for Durghwe and the other places in Ghwa'a. Since the [people of] Ghwa'a do not allow others to sacrifice in Ghwa'a, they cannot themselves sacrifice outside of Ghwa'a either.

This interview is somewhat disorganised in places. We can see that it starts by emphasising the calendrical ritual order, starting with the house rituals and then extending to local or even regional sacrificial unity. Next we indulge in the mysterious powers of Durghwe, which are linked to bulls, water, stone pillars, and a big toad sitting on a giant grinding stone inside Durghwe who croaked while people danced on the ground of Tar Durghwe, ground that was charged with water. We imagine the croaking toad as an acoustic symbol of the sucking sound the soft ground under Tar Durghwe made when crowds of people moved over it. It shows that the whole summit area was perhaps geologically underpinned by a large almost impenetrable rock platform which was thought to be like a giant grinding stone.

Water cannot escape from such a large flat underlying rock near a summit, which seems to have its own uphill water table, a hydrological phenomenon we also know from Divili on the Zelidva spur (see Plate 5b) and from the Ziver massif on the Cameroonian side. Both Divili and Ziver featured small lakes, more like ponds, that were filled with water throughout the year, and around those ponds the surface was covered with low grass which felt like walking on soft bog. Deep inside the bog, groundwater was captured by the flatly-moulded 'grinding stone' of almost impenetrable rock. This at least is how we interpret the image of a grinding stone with a toad sitting at the centre. We like to think that the croaking toad was seen by our Dghwede friends as proof of the hydrological independence of Durghwe, pushing the water down and along the underground passageways by its constant croaking.

Apart from the interpretation of the moulded rock platform inside Durghwe as a grinding stone for sorghum, presumably a result of erosion, and the interpretation of the three stone pillars as the three granaries of a house, there is another aspect of the domestic scene that has been transferred onto the cosmological structure of Durghwe. While the giant toad is new to us, the bulls are very familiar, although we are puzzled as to the meaning of the various colours: black, grey and white. We remember 'dark' (*lusa*) stood for the dark green of well-fertilised crops, and could be linked to successful manure production. It was bulama Ngatha who used the image of a building (*batiwe*) in his visualisation of the cosmography of the world, and saw the living world as the room of a house. This encourages us to see Durghwe as a domestic building too, with some iconic features such as a grinding stone and three granaries, and it was significant not only as a rain shrine but also as a mountain water reserve. This is our interpretation of the cosmological imagination of the Dghwede. We know that bulls played a large role in the ritual promotion of fecundity, which is also represented by the guts of the sacrificed animal being thrown towards the 'granaries of Durghwe'. In the past guts were ritually thrown into the guinea corn before it was harvested.

What seems to stand out in our field description is the fact that the ritual throwing of intestinal matter onto the 'granaries' of Durghwe was a very dangerous task and needed to be done by a group of elders. Besides this, they only pretended to throw the guts until someone eventually let go more or less by chance. Our protagonists told us that the people who let go were expected to die, but we do not know how serious that fear was in reality. It does indicate however that Durghwe was seen to have mysterious powers, and we were told that some white men had not been able to climb the rock pillars, and neither could aeroplanes fly directly over Durghwe. After I visited Durghwe, my friends were keen to find out whether I had seen one of the cosmological bulls, and I am not sure whether my two Dghwede friends feared I might die had I actually seen one.

God himself reportedly came out of Durghwe one day, and God had taken on the form of a rock which seems to have represented his head, and he was carrying his children on his body. This is an image that could be easily interpreted as a rockfall. This view is confirmed by the fact that John remembered the event, and his description also indicated a rockfall. While the interpretation of a rockfall as 'God with his children' is quite straightforward, it is more difficult to explain how the discovery of guinea corn stock at the flat place called Tar Durghwe during a millet year came about. On the other hand, it is no surprise that the discovery of guinea corn was attributed to Durghwe, because it was so powerful that it had an interethnic significance, and people from as far as Tur acknowledged that.

We know that Tur is just to the west of the Ziver-Oupay massif, and that the DGB sites were found along the northern slopes of the Oupay massif, specifically overlooking the most northwestern extension of the Mandara Mountains. We need to account for the strong possibility that Durghwe was already a shrine of subregional significance quite some time before colonial times. Our friends referred to the legend of Zedima, and his access to 'the roots of the sun' which helped him assert himself over the chief of Wandala to whose daughter he was married. The Gwoza hills, with Durghwe as perhaps its most significant ritual centre, are geographically placed in between the DGB sites and Kirawa. We tried to make a link related to climate change, and we argue here that Durghwe might well have been a mountain shrine of regional significance long before the Wandala dynasty converted to Islam during the mid-18th century. We suggest here again, this time with an emphasis on Durghwe, that Ghwa'a might already have existed as a regional ritual centre during the late 17th century when a 'Pagan usurper' ruled Kirawa. Interested readers should go back to Part Two and consult again our Table of Contemporaneity where this hypothesis is accounted for.

We have also learned that the Dghwedé only owned the most southern pillar of Durghwe, and that the Chikidé and the Guduf owned the other two. There was no shared interethnic sacrifice between these three neighbours, but still the Dghwedé of Ghwa'a claimed that they had to start before the other two could do their sacrifices. We cannot be sure whether this is correct, since I have not counterchecked. It could well be that our local protagonists said this because they wanted to emphasise their ritual seniority in terms of oral historical precedence. I know from my work with the Mafa of the Gouzda area that ritual responsibilities were regularly renegotiated, in the context of which the sequence of local arrival was a key issue. Because 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) was in oral historical terms widely accepted as the early arrival zone for the rest of the Gwoza hills, the fact that the key ritual responsibility rested with Ghwa'a makes sense.

We finally learned that all the various custodians responsible for Durghwe came out of only the Btha lineage. Reportedly, Btha's father Viwaya held the responsibility before them, which makes Btha the seventh born (*thaghaya*) of the first wife of Viwaya. Our friends remembered some of the names of past lineage priests since Viwaya and Btha, which were:

- Duwatha (1850)
- Ngwiva (1875)
- Ghuda (1900)
- Tawana (1925)

At one point, perhaps after the four custodians mentioned above, the responsibility went to a different lineage branch than Btha, and the names of those lineage priests were:

- Nglamude, and (1950)
- Gwama Ndura (1960)

Unfortunately these two died in the course of their ritual duty, and since then the Btha lineage took the responsibility back, with:

- Dawa, and then (1970)
- Ghamba Vunga (1995)

Ghamba Vunga was the custodian and seventh born (*thaghaya*) of Ghwa'a during my time. The above list gives us seven names as mountain priests before Ghamba, who was already an

older man when I met him. Considering that two of them died after one sacrifice, we have at least five who did not, and they are all descendants of Btha-Viwaya. We have artificially added 25 years for each lineage priest descending from Btha, and only ten for the two who were not from Btha. This allows us to imagine that Duwatha and Ngwiva might have been the custodians of Durghwe when Barth passed by and wondered how life was up in the hills.

I find the last sentence of the interview interesting. It says that because the ritual owners of Ghwa'a did not allow other people to sacrifice on their territory, they could not sacrifice on other people's territories either. This shows the egalitarian dimension of custodianship, and emphasises that the relationship aspect of patrilineal belonging was an important sentiment of local group formation. However, nothing was ever written down, and there were no dynastic issues of succession if it came to ritual responsibilities linked to territory, except that specialist lineages were more or less excluded. The exception were the Gudule, who played a special role in being responsible for starting the bull festival, but Ghwa'a reportedly carried out a ritual at Durghwe before the Gudule released their first bull. That ritual at Durghwe was linked to the completion of the final stage of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) which could now run parallel to the bull festival. While the first two stages of *dzum zugune* started after the sacrifice for deceased family ancestors (*har ghwe and har jije*), the last two stages were connected to the beginning of the bull festival. In the context of this, a sacrifice to Durghwe seems to have had a higher sequential priority, and could be seen to underpin our hypotheses of 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) as an early arrival zone.

As we learned from the oral history of the fight between the Vaghagaya-Mughuze and the Gudule, the increase in population number of one group over another could cause an existing ritual order to reverse. Population increase must therefore be seen as a root cause for conflict over land resources in the context of social group formation, and Durghwe was perhaps a universal image for interethnic and regional unity, despite the chronic shortage of arable land. In that very sense Durghwe was for all the people, but the ritual responsibility remained with Ghwa'a. The ritual role of *thagaya* as the seventh born was here cast in lineage terms, such as the Btha lineage, and before Btha, his father Viwaya owned the responsibility. They passed on their ritual responsibility along lineage lines, and it had to be the lineage of the seventh-born son as lucky custodian of successful local reproduction who owned the entitlement of ritual responsibility for the cosmological power of fecundity represented by Durghwe.

Perhaps this interpretation is supported by the fact that my Dghwede friends told me that there had once been a change regarding the ritual responsibility, but that the ritual handling of a powerful place like Durghwe included the possibility of a lineage priest dying as a result of that very duty. This reminds us of the 'slaughtering for God' ritual at the doorposts of the entrance of a house, in which the father and owner of the house could likewise die if he did not follow the ritual order correctly. We wonder at this point whether the ritual management of an egalitarian but chronically dense population, which was much needed for the labour-intensive agriculture, added to the stress of the custodians of Durghwe. We also need to consider in this context that the fear of death as a result of mismanaging a ritually dense local community not only applied to Ghwa'a but was the general situation across the Gwoza hills and beyond. The ritual regulation of group formation therefore caused a fragmentary nesting effect which can be heard in oral history, and which explains why we see such a complex system of overlapping ethnolinguistic groups who have been living, transforming and ritually re-nesting there for centuries. We therefore hope that Durghwe will be remembered as a symbol of inter-ethnic unity and peace of the subregional late pre-colonial past.

The cosmological architecture of Durghwe

In this section we aim to explore the cosmological dimension of Durghwe, by producing an illustrative model of its architecture according to the description of our two protagonists. We draw from bulama Ngatha's statement that conceptually this world is like a room, with a ceiling which is the firmament, a floor which is the earth, and a snake biting its tail surrounds

it, all embraced by a cosmic mountain chain. Zakariya Kwire claimed that a wall of gourds used to store milk formed the cosmographic wall of this world. This world that was perceived as a room was also the civilised world of mountain farmers. In order to look after their world they had developed a ritual culture to guarantee its continuing existence, and our imaginary model of the architecture of Durghwe takes account of how they maintained their world and tried their best to keep it peaceful and sustainable for future generations. One of the organisational principles of their belief system was to sacrifice to God and the ancestors as representations of divinity, and renegotiating ritual succession along localised patrilineal descent was an underlying key context in which this had to be achieved.

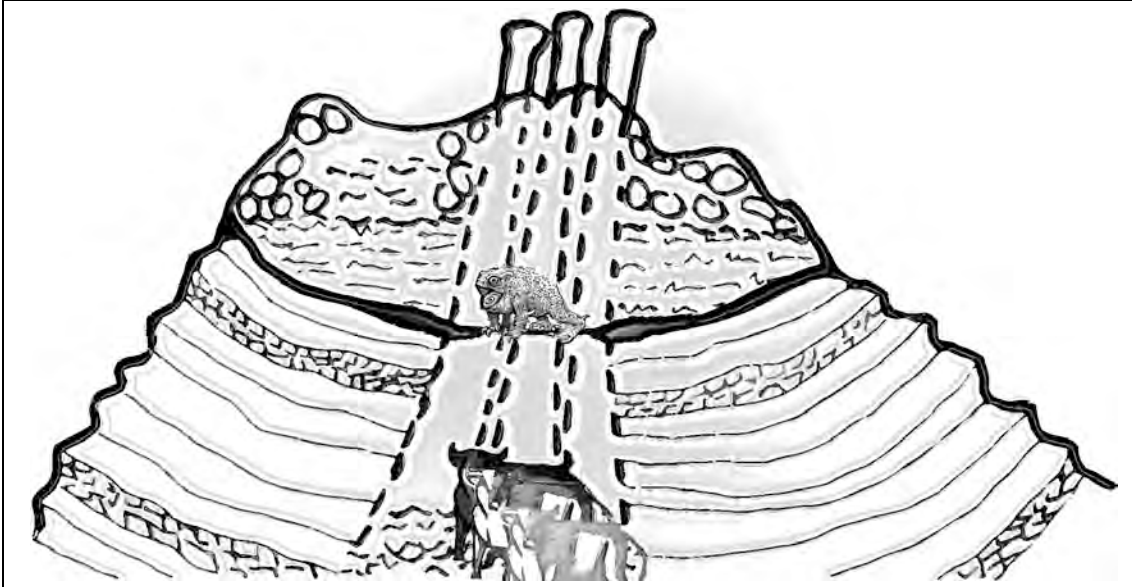
If we look at the cosmological elements of the architecture of Durghwe, we first notice that it is a widely visible mountain top marking the most important arrival zone of many of the ethnic groups of the Gwoza hills who shared a tradition of origin from Tur. We have emphasised the most northern position of Durghwe, and raised the question of whether Barth referred to its geographical position by placing Mt Legga, rather than Mt Magar, as the next important massif after Mt Delatuba. In that sense, Durghwe not only marks the oral historical importance of Ghwa'a concerning its role as an early arrival zone from the south, but it was perhaps also important for reading early warning signs of climate change. In the context of this possibility, Durghwe was seen as having mysterious powers due to its primordial history. In the light of these powers, the fact that the senior rainmaker of Dghwedé lived on the higher slopes of Durghwe was perhaps no coincidence.

We also realise that Durghwe was not only seen cosmologically as being rooted deep in primordial waters, but that Durghwe actually did store water in a big underground cavern. That cavern was described as the hole at the centre of a huge grinding stone, and perhaps we can view that cosmological grinding stone as a natural rock that regulated water for all eventualities of climate change. The pillars of Durghwe which represented granaries not only reached high into the sky but were equally rooted deep in the primordial groundwater at the geological centre of the Ghwa'a massif. Mysterious streams of water emanating from inside Durghwe reappear as water sources at unexpected places far away from the summit of Durghwe. People knew about these things, and some of that knowledge even became embedded in their ritual culture.

This inference makes its height and topographical visibility very important, as does its most northern position and closeness to Kirawa, which was most likely even more significant before the capital of Wandala moved to Mora. For those who believed that Durghwe was an important regional shrine, it was presumably not the fact that the three pillars were visible from afar, but more that they were perceived to be rooted in primordial water. That the water was thought to be deep inside the earth, and that Durghwe distributed the water to the lower levels as a function of its geological interior, can be translated in the symbolic imagery of its cosmogony. Durghwe was also a place of retreat in emergency, and there was a readiness to defend it as the most valuable cosmological asset. As long as the huge toad who sat inside the grinding stone was croaking and made the water move along the hidden underground passageways to feed the three mysterious bulls, which we think were believed to be owned by the water spirit, the world was possibly considered to be in reasonably good order.

Figure 27 aims to portray the cosmogenic architecture of Durghwe as it was explained by our two main protagonists. We think the illustration speaks for itself, with the 'granaries' of Durghwe reaching deep into the hillside of Ghwa'a. We remember the outer cosmic mountain chain from Figure 25, and that our Dghwedé friends described their environment from a terrace farmer's view, not the view that Barth took from the western plain. It was more an intramountainous view marked by other mountain tops as the typical surface of the earth. We illustrated such an intramountainous view when we introduced the reader to Chapter 1.1, and showed the various cross-mountain panoramic views which included the surrounding plains when looking down. The following illustration of Durghwe attempts to creatively capture part of our Dghwedé friends' view of that world, when their belief system secured their destiny.

Figure 27: Cosmography of Durghwe with croaking toad and the three bulls in deep water



We would like to compare the aspect of topographical visibility with the visibility of DGB sites on the northern slopes of the Oupay massif. All the DGB sites overlook the northwestern end of the Mandara Mountains, and they remain more or less visible to one another the higher the sites rise topographically, being rooted on various high points of the northern slopes of Oupay massif. Among them, the highest was found near the summit of Mt Oupay, but they were all man-made buildings, architectural structures consisting of smooth dry stone walling with underground passageways. We hypothesise here that they might have been cosmological representations of the inner life of terraced mountainsides, serving not only locally but also on a regional level for the ritual promotion of fecundity.

We mentioned earlier in a footnote, the legends of foothills being seen as collapsed cosmological buildings on both sides of the Dghwedé massif. These were seen as towers that people once tried to build to access much-needed rain. In the case of the foothill known as 'Bebe' in Vile, the higher they built, the less they were able to communicate with one another. This meant the people working on top of the tower were not able to relay the warning received from God not to carry on. On the Barawa side, there was a similar legend about a collapsed pile of rocks known as 'Dheye' at the beginning of the mountain path from Barawa leading up to Ghwa'a. Two legendary men blew a horn to communicate from the top of the tower, but the tower collapsed, and underneath the stones was water, and the bulls and cows of the water spirit came out of the water during the night. A local story goes that several generations ago, during pre-colonial times, a man by the name of Dzahlava came along and put some dung on the place of the collapsed tower, and as a result he developed a great wealth of cattle.

We think that our Dghwedé friends referred to the legend of Dzahlava because they wanted to underpin their view that the rock pillars of Durghwe were rooted in an independent source of water, and that underneath those three pillars lived three cosmological bulls of white, black and ash colour. According to our friends, those three bulls came out in the night and ate grass at Tar Durghwe. My Dghwedé friends did indeed wonder whether I had seen those bulls, and explained that they belonged to the water spirit known as *khalala*, which we know was also the word for lineage shrine. The cosmological importance of Durghwe was beyond lineage affiliation however, and had a universal significance, and was there for everyone!

Our Dghwedé friends also wondered whether someone might have thrown dung on the bulls appearing out of Durghwe in the night so the water spirit would not be able take them back. I remember a similar narrative from the Mafa area of Gouzda, where the first ever bull of the bull festival had been taken away from the water spirit by using dung. In a way, this statement

truly underpins our hypothesis that perhaps the DGB sites were also once used to celebrate the discovery of sorghum cultivation on terraced hillsides by the use of manure. We wonder whether the underground passageways of the DGB sites might have been used for leading sacrificial bulls around and sprinkling them with water as part of the ritual promotion of fecundity. We know that guinea corn needed animal manure to grow well, therefore Durghwe was not only the cosmological home of water but also of guinea corn.

In the next chapter we will revisit the concept of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) as the lucky one, and will contrast this with the symbolism of the eighth-born child which in the past could even fall victim to infanticide to ensure the survival of other children. We will show that in our opinion the seventh-born son as the lucky one cannot be understood without also discussing the possible reasons for the eighth born not being allowed to survive. We have already discussed the exposure of the Dghwedè of the past to climate and other environmental emergencies, and we know how important it was for an independent man to be able to fill all three granaries in preparation for economic freedom in the face of potential catastrophes which could often result in death. Avoiding bad luck was an important underlying concept of Dghwedè ritual thinking, and what could have been a better way forward for the promotion of good luck than connecting it to the birth of children, but this is only one way of looking at it.

Conclusion

In the bigger picture of the previous chapter about worldview and cosmology, this chapter aimed to explain the importance of Durghwe as a mountain shrine, not only as a place of worship but also as possibly the most important identifying mark of montagnard culture. In a way Durghwe had its own personality, and therefore seemed to demand ritual attention, not as part of the regular ceremonial calendar, but whenever it was needed according to divination. We were told that Durghwe had a regional reach beyond Ghwa'a, and we pointed out that the emphasis of our protagonists that people came from as far as Tur to initiate a sacrifice at Durghwe, could be connected with the Tur tradition of origin relevant to many groups of the Gwoza hills. Despite Durghwe having such importance to our wider subregion, the ritual responsibility for it rested with Ghwa'a, and there with the seventh born (*thaghaya*) of the Btha lineage, as custodian not only for Durghwe but also for other group sacrifices of Ghwa'a. We connected the importance of Durghwe with the place 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) as an early arrival zone for groups who claimed an origin from Tur, for example the Chikide, and we also acknowledged the interethnic impact of Durghwe on its immediate mountain surroundings.

We tried to establish the cosmological importance of Durghwe as an intramountain shrine, not only due to its visibility but also due to its exclusive rootedness in the deep primordial water of this otherwise aridity-prone most northern part of our wider subregion. We were able to establish that the German explorer Heinrich Barth might already have referred to Durghwe as Mt Legga, and we presented a reconstruction of Barth's likely view of the chain of the Gwoza hills and the Tur heights together with the Ziver-Oupay and the Sukur massif. We highlighted the contrast in his view of the mountain tops from the perspective of the plains with the intramountainous perspective of the Dghwedè and their neighbours, including their need to manage the high ritual density of their egalitarian terrace farming societies of the semi-arid environment. We pointed again to the ethnoarchaeological model of the DGB sites, being seen as 'watch or water towers' (mandaras.info/research 2002) but there we failed to acknowledge the importance of dung production so essential to bind the fertility provided by water to create soils behind man-made terraced walls. We wanted to underpin our view with the worldview of our Dghwedè friends, who remembered that this world was once seen as a cosmological building. We stressed that the DGB sites might also once have been inspired by a similar intramountainous environment where not only the ritual importance of height and visibility, but also primordial rootedness in water was important.

We emphasised again the specific geographical position of Ghwa'a, being sandwiched between the DGB area along the northern slopes of the Oupay massif and Kirawa, as part of

the earlier pre-colonial history of our wider subregion. We wondered whether the tail end of the DGB sites and the siege of the Kirawa foothill by the Borno king Idris Alauma, which ended the rule of the 'Pagan usurper' of Kirawa, was a time when Durghwe might have been significant as a subregional rain shrine. After all, it overlooks the Kirawa foothill where the 'Pagan usurper' was held under siege, and where he was eventually forced to surrender. We already showed in previous chapters that this event was linked to a phase of great aridity, and that the following hundred years of high rainfall most likely initiated the formation of the Dghwede as we came to know them. We want to stress once more that this development most likely coincided with the end of the DGB period and the move of the rulers of Kirawa, first to Doulo and then to Mora at the eastern foot of the northern Mandara Mountains.

Chapter 3.18

The significance of the seventh and the eighth-born child

Introduction

Chapter 3.6 dealt with the use and meaning of social relationship terms in the kinship vocabulary of the Dghwedë, but explicitly excluded the seventh-born son (*thaghaya*) due to interconnected complexities and the central role the seventh born played in the Dghwedë belief system. One of the complexities is that the positive image of a boy as the seventh-born child needs to be seen in relation to the negative image of the eighth-born child. Instead of being ritually promoted, eighth-born children were historically cast out or fell victim to infanticide. We have already referred to the ancestor-centred *thaghaya* lineages which represented good luck on the local group level, epitomised by the patrilineal succession of seventh-born descendants as earth or lineage priests.

This aspect of Dghwedë social organisation is about group membership through classificatory lineal descent, and the formation of what we refer to as localised clan and lineage groups. Ancestor-centred group membership and the succession of lineage priests is the issue here, which we need to distinguish from the intergenerational inheritance rights of seventh-born sons.¹ We will illustrate how succession in relation to the inheritance of property was not based on classificatory descent but operated along genealogically uninterrupted branches of matrilineal full-brothers. We will also show that it is important to differentiate between wife-centred and family-centred seventh-born sons, in the context of which a seventh-born son of a wife from a secondary marriage was considered as seventh-born in waiting.

We already know that the seventh-born son of each farmstead inherited the house, infields and other assets, and on his death passed most of it on to his own seventh-born son. In this chapter we explain how the seventh born was not always the actual seventh born. So, for example, if the husband and father of the house (*zal thaghaya*) had only a fifth and a sixth-born son, it was the sixth born who became *thaghaya*, but never an eighth born, unless there was no other son. If there was another to take the role of *thaghaya* the eighth born could fall victim to infanticide and his life might end straight after his birth. It was explained that the infanticide of the eighth-born child, whether a boy or a girl, would guarantee that all previous seven children lived, but we know that a ninth, tenth and even eleventh-born child could become *thaghaya* if it was a boy and all his older brothers had died. The naming tradition of the Dghwedë reflects this custom, because from the sixth born to the eleventh born their names referred to their birth position.

Before starting with the naming traditions of the Dghwedë, we will briefly examine the literal meaning of the word *thaghaya*. So far we have used various translations to refer to their role as ritual custodian, but have never attempted a semantic exploration of the term. Despite there being no literal translation of its meaning, we recognise that *ghaya* is a reference to house or farmstead, while the prefix *tha* is most likely a reference to cattle, and therefore indirectly to manure production for sustainable resource management. This leads to *thaghaya*, and we believe that the term *thaghaya* for seventh-born son, even though it contains no literal reference to the number, implies the number seven simply because of the auspicious ritual role attached to a seventh-born son. From the perspective of inheritance, the seventh born was also seen as the ideal youngest son, and we will do a little subregional comparison of this in the last chapter section. What made the seventh born of the Dghwedë different was his ritual entitlement, and therefore we aim to explain why we think the seventh-born son as

¹ Alan Barnard and Anthony Good (1984:68ff) point to the importance of distinguishing between descent and inheritance and/or succession, and not to mix up the two, which is rather difficult here.

community custodian and symbol of successful reproduction mattered so much to the Dghwedè.

To explore this further we will also take a closer look at the consequences of the inheritance system of the Dghwedè, and discuss the finer details of the seventh-born son inheriting the lion's share of all the assets and not just the house and infields. This will be followed by a section presenting a summary of the ritual roles of the seventh born as lineage or earth priest and in all types of local custodianship tasks. This included the specialist lineages, for example the senior rainmaker who started ritual planting for the whole of Dghwedè. The seventh born as *thaghaya* was not only the first to be ritually served in the context of his own extended family, but was also the one who started many ritual sequences once he became a custodian of the earth or a senior representative of one of the specialist lineages. We remember that the Gudule were seen as the *thaghaya* of Dghwedè because they started the bull festival, while the Thakara of Ghwa'a saw themselves as 'first born' or 'senior brothers' because Ghwa'a was accepted as the more ancient settlement.

Finally we will contrast the ritual role of the seventh born as key custodian with what we know about the infanticide of the eighth-born child. Captain Lewis (1925) was the first to mention the infanticide of the eighth born in the Gwoza region, but he did not refer specifically to the Dghwedè. Our oral sources do however show that infanticide was widely practised, and we know that the British changed the custom to a legal form of adoption in around 1925. We will present the few oral records we have about the historical practice of infanticide, and discuss exceptions and suggest their possible explanations. One cause may have been the collective memory of regular environmental uncertainty, in the context of which the infanticide of the eighth-born child could be seen as a form of population control, or a cruel but necessary reminder of the loss of reproductive potential as a result of past food shortages. We remember, from the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), how important it was to prepare for the worst-case scenario of food shortage.

Unfortunately we cannot finally determine whether there was any ritual attached to an eighth-born child falling victim to infanticide. Twins and the son born after twins did not fall victim to it, and we will examine the underlying ideas of good and bad luck, and try to explore whether there might have been a link to the Dghwedè belief in the extraordinary birth of twins in relation to the seventh-born son as a symbol of socio-economic hope. That eighth-born girls as well as boys fell victim to infanticide suggests there was no gender aspect to it. This was not the case regarding the seventh-born son, who was not only economically advantaged but occupied a key ritual role for the community as a whole. We know that it was always men who were seen to risk their health or even their lives during complex ritual performances. Perhaps the special entitlement of the seventh-born son can be seen as a key aspect in keeping not only the community safe but also the custodians carrying out the rituals. This allows us to see the seventh-born son not only as the one with the entitlement to manage fecundity, but also the one who guaranteed the successful survival of families and lineage groups in face of the ongoing threat of environmental crises.

The Dghwedè naming tradition

We pointed out in the introduction that the word *thaghaya* does not literally mean seventh born, but 'cattle in the house', as a reference to sustainable subsistence in the context of the household compound. We reached this interpretation through John Zakariya's suggestion that the prefix *tha* was a reference to cattle, leading to 'cattle in the house' when *tha* was placed with *ghaya* for house or farmstead. We have already pointed in various contexts to the likely semantic root of the seventh-born son representing the collective hope for the long-term sustainability of the Dghwedè mixed farming system. It appears that the auspiciousness of the seventh-born son as successful survivor was connected to the inauspiciousness of his eighth-born sibling falling victim to infanticide. The only alternative to infanticide was that the child

was cast out, something which captain Lewis (1925) referred to, and we will discuss this later in the context of the adoption of eighth-born children introduced by the British.

The concept of lucky and unlucky birth might be helpful here. Table 11 below shows the Dghwede naming tradition according to the birth position of a child, and that the name for the seventh born was Tada while that of the eighth born was Zuwala. The only birth of an eighth-born child which could override the unluckiness of being named Zuwala was if it was one of twins, or the child born after twins. The older of the twins would be called Wasa and the younger called Wala, but we do not know whether there was any semantic connection between Wala and Zuwala. However, if twins were eighth-born children they would survive, and all the rituals for the birth of twins would have been carried out (see Chapter 3.19). The same would apply to Ghamba, which was the name for a boy who was born after twins.

Table 11: Dghwede naming tradition according to the birth position of a child

Birth position of the child	Boy	Girl
6 th child	Kalakwa	Kalakwa
7 th child	Tada	Tada
8 th child	Zuwala	Zuwala
9 th child	Mbthe	Mbthe
10 th child	Gwama	Gwama
11 th child	Ndara or Pade	Ndara or Pade
12 th child	Ndara or Pade	Ndara or Pade
etc.	etc.	etc.

We also note in Table 11 that the Dghwede tradition of giving specific names according to the relative birth position of a child started with the birth of the sixth and ended with the eleventh child. After the eleventh child, the same names were given. As we can see, there was no gender difference in names in this tradition. We can only speculate as to why this was, and why it started with the sixth-born child. In 2001 John explained to me that it had to do with the reproductive cycle of the first wife which was slowly coming to an end. This explanation was further supported by the fact that only from the birth of the fifth child onwards would children have a spirit pot made for them, and they also had to wear a single twisted wrist bangle for special protection. This presumably implies that there was a keen interest in making sure that the seventh born was a son who would be the lucky family *thagaya* to carry forward socio-economic success.

Regarding the name Zuwala, it is difficult to see why a child would have been given a name if it did not even reach the stage of naming, and we can only infer that the name was a reference to the bad luck carried by such a pregnancy. We do realise however that an eighth-born child could survive under certain circumstances. Infanticide became illegal from 1925 and such children were given up for adoption, but we do not know whether the tradition of infanticide still continued secretly. We can be sure that eighth-born boys and girls fell victim to it during early colonial times, while only a seventh-born boy could become a ritual custodian (*thagaya*). An eighth-born boy could be a potential *thagaya* too, but only if all his previous brothers of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*) had died, or if all seven of his older siblings born to his father's first wife had been girls.

I personally never came across a seventh born called Zuwala, but if we look at some of the names from earlier chapters, we instantly remember our friend Tada Nzige, the senior rainmaker from Ghwa'a, who was a seventh-born son, while Kalakwa Wila, whose house we documented (see Chapter 3.11) was a sixth-born child. We can only assume that Kalakwa inherited the house of his father because his seventh-born brother Tada had died, which would have led to Kalakwa being seen as the seventh-born son (*thagaya*) among his older full-brothers. Unfortunately, we do not know whether a *thagaya* by the name of Kalakwa was considered less auspicious than one called Tada, but perhaps it depended on the particular socio-economic circumstance and whether he was ritually confronted with many crisis

situations. For example we can imagine that a *thaghaya* by the name of Zuwala would not be considered very ritually successful during a period of food shortage, and that he might have been blamed if environmental circumstances had been against him.

The rule as to who would become *thaghaya* in the context of birth position was quite straightforward. Firstly, all the children born to the first wife would be counted, starting with the firstborn and going on to Tada via Kalakwa. If all the older sons from these seven had died, the entitlement of *thaghaya* would go to the younger sons, starting with Mbthe then Gwama and continuing through all the other younger sons. Only if all the sons of the first wife had died prior to the death of the father of the house would the 'relative' seventh-born son of the second wife win the entitlement. By 'relative' we mean that it did not have to be her actual seventh-born son, but could be any who was considered closest to the position of a seventh born (*thaghaya*). Until then, this seventh-born son would only be *thaghaya* of his mother, and not *thaghaya* of the whole family. If all sons of the second wife had also died, the same sequential order of the birth of sons would apply to those of the third wife and so on.

This makes clear the fact that the seventh born (*thaghaya*) was a social institution only linked to the actual seventh son as long as he was alive. We want to emphasise again that the reference 'actual' seventh son is in the sense that his six older siblings could have been male or female. This for example explains how Ghamba Vunga, who was *thaghaya* and lineage priest of Ghwa'a during my time, became a lineage priest. He was not named Tada, which would have marked him as the 'actual' seventh born, but Ghamba because he was the firstborn after twins. If Ghamba himself was the eighth-born child he could have become seventh born after all his older brothers had died because his extraordinary birth overrode the negative aspect of being an eighth-born child. Another possible scenario would be that he was the actual seventh born, which would make Wasa and Wala his older twin brothers.

Concerning Wasa as the older and Wala as the younger of the twins, we infer that Wasa would have become *thaghaya* if they were both seen as seventh-born twins. The other possibility is that Wala would be considered the eighth born, but because he was a twin he survived. If Wala's older brothers had died, including his twin brother Wasa, Wala would have become seventh born. All this of course is speculation by applying the rules of the sequential birth order for the entitlement of becoming family *thaghaya* as explained earlier. If a wife from a secondary marriage had also had a seventh son with the husband, her seventh son would have only been *thaghaya* of his mother, unless all the previous wives had lost their sons.

At this point we want to emphasise again the relationship term *zal thaghaya* for the husband and father of a seventh born. We know that *zal* means husband, and *thaghaya* can be translated as 'cattle in the house', and the resulting combination shows that the father of a house saw himself as someone who wished to have a seventh son born to his first wife in order to increase his socio-economic potential, because the number seven was lucky. To achieve this, it was presumably important to lessen all risks by taking all sorts of ritual precautions as his wife's age increased. He looked after his own spirit as *zal thaghaya*, and ensured that his children from the fifth born onwards had extra spirit protection, and while the wife was not seen to be in need of such separate protection, one ritual that perhaps helped to ensure that she became a mother of a family *thaghaya* was the cooking of a sauce in a three-legged cooking pot by a male friend of her husband, to celebrate the first seven months of her pregnancy. Interestingly, this pot then became the spirit pot of her husband's friend, and sat on a forked branch above his bed. Now it was not for the mother herself, but had become the spiritual protection of another patrilineal father. This stresses the unilineal kinship system practised by the Dghwede, and that they used all possible methods to control the reproductive capacities of their wives, or otherwise suffer bad luck.

The seventh born and the system of inheritance

After establishing that theoretically any son could become the seventh born (*thaghaya*), we realise that even the youngest son of the most recent wife could inherit the house after the death of his father, providing that he was the only remaining potential family *thaghaya*. The sequence would have started with the sons of the first wife, followed by those of the second wife and so on, if none of them had survived by the time the father died. This implies that any son could have transformed into the bearer of socio-economic hope by becoming a family *thaghaya*. We have no oral data about all possible scenarios, apart from the fact that a certain sequential order had to be maintained in order to become the family seventh born and inheritor of the farm. In this section we present an ideal scenario of the system of inheritance historically practised by the Dghwede, where the seventh-born son of a matrilineal 'kitchen' not only inherited the house and infields but also passed their rights down along branches of direct relatives for generations.

In 1998 John explained that the general word for inheritance was *wura* and that it had no literal meaning. It included the farmland, trees and cattle of a man's father, but could also include the widow of a brother and his female children. The reason for this was that the potential bridewealth from the marriage of a daughter of a deceased brother went to the one who had inherited that daughter. *Wura* further included the property assets of any other male relative of a father who had no son. For example, *wura* of descendants with the same father and mother could inherit land even if the link went back many generations. This rule only applied however if the patrilineal descent derived from the same matrilineal 'kitchen' of full-brothers and was continuous.

Figure 28a below shows an example of such an intergenerational inheritance, and we refer in this context to the seventh born who inherited as seventh-born brother, because all brothers descended from the same 'kitchen' in terms of genealogical origin. The example shows five relatives who shared the same father (F) and mother (M) five generations ago, consisting of a senior brother (S), the next younger brother (A), followed by the seventh born (T) and the two youngest brothers (B and C). Five scenarios of five generations of uninterrupted descent from all five of their ancestral 'kitchen' brothers are presented, and the intergenerational seventh born (T) is highlighted, who is still entitled to inherit by following the sequential order determined by which *thaghaya* among them is marked as having died (D).

Figure 28a: Five scenarios of intergenerational inheritance of land through the same 'kitchen'

Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4	Scenario 5
F = M	F = M	F = M	F = M	F = M
S A T B C	S A T B C	S A T B C	S A T B C	S A T B C
⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮
<u>D</u> T T T T	T <u>D</u> T T T	T T <u>D</u> T T	T T T <u>D</u> T	T T T T <u>D</u>
↓ — ↑	↑ — ↓	↑ — ↓	↑ — ↓	↑ — ↓

This illustrates that the seventh born (T) who inherits from his seventh-born relative who died (D) is always from the branch of the next older 'kitchen' brother five generations ago. The only exception is if the seventh-born (T) direct descendant of the senior 'kitchen' brother (S) has died. *Scenario 1* illustrates this, showing an uninterrupted line of intergenerational descent, and it is the branch of the original seventh born (T) who inherits in this case. In *Scenario 2* it is the seventh born (T) representing the uninterrupted lineage branch of the ancestral senior brother (S) who inherits and not the seventh born (T) descending from the ancestral seventh born (T). If we compare this with *Scenarios 3, 4, and 5*, we recognise that the same intergenerational pattern continues throughout the model.

As pointed out, the pattern of intergenerational inheritance among a set of family *thaghaya* as genealogical descendants of full brothers from the same 'kitchen' five or more generations ago would only have worked as long as none of the relevant *thaghaya* branches had been interrupted. Such interruptions would either have been caused by death or if a candidate had left Dghwedè. Our model is of course very generalised, and we do not see all the collateral family links that would have come about after five generations of patrilineal family expansion, which would have meant massive population growth with very complex social relationships along the way in how the Dghwedè managed reproduction. Finding wives was very important in this context, and marriage was the key not only for human but also any other form of socio-economic reproduction. Managing the transmission of land resources was as important as controlling patrilineal reproduction.

Even though land was privately owned, it was seen as ancestral land that had been passed down through a system of patrilineal descent consisting of many generations of seventh-born sons leading back to the ones who had originally started farming and fertilising the land. We think that this led to cultivated farmland apart from infields becoming particularly segregated in terms of individual ownership. We recommend the reader to go back to Chapter 3.10 and consult Figure 17 showing the general model of the Dghwedè farm layout, to re-familiarise themselves with the different types of farmland which the Dghwedè generally referred to as *gwiye*. The term *gwiye* included the infields (*vde*) which were always inherited by the seventh born and thus became possibly less segregated than the outer cultivated terraced fields (*kla pana*), but fallow land (*siye*), as well as areas of uncultivated bushland (*susiye*), presumably became significantly more geographically fragmented in terms of private ownership.

Figure 28b: Examples of the inheritance of farmland (*gwiye*) in Dghwedè

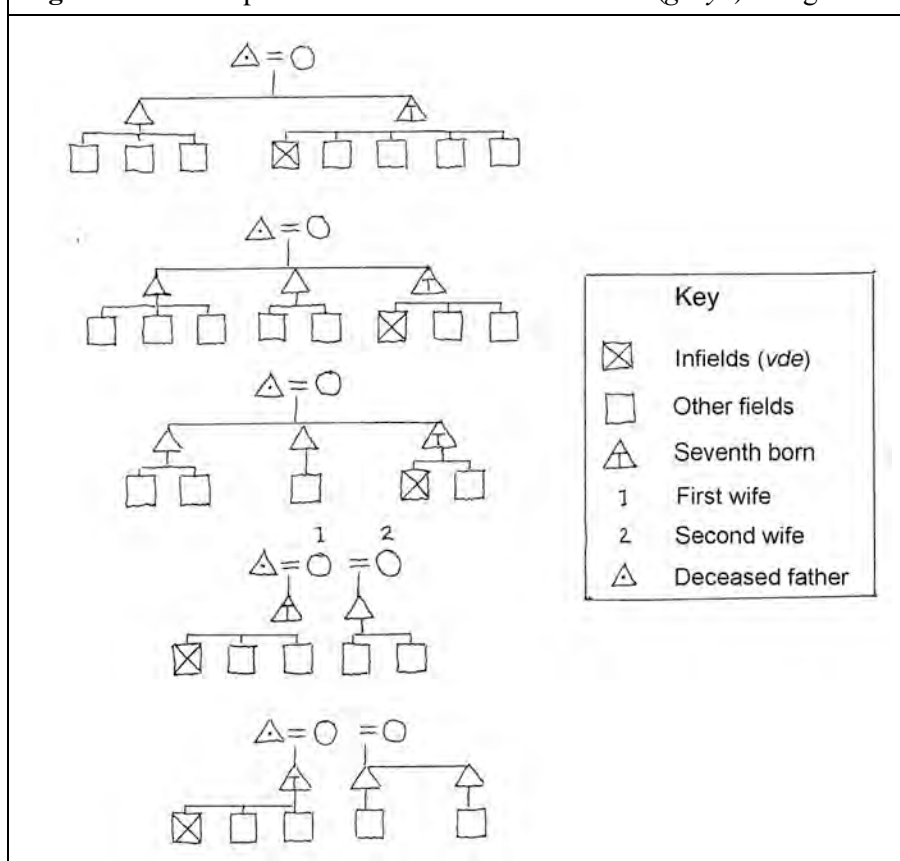


Figure 28b shows five examples of the inheritance of farmland (*gwiye*) which I published in 1996. We see in the key of the illustration the reference to 'other fields' as distinct from the infields, but unfortunately we cannot be certain whether they refer only to plots of cultivated terraced fields (*kla pana*) and fallow land (*siye*), or also to uncultivated bushland. We are aware that

this would be an important distinction, but the five examples still demonstrate that it was always the seventh-born son who inherited the lion's share. We also need to note that the description of the illustration from 1996 treats all infields (house fields) as one plot, which

underestimates their importance and value as they were assets of continuously-manured terraced fields and therefore of highest quality.

The first three examples in Figure 28b show scenarios of how eight and five plots of farmland would have been distributed if the deceased father had only one wife, while the other two show scenarios as if he had sons from two wives. We will now quote the description of the examples as presented in Muller-Kosack 1996 (page 151):

If, for example, someone had only two sons and eight plots, then five will be for the second born who is now considered as the seventh born and three for the firstborn. If someone has three sons, then three plots are for *thaghaya* and three for the firstborn, but only two for the middle one. With five plots and three sons, two go to *thaghaya*, two to the oldest and the second son gets only one piece. If someone has two wives and only one son from each wife, but five plots, then three plots go to the son of the first wife and two to the son of the second wife. Where the second wife has two sons, each of them gets one of these two plots. This indicates that the seventh born is always the son of the first wife. If she has only one son he would be automatically *thaghaya*, even in a case where the first wife has left and her son grew up under the care of the second wife.

Unfortunately I can no longer find the field record of this account and I assume it was made with the help of John. If doing the same now we would possibly try to better work out the system behind it, but we can nevertheless recognise that for example the oldest son inherits more plots than any other son, except of course the seventh born (*thaghaya*). The assumption that a family *thaghaya* was always the son of the first wife is also incorrect, and we know that if all the sons of the first wife had died, the sons of the second wife would have inherited the entitlement. The quote correctly points out however that the son of a first wife kept the entitlement of *thaghaya* for the whole nuclear family even if his mother had left and married someone else. We should also add here that any woman going into a secondary marriage might already have had children from a previous marriage, and that the primary marriage was the most likely one in which to give birth to an ideal family *thaghaya* born to a *zal thaghaya* as husband and owner of a house.

The excerpt (ibid) also points out that as in the case of farmland, trees were also privately owned and passed on as part of an inheritance, and the most important trees were *Khaya senegalensis* (*tsra*), *Borassus aethiopum* (*wurighe*) and *Anogneissus leiocarpus* (*wa'iya*). It states (ibid) that if someone had only one of these trees, it was always the seventh born who inherited it, and we invite the reader to also look at Table 7a in Chapter 3.10 where the usefulness of those trees is explained. We have to admit however that we do not know whether the three useful trees mentioned here were automatically inherited by the seventh-born son if they were found on the infields, but infer that they were treated as separate assets of inheritance (*wura*).

Unfortunately, we do not have oral data of how exactly cattle and other farm animals were passed on, but infer that it was the seventh born who received the lion's share. We also remember that not only land but also cows were often leased out to produce dung for the person looking after them, and we doubt whether such leased-out cows could easily be taken back by those who inherited them. This might have been even more of an issue if the original cows leased out a couple of generations ago had continued to reproduce and as a result produced even more dung for fertilisation of infields.

A worse problem possibly occurred when it came to leased-out farmland, and I remember court cases between families over such land rights. We know for example that someone might have given a friend or brother some of his uncultivated bushland, and over generations their descendants might have turned it into valuable farmland. They might even have settled nearby to achieve this. Another potential issue of contention might have been trees that had been leased out, and we remember some of these tree assets being used as bridewealth for marrying off a son. The most contentious asset was of course leased-out farmland, especially if we take into account that someone might have used his own dung to manure a plot of land, and was now asked to give it back, even though his grandfather or even great grandfather might have started fertilising it.

The ritual responsibilities of the seventh born

The ritual responsibilities of the seventh born were very complex. We listed in Chapter 3.9, where we described the distribution of the custodianship of local shrines, a significant number of seventh-born sons (*thaghaya*) who were lineage priests across Dghwedë (see Table 6). We were able to show that most if not all settlement units dominated by a clan or lineage section had one lineage branch that was considered to hold the *thaghaya* position, and as such held a variety of ritual responsibilities. The responsibilities ranged from being in charge of the key ritual for local group formation, *har khalala* (slaughtering for a lineage ancestor) to rituals such as starting the harvest, or in the case of Ghwa'a, carrying out the ritual at Durghwe, the most important mountain shrine of the Gwoza hills and beyond.

One element of the role of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) as custodian stands out, which was the responsibility of starting an important task or ritual process. For example, the *thaghaya* of the Gudule started the roofing of houses, and started the bull festival for the whole of Dghwedë, and the Gudule even claimed that their lineage *thaghaya* also started the process of slaughtering for the deceased father of a house (*har ghwe*), but we failed to confirm that claim with other Dghwedë clan groups. The claim of the Gudule to have started *har ghwe* nevertheless confirms how important the role of *thaghaya* was in terms of starting a ritual process. *Har ghwe* was important for every household compound in Dghwedë which could afford to sacrifice a he-goat for the deceased father of a house, and we remember that it had to be carried out before any larger ceremony or ritual, for example the bull festival, could be performed.

The specialist lineages, among which the Gaske rainmaker and the Dagha peacemaker lineages were the most important, also had their own seventh born (*thaghaya*), even though they were spread out across Dghwedë and did not have independent clan or lineage wards. The starting of planting was a very important task for the rainmaker lineage, and we know that the senior rainmaker, Tada Nzige, did his ritual planting before the first rain. We also know that our bi-annual calendar identified the guinea corn year as being when most regular rituals were historically performed, while the millet year had far fewer ritual processes. We have presented the cosmological importance of guinea corn and the link to manure production in many other chapters of this book.

When it came to harvesting, it appears there was no central ritual custodian or seventh born (*thaghaya*) who started it for the whole of Dghwedë, but ideally each *thaghaya* of every local lineage group owned the responsibility. This could be a smaller or larger clan or lineage group, and we demonstrated as such for the Vaghagaya major lineage, as they were by far the largest group that had spread across southern Dghwedë. There it was Var ga Ghuna of Gharaza who was the ritual custodian responsible for all the Vaghagaya. However, in terms of planting, Var ga Ghuna had to wait for the senior rainmaker to inform him that his ritually-planted guinea corn had started germinating, which was the sign for Var ga Ghuna himself to start planting. Following this, all his major lineage mates could start planting.

On the level of the house, it was the seventh born (*thaghaya*), ideally born to the first wife, who was served first by his senior brother when it came to the ritual related to their deceased father. For his deceased grandfather or deceased great grandfather, it was the generation mate (*skamama*) of the grandfather or great grandfather who came as family priest to carry out the rituals, but always after the seventh born had been served first. On the lineage level, it was not always possible to trace the seventh born as earth priest back along the generations of patrilineal descent, but even so the ritual custodian was always considered to be the representative of such a connection, and was considered as the local group *thaghaya*. It was very important here that the one who occupied the role was the correct one, in order to reduce the personal vulnerability that ritual responsibility linked to territorial custodianship entailed.

In the context of specialist lineages, it was not the seventh born (*thaghaya*) who was automatically considered to be the most gifted in terms of the lineage specialism they represented. We discussed this in the chapter about ideas around existential personhood,

where we pointed out that being gifted with supernatural powers was a talent with which any individual could be born. In the case of the Dghwede rainmakers, it was the seventh born who inherited the house of his senior rainmaker father who had been *thaghaya* before him, but he was not automatically seen as the most talented rainmaker. He was however still the *thaghaya* who had not only inherited the house but also his father's most important ritual equipment, among which the rainstones were considered the most potent. Such equipment reportedly never left the house, and according to our rainmaker friends the house of the senior rainmaker was where the most talented rainmakers gathered to discuss how to ritually proceed in controlling rain and wind across the Dghwede community during the agriculturally active season of the year.

From infanticide to adoption

Our sources concerning historical infanticide of the eighth-born child are very limited. This is my own mistake, because during my fieldwork in Dghwede between 1994 and 2010 I failed to conduct specific interviews about the subject. After Boko Haram had destroyed most of the montagnard culture of the Dghwede it was very difficult to obtain access to the same degree of local collective memories, because it was not possible to return to the mountains and I had to rely on oral sources from the Dghwede diaspora. Luckily, John was able to identify a couple of older Dghwede who had managed to survive and flee to a place near where he had fled, but these oral sources were not older people from the hills and they had mostly been living in the plains before fleeing from the invaders. Still, we were able to work out that in the past both boys and girls fell victim to infanticide of the eighth-born child, and we have already referred to some of these oral memories.

We discovered another important aspect, which was that the wish for a seventh-born son of the husband of a house (*zal thaghaya*) must have included the hope that his first wife would bear a boy as her seventh child. We know that such a child would have been named Tada, and if the seventh born was a girl, her sixth-born older brother by the name of Kalakwa would have been in line to becoming the family seventh born. It was very rare indeed that the first wife of *zal thaghaya* would give birth to seven sons, and that Tada would have been the seventh among those. However, if that did happen it was reportedly considered an extremely auspicious birth, although John told me that the Dghwede thought that such a lucky event would lead to the early death of the father. We know that if the opposite happened and the eighth born named Zuwala had been the only son the first wife had with her husband, Zuwala was spared infanticide because he was now considered a potential seventh born. Unfortunately we do not know whether this promotion from being an inauspicious birth to auspicious family *thaghaya* would have held if the first wife later gave birth to another son.

Also, it was only while writing this chapter that it occurred to me to want to know whether there were any other exceptions to the cultural practice of infanticide, and I was able to establish that neither twins nor the child born directly after twins fell victim to it. I also managed to establish that even before the British introduced the practice of adoption in around 1925, not all eighth-born children were killed, but some were given away to the Wandala or the Fulani, because the Dghwede felt that adopting such a child would not cause bad luck for Muslims. In a correspondence initiated by Lewis between March and April 1925, a letter includes a note by captain Lewis in which he speaks of:

...casting away the eighth born child born of a virgin by the same husband. This child is sometimes placed on a path along which traders or others may pass.²

We think that Lewis's use of the expression 'born of a virgin by the same husband' is a reference to a first wife of a father of a house, as it is not possible for a virgin to have given birth to an eighth child. We will also learn in Chapter 3.2: 'Past ways of marrying in

² National Archives in Kaduna (No 83A/1925/3).

Dghwede' that captain Lewis's word 'virgin' was his English translation for the female in the Dghwede tradition of marrying by promise. This entailed a boy or a young man, as the future potential father of a seventh born, being promised to a girl when she was born. The promise of marriage was arranged by the father of the future *zal thaghaya* (husband and father of a new family) who befriended the mother of his son's intended first wife. In Chapter 3.2 we discussed the rituals involved in completing such a marriage when the promised girl had reached reproductive age, so here we simply want to explain why captain Lewis most likely spoke of 'a virgin by the same husband' when he was in fact referring to a husband and his first wife casting away their eighth-born child.

Such arranged promises through the promotion of friendship between members of patrilineages who could intermarry, one being the father of a future husband and the other the mother of a future first wife, were seen as the ideal way of marrying. During the actual marriage ceremony the young woman became a member of her husband's patrilineage. The same would happen again when they had a daughter born to them, and another father of a son of a patrilineage with which they could intermarry would befriend the mother for a marriage of promise between their children. This process also caused what we came to know as *zbe*, meaning ego-centred matrilineal exogamy between ancestor-centred patrilineages who were not otherwise *gwagha*, meaning exogamous to each other (see the generational limits of *zbe* in Chapter 3.6). None of this applied to an eighth-born child because they were excluded from the ongoing process of patrilineally-regulated childbirth.

In another letter, Lewis (ibid) recommends introducing legal adoption for such children, as otherwise they could fall into the hands of slave traders. The Acting Resident of Borno agrees, and recommends that the matter should be handled through the Local Native Court, and that only Kanuri or Hausa should be allowed to adopt such children. Concerning his earlier quote, meaning before legal adoption was introduced and where he speaks of the eighth-born child of a 'virgin' being cast away, we can only assume this was a reference to boys and girls. Lewis (ibid) further reports that eighth-born children were given away all across the Gwoza hills, and we wonder how old they were when that happened. For example, if an eighth-born boy was the only son among girls, and afterwards his mother gave birth to a boy who was a more suitable seventh born, that eighth-born boy might already have been over one year old. The question arises as to whether some of these unfortunate boys might have ended up in slavery, but I was told by my Dghwede friends that the practice of giving away an eighth-born child was not linked to slavery and neither was it seen as a tribute payment.

Lewis (ibid) indirectly contradicts this view of the Dghwede, because in 1925 he explained that some eighth-born children were placed on the route where traders passed by, and to avoid these children ending up in the hands of slave traders he recommends that the Local Native Court take control of a new system of legal adoption. In the same letter exchange with the Acting Resident of Borno, Lewis again speaks of the tradition of infanticide, and we think therefore that legal adoption as a solution came into existence shortly afterwards. This of course makes the collective memories of our diaspora sources seem unreliable, especially concerning the exact nature of the practices regarding the casting-out of unwanted eighth-born children before 1925. It was almost a hundred years later when in 2020 I gained access to the new information via John.

The other point I failed to research during my fieldwork in Dghwede was how the infanticide was carried out, and we subsequently discovered that it was not done by the parents of the eighth-born child but by a relative or neighbour. I was informed that the practice consisted of such a newborn child being drowned in a terracotta container called *ghadzaka* which was normally used to water animals. We of course do not know whether this was the only way infanticide was carried out, or whether there was any other way, but assume that drowning was perhaps viewed as the most humane method. As we already know, I was also informed that there was often resistance from families where the eighth-born child was the first boy born to a family, and that such families resisted carrying out infanticide or giving him away to

the Wandala or the Fulani. As mentioned above, we do not know for sure whether such an eighth-born boy was still considered as a potential for bad luck if a first wife gave birth to another boy later on.

Another important aspect of the infanticide which I failed to establish during my field sessions was whether there was any ritual aspect to it. During the few post-field inquiries mentioned above following the cultural destruction caused by Boko Haram, it was strictly denied that it ever contained any ritual aspect. On the other hand, twins were excluded from infanticide and rituals were performed for twins, highlighting their importance. Considering that the seventh born (*thaghaya*) held such an important position in the context of the Dghwede ritual calendar, it is hard to imagine that infanticide of the eighth-born child was completely detached from ritual meaning. We can only speculate as to a possible connection, but have decided to go no further due to lack of sufficient oral data. We still want to point to the infanticide of twins in other cultures being the only other form of infanticide of which we are aware, but as the main aim of this book is to present Dghwede oral sources we will leave it to future historians to explore that connection.³

We have no idea how ancient the practice of the infanticide of the eighth-born child was, but can be sure that it was an important feature of late pre-colonial times. We are also certain that the practice cannot be interpreted as being detached from the importance of the seventh-born son as custodian for the ritual promotion of fecundity. We have referred many times to the issue of cyclical climate emergencies, in particular following the long wet period of the 17th century which has consisted of at least four very severe arid periods over the last 300 years (see Figure 16 and Chapter 3.8). Whether the importance of the seventh born can in any way be linked to the fact that there are records of the palaeoclimatic history of the region telling of a cycle of seven years of famine (Beauvilain 1989, tome 1:116) must however remain speculation.

What seems to be certain nevertheless is that the Dghwede had developed a very specific ritual culture of crisis management in which the seventh-born son played a very prominent role in counteracting bad luck triggered by emergencies leading to famine. In the same context the systematic exclusion of the eighth-born child from the reproductive process can be seen as the ritual management of bad luck in the reverse way. Whether the numbers seven and eight have a specific symbolic meaning in the context of the patrilineal promotion of fecundity will be discussed further in Chapter 3.22, where we compare Mafa and Dghwede ways of ritual counting when it comes to the birth of boys and girls.

The lucky and the unlucky ones

The idea of a seventh-born son being good luck and an eighth-born child being bad luck seems to have been common among the Dghwede of the past. This was reiterated to me in 2016 in a phone conversation with John, but it had already been pointed out on a couple of occasions during fieldwork sessions. At the time I still thought that the concept of bad luck around the birth of the eighth child only related to boys, due to the importance of the seventh-born son in his role as ritual custodian. We now realise girls also fell victim to infanticide, and therefore like to think that the sacrifice was to ensure that not only other sons but also other daughters survived. Although sons were important for leading the ritual process and engaging with the divine aspects of good and bad luck, without daughters there would have been no reproductive processes to be ritually managed in the first place.

We suggested that perhaps the practice of infanticide of the eighth-born child was a form of population control, and explained that it ended in around 1925 when the British officially changed it to adoption. However we also gathered some information to suggest that before 1925 there might already have been other ways of avoiding bringing up such an inauspicious

³ See for comparison Helen L. Ball and Catherine M. Hill (1996): 'Reevaluating "Twin Infanticide"'.

child. We also showed that twins or a child born after twins survived as eighth-born children, because these represented good luck in Dghwede culture. Twins and the first child born after twins were considered extraordinary births. We also discovered that if the actual seventh born was the seventh full-brother of only boys born to the first wife, this was considered especially good luck, but that such good luck made the father vulnerable to dying young. We will see later that the birth of twins involved aspects of not only being seen as extremely lucky symbols of communal reproduction, but also potentially dangerous ones if all the rituals surrounding them were not carried out correctly. To deny eighth-born children a reproductive future while seventh-born sons symbolised its promotion could be seen as a symbolic pairing of opposites.

Examining the seventh-born son as the most important ritual custodian, and his wide range of responsibilities and entitlements in being the first in many ritual promotions of fecundity, leads to the conclusion that the luck he represented was connected with the hope of successful socio-economic reproduction. This view is further supported by the fact that twins were seen as local reincarnations of previous twins. By considering that the infanticide of the eighth-born child, which accordingly removed their right of reproduction, was seen to promote the survival of all previously-born children, we think we have an additional reason to interpret it as a form of population control. How else is it possible to explain the infanticide or casting out of eighth-born children being seen as auspicious for the survival of all previous children?

Such eighth-born children were indeed more than unlucky, and we intentionally use the word 'unlucky' from today's perspective, while the Dghwede of the pre-colonial past presumably saw them more as a sign of bad luck for the reproductive continuity of society. The definition of bad luck as being 'unlucky' is of course an understatement, considering we are talking about infanticide, but we also need to realise that the death of a child was a very common event. The other point to make in this context is that abortion was presumably not an option, especially considering that it must have been important to establish that the eighth born were not twins. It would have been very bad luck to abort twins by mistake, because it would have prevented their successful reincarnation, which was a key belief around the idea of good luck as part of the ritual promotion of fecundity represented by their birth. Finally, we perhaps need to consider that a newborn child had not yet been officially named, and was therefore most likely not seen as an individual unless it had an acknowledged ritual significance, such as in the case of twins or if it was a first boy born to the first wife.

Still, parents themselves did not carry out the infanticide of their eighth-born child, because it was seen as emotionally too difficult. Parents who had lost all their previously-born sons were prepared to break the rule, and they might have decided to opt for giving such an eighth-born child away to Muslims as this was a less severe form of avoiding bad luck. After the British abolished infanticide in around 1925 and replaced it with legal adoption, all eighth-born children eventually survived. We are not certain how long the new cultural practice of adoption continued to be a valid option, because Dghwede families continued to consider the birth of an eighth-born child a threat to the survival of their other children. From a particular case of adoption I know about, and which must have happened during very late colonial times, we can conclude that it might have even continued after Nigeria reached national independence in 1960/61. I have a close Dghwede friend, now in his fifties, who had an eighth-born older brother who had been given away for adoption. I remember him telling me that he met his eighth-born brother for the first time shortly after 2001, and he told me later that they formed a special friendship, which must have been a very healing experience for my friend and his eighth-born older brother.

Seventh-born and eighth-born traditions among neighbours of the Dghwede

Before we move on to the next chapter about the birth of twins and ideas around conception, we want to briefly explore similarities and differences among the Dghwede neighbours regarding the significance of seventh and eighth-born children and attached cultural practices.

In 2005 I asked John to research this, and although the result is rather limited, it does throw light on an interesting situation in terms of the subregional distribution of the tradition. We will also use Ekkehard Wolff's (1994) account of this subject in relation to the Lamang of Hidkala, but Wolff does not link the seventh and eighth-born children to the concepts of lucky and unlucky, and neither does he mention a seventh-born son having any role as earth priest on the level of ancestral descent.

Wolff (ibid:134-142) only describes the role of the seventh born, and also refers to him as *thaghaya* (he transcribes it *slaghaya*) being the one who inherits the lion's share of his father's property, and points to the first wife having to be the mother in the case of family *thaghaya*, while he points out that the seventh born of a second wife would succeed if the first wife could not provide a seventh born. He also points out that a seventh-born son became identical to a firstborn son if a first wife gave birth to no other son, and further explains that a seventh-born great grandson could still inherit from his deceased great grandfather as seventh born. In addition, Wolff lists the shares a firstborn and seventh born would receive in terms of farmland and farm animals, particularly regarding the inheritance of cows (ibid 141). In the context of this he also speaks of 'black fingernail children', which seems to be a Lamang expression for any other sons who might end up inheriting what was left.

If we compare this with John's oral data about the Chikidè, the closest neighbours of the Dghwedè, we realise that they do not put any emphasis on the seventh born, but in their case it is the youngest son who inherits the house. This indirectly implies that it is very unlikely that they considered the eighth-born child an unlucky birth. On the other hand, the Lamang of Hidkala practised the same system as the Dghwedè, meaning the seventh-born and eighth-born child had almost the same cultural and ritual significances as among their uphill Dghwedè neighbours. The only difference is that Wolff (ibid) does not mention the role of the seventh born as earth or lineage priest, but this does not imply that they had no such ritual function for their local descent group. Neither does Wolff in any way connect the significance of the seventh born with that of the eighth born as we have done in this chapter, but Wolff (ibid:94ff) gives us a detailed description of the infanticide of an eighth-born child which confirms that such an unfortunate child was indeed drowned in a bowl of water.

Wolff (ibid) gives a further reason as to why an eighth-born child fell victim to infanticide or was cast out, by claiming that it was rooted in the belief that eighth-born children would cause not only all other children, but also the parents of eighth-born children to die. This indirectly confirms our hypothesis that was connected with population control as a result of possible overpopulation in times of crisis. Wolff's oral source from Lamang is from 1969, and also describes how in the past an unwanted eighth-born girl could be brutally scapegoated by her birth family and their neighbours. Such an eighth-born Lamang girl was brought out to the rubbish dump and people pretended to kick her, saying 'May you harm yourself'. One of the reported reasons for this was that the family were upset that they could not raise bridewealth from such a girl.

As with the Chikidè, also with the Guduf (at least according to Renate Lukas 1973:140), it was the youngest son who inherited the house, while we know that the Zelidva considered a seventh-born son a lucky birth. The Zelidva saw him as the one to inherit the house, and claimed a similar ritual status for him as in Dghwedè, but allegedly they did not practice infanticide of the eighth-born child. It is difficult to judge whether perhaps in the past they did practice infanticide as the Lamang and the Dghwedè did, especially considering that they claimed not only early Dghwedè but even earlier Lamang roots. On the other hand, the Chikidè and the Zelidva share the same tradition of having ancestral roots in Ghwa'a.

According to our oral historical reconstruction from Ghwa'a (see Chapter 3.5), it was Ghwasa who came and shortly after arrival was adopted by the Zuwagha, a Lamang-speaking local group in what would later become Zelidva. Ghwasa's grandson Kumba Zadvá eventually became the founder of the Zelidva as we came to know them. The overall oral historical narrative suggests that both Ghwasa as outsider-founder of Zelidva, and Irira as founding

ancestor of the Chikidè, left 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) as the early arrival zone before the formation of the Dghwedè of today. It is therefore puzzling why the Chikidè did not consider the seventh born as significant, while the Zelidva and the Lamang did.

The Glavda did the same as the Chikidè, meaning it was the youngest son who inherited the house while the seventh-born son had no ritual significance at all, and they never practised infanticide of the eighth-born child. It is the same with the Mafa of our subregion, who also saw the youngest son as the one to inherit the father's house. The Gvoko to the south of Dghwedè considered the seventh-born son a blessing, because they saw it as an unexpected birth, but we do not know how they received an eighth-born child. It is interesting that the Guduf, the Glavda, the Chikidè and the Mafa are the only three groups in our little subregional comparison who saw the youngest son as the key individual to inherit, and did not put any significance on the seventh-born or eighth-born child as did the Dghwedè and the Lamang, and also the Zelidva and the Gvoko to an extent. One suggestion we can come up with concerning the Chikidè is that they adopted the Guduf language, and also the Guduf system of patrilineal inheritance through the youngest son.

The above comparison raises more questions than answers, but what certainly stands out is that there are significant similarities between the Lamang of Hidkala and the Dghwedè. We remember that there was another surprising similarity in the context of the travelling bull festival (see Chapter 3.13). According to our subregional inquiries, the travelling bull festival was a late pre-colonial development, and one thing we can say with certainty is that the Dghwedè and the Lamang of Hidkala shared the travelling bull festival. However, we equally know that the Lamang did not perform adult initiation, and neither did the Zelidva, while the Chikidè and the Glavda did. Perhaps we need to look for overlapping networks of variations in a different way, but the oral memory accounts of the significance of the seventh and eighth-born children in Dghwedè show that infanticide was still practised in late pre-colonial times.

Conclusion

We think that the oral historical significance of the seventh-born son needs to be understood together with that of the eighth-born child, and we came to the conclusion that while the birth of a seventh-born son of a first wife was very desirable, the birth of an eighth-born child was not. However, in the past this did not stop the Dghwedè from having more than seven children with one wife. We established this by looking at the naming tradition that started with the sixth born and ended with the eleventh-born child. The reason why more children would be wanted after the eighth fell victim to infanticide was possibly because the first wife had not previously given birth to any sons, or because all her other sons had died. Without a son, even if he was not literally the seventh born, the patrilineal expansion of a household compound into a successful local lineage group would have been at risk, which was most likely seen as very bad luck indeed.

About the meaning of the word *thagaya*, we suggested the literal translation 'cattle in the house', and pointed to the importance of manure production in the form of animal dung for which cattle was the most important asset that could be passed on for sustainable long-term food production. We came to the conclusion that the collective experience of environmental catastrophe, in particular drought-related famine, might have brought about the idea of seeing the seventh born as a sign of good luck, while the eighth born was seen as bad luck. We tried to view the infanticide of the eighth-born child as a form of population control resulting from centuries of experience in labour-intensive terrace farming. While a son as the seventh born of a first wife was seen as auspicious for successful family and lineage expansion, an eighth born was seen as inauspicious, perhaps because it increased the risk of child death, and death in general, as a result of famine and disease.

We showed the inheritance system of the Dghwedè, in which the seventh born as family *thagaya* was entitled to the lion's share of the assets, where the permanently manured

infields were a key asset. The other important asset was of course the house itself, and trees, cattle and all other domestic animals. We showed the link between brothers of the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*), meaning in particular the sons of the father of the house born to him by his first wife. They could pass on farmland through several generations, as long as the intergenerational link to the same 'kitchen' was continuous, but we are not sure how typical such a scenario once was. We also summarised the ritual responsibilities of the seventh born as family and lineage *thagaya*, an auspicious circumstance already frequently referred to in previous chapters. Besides this, we pointed out that a seventh-born son and an eighth-born child were opposites in terms of the promotion of fecundity. We also spoke about the birth of twins, and the child born after twins, and that neither of these fell victim to infanticide if they were eighth-born children because they represented successful reproduction.

We further established that the culture of infanticide was replaced by adoption by the British in around 1925, but also pointed out that a rudimentary form of adoption most likely existed before 1925, and infanticide was the kind of decision parents naturally did not want to face up to. We were told that infanticide of the eighth-born child was not carried out by the parents themselves for this reason. After its abolishment, the new practice of legal adoption continued into modern times, and adoption was presumably still practised after national independence, which shows that the bad luck represented by an eighth-born child was deeply rooted in Dghwedë oral historical culture.

We found that the Dghwedë, the Zelidva, the Lamang of Hidkala, and the Gvoko shared the same pattern with regard to the seventh born as main beneficiary when it came to inheritance, while the Chikidë, the Guduf, the Glavda, and of course the Mafa favoured the firstborn in that respect. On the other hand, we are not sure whether the pattern was the same when it came to the role of the seventh born as earth priest, as it could only definitely be confirmed for the Dghwedë, but we know for example that the Mafa chose their earth priest from the line of the descendants of the firstborn. On the other hand, the Mafa had a system of chiefly clans across Mafa land, while the Dghwedë for example did not. With regard to the infanticide of the eighth-born child, we could only show a clear link between the Lamang of Hidkala and the Dghwedë.

The cruelty of infanticide of an eighth-born child shows how hard and unpredictable life must have been in the semi-arid environment of the Gwoza hills, and that people were indeed makers of their own survival in a very uncertain world where famine or other environmental catastrophe could without warning destroy everything they had worked for. In the next chapter we will present the historical tradition of the Dghwedë around the birth of twins, and the belief that they were reincarnations of previous twins, by describing the complex rituals surrounding them. These rituals ensured that the birth of twins would bring good luck to their parents and the local community. Although the birth of twins was seen as auspicious, it was something that was also considered potentially very dangerous. This is why everything needed to be done to keep twins happy, at least this is how it was explained to me by dada Dukwa in August 2001.

Chapter 3.19

The birth of twins and ideas around conception

Introduction

Our main protagonist in explaining the beliefs about twins and the rituals performed when they were born in Dghwede was dada Dukwa, who himself was a father of twins. Dada Dukwa was about 80 years old when I went to see him in his house in Dzga (Ghwa'a) in August 2001 to find out about the rituals around the birth of twins. Before I met dada Dukwa I had already learned a few details about twins from dada 'Dga of Ghwa'a, who first of all said that the word for twin was *ghwala*, and that the Dghwede were generally happy when twins were born. Dada 'Dga pointed out that twins had always been welcome in Dghwede, whereas eighth-born children named Zuwala were not welcome and in the past were given away. We have already learned that an eighth-born child could have fallen victim to infanticide, but twins and the first child born after twins were not affected by this tradition of the pre-colonial past.

Dada 'Dga further explained that children born in pairs were called *ghwala* (twins), and the younger brother or sister of twins was given a special name, which was Ghamba for a boy and Pire for a girl. There was no literal meaning of Ghamba and Pire, and neither was there a literal meaning of the names given to each twin, which as we already know the first was always named Wasa and the second Wala.¹ Dada 'Dga told me that the Dghwede believed that twins were reincarnations of former twins who had already lived before they entered the womb (*khude*) of their new mother. The diviner would reportedly find out who the former father and mother of those twins had been.

This chapter has two main sections. The first is about the birth of twins and the second is about the Dghwede ideas around conception. They are not necessarily linked, but we have decided to put them into one chapter, and dada 'Dga will tell us about how the Dghwede believed conception happened. With regard to birth in general, I was told that in the past every traditional birth took place outside the house, but in the case of twins a special ceremony had to be performed before the reincarnated twins could be taken indoors for the first time. Dada Dukwa tells us about this in the following section.

Dada Dukwa on the birth of twins

We will leave intact most of what dada Dukwa told John and me about the birth of twins and the ceremonies performed. As previously when presenting Dghwede notes, we will use the ethnographic present related to what was recorded, and will then briefly summarise and discuss each stage. We start with dada Dukwa's description of the first seven days in the life of newly born twins:

You cannot know whether twins will be born to you before their birth. Only God knows beforehand. As soon as you discover that twins are born to you, you go to see the diviner in order to find out who is the former father of these twins. The diviner responsible has to be someone who uses the *kula kula* divination method. *Kula kula* is a kind of talking oracle made from the branch of the *wulinge* tree. The *kula kula* branch is hollow inside and when put in water it moves around

¹ Ekkehard Wolff (1994:88) claims for the Lamang of Hidkala that Wala was the older and Wasa the younger of twins, but all my sources claim the opposite. I double checked this in 2021 by texting a contact in Gwoza, who confirmed that Wasa was the firstborn of twins, and not Wala, and that this was the case not only in Dghwede but also among the Lamang of Hidkala and elsewhere. This conclusion is equally in tune with my Gwoza notes from 1994, and Wolff might have reversed the two by mistake.

and makes talking sounds. It is the diviner who moves the *kula kula* in the water. The diviner will then interpret the *kula kula* and say who were the former mother and father of the twins.

Next the former parents are invited and they now start praising the twins. After that, the former parents go to Durghwe to pick leaves from the *bzaka* tree. On the way to Durghwe the former mother will start ululating. As soon as they are back with the *bzaka* leaves they again praise the twins who now open their eyes and start smiling. The former mother will now place the twins on each of her arms covered with the *bzaka* leaves and she will take them into the house of the new parents for the first time.

On the second day the new father of the twins will order two eating bowls (*ndafa*) and find two calabashes and fill each *ndafa* with sour cow milk. Now people come and bring gifts. These gifts must always be in pairs, one for each twin. They may be salt, potash used for cooking sauce, raw cow skin which is also used for cooking, etc. The sour milk in the two *ndafa* eating bowls is for the former parents.

On the third day there is *na all ze* (*alla* = sauce, *ze* = extract from ashes for sauce making, *na'a* = to taste), meaning this kind of sauce can now be eaten. On this day of *na all ze*, palm seedlings and other nice food is also prepared and offered to the newborn twins in the *ndafa* pots and calabashes. The same day *zah yakara*, a potage made by mixing guinea corn flour and sour milk, is prepared. The former parents now fill their *ndafa* bowls with *yakara* for themselves, while the remaining *yakara* is for the new parents and others. Also on the third day the new and old parents tie palm leaves [*dzadza*] around their necks and foreheads, which are removed on the seventh day.

Before *na all ze*, on the day the twins are born, the new father has to bind sets of guinea corn stalks into two bundles. A set of two corn stalks is for a twin girl and a set of three corn stalks is for a twin boy. In the past they used long ones but today only short versions are carried around. Wherever the father goes throughout that week he has to make sure that the cornstalks rest on his feet, because these cornstalks are not supposed to touch the ground. People praise the twins and sing on that day and the father of the twins feels proud.

On the seventh day the twins are brought out of the house again. There will be another big celebration of cooking food and people gather to celebrate the twins. If twins are born during the rainy season, people will not go to work on their farms until the twins are brought out again on the seventh day. This day is called *hela da vde* (*hela* = to take (plural), *da vde* = out).

The birth of twins was obviously a very special event, and I have to admit that we do not know which parts of the ritual were still performed during my time in Dghwede. We immediately recognise that the former parents of the twins are alive, but we have no idea how the diviner interpreted the talking oracle in order to identify them. What did dada Dukwa mean by the former parents, considering that we do not know whether they had lost twins during their lifetime, or at some point in their family's history? Perhaps the rituals were not so much about reincarnation but more about ritual reproduction, and this was a way of keeping fecundity inside the community. Was it therefore more about the visible phenomenon of 'doubling' indicated by the birth of twins (particularly in the case of identical twins), a view supported by the pairing of gifts brought by neighbours? Dada Dukwa indirectly confirmed this view by pointing out that the importance of the birth of twins increased the output of farm produce.

That the twins could not be brought into the house before the former parents were identified and presented with the mixture called *yakara* (consisting of guinea corn flour and sour milk) in the eating bowls (*ndafa*), while the new parents were only allowed to eat the leftovers, shows that the twins had been around before and had now been reborn to new local parents with the purpose of making them happy. We will see in the section about conception that the gel-like mixture *zah yakara* is also a synonym for the mixing of the father's sperm and the mother's menstrual blood in the fallopian tube, bringing about pregnancy. We do not know whether or not the former father and mother still had to be married, but by seeing them as representatives of fertility for successful communal reproduction makes it possible to view them more as symbols rather than actual former parents. Unfortunately I did not explore this question during my time in Dghwede, and we can only speculate as to whether dada Dukwa

might still have answered that they were indeed the actual former parents who now ritually facilitated bringing them into the house of their new parents.

In this context it might be useful to recall the rituals around the harvesting and threshing of guinea corn, where the process of transforming the guinea corn into a storable grain to be taken into the house was also accompanied by a complex ritual process. However, whether we can see twins as special products of fecundity similar to guinea corn must remain an open question, but the distinction between indoors and outdoors is similar in ritual significance. We also remember the importance of cosmological pairing in the image of full-brothers of the same ancestral 'kitchen' (*kudige*), as in the rainmaker and cornblesser lineages discussed in Chapter 3.7. Some of our Dghwedè protagonists even used the image of ancestral twins to represent 'the blessings from above and below'. This shows how the Dghwedè viewed the birth of twins as an extraordinary event, and that their way of pursuing the patrilineal quest for fecundity and successfully managing communal reproduction was expressed in particular rituals.

In the next quote from the interview with dada Dukwa, we will present the cosmological importance of Durghwe as mountain shrine (see Chapter 3.17) regarding the birth of twins, and other ritual ceremonies around their birth:

Durghwe is the house of twins. The *bzaka* tree is always found at Durghwe. The *bzaka* tree grows where you always find water at Durghwe. On the seventh day the new parents bring the twins out again by carrying them on the same *bzaka* leaves, which are still fresh. Also on the seventh day, two [ritual] beer pots called *tughdhe ghwala* (twin pots) for holding newly made beer are ready. The *tughdhe* for a twin boy has two mouths, while the twin girl's *tughdhe* is divided by a tongue-like bridge in the middle, representing a clitoris. From now on these two twin pots have to be filled with ritual beer whenever a ceremony for a family ancestor is performed.

Before the ritual beer from any of the twin pots can be consumed, the former parents have to carry out a ritual with these pots. Guinea corn flour is put on the foreheads of the twins, and leaves from the fan palm [*dzadza*] are bound around the necks of the twins and the necks of the twin pots. Calabashes are now used for consuming the beer. The drinking of twin beer is called *buh dungwe*. *Buh* refers to the process of applying flour to the twins' foreheads and *dungwe* is the general word for a small beer pot. Before the planting, harvesting and threshing of guinea corn or millet, the ritual *buh dungwe* also needs to be carried out. If you do not make the twins happy by giving them sour milk and sorghum beer, the newly planted crops will not germinate. As a result the harvest will not be rich and the threshing will not produce much of a yield.

Twins can also control a certain type of ants called *ngwtire* (*tururuwa* in Hausa) which remove farm products from your house, but if you make the twins happy the ants will bring the products back. When the twins are happy they can magically fill their eating bowls (*ndafa*) with guinea corn. If you offend someone else's twins they can get the insects to remove the guinea corn, but if you reconcile them with sour milk, the guinea corn will come back.

The twins being brought out of the house again on the seventh day of their lives obviously indicates a lucky event, and we can only infer a connection with the number seven. The other symbolism of number is of course the pairing itself, and we wonder whether the meeting of the new and the former parents was also a kind of doubling to celebrate the extraordinarily successful reproduction represented by the birth of twins. We notice that the number two was allocated to a twin girl, while the number three was allocated to a twin boy, so we see that odd numbers such as three and seven were linked to the birth of sons. There is also the underlying question of whether twins were seen as dangerous, because their doubling represented the epitome of successful reproduction. We will see in Chapter 3.20 that number two for a girl and number three for a boy also played symbolic roles during a Dghwedè marriage ceremony, as did the two kitchens which were an architectural representation of the polygynous marriage system. Perhaps there was a need to follow the number two with the number three, as it was the next higher number, to underpin the huge responsibility of ritual risk management that the new father of twins had inherited from the former father of twins?

In Chapter 3.22 we will further explore the issue of symbolic classification, and compare it with the use of the left and right hand, and the left and right kitchen of a traditional Dghwedé house. In the context of this we will again consult our Mafa notes from Gouzda, on the Cameroonian side of the international border, where symbolic classification of a similar kind, excepting in relation to the numbers seven or eight, was a very important form of ritual counting. At this point we only want to stress the importance of the seventh day in the life of newborn twins as a day of particularly auspicious ritual events. It is also important to notice that the *bzaka* leaves from near Durghwe, which had been collected by the former parents, still appeared fresh after seven days. The former mother had taken the twins into the house, while the new mother brought them out again still lying on these leaves.²

Unfortunately I could not establish the botanical name of a *bzaka* tree, and neither could I work out the scientific name of the *wulinge* tree used in the talking oracle called *kula kula* to identify the former parents of twins. With regard to the *bzaka* tree, dada Dukwa told us that type of tree grew very well on the higher altitudes with good water supply in the summit area of the most northerly subregional rain shrine of Durghwe. The other point we should perhaps consider is that guinea corn flour played an important role in the rituals around the birth of twins, and also sour milk. We can only speculate as to whether sour milk was an indirect reference to the importance of animal husbandry for successful terrace farming, but we know about the leasing out of cows for wealth creation owing to the need for dung. That sour cow milk would reconcile twins who had been offended, and that twins could make stored guinea corn disappear by controlling a large black ant called *ngwtire* is equally significant. Unfortunately we do not know much about black ants removing guinea corn from houses, but that twins controlled them was surely an important belief in their impact on community survival. Apparently large black *tururuwa* (Hausa) ants in other parts of northern Nigeria are documented as being very well organised in their collective action of storing extra grain as a coping strategy for drought.³

In our next set of interview notes with dada Dukwa, we present his views on the long-term importance of twins after the initial rituals around their birth had been performed:

After a certain time (this might be years) a proper twin ceremony takes place. It takes so long because the new father needs to prepare. He needs to slaughter two goats and prepare beer for this celebration. This big celebration is called *har ghwala*. People are invited and come again with gifts. The former and new parents decorate themselves with palm leaves [*dzadza*]. The father moves around again with the two and three cornstalks, while all the mothers present cover their breasts so they have enough milk to feed their babies. Wherever the father goes with his decorations, everybody praises him.

During *har ghwala* the gifts for Wasa and Wala are kept separate. The twins will look at one another's gifts. If one twin received more than the other, the twin who got less will become angry. People will now equalise the gifts and praise them so they are happy. During this period people will drink and dance and beat the drum. A girl might have already been married before her *har ghwala* takes place. At this time the twins will decide themselves after how many days the ritual *buh dungwe* will take place, and when to call upon their former parents.

At this point of the interview, dada Dukwa refers to his own fields which did not yield well that year, and he said that this was because he had not performed his annual *buh dungwe* for his twins.

² Wolff (1994:88ff) too refers to *bədzaga* [*bzaka*] leaves being collected near Durghwe, but does not speak of twins being seen as reincarnations of former twins, while John was of the view that the Lamang shared this belief. Wolff instead speaks of women walking collectively to the borders of Hidkala along the western foot of Durghwe, because the Lamang of Hidkala also saw Durghwe as the birthplace of twins. Perhaps the collective action described by Wolff once happened in Dghwedé, but we do not know, and we are following dada Dukwa's narrative in that the former parents collected the *bzaka* leaves themselves and not in a group.

³ '...when black ants (Tururuwa) were spotted storing grains in safer places is a clear indication that rain will follow for a couple of days and then drought will strike at the end.' (See International Journal of Innovative Research and Advanced Studies (IJIRAS) Volume 5 Issue 8, August 2018, page 249).

Although his sons Wasa and Ghamba (Ghamba = first boy born after twins) are Muslims, he still performs the ritual. He ties *dzadza* (middle, white/yellow new palm leaves) around the neck of the twin pots and *ndafa* [eating bowl], and puts sorghum flour on the pots and leaves. He also puts palm leaves around his neck and the neck of his wife. Every time he has sour milk (*wuba*) he puts some of it in two potsherds. The following day the sour milk has magically disappeared.

If one of the twins dies the remaining twin will take *blungwe* (the remains of cooked guinea corn flour mixed with water) and put it in a potsherd for his deceased brother. He does that every day.

If the [actual] mother or father or one of the twins dies, *ngag ghwala* is performed (*ngag* = locking device, it can also be on a door or a trap). The *ngage* part consists of a large calabash with water inside and an upturned smaller calabash inside it, with a guinea corn stalk leaning on each side. The smaller calabash covering the water is the *ngage* [locking device]. This is done on the second day of the funeral. People who have been parents of twins will come that day and take one of the sticks and tap it on the bottom of the small calabash. They tap three times on the calabash followed by one time on their foreheads. All of this is done three times. If twins are a boy and a girl you have to arrange two sets of *ngag ghwala*. If they are only boys or only girls you do it in just one single set.

The fact that it could take years to organise a proper twin ceremony reminds us of the adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) where it could take a performer seven years or more to fill three granaries before he finally felt free of the pressure of worrying about food shortages. We concluded that the seven years was made up of the four stages performed in four guinea corn years with three millet years in between. During each stage the performers had to demonstrate their farming ability, which started with the first stage where the elders counted the *jahurimbe* bowls filled with sorghum beer at the public place Fkah ga Maruwa (see Figure 22) under the summit of Durghwe. This means that they saved grain from every stage of the bi-annual cycle of crop rotation, and we can only imagine that for a father of twins, saving up for the proper twin ceremony (*har ghwala*) was not an easy task. Further difficulties were added as two he-goats, not just one, had to be sacrificed, and it could have been a large burden considering that at the same time such a father of twins might have planned to perform *dzum zugune*.

The reference *har ghwala* reminds us of the many other *har* (slaughtering) rituals of mainly he-goats in the context of the house as a place of worship, which from now on the parents of twins, or later in life the twins themselves, had to perform. Again palm leaves (*dzadza*) played a large role as the former and new parents decorated themselves with these, and odd and even sets of cornstalks were carried around by the fathers of twins. There was also a concerted effort to balance the gifts brought by members of the community, but it was the twins themselves who indicated whether they were happy or unhappy. The parents and guests always aimed to make the gifts completely equal, by rearranging them so the twins would be happy.

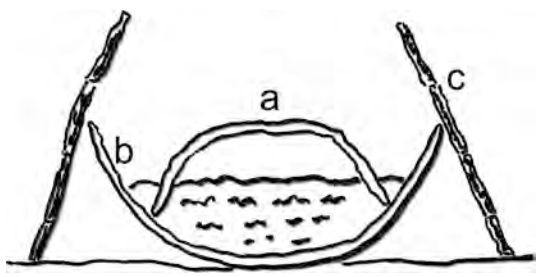
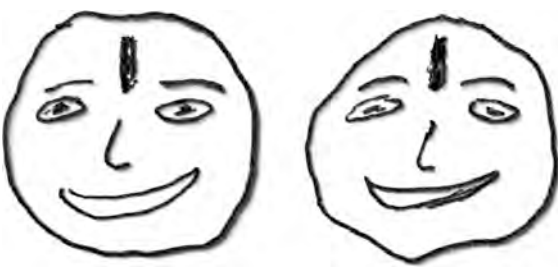

After the initial twin ritual (*har ghwala*), the annual twin ritual *buh dungwe* took place, and eventually the twins themselves decided when it would happen and how many guests they would invite. If we imagine *buh dungwe* during late pre-colonial times, it was presumably done regularly, including on key seasonal occasions such as starting the planting and harvesting. Unfortunately we are not sure whether *buh dungwe* was more historically linked to the guinea corn year and was therefore bi-annual, as the sacrifice to a deceased father (*har ghwe*) once was. In August 2001 dada Dukwa described how he expected not to have a very good yield, but that even then he would always perform a basic version of *buh dungwe*.

Dada Dukwa told us how he put sour milk (*wuba*) on two potsherds, and we remember the use of potsherds as representations of up to three generations of paternal family ancestors, whereas in dada Dukwa's case it was two potsherds. We can indirectly conclude that Wala had either died, or that she was a girl and had been married, in which case we can only assume she would have done her *har ghwala* in her husband's house. It therefore remains unclear whom dada Dukwa's two potsherds represented, but I think they might have been a representation of ritual pairing rather than twins he had as ancestors. We are familiar with ritual pairing in the pairing of ancestors of rainmakers and cornblessers among the specialist

lineage groups. That the sour milk magically disappeared from the two ritual potsherds might have been proof of the spiritual aspect of twins being representations of communal reproduction.

Dada Dukwa continued to talk about the ritual implications in the case of the death of a twin, and mentioned that if one twin died, the other continued to feed his deceased brother with guinea corn flour cooked in water (*blungwe*) placed on a dedicated potsherd. We did not double-check as to whether daily frequency was correct, which meant that a deceased twin brother would have received a small portion of *blungwe* from his living twin at every meal. That would indeed have been a ritual dedication.

For a funeral, not only of twins but also on the death of their parents, a ritual was performed in which a large calabash was filled with water and then a smaller upturned calabash was placed within it to lock the water inside (see Figure 29a below). The smaller calabash was known as *ngage* referring to the locking device, but we can only speculate as to the exact meaning of the ritual *ngag ghwala*. We know that water and freshness was not only important in the context of twins, but also in relation to fertility and reproduction, but whether the ritual was linked to the belief that twins would be born again to other parents, we do not really know. We know for example that *khalale* was the word for water spirit and also lineage shrine, which suggests an ancestral link between water and locality. During the *ngag ghwala* ritual, the local parents of twins tapping three times on the 'locking device' (*ngage*) and then once on their foreheads could be seen as a symbolic demonstration of successful communal reproduction. There was also a gender aspect to the *ngag ghwala* ritual in which mixed twins would need two sets of 'locking devices' (*ngage*), while twins of only one gender would only need one. Again, we can only speculate as to the symbolism of the two separate male and female 'locking devices'.

<p>Figure 29a: 'Locking device' (<i>ngage</i>)</p> 	<p>Figure 29b: twins marked on forehead</p> 
<p>Figure 29c: Aperture of girl's twin pot</p> 	<p>Key to 29a: The small calabash to be tapped on is (a), while the large calabash filled with water is (b), and the corn stalks used for tapping are (c).</p> <p>Key to 29b: We see the single marks on the foreheads of the twins, made with sorghum flour.</p> <p>Key to 29c: (a) reportedly represents a clitoris.</p>

Again guinea corn stalks were used for the ritual tapping, and we remember that these had played a role during the birth of twins, with three for a twin boy and two for twin girl. Whether the three taps on the small calabash serving as a locking device for the water inside the large calabash can be interpreted as the wish for a twin boy to be reborn is uncertain. The single tap on the forehead reminds us of the *buh dungwe* ritual in which the foreheads of the twins were marked with guinea corn flour (see Figure 29b), but we still do not know whether

the single tap on the forehead of each parent who attended the funeral meant that the forehead marks also represented the number one, and if that was so, what it might have meant.⁴ The Dghwede of the past practised ritual doubling or pairing, and twins were not only seen as a divine representation of this, but also as a phenomenon which needed to be ritually managed. The single mark of sorghum flour on the foreheads of twins might also have represented the number one, but perhaps it was more in the form of divine doubling or pairing of reproductive hope. Successful sexual relations between men and women were a result of a mutual process of orderly marital exchange of females between exogamous patrilineages, and if reproduction was unsuccessful, ritual promotion and treatment was required. We remember from Chapter 3.16, about Dghwede cosmology and worldview, that even God was seen as having a 'wife' and 'children', and a single old man without children was cosmological image of sterility and death.

Figures 29a/b/c illustrate the different aspects of the locking device (*ngage*), the marks of guinea corn flour on the foreheads of twins, and the aperture of a girl's twin pot representing a clitoris. We invite the reader to also consult Plate 42a for a twin pot for boys. It is not certain whether twin pots were replaced and became larger once a male or female twin reached adulthood, considering that they themselves became responsible for carrying out their annual *buh dungwe* rituals of marking the forehead, but strongly assume that this was the case, while the original small twin pots remained under the granaries of their parents.

Dada Dukwa further emphasised that when twins gave birth to twins the same rituals would apply, but that there were no special performances when twins got married. With regard to the original divination on the birth of twins, dada Dukwa added that the diviner would not only establish who were the former parents of twins, but also try to find out whether the twins were reborn for good or for bad. He said that if they came for good they came for peace for the mother and father. He further added that if they were not intended to stay long, they would die after a short life. Unfortunately we do not know whether he thought this was a bad sign, but dada Dukwa said that if they came for bad, the twins' parents would die soon, or both the twins and their parents would not live very long.

The above paragraph seems to make clear that twins were viewed ambivalently by the Dghwede, and that special rituals had to be carried out to make sure that they did not bring bad but only good to the local community into which they were reborn. That the former parents were ritually involved presumably underpins the collective aspect, but what also needs to be taken into consideration and has been stressed before in this book, is that the background was an egalitarian patrilineal society of terrace farmers embedded in an

⁴ We will explain in Chapter 3.22 why the Mafa of the Gouzda area added a hidden number one to the number two (even) that a firstborn girl represented, and did the same with the number three (odd) for a firstborn boy. They argued that the hidden number one was a representation of the invisibility of divinity, making a firstborn girl number three (odd) and a firstborn boy number four (even). Wolff (1994:81) provides us with a reversal of the ritual allocation of numbers three and four as part of a Dagha ritual involved with saving an abducted spirit, by linking three pieces (odd) of *Cissus quadrangularis* if the person is of 'male birth order' and four pieces (even) if the person is of 'female birth order' for a successful healing session. We will revisit this later in Chapter 3.21 in the section about divination, and show that by 'male birth order' and 'female birth order' Wolff means the gender of the first child born to the father of the patient suffering from what I call here 'lost spirit syndrome'. Wolff also mentions the application of single pieces of *Cissus quadrangularis* rubbed onto the forehead, heart and each finger of the patient. We will also explore in 3.21 what Wolff might have meant when he cited the Lamang belief that erectile dysfunction was a symptom of 'lost spirit syndrome'. Perhaps men's fear of losing sexual potency as progenitors can be compared with the hope of the communal reincarnation of twins, which also links to the funeral rites of their former and future parents.

unpredictable semi-arid environment. The ritual culture of managing good and bad luck was driven by the experiences and ritual regimes of their forefathers, and we think that the rituals surrounding reproduction might have gained in complexity over time. The memories of our oral protagonists were most likely informed by the religious practices of late pre-colonial times, and hopefully these testimonies can be presented as evidence for such complexities. Our account of the ritual handling of good and bad luck regarding the belief in the reincarnation of twins is still very fragmented in ethnographic terms, and perhaps we have over-interpreted it a little.

Triplets or any other ways of being born differently

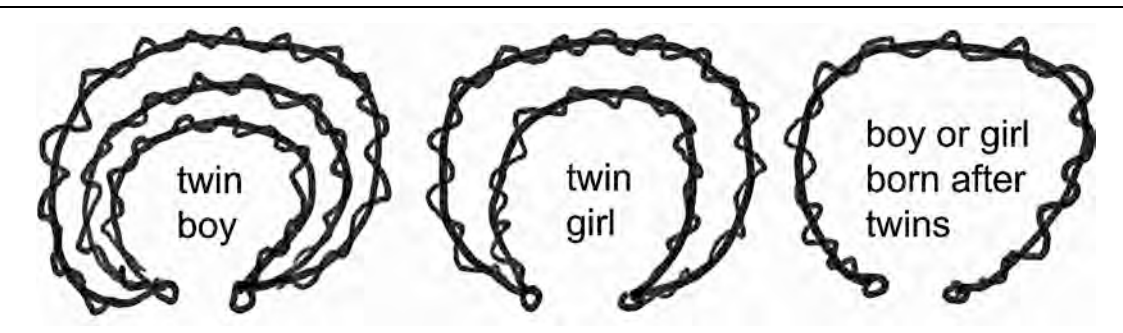
We have already mentioned that the first child born after twins was called Ghamba if it was a boy and Pire if it was a girl. Dada Dukwa pointed out that one of the differences between such a birth and the birth of twins was that it did not involve former parents going to Durghwe to collect the leaves of the *bzaka* tree. He added that there was no twin ceremony (*har ghwala*) performed, but that they would perform the annual ritual of marking the forehead with guinea corn flour (*buh dungwe*).

With regard to the birth of triplets, dada Dukwa explained that triplets were also referred to as *ghwala* (twins) and that they would be called Wasa, Wala and Ghamba, and that the third triplet was seen as the younger brother or sister of the twins. We can speculate as to whether the significance of Ghamba and Pire as the first boy or girl born after twins was historically rooted in the much rarer collective experience of the birth of triplets. Considering that dada Dukwa knew about the birth of triplets makes this a reasonable hypothesis in our opinion.

Another birth circumstance that dada Dukwa thought extraordinary was if a child was born legs first. Such a child was referred to as *nzuwa nzuwa*, but there was apparently no literal meaning of this term. The children born in such a way would also have the *buh dungwe* (marking the forehead) ritual performed, and they received a pot, but it was not one with two mouths or a divided mouth. We infer that it was an ordinary *dungwe* pot, meaning a small beer pot with a small aperture, or a cooking pot that was also used as spirit pot for children (see the list of ritual pots presented in Table 8 in Chapter 3.12 about the house as a place of worship). Like twins, such children could cause harm to farm produce and therefore needed to be kept happy.

There were also children born with a 'head helmet' (Caput galeatum) also known as a caul, which is a piece of membrane covering the newborn's head and face, but there was no special ritual treatment in this case as these children were not considered able to cause harm. Still, a piece of the membrane was kept in a *tadiya* amulet which the child would wear around the neck (see Figure 31). We will revisit the meaning of the Dghwedè word *tadiya* or *tatadiya* in the next section dealing with the Dghwedè ideas around conception, but before we move on to that we want to briefly present in Figure 30 an illustration of the special bangle worn by twins and the parents of twins.

Figure 30: Sketch of the three types of twisted twin bangle (*ding ghwala*)



Such special bangles or bracelets were called *ding ghwala* (*ding* = bracelet). Unfortunately we do not know what material they were made from, but we do know that they were twisted, which suggests they were made of iron. Three connected twisted bangles were for a twin boy, two connected twisted bangles were for a twin girl, while a single twisted bangle or bracelet was for a boy or girl born after twins. According to dada Dukwa they could be worn in any way, so we infer that this meant not necessarily around the wrist, and both the twins and their parents wore them. While parents wore two or three such bangles, depending on whether the twins were boys, girls or mixed, or wore a single twisted bangle for a child born after twins, the children themselves only wore the bangle representing their gender, or the position of their birth if they were the child born after twins.

Dada 'Dga about Dghwedé ideas around conception

In August 2001, when John and I conducted the following interview with dada 'Dga of Ghwa'a about ideas around conception, he was in his mid- to late 80s. The interview also aimed to discover the linguistic expressions the Dghwedé used to address these ideas. Therefore we will start this section by presenting such expressions, and then contextualise them with the oral fragments discussed earlier.

There is no general word for conception, but only a general word for pregnancy, which is *khude*, also meaning stomach or womb. For example *khude nis tsagha* means 'my wife is pregnant' (*nise* = wife; *tsagha* = my/is mine), and *khude tha tsagha* means 'my cow is pregnant' (*tha* = cow or cattle). We also remember the word *khude* in the context of *khude luwa* for 'stomach of settlement', hamlet (*luwa* = human settlement) and *khude thala* for 'stomach of the house shrine' (*thala* = house shrine).

Dada 'Dga explained that a newly married couple would make love immediately after the wife's first menstruation, as this was the best way to get pregnant. The Dghwedé word for menstruation is *za za'a* which literally means 'take rope', but we do not know what else 'take rope' might stand for in this context. The expression *za za'a* was used exclusively for human menstruation, while animal menstruation was called *dhuva* and apparently had no literal meaning. A wife would say to her husband, 'I am pregnant' (*khude ghe*). The husband would answer, 'Yes, this is the reason why I married you', and the husband and wife would now count up to the 10th lunar month, because the end of a moon marked the first month of pregnancy.

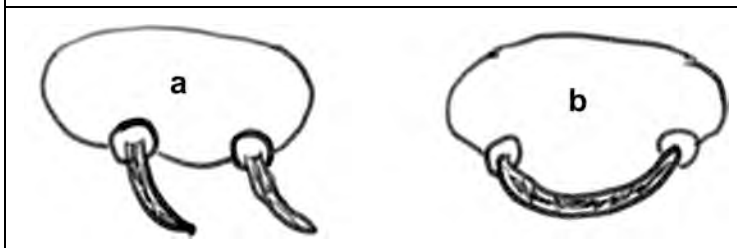
We asked dada 'Dga how exactly pregnancy occurred, and he explained that when a man and women 'met' (made love) the male sperm (*ghwa ndire*) met the blood (*ghuza'a*) released by the woman at the end of her menstruation, and the two substances solidified to form a human being. Neither the word for sperm nor the general word for blood had a literal meaning in this context. Dada 'Dga added that if a woman could not conceive she had to see the diviner to find out what was wrong, and in that case a woman often had to perform a sacrifice to become pregnant.

Next we asked what role *gwazgafte* (God or divinity) played in the context of conception, and dada 'Dga explained that it was the work of *gwazgafte* to solidify the sperm and the menstrual blood, like a blacksmith smelting iron in a furnace. First it liquidised and then solidified into many small pieces of iron. We asked again whether it was the sperm or the menstrual blood that made a woman pregnant, and dada 'Dga explained that it was not one single thing that brought about fertilisation but that the sperm and menstrual blood had to mix in the fallopian tube (*tatadiya*). He said that the sperm came from the man, and the menstrual blood, which according to him was like female sperm, came from the woman, and *gwazgafte* would mix them and make a solid form.

We can only guess that dada 'Dga included the ovaries in his concept of the fallopian tube, but recognise that the fallopian tube and not the womb was the place where conception happened, by the mixing of the sperm with the female equivalent of sperm which he possibly thought

was part of menstrual blood. We also think this because he explicitly pointed out that the sperm was not like a seed that germinated but that it was a mixture of the two which brought about conception.

Figure 31: Types of *tadiya* amulets representing a fallopian tube – two of type (a) was for women, while a single type (a) was for men. The amulet with two ends (b) was reportedly mostly worn by men.



Dada Dga now elaborated, explaining that there was an amulet made of iron or aluminium, which represented the fallopian tube (*tatadiya*). Such an amulet was called *tadiya*. Figure 31 shows its possible shapes and the numbers worn, depending on whether it was for a man or a woman. In the previous section we mentioned the

tadiya amulet for children born with a 'head helmet', and that the some of the caul membrane was put inside this.

Unfortunately we do not know anything further about the *tadiya* amulet, and whether it was worn by men and/or women in order to induce conception. Neither do we know whether they also had medicinal fillings for this purpose. The only thing we can see is that two *tadiya* of type (a) were worn by women while only one was worn by men.

We already know that *khudi* meant stomach or womb and also pregnancy, and that *tatadiya* was the word for fallopian tube, and it seems that the *tadiya* amulet with the two ends as shown in version (b) of Figure 31 perhaps comes closest to the anatomical reality of this. With regard to the composite word for uterus (*khudi*) and fallopian tube (*tatadiya*), dada Dga pointed out that the Dghwedê term was *vak-yag-vagha*, but we do not know whether there was a literal translation of that. We do not know whether the Dghwedê included the ovaries as part of their anatomical perception of the fallopian tubes, and neither do we know whether *vak-yag-vagha* was a reference to the birth tract including the vagina (*ndale*) as a whole. We identified *ndale* as the general Dghwedê word for vagina in the comparison of sexual references in Chapter 3.15 about ideas around existential personhood.

What seems to be crucial is that the successful mixing of sperm and menstrual blood in the fallopian tube depended on the intervention of God (*gwazgafte*) in making the mixture *zahgha*, meaning 'gelatine' or 'jelly', referring to a kind of a cooking or reduction process in which something liquid was changed into solid form. Dada Dga described it not only like the process of smelting iron, but also like cooking pumpkins and beans together, or beans and tigernut flour. The fallopian tube would hold the mixture, and the sign of a successful conception was that the woman would stop menstruating, and this was the moment when the new human being would start to grow.⁵

We remember, from the first section about the birth of twins, the jelly mixture known as *zahgha* mixed with guinea corn flour and sour milk into *zah yakara*, which was given to the former parents of twins on the third day after they were born to new parents. While the former parents received the greatest share of the gel-like *zah yakara* in the dedicated *ndafe* eating bowls, the new parents and other participants only received the remainder. Is it reasonable to speculate that the ritual transformation of the twins as a communal representation of fecundity was similar to the solidifying process of conception in the fallopian tube (*tatadiya*) by the aid of divinity (*gwazgafte*)?

⁵ For a subregional comparison we want to mention here that sperm and menstrual blood being the two key ingredients for conception was also known among the Mafa of Gouzda, who also believed that the local water spirit was involved in bringing about pregnancy (Muller-Kosack 2003:150ff).

According to dada Dga, God's role was to solidify the mixture of sperm and menstrual blood in the fallopian tube and turn it into a human being, but the sexual encounter of a man and a woman was needed to start the process of conception. He underpinned this view with what we already learned in Chapter 3.16 about the Dghwedè ideas around the concept of a Supreme Being, where we talked about the belief that God had a wife and children. Dada Dga said again that everyone had his own individual god (*ku wire de gwazgafte cen vaha*) and that only if someone's personal god (*gwazgafte*) was married would that person also be married, and only if someone's personal god had a child would they too have a child, or if someone's god was rich would that person be rich, etc. We remember that such personal or individual gods were seen as the children of God, and that they could perhaps be interpreted as spirits of divinity, or compared with Christian angels. In Chapter 3.15 we tried to understand the Dghwedè belief in personal gods as part of their concept of existential personhood, and referred to it as personal or individual spirithood.

Dada Dga pointed out that the newly created life in the womb (*khudi*) would grow like a grain of guinea corn (*hiya*) after the sperm and menstrual blood had mixed and solidified with the help of God. He said this was apparent because if a woman had a miscarriage the 'grain' could be seen coming out of the fallopian tube. However, if the conception was successful it could be seen that after seven lunar months the new life had taken on the shape of a human being. He pointed out that this was evident because some women would give birth after only seven months. We remember the ritual *kdafa* (see Chapter 3.12) reported by bulama Ngatha, where a three-legged cooking pot (*sak sage*) transformed into his god or spirit pot (*sakgharfire*) after he had cooked a ritual sauce for his friend's first wife to celebrate the first seven months of her first pregnancy. We know that a man's first wife carried the hope of one day becoming the mother of a seventh son. Dada Dga explained that successful procreation needed an equal mix of both genders for the woman to conceive such a desirable son and for him to grow inside her with divine support.

It was further pointed out by dada Dga that the child in the womb used its tongue to lick the food the mother ate through its *sunde*, which is the Dghwedè word for umbilical cord and placenta. The Dghwedè obviously distinguished this from the umbilical cord of animals which is *zululu*, and dada Dga said that it was certainly not the blood but the food of the mother which the growing child ate. After a birth the Dghwedè bury the placenta in a separate pot also called *sunde*, and this was already pointed out in 1995 by bulama Ngatha. Such placenta pots were buried at the house but they remained partly visible and libations were made over them in the same way that rituals were carried out with the spirit pots known as *dungwe* for children (see Table 8). We remember, from Chapter 3.12 about the house as a place of worship, that men and children had spirit pots while women did not, the only exception being the first wife of a man who after her death was entitled to have the equivalent of a ritual cooking pot kept in her lower kitchen.

That spirit pots were mostly not only male, but also transformed cooking pots, is significant if we think of the transformative aspect of the gel-like mixture bringing about conception through sexual intercourse with the help of divinity. This is also in tune with dada Dga's statement that the Dghwedè liked to believe that if a man pumped a lot of sperm into a woman, the child would be very big, but even so, in the end it was God who decided how large or small a child would be. We also spoke about premature sex, and dada Dga told us that if a boy had sex before he was physically mature, he might be spoiled in reproductive terms, meaning unable to reproduce. This was called *baza* in Dghwedè, and he pointed out that *baza* was also the word for miscarriage, and added that it was the same word as for the new fruits of a mahogany tree. We have no idea of the meaning of the link to the new fruits of a mahogany tree, but perhaps unripe mahogany fruits were a metaphor for a boy who had premature sex. Mahogany trees were very important in Dghwedè culture and the oil produced from ripe mahogany trees had many medicinal properties.

Conclusion

It seems that an important reason for rituals around the birth of twins was not only to reduce the risk of food shortages but also to proactively increase the yield of crops. Twins had to be pleased and always treated equally in order to avoid them causing a bad harvest. In addition, twins seemed to be the Dghwedè epitome of successful community reproduction in socio-economic and religious terms. They were generally welcomed by the Dghwedè but they had to be ritually managed, which included divination for the identification of their former parents, and straight after birth the diviner also established whether they had been reborn to bring good or bad to their new parents. It seems that most of the time they were believed to bring good, at least as long as all the necessary rituals were carried out, which often included other parents of twins, beginning at their birth (or should we say reincarnation) and ending at their funerals.

Durghwe, the most important mountain and subregional rain shrine of Dghwedè, was seen as the house of twins, which links reborn twins to rain and water as a source of fertility and freshness. This was represented by the leaves of the *bzaka* tree which the former parents of twins collected at a place at Durghwe where water was found throughout the year, even during times of extreme aridity. The leaves of the *bzaka* tree were still fresh when the twins were brought out of the house on the seventh day after their birth. Also, during the funerals of twins all the parents of twins in the local community would ideally ritually tap with guinea corn stalks on the calabashes with water locked inside, and we interpreted this as a sign of hope that the twins would be continuously reborn to further the reproductive good luck against possible reproductive bad luck of the local community.

In the section on Dghwedè ideas around conception we attempted to show that the gel-like mixture made from male sperm and menstrual blood, which was the female equivalent of sperm (perhaps another way of describing eggs), went from a liquid state via a transformational gel-like state into a solid form with the help of divinity. We linked this with the gel-like mixture made from guinea corn flour and sour milk which was an important recipe for welcoming the birth of twins. These ingredients played a role during the rituals that the twins and the parents of twins had to perform, suggesting that guinea corn flour and sour milk might have been a metaphor not only for successful conception but also for success of the mixed farming system. We based this hypothesis on the concept that the birth of twins represented the increase of the yield of crops, ensuring long-term food storage and hence survival of the community in the otherwise crisis-ridden semi-arid environment where the labour-intensive system of crop rotation and manure production was practised.

We also tried to contextualise our ethnographic interpretation of the rituals and beliefs around twins with earlier conclusions reached about the Dghwedè concept of fecundity, such as the importance of the seventh-born son and the father of the house as progenitor and protagonist in the ritual promotion of fecundity. We reminded ourselves of the importance of the first wife as the most important mother, and in the section about Dghwedè ideas around conception we showed that the ritual dominance of the male did not imply that procreation could be achieved without an equal contribution from the female. A gel-like mixture formed in the fallopian tube and was made solid by divine intervention, represented by an amulet in the shape of a fallopian tube. Finally we showed that sexual maturity was the key to successful reproductive sexual intercourse, and if this rule was not followed the human fruit would remain unripe and lead to miscarriage.

In the next section we will present what we know about the three historic ways of marrying in Dghwedè. We have already referred to marriage by promise as being the most desirable method, but there was also marriage by capture. The latter perhaps indicates that patriarchal control over the female capacity to give birth might even have led to marriage by force, but this was not the most desirable way of marrying. As in so many of our previous chapters, we only have very limited oral data on the Dghwedè marriage system, but we will try our best to outline its basic ethnography. One of the points we will highlight is the importance of the

Dghwede exogamy rules as a condition for social marriage alliances. In Chapter 3.6 we listed the Dghwede word *mbthawa* for patrilineal families who could intermarry in Ghwa'a, while *gwagha* was used for exogamous clan or lineage groups across Dghwede. This raises the theoretical question of whether the patrilineal descent groups formed by the Dghwede were in fact secondary to the need of fathers in finding suitable wives for their sons to ensure future socio-economic success.

We also stated in a footnote⁶ as part of Chapter 3.6 that we do not adhere to descent theory, but use the terms 'clan' and 'lineage' in a technical way to refer to more or less segmented local descent groups. In the context of this, the Mughuze-Ruwa are the largest clan group which segmented into local lineage sections by forming separate settlement units, mainly in southern Dghwede, while the Hembe and Gudule are smaller clan groups which segmented to a lesser extent into lineage wards. We also explained that the exogamy rules of the Dghwede applied to their marriage alliances across clan and lineage sections, and that smaller clan groups could be exogamous on the clan level while larger clan groups were exogamous only on the lineage level. In the next chapter we use the expression 'marriage alliance' in a similar non-theoretical fashion, as a technical term to describe the way Dghwede families once formed social alliances to match their daughters as suitable marriage partners for their sons, to bring about new kindred connections through systematic intermarriage across the ancestral patrilineal divide.

⁶ We recommended Adam Kuper's (1988) critical discussion of descent theory, also known as lineage theory. Kuper (ibid) also provides a short history of alliance theory, which he describes as a creation of the French anthropologist Levi-Strauss from the late 1940s. We also recommend Edmund Leach (1970 [1978]) as a good introduction to Levi-Strauss' universalist way of thinking, especially in relation to his ideas about elementary structures of kinship, where Leach critically points to shortcomings with regard to some of Levi-Strauss' structuralist conclusions. We do not use the term 'marriage alliance' in the universal structuralist manner, but only as a technical expression to describe the Dghwede marriage system in a similar way to the non-theoretical application of the words 'clan' or 'lineage', but we will sometimes refer to some of the relevant aspects, especially in relation to our understanding of the Dghwede exogamy rules.

Chapter 3.20

Past ways of marrying in Dghwedè

Introduction

In this chapter we want to emphasise the social alliances developed by Dghwedè families for marital exchanges between their sons and daughters. Such marriage alliances resulted from the exogamy rules historically practised as described in Chapter 3.6. Finding a wife was not straightforward, as we already know from the Dghwedè tales about some of their legendary apical ancestors. We also heard much about lineal descent through remote ancestors, being the membership condition of what we referred to as clan and lineage groups. As a result of this we were able to establish that lineage exogamy was the rule for larger descent groups, while smaller ones mostly practised clan exogamy. In Chapter 3.5 we showed how outsider Mughuze-Ruwa became the founding ancestor of what would become the largest clan group in Dghwedè, through his inappropriate marriage to a daughter of a smaller autochthonous clan group Hembe who had accepted Mughuze into one of their families as a houseboy.

The first child that Mughuze had with his Hembe wife Dugh Viye (who was later referred to as 'Bughwithe') was a son who served him as bridewealth, because Mughuze was still destitute of means at that time, but this son later became the founding ancestor of Gathaghure (see Figure 8). We will learn that the name Dugh Viye is a synonym for 'marriage by capture', and we will also learn that there was a way of marrying which was something like 'marriage by capture in disguise'. The problem of Hembe's father-in-law had been that he had too many daughters, and Mughuze had secretly made Dugh Viye pregnant. However, this story indicates rather a 'marriage without notice of the parents', another technical way of marrying we will learn more about below. An arranged marriage by promise would have been the most appropriate Dghwedè way since it allowed for a peaceful exchange of daughters between exogamous local groups, while the likelihood of a true 'marriage by capture' increased when there was a shortage of girls. It is a sensitive area to write about because of the recent deadly experience of Boko Haram abducting local females, but we will be able to show that this is a completely different concept.

The Dghwedè traditionally practised a polygynous marriage system, and we learned in previous chapters that females became members of the patriline of their husbands when they married. Daughters could not be founders, but as first wives they could give birth to a seventh-born son as future heir, which was the most desirable child a mother could wish for and could go so far as making her famous. The legend of 'Bughwithe', the first wife of Mughuze, tells such a story. She was accused by her co-wives of being a witch, yet due to his reproductive success her seventh-born son Vaghagaya became the most successful founding ancestor of southern Dghwedè. Dghwedè oral history tells that 'Bughwithe' even became a synonym for the localities of the Vaghagaya lineage expansion. We remember that Vaghagaya started his career in what would later become Korana, where the Vaghagaya lineage shrine could still be found. Bughwithe's entitlement stemmed from being the first wife of Mughuze and having Vaghagaya born to her 'kitchen' (*kudige*), but before this Bughwithe had to overcome the witchcraft accusations of her co-wives. The mythological tale is that she took baby Vaghagaya and fled, but she was halted in the midst of a mysterious fog by the weight of a magic stone that Vaghagaya held, which made her return and claim her rightful place as Mughuze's first wife.

Whether the witchcraft accusations of Bughwithe's co-wives was connected with the fact that she had just given birth to a seventh son and they saw her as a competition must remain speculation. We do know that one of her sons by the name of Kwili'a also doubted her as a result of the witchcraft accusations, and on her return she cursed him and said that he would not grow in number. If we check Figure 12c again in Chapter 3.4 we can see that Kwili'a did

not reproduce as a lineage ancestor. That the curse of his mother led to his inability to have sons might have been to do with the fact that he could not find a suitable wife, and this would explain why he was not successful in terms of lineage expansion. Unfortunately we have no data on how long primary marriages lasted in the past, but a seventh son could also come from a secondary marriage if all the sons of the first wife had died. This indicates that it was perhaps more important for a husband and father to have a seventh son than it was to have the son born to his first wife. Still, as we will find out in this chapter, a primary marriage was the ideal circumstance in which to have such a seventh born. This interpretation is also underpinned by the fact that a seventh born as lineage priest was seen as the most suitable to ritually manage fecundity in the community, with all its unpredictable social and environmental conditions.

We have already mentioned on several occasions that there were three ways of marrying in Dghwede, and marriage by promise is the one we consider to be equivalent to primary marriage. It was based on the friendship between exogamous patrilineages that had no history of matrilineal intermarriages over the previous four generations. This peaceful way of finding a wife included the proviso that a future son-in-law would help his future in-laws with their farming. Such an ideal primary marriage was already facilitated before the birth of a girl by exchanges of gifts, and sealed on her birth by a marriage by promise. The other two ways of marrying were that a boy and a girl would fall in love and want to get married, while the third way of marrying was what we have already referred to as marriage by capture. These latter ways of marrying were in our opinion less than ideal marriages, but unfortunately our sources about the three ways of marrying are too indirect to prove this. Perhaps the inappropriate marriage of Mughuze to Hembe's daughter could be seen as such proof. We therefore contextualise this presumption with the fragments of Dghwede oral historical narratives already presented, to underpin our hypothesis about the importance of an established process between families for potential marriage partners.

Ekkehard Wolff (1994:101ff) gives a description of the Lamang of Hidkala marriage system, but Wolff does not explicitly distinguish between different ways of marrying. He makes no explicit reference to marriage by capture, but describes a form of romantic kidnapping as a consequence of an arrangement between the fathers of a boy and a girl even before they were born. In the context of this, Wolff's oral source refers to the possible attempt of the girl's family to re-capture the kidnapped bride, but only if they thought the promised girl was not yet ready to fulfil the marriage arrangement (ibid:104). The only written source to explicitly refer to a marriage by capture appears in an ethnographic novel by the former colonial officer Stanhope White (1963) about the Zelidva, in which this particular historic way of marrying is central. I decided to collect oral data about the marriage system very late during my time in Dghwede, and I asked John Zakariya to speak to our Dghwede friends and to write down what they told him. John did this in 2004, but he does not say to whom he actually spoke. He presented me with two versions which we will review in this chapter. One thing we can conclude is that Stanhope White most likely put too much emphasis on marriage by capture, as it is obvious that marriage by promise as a result of an arrangement between families was historically the much preferable option.

There was one more way of marrying in Dghwede in the past, which was that a man could 'inherit' (*wura*) his deceased brother's wife and unmarried daughters. The first is known in social anthropology as levirate marriage. We briefly discussed this way of inheriting a widow of a brother as a wife as part of the Dghwede inheritance system in the chapter about the seventh born (*thagaya*) (see Chapter 3.18). The mechanism behind it was that the potential bridewealth from the marriage of such an 'inherited' daughter went to the brother who had married the widow. We will not discuss the practice of the Dghwede levirate here, but want to keep in mind that it existed as a part of the socio-economic dimension of inheritance in their late pre-colonial marriage system.

As mentioned, in this chapter we are neglecting which particular parts of the traditional marriage system survived until Boko Haram took over the Gwoza hills and destroyed the

local Dghwede culture by also practising a form of marriage by capture. Boko Haram abducted hundreds of girls and enslaved many of them into forced marriages, a practice dramatically described in Edna O'Brien's novel 'Girl' (2019). I know about similar cases that some of my close Dghwede friends had to endure when their daughters were abducted by Boko Haram in that way, and I still feel like crying when I think about the trauma the girls and their parents must have gone through. We do not know when exactly traditional marriage by capture ended, but presume that it came to an end at the same time when in around 1925 legal adoption for unwanted eighth-born children was introduced by the British, a circumstance described in Chapter 3.18 as an unlucky birth.

Finally, in this introduction to the past ways of marrying in Dghwede we want to refer to how Hamman Yaji (see Chapter 2.2) abducted married women and unmarried girls and sold them into domestic slavery before the British finally stopped him in 1927. The vulnerability of the Dghwede people to social exploitation by outside forces came mainly from the plains, and the disregard and misinterpretation of their past traditions reach far back into history. We only need to remind ourselves of how Leo Africanus (1529) for example described the mountain populations of Borno as backward and primitive in comparison to the aristocratic societies of the plains. This view might have been revived by the Boko Haram invasion of the Gwoza hills, in the context of which the Dghwede are again at risk from being pre-judged as backward and primitive. One reason for this book is to describe Dghwede culture, and explicitly not to decontextualise the memories of our local protagonists, but to preserve them in this oral history retold from the grassroots and thereby treat their oral history as equal to any other source material we consider relevant in reconstructing a shared history of our defined wider subregion.

We start this chapter by structuring and summarising the ethnography of John's two accounts, then discuss the underlying socio-economic and ritual questions in some detail, and attempt to work out the importance of the three ways of marrying in Dghwede during late pre-colonial times. One aspect we will focus on is how the marriage ritual described by John can be linked to the spatial aspect of the design of a traditional Dghwede house. We will also point out some possible changes during colonial times and after independence, which we will attempt to conclude from the key material items used as bridewealth in the past.

Three ways of marrying in Dghwede according to John Zakariya

We merged and quite significantly re-edited some aspects of the two accounts by John, and present them here mainly as one account while pointing out additions or variations. We stick to his presentation in terms of the underlying ethnography, especially concerning the very detailed account of the crucial rituals around a primary marriage by promise.

The three ways of marrying in Dghwede were called:

- *Dugh dzugwa*
- *Dugh pata*
- *Dugh viya*

Dugh means 'girl', while John translates *dugh dzugwa* as 'befriending a girl' and describes a scenario in which the father of a boy might have started to give gifts to a mother who had given birth to a girl, and that this would make the girl *dugh dzugwa* to his son. John's example makes it instantly clear that it was not the boy wooing the girl, but that the relationship between families set the scene for a future marriage. If we take into consideration that the friendship between the families would have been based on the exogamy rules described in Chapter 3.6, we realise that this would have meant the promised girl would eventually move to the house of her husband. We think that this was the underlying reason why the boy's father initiated the friendship with the girl's mother, because the girl would eventually become a member of the lineage of her future husband.

We will learn below how the befriending of a girl (*dugh dzugwa*) eventually led to a ritual initiation (*kla dughwe*) in which the promise became fixed in the form of a marriage ceremony at her future husband's house before the girl reached sexual maturity. After the ritual initiation into her future husband's family, the girl was brought back to her father's house together with some of the bridewealth. She was called back when she was ready to consummate the marriage, and only after she had given birth to a child did her husband give a cow to her father as the largest proportion of the bridewealth. We mentioned that a future son-in-law was obliged to work voluntarily on his future father-in-law's farm. The *kla dughwe* ritual of turning a former *dugh dzugwa* from the state of befriending a girl into a marriage by promise was reportedly the most important marriage ritual in Dghwede, and the only marriage which led to the birth of a seventh son (*thagaya*) by her as the first wife.

The second way of marrying in Dghwede was *Dugh pata* and according to John it meant something like 'marrying a girl without notice of the parents of the girl'. This implied that the marriage was an arrangement between a girl and the boy who wanted to marry her. The girl would follow the boy to his house where they would perform the marriage rituals, but we were not able to find out what exactly the difference was between this and formal marriage, and how less complex the rituals were in comparison. John noted down that a marriage without notice of the parents was often one in which a boy and a girl had fallen in love for the first time, but we think that this was perhaps not necessarily the only scenario. We infer that such a marriage might have been typical for a man and a woman forming a secondary marriage, since according to John's notes only a marriage by promise could bring about the status of a first wife and subsequently the rightful birth of a seventh son.

As discussed in Chapter 3.18, the Dghwede distinguished between the family seventh born and the seventh born of a co-wife as the seventh-born in waiting, and we acknowledge that John speaks of the family seventh born when he says that this son should be from the first wife. There was a similar ideal scenario for a marriage without notice (*dugh pata*) and we could easily interpret this as a marriage for love and therefore see it as the ideal case of a romantic marriage from today's perspective. But we need to ask ourselves whether it was as easily achieved, since in the past it was often the case that a man and a woman who had strong feelings for each other would have to arrange 'a marriage by capture (*dugh viya*) in disguise'. The reason behind this would be that the woman was embarrassed to marry as a secondary wife, because she was acting without notice of her parents, and had asked her lover to organise his friends to abduct her while for example she was on her way to fetch water for her father's house or was at the local market place.

The official version of a marriage by capture (*dugh viya*) was different, and it was not initiated by the woman but happened when a man could not find a suitable woman to marry. One reason might be that his parents were not very successful farmers, leading to chronic food shortage. Unfortunately we do not know how frequent marriage by capture was, and neither do we know whether there were any particular circumstances in form of crises which prevented the raising of bridewealth which could have increased the likelihood of this way of finding a wife and starting a family. We need to remember that the exogamy rules would still have applied during such periods, although they might have become modified if a crisis was collective. The Dghwede not only practiced lineage exogamy (*gwagha*) along patriline but also matrilineal exogamy (*zbe*) through a wife's father's line for up to four generations (see Chapter 3.6). We can only assume that the practice of marriage by capture (*dugh viya*) was less of an issue when times were good and peaceful in Dghwede of the late pre-colonial past.

According to John, after finding a woman either through *pata* (without notice of the parents) or *viya* (by the use of force) the marriage ritual known as *kla dughwe* would be performed. We therefore like to think that *kla dughwe* was not only part of all primary marriages but also of all secondary marriages. It meant that when a woman was in the house of her future husband she would be taken to the children's room called *kwadgara* where she would remove all dress items and remain in the room for three days before the marriage ceremony was performed. During the seclusion period she would only be allowed to consume sorghum beer

or sour milk, and we will see below that the subsequent marriage ceremony consisted of indoor rituals, for which we need to re-familiarise ourselves with the architectural layout of a traditional house. If we consult Figure 18 of Chapter 3.11, we can see that the children's room (*kwadgara*) was part of the foyer area where we also find the elements of the house shrine (*thala*) and the ancestor stones, and the two kitchens in front and the three granaries towards the back of the foyer. We remember, when looking at the house from the front, that the left side of the foyer was more endowed with ritual importance than the right side where the children's room and the upper right kitchen were situated.

Before moving on to the next section in which we detail the various aspects of the principal marriage ritual of the past, we want to review what John discovered about the way the actual capture of a woman was organised. Reportedly, a man who could not find a woman to marry would ask some strong men to go and capture a woman who was not related to him. If a woman forced that way was with her brothers, relatives or people from her village, they would fight these men. If the men were not strong enough they would be defeated, but if they were strong enough they would take the woman by force. Sometimes this resulted in war between one village and another. We still do not know from John's account whether only unmarried women were captured in this way, and we can only assume that the strong men mentioned by John captured not just any woman, but the particular woman the prospective husband had in mind. We neither know whether such a marriage by capture was only restricted to Dghwedë, or whether the practice extended for example to Chikidë. Unfortunately all these questions cannot be answered, and neither do we know how ancient the three principal ways of marrying in Dghwedë were, but we make the preliminary assumption that they were common during late pre-colonial and perhaps early colonial times.

John's description of the various ritual steps of marrying in the past

We mentioned *kla dughwe* as the term used for ritually initiating a woman into the family of her future husband, which according to John's testimony was not only an important ritual for a marriage by promise (*dugh dzugwa*) but also for the other two ways of marrying, that is without notice of the parents (*dugh pata*) or by capture (*dugh viya*). We will try to demonstrate that only a marriage by promise can be seen as a primary marriage, since it brought about the status of a first wife and a mother of a seventh-born son (*thaghaya*), while the two other methods can be seen as less ideal secondary marriages. In the context of this, it was the ritual tying of a cowpea thread around the waist of the promised woman during her ritual seclusion which seems to signify a primary marriage. It remains unclear however whether all the other aspects of the marriage rituals presented in John's notes were performed for the other two ways of marrying in Dghwedë, which we identified as secondary marriages. Therefore we need to leave that question open while we present and contextualise the following ethnographic account.

Before a new bride was taken into seclusion into the children's room in the house of the groom, a ritual was carried out in which the bride had to sit on a particular cornerstone (*malga malga*) which was one of the foundation stones of the house, while her future father-in-law sprinkled her with water from a ritual calabash. We know about two places in the house where such a calabash was stored, and recommend the reader to refer back to Chapter 3.11 about the architecture of the house to see that one location was the house shrine and the other was the loft of the room of the first wife. The second storage place where a ritual calabash was kept reflects the important ritual position of the first wife. The process of sprinkling water over the girl was called *yew fstaha* which means something like 'ritual water'. John describes how the girl would try to duck away from the water, which was sprinkled three times over her as she sat on one of the foundation stones of the house of her future husband. After that, she was ready to become an initiated member of the groom's family, which included her future protection by the 'gods of that family' as John phrased it. The latter refers to the Dghwedë belief in the protective role of paternal and ancestral spirit pots, the

representation of divinity (*gwazgafte*) as personal gods, and the belief in a house god represented by the main entrance of a house (see also Chapter 3.12 and Chapter 3.16).

After this the woman was led from the foundation stone to the children's room, where she spent three days in seclusion without eating solid food, but she could drink sorghum beer (*ghuze*) or sour milk (*wuba*). We remember, from the previous chapters about the birth of twins and ideas around conception, the ritual importance of liquid food (including water) as a symbol of fecundity and human reproduction. The groom would also have started fasting but would be able to leave the house. The age mates and friends of the woman would only consume *kunu* (the Hausa for liquid porridge) but they would have to stay at home. Her female friends would tie *hamtiwe* leaves (see Chapter 3.14) around their necks and waists, a process referred to as *ngza*. We recognise the *hamtiwe* leaves, a Vitaceae (grape) variety, from the entry stage of the adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), and infer that they perhaps represented a collective form of youthful aspiration for family renewal.

The family now produced a thread made of cowpea fibre for the woman to tie around her waist, which was the only thing she wore during seclusion. Such a thread was called *za'a ndole ndole* (*za'a* = thread; *ndole ndole* = promise) and was a representation of the new bond between husband and wife. While she was fasting during the three days of ritual seclusion, the water for her personal use was supplied by her relatives, and a new pot to store the water was installed. She would mix the water with guinea corn flour and drink it as an additional liquid food. We also notice that she spent the seclusion period in the children's room rather than in the room of the first wife of the father of the groom. This would have been the case for a primary marriage, and presumably also for a secondary marriage.

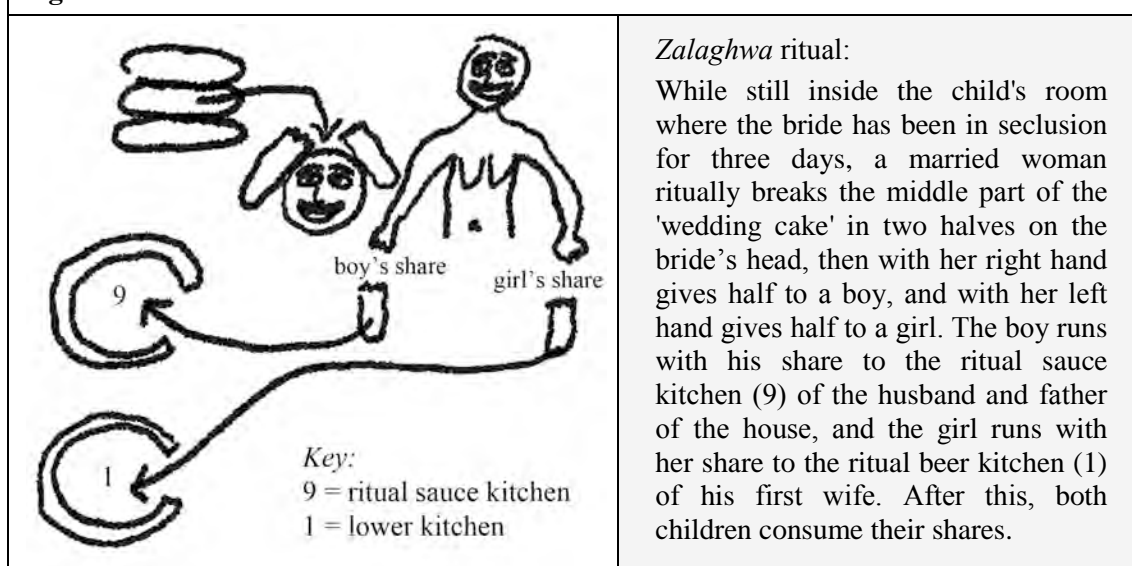
On the third day, when the seclusion of the bride ended, a certain food was prepared, consisting of powdered okra (*ngabe*) poured into a new calabash filled with water and fresh guinea corn flour. We are not certain whether the powdered okra and guinea corn flour were mixed, but we know that the guinea corn flour was stirred into a solid mass with the water and rolled into food balls. These solid cornflour balls were then used by the family priest (*zal jije*), who arrived on the third day of seclusion to carry out the part of the marriage ritual linked to the family ancestors by throwing them towards the three ancestor stones (*kwir thala*). The family priest also took some guinea corn flour and poured it into the ritual calabash from the main house shrine and then poured it over the ancestor stones in front of the shrine. Also, a freshly cooked sorghum mash and a sauce called *sankura* was cooked in salty water and was now offered to the three family ancestors represented by the three stones, and the family priest would say a prayer and ask God to make the bride part of the family of her husband. While he was pouring the flour-water over the stones he pronounced blessings for the family and expressed his wish to come for the naming of a newborn child the following year. After that, the family priest himself ate some of the food and then distributed the rest among the children of the house.

While the bride was in seclusion, the groom went out and borrowed a ritual bowl (*jahurimbe*) from a friend or neighbour who had already performed the adult initiation ceremonies (*dzum zugune*). We remember that the pot *jahurimbe* could be stored inside the house shrine (*khudi thala*) or/and in the loft (*gude*) of the first wife's lower room. A sauce made from the fat of animals (*dag dala*) was now prepared, which then played a role in the ritual cutting of a food of cake consistency called *jadva* by a married woman the groom had organised. An important condition was that this woman had not lost her firstborn child, and that her husband was still alive. Either before or as part of the cutting of the 'wedding cake', as John referred to the cake-like solid food, a ritual known as *zalahwa* (see Figure 32) was performed. This consisted of a boy and a girl aged between six and nine running with parts of the solid 'wedding cake' to the ritual sauce kitchen and the lower or left-hand kitchen. When following the detailed description that John provided within his second account, we need to realise that it was the sauce from animal fats called *dag dala* that was filled into the *jahurimbe* pot the groom had borrowed from a neighbour:

After the family priest has performed his ritual, the groom will now go and find a married women who has not lost her firstborn child to perform *dzar dva* which means 'cutting the wedding cake'. When that woman comes, the first thing she will do is to ask the young woman to untie the thread made of cow pea fibre (*za'a ndole-ndola*) and tie it around the groom's waist. The bride now unties the thread and ties it around the groom's waist and then unties it again. After they have done that, they bring in another food piled in three stacks made from uncooked guinea corn flour and all this will be taken into *kwadgara*, the room for a boy or girl and where the young woman spent the three days fasting. Now the married woman takes some pieces of food and gives it to the young woman three times but the young woman will refuse to eat it. Next, the married woman holds the young man's and the young woman's hands together and dips them into the [solid] food and then dips them into the sauce served in a clay bowl called *jahurimde*. Now the young woman will give some to the young man and he eats and the young man also gives some to the young woman and she eats too. The married woman will now take the middle piece from the three [solid] food stacks and break it into two on the head of the young woman. Two male and female children will be called to come and each of them takes one half of the broken food. The half in the married woman's left hand will be given to a female child while the half in her right hand is handed to a male child. Immediately after collecting the foods the male child will run into *gdighwe* [which is the ritual sauce kitchen for exogamous lineage brothers], and the girl will run with her half to *kudg tighe*, which is the first wife's ritual beer kitchen. Then they both go and eat the food.

This first part of John's more detailed account identifies the left hand representing a female and the right hand representing a male, and also speaks of the girl running with her half of the middle part of three stacks of solid food (John's 'wedding cake') to the left-hand or lower kitchen of the first wife. In the other account, John referred to the *kudigh daghre*, which was the right-hand or upper kitchen of a traditional house (see Figure 19), and we can only assume that this is what might have happened when the bride was marrying as a secondary wife. John also wrote in this version of his testimony that it was the family priest who threw some of the two halves of the 'wedding cake' at the ancestor stones. The fact that there are variations in the two versions John reported from his oral sources shows that there might well have been several ways in how the rituals of a marriage ceremony could be performed. Still, the fact that in the above account it was the left-hand or lower kitchen where the girl had to run with her half of the 'wedding cake' strongly indicates that this was the scenario specifically for a primary marriage. Figure 32 illustrates what John has described.

Figure 32: The middle stack of the three stacks of solid food is broken and shared.



John continues with his second longer version, of which we can only assume some parts are a detailed description of the more elaborate rituals performed for a marriage by promise, while perhaps other parts are not, such as for example when the bride goes to the upper kitchen after she comes out of seclusion. Unfortunately we cannot be sure, and perhaps even during a primary marriage by promise the bride would have gone first to the upper rather than the

lower kitchen, because the lower kitchen might have still been owned by the first wife of the father of the groom and used as her ritual beer kitchen:

After the tying of the cowpea thread and the cutting of the wedding cake, three grown-up girls will be called to come and perform *al-njewe dughwaha welet*, *al-nejewe dughwaha welel*, consisting of them running three times backwards and forwards from *kwadgara* [children's room] towards the kitchen. After doing that the young man, now husband, will go and borrow some money from people to show to his new wife, so that she will come out of *kwadgara* and go to the place where she will bathe and wash. Then she will move on until she reaches the entrance of *kudig daghre*, the upper kitchen. When she takes the bath, there will be a small girl aged between eight and eleven with her, so that when the new wife bends, the small girl also bends under her stomach so that the water drips from her body onto the small girl. As a result of the water dripping from the wife, the small girl will also wash. This girl is called *dugh-dhagh yawe* (*dugh* = girl; *dhagh* = collect; *yawe* = water). In this context it means: 'the girl that collects the water dropping off from the new wife'. This small girl will be a friend to this new wife, especially when the marriage stands.

We are not sure what John meant by 'when the marriage stands' and can only infer that it is a reference to a marriage by promise, because in that case the 'new wife' would not be mature enough to consummate the marriage and therefore would be returned to her father's house until she was called back when she had sexually matured. The three grown-up girls run three times backwards and forwards between the children's room (*kwadgara*) and presumably the upper kitchen, which as we know was situated adjacent to the children's room, and we realise here that the number three most likely refers in this and in all the other ritual contexts in the description to the wish for a boy as the firstborn child. We also notice the importance of water as a symbol for fecundity, but now we will continue with John's second part of his more detailed account:

After bathing, the new wife will go and sit on a mat near the three ancestor stones (*kwir thala*) where they will rub her with mahogany oil and dress her in traditional dress. When they are doing all this, mature young women will now gather in the upper kitchen to grind on the grinding stones while they are singing songs. Then the new wife (*dughwa-ha*) will be invited to come and grind there too and she will praise her husband by giving him nicknames. After grinding she will now take the broom and start sweeping the house from inside to outside.

A sister of the husband's mother will now come to eat the leftovers from the three stacks of [solid] food used as a wedding cake. She will also make the following sound: *alebe alebe*, and praise the new wife. After she has eaten the remaining food she will give some money to the new wife.

John continues by explaining how the 'new wife' (*dughwa-ha*) was brought back to her father's house in the case of a marriage by promise:

If the new wife is mature enough to stay as a married wife, then she stays, but when she is not mature enough then on the seventh day her husband will now find a man that will lead her to her father's house. A man and a woman come with one she-goat, one chicken, one black robe (*darke*) contained in a box made from thatch, and one iron called *para para*. They now go to her father's house but will not enter but stand on the landmark of two farmlands. Her father now calls his neighbour to come and take some feathers from the chicken and the iron, and the neighbour starts moving it three times from the crown of her head to the toes of her feet. The neighbour keeps the iron and the chicken while her father takes the she-goat and the box with the *darke* robe. They now wait until she is mature enough to become a [mother] and housewife. The person who led her on the day she went back to her father's house together with the woman who accompanied them will now both go and call her back to her husband's house. This happens after the girl has discovered that she is now mature enough to be a married woman.

On the day they go and call her *yah dughwaha* they also come with the dowry that may consist of some money and goats. The remaining balance of dowry consisting of a cow is payable after a new wife has given birth to sometimes two but even up to three children. The reason a cow as the final part of the dowry might be paid so much later is when the husband is not rich enough to pay after the birth of a first child.

The most important thing here is the tying of the cowpea thread (*za'a ndole ndole*) which is only performed once in a lifetime. *Thaghaya* [a seventh-born son] always comes from the children of

that wife. Even if he marries someone else before they call her back from her father's house, or even if he has many children from other wives, she remains the first wife and one of her children will be *thagaya* [seventh born].

As before, we need to add to this some aspects from John's shorter version which he mentioned there in greater detail and which we consider important. For example, there are the items taken as bridewealth when a sexually immature girl was brought back to her father's house. There he reports that the girl, still a virgin, was taken back to her father's house on the seventh day of the marriage ritual, and that the bridewealth consisted of three goats, one chicken and two pieces of iron called *para para*. Also, he is more specific on some aspects of the rituals concerning the young woman being taken out of seclusion, and we add them here as variations to the above account. So it was for example that the new husband called on a sister or an aunt of his mother to come and eat the remaining food from the 'wedding cake'. Also, after the young woman had been taken out of seclusion and after her body had been rubbed with mahogany oil, she would take the remaining water used during her seclusion and throw it over the mature young women grinding and singing in the upper kitchen. He also adds that there was the belief among those young women that any of them on whose feet cornflour dust fell from the ritual grinding would be prone to being taken into a future marriage by force. We can only assume that this meant that she would not be an ideal first wife to a future husband. The fear that this might happen perhaps also indicates that a marriage by capture was in a way closer to a primary marriage than marrying without notice of the parents. This throws additional light on the tradition that a girl in love would rather have pretended to have been taken by force than to have married without notice.

With regard to the money John mentions as a gift given to the newly married young woman, we perhaps need to acknowledge that the use of money in that context was most likely a tradition going back to colonial times and as such was a referral to a different socio-economic system. We know that from 1946 married and unmarried women wore headbands with halfpenny coins (see Plate 52c) during funerals and dances. Money increasingly became a symbol of success, especially after independence, and I remember how young Dghwedë men struggled during the mid-1990s to buy colourful cotton robes as part of the bridewealth which had replaced the pre-colonial indigo robes which John refers to as *darke*. We do not know when the tradition of marriage by capture ended in Dghwedë, but infer that its end must be linked to early colonial times. Perhaps one of the remaining memories of that pre-colonial tradition was that during my time in Dghwedë I was often told by my young friends how expensive it was to get married, and that this was a key feature of their culture.

In the last paragraph of his account, John pointed again to the importance of the ritual tying of the cowpea thread, and we must conclude from this explicit statement that it was the key ritual for a marriage by promise. Concerning the dowry, we do not know what John meant by the iron called *para para*, but we do recognise the 'black robe' named *darke* (Plate 57i) from the list of objects of material culture in the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). What John refers to as 'black' was to our eyes indigo blue, and it was worn by the *ngwa yiye* during the third stage of *dzum zugune*. Considering that a *darke* robe was part of the dowry, and also that the *hamtiwe* plant (Plate 57a), as well as the borrowing of a *jahurimbe* bowl with stand (Plate 59a), played a role in the marriage rituals, all items which were also used during *dzum zugune*, allows us to date aspects of the oral memories about marrying in Dghwedë at least into the late 1930s or early 1940s when *dzum zugune* was still being performed.

We further recognise that the likely reason why captain Lewis in 1925 referred to the first wife of a man, who had cast away their eighth-born child, as a 'virgin' (see Chapter 3.18), was probably because she had previously been a girl who had been married by promise before she reached sexual maturity.¹ We can therefore infer with some certainty that the three past ways of marrying in Dghwedë were most likely representations of collective oral memories going

¹ There is also a colonial reference from 1955/56 (most likely linked to J.A. Reynolds report) which refers to a 'senior wife (usually a virgin whose marriage has been arranged by a person's father)'.

back to late pre-colonial times. At the beginning of Part Three we distinguished the late pre-colonial period as the time after the expansion of the Vaghagaya-Mughuze in southern Dghwede, replacing 'Gharghuze' by forming what would later become administrative Korana Basa. We remember that at the end of the late pre-colonial period Gwoza town did not exist as a centre, and that it was Ashigashiya with the link to the Wandala of Doulo and then Mora with Mozogo as the place where the Dghwede brought their tribute payments in the late 19th century. We therefore hypothesise that marriage by promise was the ideal primary marriage and the two other ways of marrying in Dghwede for potential secondary marriages were late pre-colonial traditions or earlier.

We also need to consider that some key aspects of John's account might have been influenced by his Christianity, for example his reference to the three stacks of solid food as 'wedding cake', or his statement that the thread of cowpea fibre was the main symbol of a marriage by promise. After all, we cannot exclude the possibility of the cowpea thread being seen by John as similar to the function of a Christian wedding ring, which might point to the underlying assumption that a primary marriage included the promise to endure. We doubt that the ritual of the cowpea thread had such a meaning, but unfortunately we do not have any oral evidence for that view, and neither do we have any data on how common divorce was in a traditional marriage by promise. It is possibly reasonable to infer that it was not a romantic marriage commitment, but that the aspect of endurance had a more practical socio-economic role in promoting lasting friendship between interrelated extended families across the paternal and maternal sides of different exogamous patrilineages that had created long-term marital planning units.

Conclusion

In the chapter about marriage rituals in Dghwede of the past, we touched on many themes with which we are already familiar, such as the aspect of liquid food as a symbol of conception and the ritual importance of water as an expression of fecundity and socio-economic reproduction. Another point is the gender aspect of the architecture of a traditional house, where the association of the role of the first wife with the left-hand side of the foyer links to the most sacred part of the foyer area, while the right-hand side of the foyer was of less importance. The seclusion of a bride in the children's room next to the right or upper kitchen in one context suggested a secondary marriage, but also a primary marriage in which the wife of the groom's father was already using the lower kitchen. Also, the fact that a bride was sprinkled with ritual water while sitting on one of the foundation stones bordering the foyer and the lower room of the first wife of the father of the house appears ritually significant.

We saw the number three as an indicator for the preference of a boy as the firstborn child, and the family priest (*zal jije*) coming to the house and libating sorghum flour in water over the ancestor stone, in that way initiating the bride to the house of the father of the groom in her new exogamous patrilineage. We remember that it was the seventh-born son of the first wife who inherited the house, and that the father or husband of the house was referred to as *zal thaghaya*, meaning not only father of a seventh born but also husband of a first wife.

It was ideally a marriage by promise which led to such a first wife becoming the mother of a seventh-born son (*thaghaya*), and her significance was evident in parts of the marriage ritual, in particular when a small boy ran to the ritual male sauce kitchen and a small girl to the ritual beer kitchen of the first wife, there to consume the shares of the broken 'wedding cake'. This solid food was another ritual dimension of the marriage celebration, given after the three days of seclusion during which only liquid food was allowed. The solid food was presented in three stacks, pointing again to the wish for a boy to be born as the first child. We can only guess that the seclusion and the liquid food were linked to a fasting ritual, while the subsequent solid food was linked to feasting or the celebration of harvest yield. We know that crisis management was a key element of successful Dghwede terrace farming, and that one

key aspect of it was the production of manure to keep the infields permanently under cultivation. A cow as a main part of the bridewealth shows the importance of animal dung for sustainable food production.

Also, the fact that a marriage by promise was organised by the parents of a boy and a girl shortly after such a promised girl was born, and that the father of the boy gave presents to the mother of the girl, suggests how important such friendships were across the exogamous divide for the future of each household compound. We have very little data about affinal relationships and the importance of catering for them, but realise that the distinction between different exogamous patrilineages as wife-givers and wife-receivers might not always have made marriage alliances easy.² A marriage by promise was seen as the best way to find a first wife, and indicates that good relationships between families of potential wife-giver and wife-receiver lineages were essential for communal peace and prosperity. This view is supported by the fact that such alliances were determined by the exogamy rules practised by the Dghwede, and we illustrated this perspective in Figure 20a in the chapter about the house as a place of worship, by pointing to 'mothers of *thagaya*' coming from the patriline outside a local hamlet. The same sample compounds illustrated in Figure 20a need to be imagined not only as wife-receivers but also as wife-givers, because their daughters were potential marriage partners for other hamlets as the ideal settlement units we referred to as *khudi luwa*, meaning 'the stomach of a settlement'.

We realise that such a method of befriending for a marriage by promise could not be repeated with the same family for at least four generations due to the matrilineal exogamy rule known as *zbe*. We remember from Chapter 3.6 that we were told that being *zbe* was also a general reference to having social relationships with matrilineal kin, and in the context of this it was the mother's sister's daughter (MZD) connection that was important. Besides this, it was not possible to marry the daughter of a lineage brother (*sknukwe*) with whom the patrilineal exogamy rule (*gwagha*) applied, which must have made it even more difficult to befriend suitable families for future matrilineal *zbe* relationships. This in turn presumably underpinned the wish to promote marriage alliances between families in which many household heads had already completed or at least started adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). We remember that a candidate had to give his mother's brother a billy goat if he wanted to start *dzum zugune* before him. We think that extended families most likely planned a marital exchange from the point of view of mutual socio-economic interest, but that the network of lineage exogamy was rather restricted. For example, in Ghwa'a all major lineages descending from Thakara could intermarry, and in administrative Korana Basa the descendants of Mughuze-Ruwa were only exogamous along their major lineage sections. In contrast to this, smaller clan groups such as the Hembe practised clan exogamy, while the Gudule, according to Mathews (1934) had given up clan exogamy because they perceived themselves as weak and were frightened of their neighbours. This is presumably also a reference to the expanding Vaghagaya who had replaced them as former main local competitors in terms of marital exchange.

Also, the social relationship terms for siblingship, which did not differentiate between full-siblings, half-siblings and the mother's sisters' children, underpins the strong egalitarian network of paternal and maternal siblingship across exogamous clan and lineage groups. The terms for male and female siblings had a very inclusive tone because they referred to one another as *daghaunukwe* (female sibling) and *vjarnukwe* (male sibling) and did not distinguish between siblings and cousins but only between genders. The same inclusive principle applied across generations in relation to grandchildren, who could refer to one another as *jije* (grandfather) or *bajije* (grandmother) because they belonged to the same

² Needham (1962) deals critically with the question of whether marriage alliances are determined by preferential psychological affinities or are rather a result of prescriptive patrilineal authority. We are not sure about this, and perhaps it is a combination of both, and although the exogamy rules practised by the Dghwede are prescriptive in general terms, we know from the example of the Gudule that they could be changed. This suggests that perhaps we should not consider them to be written in stone.

patriline of the honoured grandfather. However, the same term *jije* (grandfather) could also refer to the sons of ego's mother's brother, implying that these terms also covered nephews and nieces on the matrilineal side. Perhaps the reader would like to have another look at Figures 13a and 13b in Chapter 3.6 where a schematic explanation in the form of illustrative structural sketches is presented.

In our opinion none of these established social and ritual relationships would have developed in the same way if marriage by capture had been the main way of marrying in Dghwedè. We can easily imagine however that forced marriages might have become more frequent during periods of food shortage or other types of crisis which led to intermittent poverty and the breakdown of planning for peaceful marriage alliances. There might also have been other reasons why the ideal primary marriage by promise no longer worked in practice, such as overpopulation and conflict over land resources. These too might have led to an interruption in catering for peaceful relationships between local groups, and the breaking of the fragile structure of patrilineal and matrilineal extended families resulting from generations of planned marriages. Unfortunately we do not have any oral data on such scenarios, but we know that warfare was a prominent feature of Dghwedè oral history as a feature of the expansion of the Vaghagaya lineages in southern Dghwedè, a conflict we allocated to the late pre-colonial period. In the context of this, the politics of marriage alliances, not only within the shrinking Gudule clan group but also between the Dghwedè and the Thakara lineages of Ghwa'a in northern Dghwedè, might well have been impacted, meaning that the lineage-related exogamy of the Thakara clan group might have only come about during the late pre-colonial period.

Concerning the marriage option where two people might have been attracted to one another and planned to marry without notifying their parents, we have an example of this in the legend of how Gudule cut off the white tail of his father's favourite cow to give it to a girl he desired (Chapter 3.13). We remember that Gudule was punished by Tasa by being deprived of his ritual entitlement for rainmaking, but remained seventh born (*thaghaya*) and so inherited most of his father's land. Perhaps we can interpret this tale by assuming that the gift was inappropriate, and therefore a marriage between Gudule and the girl would have been inappropriate. Gudule tried to ignore the authority of his father by presenting the gift, but then remained obedient and married the girl that Tasa had already arranged for him by presenting gifts himself to the family of the planned marriage. This obedience might have allowed Gudule to remain family seventh born even though he had been severely misbehaving. This is of course speculation, but highlights once more the importance of marriage by promise for general prosperity and for maintaining the successful mountain farming way of life in the Gwoza hills.

In the next chapter we will present oral data on two past ways of decision making in Dghwedè. We will first present the power of majority known as *gadghale*, and how it was instrumented by the British during colonial times. Next we will show the importance of divination as a traditional method of decision making, by listing the different types of divination the Dghwedè once practised, followed by an illustrated example of divination with a ritual type of floating *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz mandatha*. We will use the healing session resulting from a divination in Ghwa'a, in which a 'Dagha diviner demonstrated how he safeguarded the abducted spirit of a local client by citing sorcery as a possible explanation for the illness.

Chapter 3.21

Two ways of decision making in Dghwede of the past

Introduction

In this chapter we want to look at two aspects of decision making in Dghwede of the past. One was to do with the political power of majorities, promoted during the colonial period as 'clan councils' to stimulate self-governance in the Gwoza hills, and the other was decision making through the belief in divination. We already learned in Chapter 3.15 that divination was a tool for assessing sorcery claims before the accused had to go through an ordeal of proclaiming innocence in public. This was part of the traditional justice system, but there were many other situations in which divination was required. While the first approach to decision making was to do with lineage majorities and their political representation by elders, the second was controlled by gifted individuals often referred to as Dagha diviners. We know there were two groups of Dagha in Dghwede, one known as the Dagha peacemakers and the other to whom we referred as the Dagha Kadzgwara (Chapter 3.4). While the first was an associated lineage of the Tur tradition, we connected the Dagha Kadzgwara tradition to the Lamang of Hambagda and their links to Kwalika. In our Gwoza notes we also followed a wider Dagha tradition along the western foothills to a place called Mutube, which we traced back to the Margi of Mulgwe. In Dghwede any specially gifted individual who was not a member of either of these Dagha groups could also be referred to as a Dagha diviner.

The reason why we have put these two categories together in one chapter, one being individual actors and specialist diviners, and the other being related to the political structure of the Dghwede, is the underlying cosmological worldview that both represented. We want to show that decision making in late-precolonial Dghwede had a strong egalitarian aspect, within which divination played a key role as a social belief system. We will begin with the colonial history of the power of majority (*gadghale*), starting with the concept of *gadegal* or *gidegal* as it was discussed during the 1940s and 1950s by various colonial officers, and then present our own research from 2010. We will show how it was interpreted in particular by Eustace (1939) and then by Reynolds (1955), whereby Reynolds came closest to its actual meaning according to how our oral sources explained it. Unfortunately these notes were only made in 2010 and contain only a few examples of the type of majority decisions made by the Dghwede. What we can establish however is that the protocols differed greatly from the ones the administrative colonial officers had in mind for montagnard self-governance. One of the main problems for the colonials was their idea of 'lineage heads' who were supposed to act as traditional chiefs, but the original Dghwede concept of *gadghale* did not contain chieftaincy.

In the next section we will start by presenting the different ways of practising divination in Dghwede of the past. Again we are not able to make an informed decision as to which of the divination systems was most frequently used, but will try to come up with a suggestion. We will also present photographs from 1996 of how our diviner and healer friend Katiwa ga Ghuda of Dzga demonstrated the use of a floating type of *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz mandatha* as part of a divine treatment to bring back a lost human spirit. We excluded divination from the chapter about Dghwede ideas around what we referred to as existential personhood, but will revisit the possible meaning of what a lost or abducted spirit once stood for. By discussing the Dghwede belief that divination was not only an application for humans but also a method of determining the hidden truth behind an environmental event or social circumstance, we will look at the link between divination and the wellbeing of individuals. The Dghwede themselves did not necessarily distinguish between natural and divine causes, as we know from their worldview and their past relationship with phenomena of the physical environment, such as rain or the lack of it, and there were many other decisions influenced by divination which we do not know much about.

We already referred to the concept of *man skwe* (*man* = handling; *skwe* = ritual treatment), and the mixture of water and guinea corn flour as the special ritual treatment owned and handled by the rainmaker when acting in his divine entitlement to influence the quantity of rain needed during the growing season. Others again owned a different *skwe*, and in Chapter 3.23 we will present the significance of *Cissus quadrangularis* as the plant with the highest ritual significance, among which particularly powerful varieties were owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage. There we also list *vavanz mandatha* (see image 63k in Table 12a) used for divination and the treatment of a lost spirit, the literal meaning of which was 'to calm down', but we doubt that it was a true *skwe* as it was also available for public medicinal use. There were two kinds of *vavanz mandatha*, a floating type used by Dagha diviners, while the non-floating type was generally available and commonly used to treat heartburn.

We remember from Chapter 3.13 that *vavanz mandatha* played a role during the bull festival, not only to divine whether the sacred bull was vicious, but also to calm the bull down before it was ritually released from the shed next to the upper room of the owner of the house. This was done after its seclusion and fattening period, and the calming ritual was not carried out by the Dagha diviner but by a local group elder. Still, we do not know enough about the frequency and the most common occasions on which divination was carried out, but nevertheless find it important to try to understand the mindset behind divination. What we know for sure is that divination played a key role in decision making, and that there were many different circumstances in which it was applied in order to determine the course of a ritual intervention. This could be related to the traditional justice system, sorcery, or any other otherwise hidden cause of potential harm to which a community or individual was exposed.

The exploration of divinity via the technical tool of divination as a form of complementary cure was not straightforward but was full of risk and tension, and despite our lack of detailed research we strongly assume that it was carried out more often in crisis situations than when things were going well. Such crisis situations could be family-related or were issues concerning the wider community. Divination had regular and irregular aspects, but we presume that it was an application convergent with the social and political ways in which the Dghwede once practised their egalitarian belief system.

The power of majority (*gadghale*)

In Part Two (Chapter 2.2) we discussed ethnographic research about the Gwoza hills carried out by colonial officers. The earliest British report was by captain Lewis (1925), followed by MacFarlane (1932), Mathews (1934) and then Eustace (1939). We acknowledged that it was assistant district officer Eustace who developed the concept of *gidegal* as a synonym for 'Clan Council' as an administrative tool of indirect rule. Mathews had already mentioned the concept of *gadagal* as a pre-colonial institution among all the hill populations. He translated it as 'The Strong' and described it as a traditional chief surrounded by a council of elders who would always be consulted by the ward head (*bulama*), and it was said the *bulama* would decide nothing without the chief. Mathews further referred to such a 'conciliar organisation with an indigenous chieftainship throughout the whole hills' and stated that 'the real chief comes to see the administrative officer with the other elders and the *Bulama*, but does not take active part in the discussion'. He then continues by saying that:

It is desirable that these chiefs (*Gadagal*) should be kept in mind and further investigated, for they are a genuine indigenous series of "heads" of each clan, and can probably be found to have extensive powers, especially in such a large clan as *Galabda* [*Glavda*] where it seems likely that there is one chief *Gadagal* for the whole clan.¹

¹ We wonder whether Mathews' view was also influenced by the concept of chieftaincy among the neighbouring Mafa. I described in *The Way of the Beer* (2003:281ff) how the *kr-biy* (*kra* = son of the great or strong = *bay*) provided, as the most numerous local clan groups, the traditional Mafa chief (*biy wudam*) in every Mafa village of our wider subregion. The system of *bay* or *biy* transcended the ritual

It was Eustace who picked up on Mathews' suggestion to further investigate the potential of the 'Gadagal' following the amalgamation of the Gwoza and Ashigashiya districts in 1939 when Gwoza town became the administrative centre for the entire Gwoza hills. Unfortunately, Eustace's presentation of the social organisation of the 'hill pagans', whom he describes very negatively as 'extremely backward and primitive', is ethnographically rather superficial and incorrect in many ways. He claims for example that primogeniture rules not only succession in terms of a 'chief' (*gidegal*) through patrilineal descent of their 'kindred groups', but also in terms of inheritance. We know that this was not so, and that for example the Dghwedè had a system of the seventh born (*thaghaya*) who not only inherited the house and the infields but also became earth priest for his local lineage section. It seems that Eustace was using ethnographic assumptions about succession and inheritance to justify his 'plan for the future' to establish 'Clan Councils', to make the hill population appear less complex for potential cooperation with the newly created Islamic elite in Gwoza.

Eustace's patronising approach to montagnard social organisation of 1939, by the introduction of the idea of 'chieftaincy' among the hill populations, something which had never existed in that way, was continued by district officer Reynolds in 1955. This was two years after the killing of lawan Buba in Ghwa'a, also known as the 'Johode incident' or the 'Gwoza Affair' (see Chapter 2.2). By then, any attempt to bring about a system of self-governance in the hills had failed, but the reason behind this was not that the people of Ghwa'a had been too backward or primitive, but that they did not want to lose their identity as terrace farmers. Reynolds also speaks of the 'authority of the lineage head who is the senior male member' and claims that such a senior lineage head was in charge of all ritual activities in maintaining rightful territorial links with their locality. However, concerning the institution of the 'Gidegal', Reynolds not only speaks about it as a chiefly institution as Eustace did, but also points out that:

Although in a long-established locality bonds of common residence, strengthened by lineage ties, tend to maintain stability, the continued close association which this implies tends to create tensions between lineages which the lineage system cannot always resolve. This is especially noticeable where two or more maximal lineages are situated within one locality. In these situations, the Institution of the Gidegal, which is found in one form or another in all the tribes, becomes effective and helps to maintain the stability of the locality. As the locality tends to be the basis of political unity so in the Institution of the Gidegal may be seen the terms of political authority.

He goes on by saying that:

Gidegal is an Azagavanna [Azaghvana/Dghwedè] term (used generally by the Administration for this type of institution) for a person who has the largest backing – usually of his own lineage members – in a locality. Such authority he has is derived firstly from his backing and secondarily from his acceptance by the lineage heads of the locality. In most localities there is no formal election or initiation ceremony. Due to old age, disease or similar affliction, or lack of confidence, the mantle of authority passes from one person to another (often from father to son, or elder brother to younger brother) with the tacit consent of the locality. In terms of the theoretical lineage, the Gidegal would be chosen from A4, being the larger lineage than either A3 or A5. A3, A4 and A5 having the same mother would support him against a choice of A1 and A2...

Reynolds goes on to describe a system of majority by applying some kind of lineage nesting that he must have learned from segmentary lineage theory, but also talks about the role of 'lineage heads' who are accountable to 'the Gidegal' which he sees as a person rather than as a majority system. His main point is that the power of 'the Gidegal' is only effective within the lineage system and can take no major action without the prior agreement of the 'lineage head'. He emphasises again that 'the Gidegal' has no ritual power, and neither have the 'lineage

culture of the Mafa and culminated in the position of the traditional village chief, but unlike the British colonial system, the French system did not incorporate the traditional Mafa chiefs into their system of direct rule. The Dghwedè system of lineage majorities never culminated in traditional chieftaincies, and the attempt to portray it as if this were the case was in our opinion a result of British indirect rule.

heads', and we can only assume that in 1955 Reynolds possibly over-analyses the system of 'Clan Councils' originally suggested almost 16 years earlier by Eustace. In the context of this, seniority in terms of succession is over-emphasised as the traditional way of any form of succession including the system of inheritance, and by doing so both Eustace and Reynolds remain entirely oblivious of the role of the seventh born (*thaghaya*). We can only infer that this was done to promote 'self-governance' as an administrative tool, a simplification of Dghwedè culture which was for the purpose of 'pax britannica', as Reynolds often frames it.

We will not go any deeper into district officer Reynolds' analysis of Dghwedè social organisation, but want to give his example taken from the 'Johode incident', in the context of which Reynolds demonstrates how the power of 'the Gidegal' could be lost if the majority of the members of the lineage he allegedly represented lost confidence in him:

Should he, in pagan opinion, abuse his position or commit some impropriety and his supporters and hence his authority. Once the Johode incident began although Bulama Fulata was their Gidegal he had completely forfeited the confidence of the members of the locality and consequently had no more authority over them. In some respect he may be considered as the executive officer of a council of lineage heads.

We remember the role of bulama Fulata from our comparison of the official colonial and oral versions of the killing of lawan Buba from Chapter 2.2, and at no point was bulama Fulata referred to as having been 'the Gidegal' of 'Johode' (Ghwa'a). He did have the position of bulama, and was also referred to as 'senior hamlet head' who had, together with 'his three fellow hamlet heads', been levying taxes on the villagers and behaving in a generally autocratic manner. The report continues to state that complaints about them had not been taken on board, either by the British touring officer or the district head. We know that bulama Fulata was also almost killed in the Ghwa'a conflict of 1953, but we have absolutely no idea on what grounds Reynolds, a couple of years later, based his opinion that he was 'the Gidegal' of the locality. We think this is an exaggeration, and will now try to illustrate that there were neither any 'lineage heads' nor 'Gidegal' chiefs in late pre-colonial Dghwedè, but that there was indeed a majority system called *gadghile* (majority) which was able to exercise power in emergency situations.

In Chapters 3.4 and 3.9 of Part Three we showed how the Vaghagaya as the most recent pre-colonial lineage expansion eventually defeated the Gudule, drove them out of Gharaza and established themselves there as the largest lineage group. We demonstrated how the system of the seventh born and earth priest had been passed on to Var ga Ghuna, but that the actual lineage shrine of Vaghagaya was found in Korana Kwandame where Vaghgaya as seventh born had reportedly inherited his father's house. There was no role of the firstborn son as senior hamlet head in controlling any demographic majority represented by the Vaghagaya, an oral historical conclusion which does not however automatically exclude the possibility that issues of *gadghile* as an expression of the power of majority might once have existed among the various localities of the descendants of the Mughuze-Ruwa clan group. Unfortunately we never asked in Korana Basa, but know from our research in Ghwa'a that the power of majority known as *gadghile* did indeed exist there, and we will demonstrate this now.

First we have to admit that our data on the concept of *gadghale* in Ghwa'a are very limited. I only started to explore its meaning during my last field session in 2009/10, when I asked John to go around and collect information about it. The first thing we established was that the word *gadegal* or *gidegal* as a colonial institution was indeed remembered as a kind of village or hamlet head, but there was no evidence for its pre-colonial use in that way, while the word *gadghale* was only remembered as a pre-colonial concept of lineage majority. We were told that its meaning worked in terms of the population number of a local lineage or even an ethnic group, and not for a chiefly office. In the context of this, the concept of *gadghale* could be quite far reaching, and some of our Dghwedè sources claimed that the Dghwedè had once been the most numerous group in the hills and therefore were able to form a decision-making majority. However it was not about making decisions on behalf of others, but more that as the

ethnic majority they were asked to advise and recommend in situations of crisis. In that context, the concept of *gadghale* clearly did not refer to one single person as decision maker, but rather to a council of elders representing the largest group being *gadghale* (majority) who came to a decision or recommendation, which according to our Dghwede protagonists was then mostly accepted by everybody else.

I have doubts as to whether there was ever such a council of elders representing the whole of Dghwede, and perhaps the opinions of our oral sources were still influenced by the administrative role of the *gidegal/gadegal* from colonial times. Perhaps the concept had been confused with the perception that 'Johode' (Ghwa'a) was traditionally seen as the early arrival zone of many groups of the Gwoza hills who traced their ancestry back to Tur. We remember the role of Durghwe as a subregional mountain shrine, and how the various groups that had gathered in Dghwede to organise the arrest of Hamman Yaji shortly after the end of World War One decided to make the Ghwa'a ward head Vaima/Baima the leader of a group of representatives from various ethnic groups as far away as Tur, because they had all suffered from Hamman Yaji's attacks. We know that Vaima was the first bulama of Ghwa'a (see Lewis 1925) and also a member of the Dagha peacemaker lineage, and that he ritually swallowed a type of *Cissus quadrangularis* which reportedly would have killed anyone who was not a Dagha peacemaker. Whether there was a council of elders representing the largest lineage of Ghwa'a which supported the choice of Vaima remains unknown, but Vaima was certainly not a member of that majority lineage, but he belonged to one of the specialist lineages which was a minority lineage not only in Ghwa'a but across the whole of Dghwede.

According to John's inquiries about the power of lineage majorities (*gadghale*) in Dghwede, it was the descendants of Dzata (Dzata-Washile) who represented the most numerous lineage in Ghwa'a. In terms of population number they were followed by the descendants of Ngaladewe and Btha, while the Nighine were reportedly the smallest local lineage group:

1. Dzata (*gadghala* = majority lineage)
2. Ngaladewe
3. Btha (*thaghaya* = custodian lineage)
4. Nighine

If we compare the above list with Figure 13 in Chapter 3.6, and consult the oral history of the Dzata and the Btha lineages, we realise that the descendants of Washile had indeed increased most out of all the other major lineages. They then split up, and we recognise that all the 'brothers' of Dzata had left Ghwa'a to settle first in Taghadigile and then in Kunde, as explained in Chapter 3.4. The other point we might want to recall here is that Ghwa'a, Taghadigile and Kunde formed a traditional war alliance (see Figure 8a). In terms of an internal conflict, we remember that the expanding descendants of Washile had a fight that led to Dzata remaining in Ghwa'a. This highlights that a local majority lineage (*gadghale*) such as Dzata did not continuously grow in size in one locality but fragmented as a result of infighting. We remember that the most powerful example of lineage infighting was between the lineages of the expanding Vaghagaya-Mughuze, and that the Vaghagaya eventually became the largest late pre-colonial Dghwede lineage section. The other point we need to note when looking at the above list of four lineages is that the Btha lineage, as the lineage which traditionally provided the seventh-born earth priest for Ghwa'a and Durghwe, was not a member of the most numerous lineage and neither a member of the most senior major lineage.

This also confirms our earlier conclusion that the increase in population number of individual local Dghwede lineage groups was in oral historical terms most often the most recent development. In contrast, a smaller lineage group might have represented the earlier settlers, as the narrative concerning the war between the Gudule and the expanding Mughuze-Ruwa in southern Dghwede demonstrated. But still, we consider it unlikely that there was ever an overall majority for Dghwede as a whole. Instead, the descendants of Vaghagaya (in what became administrative Korana Basa) and those of Thakara (linked to Ghwa'a) were, in terms of a *gadghale* type of lineage majority, two separate parts of late pre-colonial Dghwede.

However, Ghwa'a still had a ritual lead role when it came to subregional emergencies, especially when it involved a sacrifice to Durghwe, but that had nothing to do with lineage majorities and only with the fact that Durghwe was part of Ghwa'a.

If we try to imagine what kind of circumstantial situation might have occurred in the past which required a *gadghale* majority to make a recommendation to the minority groups of Ghwa'a, we presumably need to think of some form of environmental crisis. One scenario could have been ongoing aridity leading to a food shortage or even famine. According to John such a scenario could have meant that the Dzata lineage would have tried to trigger a majority decision in which the Gaske rainmakers would have been advised to carry out rain rituals in specific localities. If the rainmakers were not successful, the majority of the lineages of Ghwa'a could authorise their punishment or even force them to leave. Another potential scenario might have been that the seventh-born lineage priest from the Btha lineage would be advised via the *gadghale* majority (presumably even from outside Ghwa'a) to carry out a certain ritual at the Durghwe mountain shrine. Such specific ritual interventions most likely also involved divination carried out by a Dagha diviner to determine the type of sacrifice required. Another case might have been a severe sorcery accusation or any other conflict situation among the different local lineage groups, an inference which would suggest that some *gadghale* majority decisions could also be seen as part of the pre-colonial justice system.

Also, the paying or non-paying of tribute while still under Mandara rule during pre-colonial times might have been triggered by a council of elders representing the majority system known as *gadghale*. Such a situation might have occurred when the Wandala attempted to reinforce tribute payments after they had lapsed. The latter point would also explain why the British system of indirect rule tried to bring about its own customary approach of 'Clan Councils' in order to establish self-governance in the hills in order to introduce their tax collection system. Unfortunately, trying to promote representatives of such colonial institutions to encourage the hill populations to pay taxes did not work out and led to even more conflict. As a result, the hill populations were accused by Eustace in 1939 of being backward and primitive, and this might eventually have led to the application of force by the newly emerging colonial elite district heads of Gwoza. We know that in 1953 they attempted to force, in association with the shehu of Bama, the selected group of men from Ghwa'a to accept resettlement in the adjacent plains if they did not cooperate with the new system of self-governance. It is indeed possible that bulama Fulata, who was beaten up by his lineage brothers in Ghwa'a in 1953, was a member of the Dzata lineage. However, the reason why his life was threatened was not that he had disappointed his people as a representative of the *gadghale* system of self-governance, but because he had tried to force tax collection upon them in his function as an official representative of the newly forming local elite of indirect rule in Gwoza.

Many of the above examples are conclusions drawn from our earlier description of Dghwedè oral history retold, and are therefore meaningful speculations based on our insights about the egalitarian aspect of Dghwedè political organisation. We have cast them in clan and lineage terms not because we want to present the Dghwedè as an example of descent theory as promoted by British social anthropology of the 1940s or 1950s, but have used the terms only in a very loose interchangeable way to describe Dghwedè local group formation. In the context of this we see lineages as branches of clan groups, while the colonial officers in question obviously saw lineal descent as a customary means that could be used to introduce self-governance in the context of indirect rule. Instead, the *gadghale* system of majority suggests that clans and lineages as local groups were equal to one another and that there was no attached chieftaincy element. This underpins our hypothesis that the Dghwedè were a truly egalitarian society, and that the only factor which brought about such a lineage majority was population number as a result of successful socio-economic reproduction, and not descent.

Divination as traditional method of decision making

While the previous section was about lineage majorities and how they might have initiated collective decision making which also implied divination, this section is more about the Dghwede mindset and the role of divination as an expression of an underlying belief system. We remember from the chapter on existential personhood that divinity was not only a religious belief in a Supreme Being, but was based on a cosmographic image of a celestial world above this world to where talented rainmakers, sorcerers and healers could travel. In the light of this worldview, the human spirit could be trapped by sorcerers in the upper world, and specialist healers (*gwal ngurde*) were needed to free them. We learned about the Dghwede idea of powerful spiritual healers fighting with sorcerers as their negative equivalent over individual spirits of fellow humans in the world above, and established that the human spirit was seen as particularly vulnerable to such supernatural attacks while asleep.

The cosmographic equivalent of the world above was a world below this world as a next world of ancestors, and there too particularly powerful rainmakers could travel to collect the 'roots of the sun'. We showed that mythological descent from the same ancestral father and mother could indeed be a way of organising divine interaction, and that the cosmological splitting of blessings from above and below were represented by two full brothers from the same ancestral 'kitchen' (*kudige*). Such mythological and cosmographic pairing set the religious agenda of rainmakers and cornblessers who were seen as having inherited the entitlement of ritually reenacting successful socio-economic reproduction in the form of cosmological blessings on behalf of divinity. Some of our Dghwede friends also liked to see them as being born to ancestral twins. We learned in Chapter 3.19 that twins represented the epitome of blessed communal reproduction linked to the farmstead into which they had been reborn, particularly if we take into consideration that divination was also needed to identify the home of the former parents of the twins. It was the former mother of the twins who brought them into their new parents' house and the new mother who brought them out again seven days later.

The division of ritual labour between rainmakers and cornblessers also overlapped, and the same powerful rainmaker who could travel into the upper world to fight with other powerful rainmakers over limited resources of rain for a particular locality could also travel inside the earth to collect the 'roots of the sun'. Fighting over limited resources of rain in the upper world was presumably also the reason why in a crisis situation a majority decision might have recommended advising the specialist rainmaker lineage to carry out rainmaking rituals in certain places only. This hypothetical conclusion underpins the fact that locality was not just an abstract concept, but that it was rooted in the oral history of local kin-groups classified by lineal descent which had reproduced through intermarriage along the lines of prescriptive albeit changing exogamy rules (see Chapter 3.20). This brought about kinship ties across the patrilineal and matrilineal divide which had developed into a network of interactive kindred connections between individuals and families who had farmed and looked after the fertility of their ancestral land for many generations. We also demonstrated in Chapter 3.14 how adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) not only created a seniority-based support network within extended families, but that seniority outside extended family networks was considered secondary to individual achievement as a symbol of successful terrace farming.

Divination played a key role in the process of decision making concerning communal and individual wellbeing in families and local groups, and here we would like to hypothesise that this was workable because divination was a decisive cognitive tool for management of the Dghwede belief system. A good example to illustrate this is the belief in sorcery as an integrated part of existential personhood. We remember that our main protagonists saw spirit abduction as a type of sacrifice to a negative concept of God, which we described in Chapter 3.15 as the negative side of divinity. In the context of this, the personal god of an individual was seen as a mirror image of spiritual selfhood linked to the supreme God as the head of his celestial family, and his children were seen as anticipations of what would happen in the life of every individual in this world. In that sense, God had already decided what would happen

to someone through the image of his own children, and perhaps we can see divination as a logical tool in finding out what God's divine plan needed in terms of support in the form of human intervention. We will learn below how sliced pieces of *vavanz mandatha* floating in a calabash of water played a key role in providing a predictive algorithm², unknown to us, for interpreting divinity when it came to saving a lost or abducted spirit. We will add ethnographic data by Wolff (1994), who describes a very similar treatment among the Lamang of Hambagda, to throw additional light on the meaning of this particular procedure.

Our oral sources on divination as a method of decision making appear across our Dghwedé notes, and we have already referred in previous chapters to some of the scenarios where divination was obligatory. For example, during a gathering of Dagha peacemakers it was established through divination, most likely with floating *vavanz mandatha*, that Vaima should lead the expedition to Maiduguri to launch an official complaint about the ongoing slavery attacks of Hamman Yaji (Chapter 2.2). As part of the founding legend of the Zelidva (see Chapter 3.5), a Dagha diviner recommended a clan medicine to Ghwasa (grandfather of Kumba Zadvā) to manage his survival as an outsider. We know from Chapter 3.9 that a group of lineage elders regularly consulted Dagha diviners to advise them what type of sacrifice to a local shrine was required under specific circumstances. This last example might have occurred in a crisis situation in which a lineage majority (*gadghale*) might have needed procedural advice for a specific ritual protocol through the tool of divination. For a sacrifice to the Durghwe mountain shrine, divination also always reportedly decided whether a sacrifice was needed and which way it should be carried out. On the birth of twins, divination served to identify the previous parents of twins, and it was also carried out before a son could start eating again following the death of his father. If sorcery was suspected, several diviners were consulted to establish whether an accused needed to proclaim his innocence in public (Chapter 3.15). We learned that regardless of whether the accuser rather than the accused died as a result, the bad luck would never follow the diviner who made the diagnosis. Divination as a tool of collective and individual decision making was in our opinion part of the cognitive reality of late pre-colonial Dghwedé, and as such was an intrinsic element of their view of the world.

The general word used for diviner was Dagha, but some non-Dagha were also seen as having a gift or talent for divining. We do not know whether non-Dagha as a result of their talent could also be consulted when it came to more official appointments, or whether they dealt more with personal problems or expected bad luck. We know from Chapter 3.10 that *chuwila* consisted of such an individual-related ritual of a he-goat or a chicken being swung three times around the head of the household member at risk before it was sacrificed. The diviner would decide on the procedural details. Even so we can only assume that the diviner involved could be an especially gifted non-Dagha, we do not know the method of divining they might have applied to find the right ritual way forward.

The following principle divining methods known in Dghwedé were:

- Pebble (*kwire*) divination
- Crab (*dhadhra*) divination
- Stick (*glipa*) divination
- Cissus (*mandatha*) divination
- Talking (*kula kula*) divination

Pebble divination was reportedly not very common, but there was the belief that the pebbles used had been given to the diviner by God. We know it was the most traditional method of

² Christophe Lazaro (2020:3) uses the expression 'predictive algorithms' as an 'artificial' tool, not only to refer to predictive digital algorithms in relation to big data but also to what he calls 'natural divination' as opposed to 'artificial divination'. He defines natural divination as being a direct communication with divinity, but one which also needs divination algorithms so that the diviner can make predictions to clients. We have not studied Dghwedé divination algorithms but are quite convinced that they existed.

divining among the Mafa on the Cameroonian side.³ Whether pebble divination was a more common practice in Dghwedè of the past must remain unanswered, and we do not know whether it was in any way a speciality of the 'Dagha' diviners. However we know for example that crab divination could be done by anybody who knew how to carry it out, which indicates that it was not the most traditional divinatory practice, indicating that it was a more recent appearance. It was also known as a more recent divination method among the Mafa of Gouzda, from where I gave a detailed description (see Muller-Kosack 2003:116ff). According to my Mafa notes, the specialist who carried out crab divination told me that he learned it from Margi people (ibid). This points to its more common use in the western plain, while it seems that pebble divination was more typical for the northeastern rather than the northwestern Mandara Mountains.

According to our oral sources from Dghwedè, it was *glipa* (stick) and *mandatha* (a floating *Cissus* variety) which was in traditional terms the equivalent of pebble divination among the Dghwedè, and it was the privilege of the 'Dagha' diviners to practice it. With regard to *kula kula* or 'talking divination' we know that that this was used to identify the former parents of twins. The metaphor of 'talking' came from the image of the hollow branches of the *wulinge* tree which made a sound while being moved around in the water. It was reportedly a particular privilege of the 'Dagha' Kadzgwara originating from Mulgwe to practice this. Unfortunately we do not know whether divination with the floating *mandatha* variety was especially practised by 'Dagha' diviners who claimed descent from the peacemaker lineage, but the use of many different ritual varieties of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) was indeed one of their specialties as we will learn in Chapter 2.23. As mentioned above, the word *mandatha* means 'the calming of things' and this very special variety of *vavanza* was different from another very common non-floating variety of the same name which was commonly used to treat heartburn.

I regret that I did not collect more oral data on divination methods in Dghwedè, especially considering that it can be seen not only as a means of establishing liturgical procedures but also of identifying underlying reasons for past or likely future events. The metaphor to 'read' or 'hear', depending on the method used, indicates communication with divinity in order to explore the cause of events, and we therefore also use the word 'language' as a metaphor which required the diviner as the interpreter of divinity. We pointed out above that we like to see divination as a cognitive condition of the Dghwedè belief system, and in that context also as a historical technology in managing causes of environmental uncertainty, rather than as an aid of superstition. We like to see divination as a technology akin to a metaphorical 'text' which determined not only a possible result through the system of its 'reading' or 'listening' practice, but was perhaps also a major factor in maintaining a shared belief in how divinity worked. Considering that the Dghwedè did not have chiefs or kings with a priestly class of religious specialists but were instead an egalitarian montagnard society, it was not a tool controlled by a hierarchy or social power structure. Instead it was managed very much on the level of the individual household or through the power of lineage majorities. The latter received their entitlement to advise for a certain locality as a result of successful socio-economic reproduction, in line with the interpretation of ancestral or other collective demands through the localised promotion and correct management of divinity.

We have mentioned several times the importance of symbolic classification in which numbers and their counting order seemed to be crucial, and in the context of this it was the numbers two and three that were of particular importance and as such had a gender perspective. The other aspect was the left and the right hand used in the context of a ritual, and of course not to forget the number seven as a lucky number, which was often used when it came to indicating particularly lucky circumstances of socio-economic reproduction. The number seven also occurred in the cosmographic perception of seven worlds above and below this world. We

³ Pebble divination was also traditional among the Mofu proper (Vincent 1971) and the Zulgo and Gemjek (Graffenried 1984:126-130).

therefore wonder whether there was an underlying number or other symbolic 'reading' or 'listening' system used by diviners when they practiced divination. Unfortunately we did not explore this and can only presume that there must have been such a system, one which had significance not only as a way of perceiving the world but also as a symbolic 'language' system. This was perhaps based on which method the diviners used to either 'read' or 'listen' in order to provide their required treatment or liturgical advice.⁴

In 1996 we witnessed the practice of Katiwa ga Ghuda, a Dagha diviner in Ghwa'a, and how he sliced twenty pieces of *vavanz mandatha* into a calabash of water. Afterwards we interviewed him for an explanation of what he thought he had done. Katiwa included the use of divinatory sticks (*glipa*) in combination with the twenty *mandatha* slices.

Plates 62a-62g show Katiwa's demonstration of divination combined with spiritual healing:

Plate 62a: Cutting of the <i>mandatha</i> slices	Plate 62b: The twenty <i>mandatha</i> slices are ready	Plate 62c: The throwing of the <i>mandatha</i> slices
		
Plate 62d: The washing of the <i>wulinge</i> leaves	Plate 62e: The <i>wulinge</i> leaves are held above the patient	Plate 62f: The diviner rubs the sternum of his patient
		

⁴ Philip M. Peek (1991:193-212) provides us with a new way of discussing African divination systems, and refers to the relationship between the diviner and his client as crucial, by suggesting that the diviner is often seen as the ideal communicator between this world and the world of divinity. He refers to the left and right cerebral hemispheres as a biological phenomenon, and points in that context to the reversal of left and right, and that diviners facilitate their communication by appealing intuitively to the more imaginative right side of the brain of clients. This is not only a biological reversal in relation to the left and right hand but also one in terms of symbolic classification.

Plate 62a shows the cutting of the *mandatha* slices, while Plate 62b shows the twenty slices ready to be used. Plate 62c shows how the Dagha diviner throws them into the calabash filled with water and we can see the three sticks (*glipa*) leaning against the side of the calabash. We will see in the interview that they represent the potential sources of the problem of the patient, from which the diviner is about to identify the true source by reading the distribution of the *mandatha* slices. Plate 62d shows how the diviner washes the leaves of the *wulinge* tree in the divination calabash, while 62e demonstrates how he holds them above the head of his patient afterwards as part of the healing process. Plate 62f shows the diviner rubbing the sternum of the patient to complete the healing.

We now present the interview in which Katiwa ga Ghuda (1996) explains in some detail the potential circumstances of his demonstration. The account is partly re-edited because it was written down from memory immediately after the visit. In our notes he is sometimes referred to as Katiwa ga Ghuda and sometimes as the diviner:

We asked how many slices he put into the water and he told us to count. We counted twenty slices and he said that was the correct number. When we asked whether there was a different number in the past, he answered that this was always twenty.

Next, we asked what he meant by putting the sticks around the calabash. He explained that the sticks round the calabash represented the different sorts of problems he suspected, and explained: You ask the diviner to find the true source of a problem among the three sticks. The number of sticks depends on the number of suspected sources of problems. The way the *vavanza* slices fall into the water and float around showed the source of the problem. Only he knows which of the sticks are linked to which problem. He scoops the slices up in his hand and throws them back into the calabash of water as many times as is needed for him to see the source of the problem.

The diviner was asked what he did to find out whether someone was sick or a victim of sorcery. He said that once he had identified the source/person responsible he then used the leaves of the *wulinge* tree to bring back the spirit that had been taken away by the sorcerer. He performed some physical movements whilst waving the leaves, moving back and forth, to and from, as if to catch the spirit [see Plate 62g]. He then plunged the leaves into the calabash of water and lifted them again and placed them on the sternum of the victim, then over his forehead. John added that from his own experience in childhood, sliced *mandatha* was rubbed around the sternum as if to bring about a change of heart, then the water was given three times to drink.

Plate 62g: The diviner waves the *wulinge* leaves



When the diviner was asked how he would know when he had found the spirit (*sdukwe*) of the victim, he replied that he would know from his own spirit of divination (*gwazgafte*).⁵ Then he would get hold of that spirit by putting them [the *wulinge* leaves] in the water. The sound of the leaves was very specific and intense and sounded like heavy breathing or the sound of flapping bird wings.

The diviner explained that it would not be possible to administer such treatment to his own family and that he would need to ask the help of another diviner who was not a member of his family. He further pointed out that he alone was able to identify the constellation of the *mandatha* slices, and no one else.

He said that he learned his art from his forefathers. He himself was the only son and said that he had enjoyed watching his father practising divination. When his father was divining some people were healed but others were not healed and died.

When asked about sacrifices to [the mountain shrine] Durghwe, he replied that people should first consult the diviner before carrying out any

⁵ In Chapter 3.15 about ideas around existential personhood, we presented the discussion of why Katiwa first used the word *shatane* (meaning shaitan for evil spirit as part of the Islamic belief system, presumably historically a result of the long term pre-colonial Wandala influence) as a substitute for *gwazgafte*. We were able to establish that he only used it when speaking to us (which included John as a Christian), while he would have used *gwazgafte* with his fellow Tradionalists.

sacrifices to Durghwe. When asked if there was a specific diviner to consult about a sacrifice to Durghwe he said that they could go to any diviner.

We notice that Katiwa used the word *gwazgafte* for God when referring to his own divining spirit, and considering that he was talking about his healer spirit, we infer that he might have been indirectly referring to a personalised version of divinity. This of course is only an assumption, but taking into account that a person was seen as having a personal god who would always experience things shortly before the living person experienced them, it is suggested. The connection between the human spirit (*sdukwe*) and its divine counterpart (*gwazgafte*) could therefore be interpreted as a representation of what the diviner read from the twenty *mandatha* slices floating in water, which made his *gwazgafte* or personal god talk to him. This is only an informed suggestion and we do not know why Katiwa might have thought that twenty slices were the correct number for successfully communicating with divinity.

We also asked Katiwa which of the various divination methods listed was the best, and he said that any method would do. We think this is a very practical statement, confirming that belief in divination was the key and not so much the method of divining. We know however that divining with sliced *mandatha* pieces was the most common way of divination, which is perhaps not surprising considering how many different ritual varieties of *Cissus quadrangularis* the Dagha peacemakers owned in the past, to manage all sorts of communal conflict situations. Many of them were linked to feelings related to competition, which also throws light on the ritual density that *Cissus quadrangularis* represented.

Katiwa using the leaves of the *wulinge* tree to catch a lost spirit is interesting since it reminds us of the talking divination (*kula kula*) which used hollow branches of the same tree by moving them around in water. That the leaves when waved around were heard to be making a noise like heavy breathing or the flapping wings of birds could well be interpreted as a form of language. The demonstration also shows how the patient is receptive to Katiwa's treatment by holding his heart while receiving back his lost spirit. We remember that the *wulinge* tree grows best near the groundwater on the summit area of the Durghwe mountain shrine which was earlier referred to as the 'house of twins'.

Katiwa also referred to the sacrifice at Durghwe, and said that any diviner could be used for that. We doubt that this was always the case, but perhaps it depended on the occasion or the kind of demand being made of Durghwe. For example, during the annual harvest festival (*thagla*), divination had to be carried out before the throwing of intestines onto the pillars of Durghwe which represented cosmological granaries, but we doubt whether just any diviner could perform it. Unfortunately we cannot know because the *thagla* festival had already disappeared a couple of decades or longer before I started to visit Dghwede from the mid-1990s.

We think that any formal divination, especially when the larger community was involved, was a greater official ritual event, whereas divinations in relation to issues of individual families were most likely of a more private nature. Still, regardless of whether divination was carried out publicly or privately, it led to some form of decision making in which the diviner rather than lineage elders played the crucial role. In more formal circumstances however a lineage majority (*gadghale*) might have recommended a course of action before a diviner became involved, and their particular decision-making power came from their divine political entitlement as the most numerous local group. However, divination as a tool for communal decision making needed gifted individuals with an ability to bring about an advisory result. When things went wrong a Dagha peacemaker or Gaske rainmaker could be blamed, but a Dagha diviner was reportedly never blamed, at least not for divination leading to an accused sorcerer proclaiming their innocence. It also seems that many decisions diviners had to make, regardless of whether for a communal or a more private purpose, were often about determining the actual ritual procedure rather than the purpose of that procedure. In that sense, divination must surely have been an intergrated part of the egalitarian religious belief

system once practised by the Dghwede, and the equal position of the diviners as gifted members of the local community, even if as individuals they belonged to specialist lineages, in our opinion underpins this conclusion.

With regard to the description of Katiwa ga Ghuda's demonstration of bringing back a lost spirit, we will now briefly discuss Ekkehard Wolff's description of a similar procedure to cure a condition he refers to as an 'illness' of 'loosing one's soul' (1994:80ff). Wolff translates the Lamang word *sənuku* as soul, but considering that the similar-sounding Dghwede word *sdukwē* means 'shadow' we suggest that it could perhaps better be translated as spirit. Wolff also speaks of a Dagha healer who uses *wulinge* leaves and cuttings of *Cissus quadrangularis*, but wrongly identifies the latter as euphorbia. We are sure that he is describing what we have identified as *vavanz mandatha*, meaning a floating variety of ritual *Cissus quadrangularis*, which according to Wolff (ibid) the Dagha healer places into a calabash which he then fills with water, to perform the following ritual healing action after the sufferer has agreed to sacrifice a goat at a particular location:

Then he sprinkles the water over the person whose soul has been taken away. After a while, he takes the things which he has gathered in that calabash and walks to (a place) distant from the compound. He takes the *wulaliŋ* [*wulinge*] leaves out of the water, fans with them like someone who fans into the flames of fire... When he has fanned forcefully, he becomes giddy and rests – he does that twice. The third time, he puts back the leaves into the calabash with force like having caught something. Then he comes back to the house with those things. While he is coming back, he keeps pressing the leaves under water... he [then] places the leaves directly over the heart of the person whose soul has been taken away... He takes out one slice of the euphorbia [*Cissus quadrangularis*], and puts it onto the forehead, and one again directly over the heart of the one whose soul has been taken away. He places euphorbia slices also (one) on each finger. He then massages the heart from left to right. He then rubs the euphorbia all over the shoulder and the forehead and the toes. The water in the calabash, he pours onto the toes. He turns the calabash upside down: "Sit on it!" he tells him, and he sits on it. Three times he sits on it, three times he gets down from it. "Your life has come back", he tells him. If the person is of "female birth order", four axes and four slices of euphorbia, if he is of "male birth order", three axes and three slices of euphorbia are put on the bottom of the calabash together with the leaves which were in it. He places it under the bed of the one whose soul had been taken away. After three days, water is poured into the calabash, and the person whose soul had been taken away drinks it. The coming back of his soul is finished.

Wolff points next out that a healer would know that someone's soul/sprit has been taken as the person's body would have become sick in a particular way, and they would look pale and unwell. He further says that if it is a male person, the 'body of the male does not rise', and then explains that this meant that the 'penis does not erect'. This interpretation is obviously a reference to erectile dysfunction as a principal symptom of someone suffering from lost spirit syndrome, and we will use Wolff's insight to emphasise the possible implications of this as part of what we know about the importance of the reproductive ability of a successful husband and father of a Dghwede family. Considering that lost spirit syndrome is a synonym for erectile dysfunction, and as it is seen to be the result of sorcery or witchcraft, it is possibly not too far fetched to view it as a psychosomatic illness, especially if we take into account how important family expansion was for the identity and wellbeing of a husband and father in his role as egalitarian protector and promoter of socio-economic reproduction. There was quite some competition, not only inside families but across local group organisation, which promoted individual success over seniority beyond the family level. That males were seen as the most powerful sorcerers who were able to entrap another man's spirit could be seen as the downside of social competition, and interpreted as the negative aspect of divinity which existed at its very root.

We have already hinted that the predictive algorithms a Dagha diviner applied could perhaps be linked with the system of symbolic classification used by the Dghwede, and we also said we would use Mafa sources about ritual counting to illustrate the importance of symbolic classification in relation to the reproductive luck of male and female interaction. Wolff's account refers to four slices of floating *Cissus quadrangularis* to a person of 'female birth

order', and three slices to a person of 'male birth order', but does not adequately explain what is meant by this. We can therefore only speculate that it refers to whether the first child born to a person's father was a boy or a girl, since this was an important issue, not only with respect to symbolic classification but also to a man's good fortune in having a son who was the first child born to him by his first wife.

We will explore this further in the next chapter where we will also discuss issues of symbolic classification, but here we want to raise the critical question of whether Wolff mistakenly reversed the number four being allocated to the female and the number three to the male birth order. The reason we suggest this is that the Mafa of the Gouzda area considered number four as male and number three female, because they argued that it was not possible for a female to have a higher cardinal number than a boy as part of their birth order. They added a silent one to the number two for a girl as firstborn child and to the number three for a firstborn boy, because they wanted the reproductive doubling inherent in number four to be symbolically allocated to a boy as the more desirable firstborn child. Regardless of whether the same logic applied to Wolff's interpretation of the numbers four for female and three for male, it remains that gender and birth order were very important in terms of symbolic classification. The same applied to the meanings of left to right, as we know from our discussion of the left side of the foyer area, seen as a representation of the female/male symbolism as part of Dghwedè architecture. Looking at the importance of the different numbers, and the left and right aspects of the ritual treatment to bring back a kidnapped spirit as a possible cure for erectile dysfunction, suggests that Dagha diviners might well have applied similar gender-orientated algorithms to treat such an illness.

Conclusion

In this chapter we showed two ways of decision making in Dghwedè. The first was an important element of social organisation which had also been used during colonial times to promote self governance in the Gwoza hills, while the second was about divining as a specific form of decision making and as a tool closely related to prescribing ritual procedures. We then concluded that in late pre-colonial times the concept of majority was not based on any form of traditional chieftaincy across Dghwedè, but was an expression of the belief that a lineage majority held the blessing of successful collective socio-economic reproduction. We know from previous chapters that successful social group expansion led to conflict, at the root of which was the issue of local group formation linked to lineal descent. This process was ritually legalised by a succession of earth priests who were representatives of a system of ancestor-centred seventh-born lineages, rather than lineages represented by patrilineal seniority. On a more ego-centred level of lineal descent, the seventh born (*thaghaya*) as family *thaghaya* inherited the house, infields, trees and other assets across five or more generations, while the firstborn and other brothers had to forge a new start nearby or even further away. This could lead to infighting between patrilineal 'brothers', and new lineage majorities eventually emerged to replace the previous ones.

At the root of this situation of localised lineage expansion was the labour-intensive system of terrace cultivation, where much dung had to be produced by the mixed farming system to maintain soil fertility over many generations. As a result the egalitarian social organisation of Dghwedè society required a high ritual density, in which not only lineage expansion and local group formation was embedded but also marital exchange across exogamous descent groups. We showed how sophisticated and developed the pre-colonial system of community relations was in the description of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*), but even the best organised egalitarian system would presumably have ceased working if important cultural base elements were removed or changed by colonial influences and planned interventions.

Unfortunately British indirect rule made several such interventions that severely jeopardized the self-regulatory course of indigenous management of unity and peace in the hills. One was the promotion and force of downhill migration via the attempt to introduce a system of

colonial self governance after changing the late pre-colonial system of egalitarian lineage majorities into a system of administrative pseudo-chiefs. As a result the British district officers became increasingly frustrated and developed more and more prejudices about the alleged backwardness of the hill populations. In reality it was the emerging Islamic elite in Gwoza and Bama who had the upper hand, and they manipulated the situation to their advantage. This led in 1953 to the killing of lawan Buba in Ghwa'a, in which one of the main administrative representatives of Ghwa'a, bulama Fulata, was also almost killed by two lineage brothers. Still, this did not stop district officer Reynolds describing bulama Fulata as the representative of an underlying chiefly system, in order to justify the British failure of indirect rule of the Dghwedé montagnards, which led to decades of their marginalisation from Gwoza town, especially in the case of Ghwa'a. Having read through district officer Reynolds' report of the mid-1950s, he appears in his analysis of the social structure of the Gwoza hills to have relied particularly strongly on a descriptive narrative derived from lineage theory for his suggestions for better indirect rule. We remember that the Gwoza hills had already been declared an Unsettled District in the 1920s.

In the second chapter section we described another dimension of Dghwedé egalitarian social organisation, by showing how divination played a role as an expression of ideas around the concept of divinity as part of existential personhood. In the context of this, it was the individual diviner, either as a member of a specialist lineage group or as a specially gifted individual, who brought the spirits of individuals who had fallen victim to sorcery attacks back into their physical bodies. Thanks to Wolff's documentation of a very similar ritual treatment from the Lamang of Hambagda, it was possible to connect a spirit that had been taken and brought back into the body with a cure for erectile dysfunction. We further showed not only how the Dghwedé belief system was put into motion here, but also how ritually-charged plants of the local environment, such as the slices of a variety of *Cissus quadrangularis* or the leaves of the *wulinge* tree, played roles as tools of divination and spirit rescue. We pointed out that unlike the concept of majority, divination required a special human talent made available for private and public use. In the light of this, we showed that public divination was possibly carried out as part of larger ceremonies and with greater public attention, while personal divination was perhaps more to do with diagnostic health issues or the monitoring of expected bad luck within families.

Again we realise that the house as a place of worship was where such individual and household-oriented divination was carried out. The architecture of a traditional house provided an ideal scenario for a variety of ritual performances, regardless of whether they were to do with the worship of the immediate paternal family ancestors, marriage ceremonies or bringing in the harvest. It seems that it was the father of the house who was seen to be most at risk of losing his spiritual health, often because he did not follow the calendrical ritual order needed for successful terrace farming. Therefore his spirit required special protection by his personal god pot standing on a fork of a branch above his bed. His children also had personal spirit pots, while his wives were protected through him. It was a huge responsibility for a father of a house to take care of his family on a regular basis. The spiritual dominance of a married man was not only reflected in cosmological views regarding the workings of divinity, but also resulted in the view that male sorcerers were considered more dangerous than female witches. We like to conclude that this view was also a reflection of the competitiveness and ongoing issues of environmental uncertainties with which the pre-colonial Dghwedé were regularly confronted, as the traditional inhabitants of the semi-arid Gwoza hills to which they geographically belonged.

In the next chapter we will concentrate on aspects of symbolic classification and the classification of living and non-living things. For the former we will try to show how the high ritual density of Dghwedé montagnard culture can be perceived to be reflected in a certain symbolic pattern often presented as pairs, such as odd and even numbers, left and right, the numbers two and three for female and male, and the numbers seven and eight for good and bad luck. We will hypothesise that the ritual importance of symbolic classification was a way

of monitoring and controlling environmental vulnerability, but unfortunately we have no specific oral data to connect divination techniques with their preferred pattern of symbolic classification.

Chapter 3.22

On symbolic classification and the classification of things

Introduction

Throughout Part Three we referred to various aspects of symbolic classification¹, such as the seventh-born son as a symbol of good luck in contrast to the eighth-born child who in the past fell victim to infanticide to keep all previous sons and daughters alive. The allocation of the number two to a firstborn girl and the number three to a firstborn boy was also important, but in terms of ritual counting there was not the same complexity as I came across among the Mafa of Gouzda. Like the Dghwedè, the Mafa also applied number two to a firstborn girl and number three to a firstborn boy, but then reversed odd and even numbers in terms of ritual counting. As a result, number three represented the female and number four represented the male. We will use the Mafa example to show how the reproductive capacity of females was brought under the ritual control of males by the addition of an invisible number one as a representation of divinity to the original numbers two and three for firstborn girls and boys.

We will try to compare the Mafa approach with the Dghwedè belief in the rebirth of twins, and their ideas around cosmological pairing as an aspect of ancestral descent from twin brothers or full-brothers of the same parents, as in the example of the rainmaker and cornblessor lineages. We will also refer to the cosmological belief in both cultures that divinity as a singularity was not reproductive and that it needed pairing. We will refer to the ritual gender aspect manifested in the architecture of the house, and contextualise the mirror image of the next world where remembered family ancestors used the left hand rather than the right hand to receive the sacrificial food passed on to them by their successors in this world. In the context of this, we will re-examine the symbolic meaning of why a son used his left hand to eat for the first time after the divination for his deceased father, and why if a wife slapped her husband with her left hand it would create the fear in him that he might die.

The second chapter section explores other examples of Dghwedè classification, by analysing our few notes on the classification of living and non-living things, and we will also present what we know about Dghwedè colour classification. In the first part of section two we will show how the Dghwedè used the prefix *dg/dæg* or *dag/dug* to refer to living and non-living things, and that this prefix meant 'thing' or 'something'. While doing this we need to keep in mind that both living and non-living things implied spirithood, and that there was a strong transformational aspect between people and their natural environment. At the same time we will point out that the Dghwedè approach of classifying living and non-living things had a very practical socio-economic dimension, such as whether or not things served as food. Firstly they differentiated between 'wild animals of the bushland' (*dgsiye*) and domestic animals, and then used sub-classes for other non-domestic 'things' depending on their environmental links, and referred to them as 'things of the water' or 'things between the rocks'. They differentiated further living things of the bush as 'flying things', under which they categorised birds and insects, although in the latter case only insects that could fly. In that sense butterflies would have been classified together with birds in Dghwedè of the past.

With regard to colour classification, we will see that the Dghwedè seemed to have no specific names for colours, but used a variety of colour terms which appear more like shades of colours. We will produce a list of such colour shades with the various often descriptive names that the Dghwedè used to identify to which range of colour a specific shade belonged. This

¹ The term was originally coined by Needham, as explained by Gregory Forth (2010). Needham mainly applied numerical classifications from a dualistic perspective, but Forth also points to more complex numerical schemes. We use the term 'symbolic classification' in the wider sense here as recommended by Forth, by specifically comparing Mafa ritual counting with the Dghwedè belief in the good luck of a seventh-born son and the bad luck once represented by an eighth-born child.

might go across different colours, such as shades of brown, red, blue or green, in the context of which darker and lighter shades appeared in classification terms more important than the actual colour. Unfortunately our presentation is rather limited, but we will still be able to show what some of the basic principles of Dghwedè colour classification might once have been.

On Dghwedè symbolic classification and Mafa ritual counting

Before showing examples of what we know about Dghwedè symbolic classification, we will briefly summarise one particular aspect of symbolic classification among the Mafa of the area of Gouzda, to which I refer as 'ritual counting'. Depending on whether the first child of the father of the bridegroom was a son or a daughter, the wedding night would take place during either a waxing moon or a full moon, because the Mafa considered a waxing moon to be male and a full moon female. Early in the morning after the consummation of the marriage the following ceremony took place, which reminds us of parts of the Dghwedè marriage ceremony described in Chapter 3.20 where a married woman dipped the bride's and groom's hands into the food prepared for them (Muller-Kosack 2003:140ff):

With the sound of the first cockerel just before dawn the best woman arrives with a meal and takes both their hands and puts them into the *gandaf* (eating bowl). Next, she will ask the bridegroom whether his oldest sibling is male or female by saying: "How many hands has your father?" If the groom answers two she would know it is female, whereas three hands would mean that it is male. Depending on whether the firstborn child of his father was a boy or a girl, the best woman would dip both of the left or the right hands of the bride and bridegroom two or three times in the *gandaf*.

As we already know, the Mafa of the Gouzda area practised a method of ritual counting in which an invisible number one was added to the numbers for girls and boys. A girl appeared as an even number, meaning *riy cew* (two hands), but with the added number one this resulted in three (odd). In the case of a boy, the Mafa said *riy makar* (three hands), which with the invisible number one resulted in four (even). This was because despite number two being officially allocated to a firstborn girl and three to a firstborn boy of the father of the groom, my male Mafa friends claimed that in reality odd numbers were for females and even numbers were for males (ibid). The contradiction was then explained by saying that they silently added a number one to both, so this would make number two for a firstborn girl into three which was odd, while number three for a firstborn boy became four which was even. It was pointed out that the reason for this way of thinking was that females moved home when they married, as discussed in Chapter 3.20 about the importance of marriage alliances for successful family reproduction. When I asked why they did not reverse it and make number two masculine and number three feminine when doing the ritual counting, I was told that this would not be acceptable since men were superior to women and a male needed to be ritually represented by a higher cardinal number.²

One explanation of the Mafa was that the hidden added number one was like the dark moon which could last up to three days, and that the third day was like the invisibility of divinity before the new moon occurred again. The Dghwedè referred to the third day of the dark moon as 'Dagha moon' (see Table 5e), claiming they could already see the new moon at that time. With regard to the symbolic classification of left and right, my Mafa friends used the example of the left and right hand by explaining that a woman was like 'the right hand' of a man and this was the reason why a wife would support her left hand with her right hand when she handed the eating bowl to her husband. If she handed over water or beer she used the right hand and supported it with her left hand, while the husband received food using his right hand

² We remember Ekkehard Wolff's (1994) example of number three for a firstborn boy and number four for a firstborn girl as part of bringing back an abducted spirit among the Lamang of Hambagda, which reportedly included symptoms of erectile dysfunction (Chapter 3.21). The reason for thinking Wolff had mistakenly reversed the numbers was because our Mafa friends believed that males could not accept a lower cardinal number than females when it came to cosmological counting.

and received beer or water with his left hand but did not support it with the other hand. In turn, a husband would hand beer or water to a woman with his left hand. If a man of lesser ritual importance handed sacrificial beer to someone of higher ritual importance he used his right hand, and the one who received it would libate the beer using his left hand.³

Unfortunately we were unable to identify any equivalent complicated ritual reversals concerning odd and even or left and right among the Dghwedë, but we do remember that the ritual beer kitchen of the first wife was on the left side of a house, which was the side where the male ritual sauce kitchen and 'the stomach of the house shrine' were located. Equally, the granary of the first wife was adjacent to the ritual sauce kitchen where an exogamous lineage brother cooked a ritual sauce for a deceased grandfather of the father of the house. We also remember the image of descent from the same matrilineal 'kitchen' (*kudige*) as a metaphor for lineage splitting and local group formation, and how it was used in a similar way to the image of twins, an even more powerful symbol of communal reproduction.

We illustrated this way of thinking as an image of cosmological pairing manifested in the narrative about the ancestral descent of the rainmaker and cornblesser lineages who were from the same 'kitchen'. We also described the belief that there were seven worlds above and below this world, and that the next world was a mirror image of this world where things happened in reverse. The celestial world above was seen as the home of divinity where events took shape before they happened in this world, as represented by personal gods who were the children of divinity. If a personal god died or had no children, the same would happen to the person such a god represented. Divination was the means of finding out what was happening in the worlds 'above' and 'below' this world, and what demands ancestors or divinity might be making and how they could be satisfied by ritual and sacrificial means.

Unfortunately we only carried out one specific and rather short interview about aspects of symbolic classification in Dghwedë, which was with dada 'Dga in August 2001. We will present it before going on to discuss questions arising from that interview, and from other direct or indirect references to the subject of Dghwedë symbolic classification:

If a man has a boy born to him after several girls, he will give that boy the name Dawa, meaning 'only boy among girls'. When a girl is born to a man she will be referred to as *davadha'a*, meaning your left hand (*dava* = hand; *dha'a* = clumsy, awkward) because she will leave your house. When a boy is born, he will be referred to as *dava wuskife* (*wushkife* = right; lit. 'eating food'), meaning your right hand.

There is not much ritual use of the left hand during ceremonies, only the right hand. The left hand is only used after the divination following the death of your father (*ghar ndughwa*) and when you eat for the first time after that divination, but you will libate beer over the ancestor stone of your deceased father with only your right hand. The reason the first food is eaten with the left hand is the belief that the father also eats with his left hand in the next world.

A woman always hands food with her right hand. Using her left hand would imply that she wants you to die. The man uses any hand he wants to receive the food from his wife, however the best way is if a man receives food with both hands. If a woman uses the left this is called *vungka vunga*, which means that somebody is wishing you to die or wishes you bad luck. For example, if a woman slaps you with her left hand this means that she wants you to die, but this applies only to a wife who slaps her husband. The right hand is used by men for shooting or fighting while the left hand is for defence, but you can also fight with the left hand.

There does not seem to be anything in a Dghwedë ritual which points to the importance of even or odd numbers, however the Dghwedë like to give more than one item as a gift.

³ Here we do not want to go into the Mafa concepts of *bay* and *biy gwala*, which respectively mean 'strong' and 'follower of the strong', but in a previous chapter we already mentioned the *kr-biy*, meaning 'children of the strong' in the sense of chieftaincy by number. The concept transcended Mafa ritual culture, and when ritual beer was distributed within the family represented by the 'bay', the more senior members of the extended family and the *biy gwala* were seen as representatives of the 'follower of the strong'. The same was repeated on the ancestor-centred level of patrilineal descent (see Muller-Kosack 2003:62).

We notice that dada Dga referred to the fact that a girl was symbolically considered to be her father's 'left hand' because she would leave the house, which is reminiscent of the Mafa idea that a woman's reproductive capacity would be lost from the patrilineage of her father and was changed from even to odd in terms of ritual number symbolism. This fits the picture we have already discussed, namely that lineages which could intermarry exchanged daughters in order to successfully reproduce. This led to the ever-widening network of kinship that we generally refer to as kindred, which was facilitated by referring not only to ego's father's siblings children but also to their mother's sisters sons or daughters, as male or female siblings. In addition, ego's mother's father and ego's mother's brother's sons were referred to as 'grandfather' (*jije*), and not only the male relatives of the patriline of ego's father. We see this use of the same term across several generations of patrilineal and matrilineal kin connections as a very general way of classifying direct and collateral relatives. I like to consider this inclusive way of referring to relatives across the bilateral divide as a consequence of long-standing marriage alliances, bringing about such social relationship networks across Dghwedè.

It was not only the oral history of lineal and patrilocal descent which had set the agenda for how the reproductive capacity of women was managed, but there were also cosmological implications which had presumably led our Mafa friends to allocate a higher even number to a firstborn boy. We can only speculate that the underlying reason was that even numbers represented doubling because they could be divided, while odd numbers could not. An indirect reference to this can be found in dada Dga's hint that the Dghwedè liked to give more than one item as a gift. We remember the doubling of gifts given by neighbours when twins were reborn, and that they always had to be equalised so as not to annoy the twins. There was a strong desire to balance things out, and perhaps we can make a reference to redistribution in equal measures here, and consider it as a socio-economic symbol in which success was embedded in a network of expanding kindred connections. Individual success was also embedded in this, and we remember the importance of the redistribution of food during the four stages of adult initiation. In the context of this, the ritual demonstration of fortitude was key, represented by the participants of the later stage of adult initiation presenting themselves as warriors while the senior rainmaker planted his spear in the ritual dunghole (Chapter 3.14).

We think that the warrior-like attribute of male fortitude reflects the tough collective experience of terrace farmers in the semi-arid Gwoza hills, presumably going back to long before the formation of Dghwedè. One feature of their shared belief system was that they saw divinity as an unpredictable agent that could nevertheless be influenced by symbolic ritual action. While odd and even numbers did not seem to play an obvious role in Dghwedè ritual culture as far as dada Dga was concerned, we have many examples where the number three was considered male and the number two female. That the Mafa of the Gouzda area did the same but added a silent number one could be seen as a variation of this type of symbolic interaction with divinity in order to ritually manage the reproductive capacity of women. For example, that the birth of a boy was referred to by a Dghwedè father as his 'right hand' and that the word for 'right' also meant 'to eat food' underpins our interpretation that successful food production contained a socio-economic and a cosmological dimension.

We remember that God as a personified divinity also had a wife and children, and the personal gods who were guardian spirits of human fathers and their children were seen as the children of divinity. We remember that bulama Ngatha had a personal god or spirit pot transformed from a three-legged cooking pot in which he had prepared a ritual sauce for his neighbour when his neighbour's first wife had been seven months into her first pregnancy. We can only speculate as to whether the pot had three legs because it represented the wish of the owner to eventually have a seventh-born son. What we do know is that the Dghwedè were aware that the foetus took on recognisable human form seven months after conception, and they had the firm belief that without the intervention of divinity, sexual intercourse alone would not have created a new human being (Chapter 3.19).

It is perhaps too far fetched to infer that the Dghwedè view of the reproductive doubling of twins as a symbol of community reincarnation was similar to the number four the Mafa achieved by adding an invisible number one to number three for a boy in the context of ordinary births. In the Mafa case, the concept that the ritual number four for a boy added to the ritual number three for a girl would have made the lucky number seven for a desirable seventh-born son would have followed. We know however that the Mafa did not have a system of seventh-born sons as the Dghwedè did, but applied a different method of allocating ritual responsibilities. It would be straying too far from the path to discuss the Mafa method of ritual reproduction and how it related to their system of local group formation, but regarding the importance of gender-related thinking we can see it as a variation on the theme of the symbolic classification of their Dghwedè neighbours.

If we therefore hypothetically remain with the image of three plus four as a lucky symbolic combination of ritual counting for successful male control over reproduction, and view the number eight in the context of that, four plus four could be seen as a very unlucky result. In both montagnard cultures, the rule was odd and even numbers for a boy and a girl, or the reverse of that, and any doubling of numbers would not have led to a lucky number seven, but only to a four, a six or an eight, which might in that sense have symbolised misfortune. Whether this can be interpreted in terms of symbolic classification as a reason why eighth-born children once were cast out or fell victim to infanticide unless they were twins or a child born after twins, must remain unanswered.

Finally we want to refer back to what dada Dga said about the left hand, not only concerning how it represented the way ancestors consumed their food in the next world, but also how it would lead to the death of the husband if his wife slapped him with her left hand. We infer that if he was slapped by his first wife his death would even be more guaranteed. We can only speculate that it was an indirect admission that a husband could not achieve anything without a wife. His fear of being slapped by his wife with her left hand can be seen to symbolise the fear of neglecting his ritual responsibilities as a husband and owner of a house. He knew that he used his left or female hand to eat his first meal after the divination following the death of his father, and being slapped that in way by his wife sounds very negative indeed.

After all, Dghwedè ritual culture was all about the struggle for survival, and male ritual control over successful socio-economic reproduction was a fundamental aspect of their heritage. The ritual responsibilities of men included the spiritual protection of their wives who had no spirit pots of their own. This system was not only rooted in social organisation, but also in religion, and in that way was seen as a social fact passed on to them by their family ancestors and by divinity represented by their personal gods and house gods. Not treating a wife with respect when faced with a crisis would not only have meant a disregard for the role of the wife, but also a disrespect for the belief system as an integrated part of the local sense of belonging which was crucial to male identity. This was even more important in the face of a food crisis, which might be the underlying reason why a woman would slap her husband with her left hand.

The classification of living and non-living things and shades of colours

In this section we will present our knowledge about how the Dghwedè classified living and non-living things, but we have to admit that our oral data about this are not at all systematic. We referred to the classification of stones at the beginning of Chapter 3.12, by pointing out that our local protagonists generally distinguished between hard stones and rocks, and stones that were not hard, and that they singled out hard white stones which we think might have been quartz. The Dghwedè used a similar principle of classifying soft and hard things when distinguishing between liquid and solid food. We also explained how liquid and solid was also a distinction in their theory of conception, and the same distinction reappeared in the use of liquid sauce and solid food in marriage rituals.

Besides this, in Chapter 3.10 we presented the way soils were classified, but only found one version of soil which was explicitly described as soft, while all the other soils were classified as mixtures, such as whether they had a high content of sand, clay or eroded rock. We remember that the Dghwedè considered no soils to be fertile on their own, but that it depended on the regular application of animal manure. This made dung and water key elements in the promotion of fecundity, symbolised by 'blessings from above' (rain) and 'below' (dung), but the Dghwedè also distinguished between cultivated and uncultivated land and referred to the most intensely-manured part of their settlements as *khudì luwa*, meaning 'the stomach of settlement', the most agriculturally active part of a hillside.

All farm animals were classified as *dgahtha* or *lmana*, and according to John there was no difference in the meaning of the two words. We do not know the literal meaning of *lmana* but recognise the prefix *dg* and the postfix *tha* in the word *dgahtha*, therefore we are tempted to translate *dgahtha* as 'a living thing like cattle'. We also find the same prefix in the word *dgsiye* for the general classification of 'living things of the bush', and know from Chapter 3.10 (Figure 17) that *siye* was a reference to bushland. This confirms that the mixed farming system had most likely inspired the differentiation between farm animals and wild animals of the bush. In both cases the prefix *dg* meant 'a thing' or 'something' and was used to refer to living and non-living things. The latter is expressed in the word *dgngara* which was the general word for a pot, while *dgðala* is the general word for a sauce with 'something' (*dg*) in it.

We find the prefix *dg* (or *dæg*) and the similar version which meant the same, which we have decided to transcribe as *dug* or *dag*. For example *dug* was used to classify crops in a general way as *dugwaya*. The word *waya* literally meant hunger, suggesting that *dugwaya* meant 'something to satisfy hunger', but it was not a general reference to all food that would satisfy hunger, but only to crops, and we think it was a reference to crops used to prepare solid food. This was different to the general word for 'something' in a sauce (*dgðala*), which could refer not only to leaves but also to fats or bones as special ingredients, and we know that *dgðala* and *dugwaya* were considered liquid and solid forms of food.

While *ðala* was not only the word for a sauce but also the general word for leaves collected by women to make a sauce, the word *ble* was the general word for leaf. In that sense the word *ble* referred to all leaves, regardless of whether they grew on trees, shrubs or even grasses, and regardless of whether or not they could be eaten. The fact that fats and bones as well as leaves were included in the term *dgðala*, but that *ðala* was at the same time a reference to the leaves used to make sauce, is possibly because leaves were the most common ingredient of sauce. Fats and bones were mostly added when cooking sauce for rituals. The sauce *dag ðala* served in a *jahurimbe*, together with the solid food John referred to as 'wedding cake' (*jadva*), was such an example, and we remember that the bride and groom had their hands ritually dipped in both of these (see Chapter 3.20).

In terms of classifying useful plants, there were not only *dgðala* and *dugwaya* as references to things with which to make a liquid sauce, and solid food using leaves and crops, but also the fruits of trees and shrubs which our Dghwedè friends referred to as *yagtsu wufa*. While the word *yagtsu* was the general word for fruits from trees and shrubs, the word *wufa* was the general word for tree, but *wufa* also included shrubs if they produced fruits for consumption. If shrubs did not bear fruits they were referred to as *mdaga*. This shows that the main classifying aspect was not whether a plant was a tree or a shrub, but whether it produced fruit. We conclude from this that the Dghwedè considered leaves, fruits and crops as basic items of food production, and this was at the root of how they classified useful plants.

The above presentation is far from being complete, but hopefully it serves to show the main underlying principles of the Dghwedè way of classifying living and non-living things into relevant categories. Next we will show some examples of sub-categories of wild animals, referred to above by the general word *dgsiye*, meaning 'living things of the bush'. We first need to acknowledge that the term *dgsiye* did not include insects, mice and rats, which were

classified separately. In the context of this, insects were classified together with birds under the general term *dgndala*, as in wild animals that could fly. However, this only included insects that could fly, while termites were called *trara*. Termites were not *dgsiye*, and John pointed out that insects that could not fly were called by their individual names.

Also, mice and rats were not classified under *dgsiye* (animals of the bush) because they lived in the bush and also in the house, and like insects that could not fly they were called by their individual names. With regard to birds (*dgndala*), meaning 'things that can fly' and which included insects, only birds that could not be eaten were classified as *dgndala*. Like birds, snakes were not classified as *dgsiye*, and neither were animals living in the water (*dgyuwe*). The following list provides us with examples of wild animals which were not considered as *dgsiye* (wild animals of the bush):

- *dgvughe* = snakes: 'things which crawl'
- *dgndala* = birds and insects (only those who can fly): 'things which fly'
- *dgyuwe* = water animals: 'things in the water'
- *dgkalkwa* = animals or 'things' between or in rocks, including caves
- *dgthile* = wild animals of the plains (cultivated and bush but not settlements)

We notice that *dgsiye* as general term for 'animals of the bush' explicitly applied to wild animals of the mountains, and only seemed to refer to those literally living on the surface of the land in the bush areas (*susiye*). We can only speculate whether this had to do with *siye* (bushland) potentially becoming cultivated land (see Figure 17 in Chapter 3.10). Aside from *dgndala* (birds and insects that could fly but could not be eaten), the Dghwedë categorised animals of the bushland which could not be eaten under the general term *dgsiye*. We should remember here that many farm animals (*dgahtha*) were out grazing across mountainous bushland areas (*susiye*) during the dry season.

Below is a list of examples of *dgsiye* which could not be eaten:

- *bungwe* = leopard
- *bangagave* = hyena
- *balinga* or *ghandawa lusa* = monkey or 'ash coloured monkey'
- *ghdisiye* = jackal 'dog of the bush'

There were certain avoidance rules linked to hyena and monkeys in relation to cultivated bushland. For example, if someone found the skull of a hyena, or even killed a hyena on his bushland, it was believed that the land would not produce. The affected farmer would have to ask a member of either the cornblessor (Gashiwe) or rainmaker (Gaske) lineage to bless his bushland before he could carry on farming it. If one was confronted with monkeys while farming in the bush, one was not allowed to come into physical contact with them. If someone had contact with monkeys it was believed that the harvest from that field could not enter the house. If someone killed a monkey he would have to sleep in the house of the cornblessor that night. However monkeys were not commonly killed.

Jackals were not very common in the hills, but leopards were considered very powerful, and we remember that the Dagha peacemaker lineage had a special relationship with leopards, and particularly talented members were known to be able to transform into leopards. They owned a ritual type of *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz bungwe* which allowed them to control leopards. This ability was reflected in one of their mythological accounts, where Bas Mogula, son of Thigida and an important ancestor of the Dagha peacemaker lineage of Ghwa'a, had transformed into a leopard in his father's house, and he had already begun to show this special talent as a child (see Chapter 3.7). Due to its complexity and central importance in Dghwedë culture, we will present the ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis* separately in Chapter 3.23. But before moving on to that, we want to present examples of how colours were classified in Dghwedë. We will see that most colour terms were descriptive and that words referring to the cultural environment were often used.

Dghwede shades of colours

The list of shades of colours presented below is the result of my using a set of colour pencils and marking different colours on a piece of paper, then asking what colour it was. After a short discussion my friends gave me the names. As far as I understood, my friends used the word *tsarnana*, meaning 'mixture', in their colour terminology. If we consult the list below and start looking at the different shades of brown, we recognise that the darkest shade of brown falls under the colour classification of *lusa*, and that dark blue and black are also classified under *lusa*. This seems to indicate that *lusa* was not a reference to a colour but to a very dark shade of mainly blue and brown. If we consult the other shades of brown on the list, we see that they fall under two different colour names, of which two darker shades (but not as dark as *lusa* brown) were called *humbat-humate* and *yuw-r'ith-r'ithe*, and we see that the latter refers to the lightest version of brown.

If we examine the shades of red, we see that the lightest version of red, which is almost brown, is referred to as *tva-kul-kule*, while the slightly darker red/brown is called *ras-rasa*. Both shades of this lighter red/brown are described by referring to things from the Dghwede cultural environment, such as the colour similar to a funeral dress for the darker shade of red, and the colour spots of a cow for the lighter shade. If we go further down the list to the example of pink, we see that the description is even more specific, and we wonder whether they are colour classifications or descriptions based on the experience of our Dghwede friends having to classify a colour in a particular moment or circumstance.

If we look at the shades of green we see a similar descriptive pattern, such as in the case of *gavzere-gavzere*, meaning baby poo, for the lightest shade of green. If we compare shades of baby poo on the internet, we find that this kind of light green with a hint of yellow is typical for poo from breastfed babies, which was presumably the most common baby poo colour experience in Dghwede of the past. The other shades of green are *lal-lbatsu* or *bal-bale* and are described as looking like grass, while the darkest shade of green in the collection is *ra-ra'a* and compared to the colour of water plants. Perhaps we need to imagine that any plant would look darker if covered with water.

List of shades of colours in Dghwede:

• <i>humbat-humate</i>			= brown (no lit. meaning)
• <i>yuw-r'ith-r'ithe</i>			= light brown
• <i>ras-rasa</i>			= red (red dress used for funeral)
• <i>tatus-tatuse</i>			= purple (no lit. meaning)
• <i>tva-kul-kule</i>			= red (also colour spots of cow)
• <i>yuw-the-the</i>			= yellow (like watery egg yolk)
• <i>lusa</i>		 	= black, dark
• <i>ra-ra'a</i>			= green (like water plant)
• <i>lal-lbatsu</i> or <i>bal-bale</i>			= green (like grass)
• <i>gavzer-gavzere</i>			= green (like baby poo)
• <i>kwith-kwithe</i>			= blue (no lit. meaning)
• <i>kwith-kwithe-lusa</i>			= black (maybe dark blue)
• <i>the-the-matavlang-matavlanga</i>			= yellow (insect: <i>kwari</i> in Hausa)
• <i>tavzal-tavzale</i>			= pink (first pus then blood)
• <i>lusa-hupishe</i>			= lusa (white and black mixture on goat)

We also have different shades of blue, and we already mentioned the darkest shade of blue which was referred to as *lusa*, but there is still another very dark blue called *kwith-kwith-lusa*, while the three lighter shades of blue are called only *kwith-kwith*. There is also a very light grey at the bottom of the list which is called *lusa hupishe*, referring to the contrast of light and dark shades of grey typical for goats. Finally we want to look at the two versions of yellow in the list. One is referred to as *yuw-the-the*, meaning watery egg yolk, while the other is called *the-the-matavlang-matavlanga* which is a reference to the colour of a particular insect. We

see that the two variations of yellow are very similar in terms of shades of yellow, and also recognise that both descriptions contain *the-the* for egg yolk, and we like to think that 'egg yolk' is the Dghwede word for this kind of lighter shade of yellow.

Conclusion

This chapter on symbolic classification and the classification of living and non-living things including colour classification is very rudimentary and in many ways not at all conclusive. However we wanted to present the few notes available, to add another contextualising aspect to our history in fragments from the grassroots. We decided to put this chapter near the end of Part Three because we like to think that by now the reader has developed a good understanding of many of the specific complexities of the Dghwede culture.

Concerning the ways of classifying living things, we recognise a very practical approach, mainly ruled by whether or not they were useful in terms of food, such as the distinction between living things used for consumption and those that were not. We realise at the same time that consumption was not always straightforward, and the further away from the house and its infields some of the living things were, the more potential impact they could have on whether a yield was considered safe for consumption. We remember in that context the classification of wild animals of the bushland which could not be consumed. For example, if someone came across the skull of a hyena while farming his bushland, he had to ask the rainmaker to bless the land before he could bring a harvest from it into the house.

Another example was that Dagha peacemakers owned a ritual type of *Cissus quadrangularis* called *vavanz bungwe* which allowed them to control leopards, and we pointed to the role this played in their founding legend. It seems that the equivalent to this was sorcerers transforming into baboons, because John frequently told me that very powerful male sorcerers could transform into baboons, and the main evidence was always that someone he knew had seen someone naked in the bush. I was always astonished at the level of conviction relayed, in the claim that the sorcerers who had been observed that way were naked because they had been caught by surprise just as they were about to transform back into human form.

We remember, from the chapter about existential personhood, that the spirit boundary between human personhood and the personhood of living and non-living things in the familiar mountain environment was seen as transient. Powerful healers, sorcerers and other gifted individuals could transform and cross beyond human personhood. Perhaps living and non-living things classified not for general consumption were seen as more suited to the secret activity of spirit transformation pursued by sorcerers. At the other end of the scale, guinea corn as the most important and divine crop was also considered to have a personality of its own. We learned, in Chapter 3.8 about interaction with the seasons, that guinea corn had a very strong ritual identity that needed care. For example, a whole terrace field of guinea corn could magically disappear overnight if the rituals a farmer had to carry out before the harvest were not performed correctly.

Much in the Dghwede subsistence way of living was vulnerable to crisis, either from drought, epidemic or other disease, leading to the constant threat of food shortage. At the same time the labour-intensive farming system and the need to keep the terrace fields fertile required a certain population density. The relatively high population density had its reproductive roots in the extended family which resulted from successful marriage alliances. This in turn brought about conflict, not only over females but also over limited land resources which again was regulated by a fairly strict regime of ritual activities. We have attempted to describe a very complex form of egalitarian socio-economic organisation, and our reconstruction of the Dghwede way of adult initiation hopefully illustrated this. The high ritual density demonstrated by their adult initiation was based on a competitive system of wider kin connections across extended families. Long-term marriage planning between families who could intermarry was essential for the successful socio-economic future of the sons and daughters of patrilineal families.

One of the main ambitions for a future first wife of a man was to give birth to a seventh son as an expression of lucky reproduction, and in the section about symbolic classification we argued that divinity as a communal principle of pairing perhaps brought about the lucky number seven. For an example we used the way the Mafa of the Gouzda area carried out ritual counting by adding a silent number one as a representation of divinity to the numbers for a firstborn girl and a firstborn boy. Considering that divinity as a singularity was perceived in both cultures as a symbol of death, ritual pairing was a critical religious principle in managing communal survival. This was the case for example in rituals related to the birth of twins, or as described in the chapter about specialist lineages related to cosmological pairing. Our conclusions are only hypothetical however, but being based on oral sources from both cultures they are examples of subregional variation.

Concerning the above, arriving at the lucky number seven as an odd number in which a promised girl became a first wife and member of her husband's family and then a mother of a seventh-born son, needed the pairing with divinity for successful socio-economic reproduction. In our opinion the birth of twins was a demonstration of such divine pairing, and that the Dghwedé thought they were reincarnations of twins of former local parents incorporates the underlying idea of community reproduction. However, the pairing needed both sexes, which was cosmographically repeated by interaction not only with the world above where God and his wife and children lived, but also with the next world below this world where everything was believed to happen in mirror-image and in reverse. Not only did the ancestors eat with the left hand, but the sun also shone in the next world while there was night in this world. A seventh-born successor and owner of a farmstead was often spiritually guarded by the three-legged personal god pot installed above his bed while he was asleep. We realise that his spirit pot and all the other gender-related architectural manifestations of the house represented his divine responsibilities as successful landowner, husband and father.

In the next chapter we will present the ritual culture of *Cissus quadrangularis*, known in Dghwedé as *vavanza*. In Chapter 3.3 we already mentioned the significance of the Godaliy tradition of the alleged former occupants of the DGB sites. In 1934 district officer Mathews used the word 'godali' for what he translated as a 'cactus' variety used to increase the birth-rate of expanding social groups. We worked out that the word possibly originated from the Fulfulde, and that the Godaliy tradition was perhaps a late pre-colonial development. In the final chapter we will not explore how far back in history the ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis* goes, but aim to present the density and cultural richness of this most significant ritual plant, which might have been used by their adjacent Mafa neighbours from the DGB area as an ethnonym for other groups of the Gwoza hills, besides the Dghwedé.

Chapter 3.23

Ritual density and the role of *Cissus quadrangularis*

Introduction

Cissus quadrangularis is a plant of the Vitaceae or grape family which played a large medicinal and ritual role in Dghwede culture where it was generally referred to as *vavanza*. In earlier chapters we discussed whether 'Godaliy', an ethnonym their subregional Mafa neighbours reportedly used for the Dghwede, can be linked to the ritual importance of *Cissus quadrangularis* across the Gwoza hills area. In this context we quoted district officer Mathews (1934) who wrongly referred to the plant as a 'cactus' variety, and used the indigenous word 'gadali' which we identified to be most likely of Fulani origin.¹ We concluded that not only 'gadali' but also 'Godaliy' was not only a reference to *Urginea maritima* (*huba*) but also to *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) and established that both played a role in legends and mythological accounts about clan medicines. These plants appear in narratives about the promotion of local group expansion and their ritual ownership was crucial. Another important function was to increase the yield of crops, and we demonstrated the importance of *Cissus quadrangularis* in the example of the divine origin of Amuda (Figure 15a) as the main cornblesser clan on a foothill of the eastern Gwoza plain. Another strong link to *Cissus quadrangularis*, and presumably also to *Urginea maritima*, was Mutube in the Margi area of Mulgwe (Figure 4), which in oral traditions often appears as the place of origin of Dagha diviners, particularly along the western foothills of the Gwoza hills.

In Dghwede it was the Dagha peacemakers who owned most of the *Cissus quadrangularis*. Unlike the Dagha diviners they had no link to Mutube, but were integrated in the Tur tradition of the Dghwede as 'sons' of Wasa and 'brothers' of Paduka (Figure 12). The latter are related to the Podoko of the Mora hills who had presumably left the Gwoza hills during late pre-colonial times. Vaima or Baima, the first bulama of Ghwa'a, was a member of the Dagha peacemaker lineage, and in an extensive oral history account (Chapter 2.2) we described how in the mid-1920s he ritually swallowed *vavanza* in order to lead a delegation of montagnards to notify the British resident of Borno about the slavery attacks of Hamman Yaji. We also remember, as part of the oral history of southern Dghwede, how the Gudule were once considered the most numerous clan in that area, and that they took some of their reproductive clan medicine with them to Gudulyewe (Gudur). We further described how the Mughuze-Ruwa, who eventually defeated the Gudule, had received their clan medicine for successful lineage expansion from Hambagda in Hidkala, and we mentioned the legendary horn (*drawa*) in which it was kept in Korana. In that context we established the significant role of outsiders as founders in the ethno-genesis of the Dghwede.

Throughout Part Three we demonstrated the importance of ritual density as a regulatory mechanism for successful socio-economic reproduction. In this final chapter we want to demonstrate the prolific varieties of ritual *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) as an identity-giving plant, by presenting a sample collection differentiated by ownership and respective application.² We present two lists of *vavanza* below. Table 12a includes photographs while Table 12b does not, and we think it is no coincidence that the photographed varieties were often the more common ones that were publicly owned. Conversely, most of the *vavanza* in Table 12b were owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage, and it occurred to me in hindsight that this was probably the reason why images were not shown to me. We will learn that many of them could cause serious harm, and we will address a form of ritual treatment referred to as




¹Roger Blench (2020) lists *Cissus quadrangularis* under *gaadal* and *Urginea maritima* under *gadali*. Our hypothesis is supported by the fact that the ethnic toponym Glavda can be derived from the Fulfulde word *ghavda* for *Ficus platyphylla*, the identity-giving tree of the Glavda founding legend. We discussed the potential ethno-historical significance of these Fulfulde references in Chapter 3.3.





² Catherine Bell (1997:173ff) reviews ideas around the notion of ritual density in a dedicated chapter.





vavanz skwe. We have already discussed the concept of *man skwe*, translated as 'handling ritual treatment', and we will show that it was not only 'Dagha peacemakers who owned rituals considered *skwe*, but other Dghwede owned them too, and we will discuss *man skwe* as a strategy of handling (*man*) the dangers of ritual treatment (*skwe*) in the final chapter section. In this context it is crucial to acknowledge that the concept of *man skwe* was part of the Dghwede religious view of the world, and it was not seen as simply 'magic', and in that sense it was profound on a cosmological level and not just a technical means of treatment.


Varieties and ritual ownership of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*)

This section starts with Table 12a presenting photographs of the more inclusive varieties of ritual *vavanza*, which is presumably why we have images of them. Then in Table 12b we present varieties of more exclusive ritual *vavanza* for which there were no images available.

Table 12a: Images, description and ritual ownership of <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> varieties			
No	Images listed under Plate 63	Name and description	Ownership
63a		Vavanz gave – this is the name for ordinary <i>vavanza</i> , which means it has no ritual use. However this does not imply that it is the general name for <i>vavanza</i> but only distinguishes it from ritual <i>vavanza</i> .	No specialist or common ritual ownership applies.
63b		Vavanz margarha – the word <i>margarha</i> means fear or anxiety. It was hidden on the body or rubbed onto the body. If applied it would create fear in other people's hearts. It gave mental strength and charisma when speaking in public. If planted near the house it would keep dangerous animals such as leopards away.	Owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage and could be bought from them.
63c		Vavanz rata – <i>rata</i> means finger millet. Dghwede tie it onto finger millet (eleusine coracana) before harvest to enhance the yield. It was planted by women and its flour mixed in milk could help to stop the spread of diarrhoea in children.	Owned by the Gashiwe cornblesser lineage who distributed it.

63d		<i>Vavanz metab-teba</i> – no literal meaning known. It was mixed with mahogany oil and applied to the head of a girl without her knowledge after she was captured for marriage. It allegedly stopped her thinking of escape and induced docility.	Owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage.
63e		<i>Vavanz wira</i> – The word <i>wira</i> means millet, and ordinary Dghwedë can plant it near their houses when it has been given to them by an expert from one of the two specialist lineages who own it. They tie <i>vavanz wira</i> to their millet to increase the yield.	Owned by the Gaske (rainmaker) and the Gashiwe (cornblesser) specialist lineages.
63f		<i>Vavanz lusa nde</i> – literally means dark eye. If someone has a large plot of land, people will look at it with envy, which can make it unfertile. It is put together with some iron slag and a stick under a pierced black eating bowl to neutralise someone's 'bad eye'.	Although this <i>vavanza</i> is not very common it can be accessed by ordinary Dghwedë.
63g		<i>Vavanz gharaghara</i> – is a reference to a child that starts teething from the upper jaw first. If a child such as this looks up at someone's guinea corn it stops developing. It is tied around three guinea corn stalks from the same root in each field before the harvest.	Owned by the Gaske (rainmaker) and by the Gashiwe (cornblesser) specialist lineages and is given to ordinary Dghwedë to plant near their houses.

63h		Vavanz daghile – the word <i>daghile</i> means bull, and it was ground and added to the food of the bull in order to fatten him for the bi-annual bull festival (<i>har daghile</i>). Some people administered it as often as twice monthly.	It is planted near the house by ordinary Dghwede and is not owned by ritual experts of any specialist lineages.
63i		Vavanz gulve – a <i>skwe</i> (ritual treatment) for a jaundice-like illness called <i>gulve</i> to which women and children are considered vulnerable. Charcoal and mahogany oil is mixed with it and applied to the body. If a promised girl refuses to marry she can attract the illness.	A clan medicine owned by the Ngaladewe lineage of Tatsa (see Figure 8).
63j		Vavanz gma – is used to treat conjunctivitis. Before the first morning meal a sufferer goes to where it grows. There both arms are put behind the back and the person bends towards it while opening both eyes wide. This is repeated three times.	Can be used by ordinary Dghwede at his or her own free will.
63k		Vavanz mandatha – it literally means 'to calm things'. A floating type was used by Dagha diviners (Chapter 3.21). The non-floating type was considered ordinary and was commonly used to treat heartburn.	Apparently a very common variety of ritual <i>vavanza</i> , but there seem to have been two types. It remains unclear whether the floating type was specifically owned by Dagha diviners.

631		<p><i>Vavanz tsukwana</i> – is the word for traditional stock cube. It was cut into small pieces and left in a pot filled with water to decompose for a week. To make it decompose further, more water was added. Next, the <i>vavanza</i> was squeezed out and the water was filtered. Then beans were ground and their flour was added to further decompose until the mixture turned solid. It was used straightaway or dried and preserved for later use.</p>	<p>Commonly owned by all Dghwedè.</p>
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All the photographs of mainly ritual *vavanza* presented in Table 12a were taken in a geographically limited area in Dzga of Ghwa'a, but we cannot determine whether they are all individual botanical varieties. For example, Plate 63a (*vavanz gave*) looks similar to Plate 63i (*vavanz gulve*), but while 63a is classified as ordinary *vavanza*, meaning without any ritual or other use, 63i is classified as *skwe*, being a clan medicine owned by a particular non-specialist lineage from Tatsa to treat a certain illness known as *gulve*. We have not gone too far into the concept of *skwe*, but have translated it as ritual treatment, in this case for symptoms that remind us of jaundice. However, we will learn that it was not about treating jaundice, and that it could be used to inflict harm as well as to heal, and later we will compare it with a *skwe* treatment related to diarrhoea which used a different plant.

One could reportedly die of the particular type of *skwe* called *gulve*, in which the cheeks would swell up, and the private parts of a woman who had attracted the *gulve*, and the woman's hair would turn straight. The charcoal and mahogany oil mixed with *vavanz gulve* applied to the body of the sufferer would stop this happening, but it had to be done by the owner of that particular ritual *skwe* treatment. It was believed it was the charcoal element of the clan medicine which took away the yellow appearance. I was further told that if a girl refused to marry a man to whom she was promised, some of her hair could be thrown into a *vavanz gulve* plant, together with a part of her dress. If this ritual action was performed she could contract the illness.

As mentioned before, we cannot tell whether *vavanz gulve* and *vavanz gave* were the same botanical variety even though they look so alike, but we have a similar problem with the varieties presented in Table 12a which appear different. If we observe their colour and shape we can see that some have a red colour, and others are of a round shape and others again are shorter or sharper-edged in shape. Only a botanist could tell, and I have to admit I am not at all familiar with the botanical variation of individual types of *Cissus quadrangularis*. Therefore we can only refer to the ritual uses and ownerships our friends in Dghwedè informed us about. Considering how familiar the Dghwedè were with their many different uses shows how important such local knowledge must once have been.

We can see from the listing of photographs that quite a few of the *vavanza* were owned by people to whom we refer as ordinary Dghwedè, by which we mean Dghwedè who did not belong to one of the specialist lineages. There were also non-ritual uses in terms of food production, as in the case of *vavanz tsukwana* (Plate 631) which describes the making of traditional stock cubes. Still, *vavanz tsukwana* needs to be distinguished from ordinary *vavanz gave* which had no ritual or common use. We do not know whether ordinary *vavanza* was a

frequent or a rare occurrence, but having no ritual or common use allocated to it was obviously the reason it was not owned by anyone.

Some of the *vavanza* considered useful in the list were planted near the house, but not all of them had to be given to the owner of a house by a ritual owner who belonged to a specialist lineage. This was the case for example with *vavanz daghile* (Plate 63h) which was used to mix into the food of the bull kept in the stall next to the upper room of the father of a house. Other types of ritual *vavanza* planted near the house, such as *vavanz gharaghara* (Plate 63g) or *vavanz wira* (Plate 63e), had to be given to the owner of the house by a member of the cornblesser or the rainmaker lineage. Both were to do with increasing the yield of the most important crops, and *vavanz gharaghara* was particularly relevant to guinea corn because it could stop guinea corn growing or cause it to fly away from storage if not managed properly.

A departure from the ideal order of the eruption of children's teeth seems an odd thing to affect the growing of guinea corn, and here we will add some additional ethnographic details I was told during my documentation of *vavanz gharaghara*. Apparently, if the second upper front tooth of a girl fell out, her father hid the tooth. When the girl married, the tooth was embedded in a traditional sausage made of cattle fat (*dgdale*) and the whole package was given to her to take to the home of her new husband. Now that the tooth had gone from her father's house, the guinea corn could no longer fly away from her father's granary. Another scenario was that in order to avoid the upper central incisors growing first in a child, the ritual specialist who owned *vavanz gharaghara* could be called to press the upper gum of the child so the lower teeth would grow first.

Presumably the main point was that it was not considered good for the reproductive capacity of guinea corn if it was observed by a child who started teething from its upper jaw rather than from its lower jaw. This seems in tune with universal child development, as the front teeth of a child generally erupt from the lower jaw first. If a child who started teething from the upper jaw looked up to a field of guinea corn, the growth of the guinea corn would be negatively affected, which is symptomatic of guinea corn being seen as a crop needing much ritual attention. It seemed to be a crop considered to have a personality of its own. That the specialist rainmaker and cornblesser lineages owned *vavanz gharaghara*, and tied it around three guinea corn stalks from the same root in every single field before the harvest, is indicative of the cosmologically integrated farming methods of the Dghwede.

Before we continue to discuss the ritual aspect of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) and its various ownerships, we present in Table 12b our fieldnote list of twelve more *vavanza* varieties for which we have no images.

Table 12b: List of ritual <i>vavanza</i> without images		
Name	Application	Ownership
<i>Vavanz kla</i> (<i>kla</i> = fracture) and <i>Vavanz lugwe</i> (<i>lugwe</i> = wound)	A bone fracture is tied with <i>vavanza kla</i> but the same variety is called <i>vavanz lugwe</i> when used to heal an open wound. For wound applications it first has to be powdered.	Although it can be owned by anyone, it is extremely rare. Only one individual in Ghwa'a and another one in Gudule reportedly owns this type of medicinal <i>vavanza</i> .
<i>Vavanz makrta</i> or <i>vavanz dzawske</i> (<i>dzaw</i> = selling/ buying; <i>ske</i> = something)	This <i>vavanza</i> is used by traders. <i>Vavanz makrta</i> means to draw attention to yourself, and it might even draw negative attention leading to people opposing you. This can draw bad luck to your home, even attracting leopards and snakes. One will not lack anything because of this <i>vavanza</i> , but it can lead to bloodshed similar to <i>vavanz ghuza'a</i> .	It is owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage.

<i>Vavanz pa-dughwe</i> or <i>Vavanz thliba-pat-dughwe</i>	This <i>vavanza</i> is used for marriage. You rub it on your finger and touch her and she will not like another person. <i>Pat-dughwe</i> means to charm a woman. <i>Thliba</i> (we do not know the meaning of the word) is the target for this type of <i>vavanza</i> .	It is owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage and they only give you a little bit by request.
<i>Vavanz maswa'a</i> (<i>maswa'a</i> refers to something that stops you getting what you want or stops you from doing what you want to do.)	If you have <i>vavanz maswa'a</i> someone cannot harm you because he has not the time or just cannot get around to it. Unfortunately it can also stop you getting married if you have it. Normally people use it against someone so that he cannot find a wife. However, if you want to stop a person taking you to court you might go and get <i>vavanz maswa'a</i> to tie it around your neck or wrists, but in a hidden way. Someone might still take you to court but he will not win his case against you.	It is owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage who are the only ones who can grow it.
<i>Vavanz kwayaga</i> (<i>kwayaga</i> is the name of a particular bird but we do not know which one. The bird is small and black and some have a black beak. They always follow domestic animals but the bird is considered as very shy.)	The Gadagha mix this <i>vavanza</i> with excrement from a group of people one might want to get rid of from a village. They take the mixture and throw it out of the settlement. If these people want to fight when they are asked to leave, everybody gets ready with their weapons. Now they realise that they can only run away. If the Gadagha want an individual to leave they take some soil/sand from underneath their feet and mix it with <i>vavanz kwayaga</i> and that person will not come back home.	The Dagha peacemaker lineage owns this <i>vavanza</i> and they prepare it with certain ingredients and then apply it to achieve the requested purpose.
<i>Vavanz gashifa</i> (The word <i>gashifa</i> means you feel relaxed in yourself and it creates self-confidence.)	This <i>vavanza</i> makes you not fear anything. Someone who has <i>vavanz magariha</i> (Plate 63b in Table 12a) cannot scare you if you get this <i>vavanza</i> . Like <i>vavanz magariha</i> , people plant it near their houses. If something comes to your house and wants to frighten you, you come out with confidence to face the danger.	It can be bought from a member of the Dagha peacemaker lineage.
<i>Vavanz ghuza'a</i> (see also <i>vavanz makrta</i>)	If a Dagha drops it where people gather, a fight will emerge and blood might be shed.	It is owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage.
<i>Vavanz wita</i> (disappear)	For example a thief might use it to disappear because he is frightened of being prosecuted. While people are busy planning their action against him he will just disappear from their midst or where they kept him. It helps thieves after they have been caught. You will not know when the thief will disappear. A thief would get back to his house mysteriously.	The Dagha peacemaker lineage owns it, but they will only give very small portions of it. Also, not every Dagha peacemaker possesses it.

Vavanz skwe (see also <i>vavanz maghzhime</i> below which is part of the ritual treatment called <i>skwe</i>)	There are other <i>vavanza</i> that are <i>skwe</i> but they are not called <i>vavanz skwe</i> . It causes sickness typical of meningitis.	The Dagha peacemaker lineage owns it and also applies it.
Vavanz maghzhime (<i>maghshime</i> is the name of the pot where the <i>vavanz skwe</i> enters and is considered as the main source of the ritual treatment called <i>skwe</i>)	If Gadagha puts <i>vavanz skwe</i> into this pot and buries it in your field, no one can take this field away. <i>Vavanz maghzhime</i> can also be secretly planted in your field if you did not pay dowry so you lose this field. The <i>skwe</i> might transform into a snake, or if you step where the pot is buried you cannot move at all unless the owner of the pot frees you.	The Dagha peacemaker lineage owns this ritual treatment.
Vavanz bungwe (leopard)	A Dagha might take a stick and shape it like a leopard with a tail and a head and paint leopard spots on it using charcoal. He then rubs the <i>vavanza</i> on it and throws the stick in between the rocks. Next the Dagha puts another stick in his mouth and ties it with a rope made of <i>mbatakure</i> (called <i>tunta</i> in Hausa, but no translation is known). As a result the leopard will not kill anybody. After a Dagha has satisfied such a request for someone, the leopard will enter a targeted house and take a goat.	Is owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage.

From the list of ritual *vavanza* presented in Table 12b we recognise that they all are owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage, except the first which served to treat fractured bones and open wounds caused by bone fractures. Although it was not owned by any of the specialist lineages it was still very rare, but we do not know whether this had to do with the rarity of the special medicinal reputation or whether it was due to the botanical rarity of the particular *Cissus quadrangularis* variety. Most of the other *vavanza* listed were owned by Dagha peacemakers. While some were used on the basis of individual demand, others were for the public purpose of maintaining peace in the community. We remember from Chapter 3.7 that Dagha peacemakers would place a certain type of *vavanza* along the downhill road in order to stop people settling in the adjacent plains. This was no longer a concern for any peacemaker when I was visiting Dghwedé between 1994 and 2010.

I have already explained that during my time the Gaske rainmakers were still in greater public demand than the Dagha peacemakers, but some of the ritual applications of the latter might have changed to satisfy new needs. We think that regulating rain and the growth of crops was a more persistent need than regulating communal conflict, considering that traditional conflict had become less common as a result of social change. For example, *vavanz kwayaga* mixed with the excrement of an unwanted group of people to make them want to leave the village might no longer have been an appropriate application. On the other hand, the same *vavanz kwayaga*, if mixed with the sand or soil in a place where an unwanted individual was known to walk, might still have been secretly applied. However, we think that the role of the Dagha peacemakers was primarily a communal one, and as such the need for them had certainly dwindled, while rainmakers continued to be in relatively high demand particularly during increasing periods of aridity.

It is also unlikely that *vavanz bungwe*, used to manipulate leopards, was still a *vavanza* in high demand during my time, while it might have been important during late pre-colonial times. This particular ritual *vavanza* was an identity-giving *Cissus quadrangularis* variety

belonging to the Dagha peacemaker lineage and was part of their legendary past (see Chapter 3.7). In terms of its ritual application it seems to have been used by a Dagha peacemaker to control the spirit of the leopard for the purpose of creating fear. We wonder whether the need for complementary *vavanza*, as with *vavanz margarha* to create fear in others and *vavanz gashifa* to make someone fearless, was intensified by the background labour-intensive farming system. There was much seasonal interaction regarding agricultural work among groups of local neighbours, and we think that the great number of combined varieties of *vavanza* owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage might well reflect this.

Keeping the above hypothesis in mind, we can now examine all the other ritual *vavanza* from a similar analytical perspective, in order to test our interpretation that the extensive use of *Cissus quadrangularis* was indeed an expression of high ritual density with the purpose of regulating social conflict. Viewing it from this aspect, the ritual use of *vavanza* might not have been so much about increasing the yield of crops, but could have served more as a means of expansion and exclusion of others in an environment of often limited resources. For example, *vavanz skwe* and *vavanz maghzhime* were used together as a *skwe* owned by the Dagha peacemakers. In the context of this, *maghzhime* is a reference to the vessel serving as ritual carrier of the *skwe*, and if this vessel was secretly buried in someone's terrace field they could lose that field if a dowry was unpaid.

Several of the ritually owned *vavanza* were to do with attracting a wife for successful reproduction and patrilineal family expansion. The loss of a field as a result of not being able to pay a dowry would have been a severe punishment for using *vavanz pat dughwe* to charm a female into marriage without considering the consequences. This of course is only speculation, but perhaps not an unreasonable one, equivalent to a promised girl not fulfilling the promise of an arranged marriage being punished by the illness we described in connection with the ritual application of *vavanz gulve*.

We explained earlier that *vavanz gulve* was not owned by the Dagha peacemaker lineage but by the Ngaladewe lineage of Tatsa, and we remember that it was considered a *skwe* in the sense of a ritual treatment that could cause harm. In the final section of this final chapter of the book we will discuss the concept of *man skwe* in greater detail.

The concept of *man skwe* and its potential ritual implications

We have referred to the Dghwede expression *man skwe* (*man* = handling; *skwe* = ritual treatment) on several occasions throughout Part Three, being uncertain of its exact meaning. It was first used by our Gaske rainmaker friend Ndruwe Dzuguma of Gharaza when he listed the sequential order of rituals in the calendar, starting with *har ghwe* (sacrifice to a deceased father) followed by *har daghile* (the bull festival) then *man skwe* and finally *har khalale* (slaughtering for the lineage ancestor). Ndruwe Dzuguma referred to *man skwe* as a mixture of guinea corn flour and water that was ritually poured over the ancestor stones, but we already knew that rainmakers used the same mixture for rainmaking by pouring it over the rainstones (Plate 14), and we suggested that rainmakers owned this *skwe* (see Chapter 3.8).

We do not think that the rainmaker's reference to *man skwe* as a mixture of sorghum flour and water poured over the ancestor stones meant that *man skwe* was always performed with sorghum flour mixed in water, but that *man skwe* was generally a ritual concerned with preventing bad luck or evil overtaking a family. The regularity of *man skwe* was therefore crucial for a father of the house in keeping his family safe, and libating sorghum flour mixed with water over the three ancestor stones was considered one of the essential ways of doing this. This gave the concept of *man skwe* a strong religious meaning, and this is what we conclude rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma meant when he listed it as part of the calendrical ritual order.

While John and I were documenting the ritual use of *Cissus quadrangularis* we also came across the concept of *man skwe*, and he confirmed the above by pointing out that it meant

handling evil or bad luck, and that it was a general reference to the regular rituals a husband would carry out, and the regular religious rituals of the house could in that sense be considered a form of *man skwe*. In the context of this, the family priest (*zal jije*) came to attend to the ancestor stones, and we remember that he not only had to be from the same exogamous lineage but also a generation mate (*skmama*) of the deceased father (*dada*) or grandfather (*jije*) of the house. This *zal jije* would also have been the one who used the calabash from the 'stomach of the house shrine' (*khudi thala*) to pour corn flour water over the ancestor stones to initiate a new spouse into membership of the patrilocal family. All this had to be done to prevent bad luck overcoming a nuclear family, but if everything was carried out according to the rules, such bad luck could be prevented. To understand John correctly, this was generally referred to as *man skwe* (doing *skwe*), meaning members of the same extended family group gathering to carry out a ritual to prevent evil.

While the *man skwe* of giving sorghum flour mixed in water to paternal family ancestors was a ritual that needed the correct setting in terms of when and who was carrying out the libation over the ancestor stones, there was also another type of *man skwe*. This alternative concept of *man skwe* was to do with an individual's ownership of a particular *skwe* (ritual treatment), being something that could be used to remove bad luck or evil in the form of illness or disease. John explained that this kind of ritual ownership of a *skwe*, in the form of a substance representing a ritual treatment, was also part of the Dghwedè religious belief system, and in that sense was very different from sorcery. According to John, the owner of a particular *skwe* would transfer the illness or disease into the *skwe*, and then dispose of it, and it should never be touched by anyone else after that because it was infectious and someone could even die from it. In that sense *skwe* could also be interpreted as a means of controlling evil by ritual means. It was removed by the owner of the *skwe* and in that sense *man skwe* meant the handling of a *skwe* as a result of ritual ownership of specific religious treatments and clan medicines.

In this regard, the specialist lineages such as the Gaske rainmakers, the Gashiwe cornblessers and the Dagha peacemakers claimed their own particular *skwe* or clan medicines. We saw in the previous section that the Dagha peacemakers owned most of the very powerful *vavanza*, but only a particular type was referred to as *vavanz skwe* and in that instance a pot called *vavanz maghshime* was considered to be the carrier of the *vavanz skwe*. This particular *vavanza* was used to treat cramps and tightness, which were symptoms of an illness reminiscent of meningitis. I understood from John that this was the *skwe* for which the Dagha peacemakers were known, and that rainmakers claimed their own *skwe*. He added that members of other lineages owned specific types of *skwe* used to control certain diseases. One of these was control over diarrhoea, being a *skwe* his own father had owned, and he said that different people could own it while others could control earache or diseases of the eye.

John referred to his father's ritual treatment as *skwe njida*, and explained that his father had inherited it from his own father. To cause diarrhoea in the community with *skwe njida*, milk was drained from a plant called *mahide* by cutting it with a large knife, and one would then let it drop into a calabash with a hole in the top and another hole in the bottom. Ground red pepper and water were subsequently added, and after mixing these in the calabash with the plant milk, one would drop the mixture through the hole in the bottom into a fire made of hay to produce an infectious smoke. He remembered that when he saw his father doing this, only a few days later most children of the wider neighbourhood developed diarrhoea, and it spread as far as Kwalika in southern Dghwedè. He said his father did this because he was angry that John's older brother was not able to marry the girl promised to him, which is a further example demonstrating the importance of marriage alliances between families.

John explained that the plant *mahide* was not classified under *vavanza*, which we know to be *Cissus quadrangularis*, and in Chapter 3.10 we provisionally identified *mahide* as a euphorbia variety used in working the terraced land. Plate 64 below shows such a ritual euphorbia variety called *skwe njida*. According to John's memory, when people realised the diarrhoea

had spread, they came to see his father for ritual treatment with milk, finger millet (*rata*) and charcoal to stop it spreading further.

Plate 64: This euphorbia called *mahida* was once used to drain the milk for *skwe njida*.



Apparently, in a case of treating a child suffering from diarrhoea, the mother would bring the milk and finger millet while the owner of the *skwe* would use his own charcoal for the ritual treatment. He would first grind some of the finger millet and put it into the milk the mother had brought, and then use his ritual charcoal to paint from the head down both sides of the body, down the legs and feet, and down the middle of the body. Now he would throw the charcoal into a ritual place marked by an upturned pot buried next to a tree. The place where this pot was buried was seen as the location of the *skwe*, while the painting with charcoal and the subsequent throwing was called *kwah skwe*. Meanwhile the finger millet had been boiled in the milk and some of it was now given three times to the child. In order to complete the treatment the owner of the *skwe njida* blew three times into the anus of the child.

After John's father had done the ritual treatment with milk, finger millet and charcoal, the diarrhoea reportedly stopped, even in places where people had not come to him for treatment. John further explained that the use of charcoal for the treatment of sickness was very common, and that it was always the owner of the charcoal who was the owner of the *skwe*, and that the charcoal was applied as a medium of ritual transfer. We remember that charcoal was a main ingredient of the medicinal 'bundle' described by rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma in Chapter 3.12. Charcoal also played a role in the application of *vavanz gulve* (Plate 63i) which was used to remove the yellow of the jaundice-like symptoms, and this was part of a *skwe* owned by the Ngaladewe lineage of Tatsa. In order to neutralise the yellow, the owner of the *vavanz gulve* ritually applied a charcoal and mahogany oil mixture to the body of the sufferer.

Charcoal was an important *skwe* that was used as *kwagh skwe* when processed or painted on the body of a sufferer and then ritually disposed of at a place where that specific *skwe* was thought to locally reside. Such a place was represented by an upturned clay pot buried in the ground. We are sure the location where such a *skwe* was handled was not inside the house but outside, and strongly assume that it was not a place where intensive farming was carried out, considering that a pot buried under a tree used in such a ritual was perhaps a place people avoided. Some of the ritual places we listed in Table 6a of Chapter 3.9 might also have served as *skwe* for the ritual treatment of illnesses and diseases.

We also need to remember that the production of charcoal was very important in the late pre-colonial past, and that there was a socio-economic link between the production of iron and the production of manure regarding an increased ability to be able to lease out cows. A cow was a key element of bridewealth, and often only paid after the birth of the first child. Considering that the parents of a potential groom and bride had already planned the marriage (gifts had been given by the father of the groom), future conflict over unpaid dowry was not uncommon. This was why a 'Dagha peacemaker treated the pot called *vavanz magzhime* with *vavanz skwe*, and buried it in the terrace field of someone who had failed to pay a dowry. A similar conflict had occurred when John's father became angry about his son being denied the girl who had been promised to him as his first wife, despite the plans he had made with the family with whom his son could intermarry according to the rules of patrilineal and matrilineal exogamy. At that point of the failed marriage arrangement, no family priest had yet carried out the libation over the ancestor stones to promote the marriage as a lucky one for his family. We know there was the hope of having a seventh-born son from such a desirable marriage by promise, and we conclude that there could be much expressed anger or conflict when such a long-term marriage plan failed.

The use of a *skwe* owned by someone who had inherited it as part of a family tradition, or as a result of belonging to a specialist lineage such as the 'Dagha peacemakers or the Gaske rainmakers, made social conflicts linked to the reproductive capacity of families and local groups a potential cosmological issue. This implies that the concept of *skwe* had a wide-ranging meaning, that it was not to be confused with sorcery but was part of the religious sphere, which is confirmed by John's statement that evil and bad luck could have been sent by divinity. Consequently it was important to exercise control over good luck in the sense that prevention was better than cure. Doing *man skwe* as part of the calendrical rituals, such as when the husband and father of a family home sacrificed to his immediate paternal ancestors and his personal god and house god, was the best way of preventing bad luck starting to grow destructive roots.

Conclusion

The ritual density of *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) and its role as an identity-giving plant indicates the ritual culture of the Dghwedè people of the past. It is however legitimate to ask whether their Mafa neighbours' reference to Godaliy indicates that it is more a late pre-colonial development, at least if we accept the linguistic evidence of the likely Fulani origin of the word. There were not only *Cissus quadrangularis* (*vavanza*) and *Urginea maritima* (*huba*) both showing connections to the ethnonym Godaliy, but also what we identified as the euphorbia variety the Dghwedè called *mahida*, which was classified separately from *vavanza* and *huba*. However, the *vavanza* varieties were the highest in number and the most complex in ritual application, which is supported by the fact that we were able to list over twenty of them in Ghwa'a alone. Most of the ritual varieties were owned by the 'Dagha peacemaker lineage, but there were other local lineages of non-specialist descent who also owned such clan medicines. These too were specifically referred to as *skwe*, meaning that as a result of ritual ownership linked to patrilineal descent they could ritually cause, deter or treat specific forms of evil.

We discussed the concept of *man skwe* being the avoidance of bad luck or evil by the adherence to the ritual calendar dictated by the Dghwedè mixed farming system. In the context of that we reminded ourselves that water mixed with guinea corn flour was not only used by the Gaske rainmaker lineage in their *skwe* to libate over the rainstones, but it was also used by family priests to libate over the three ancestor stones when a wife was initiated into her future husband's lineage. We know that most rituals of the house were carried out after the harvest and that they moved in chronological sequence from the house as a place of worship to the outer farmyard. It seems that the more successful and expansive a local family group

became, the higher their need to take care of good luck, and perhaps therefore to perform the rituals of *man skwe*.

The exposure to a semi-arid mountain climate so close to the increasingly arid zone south of Lake Chad was a significant environmental factor, and food shortage leading to famine and death was most likely the worst luck that could occur. A complex ritual culture had emerged which served the Dghwede as a strategy of collective survival for managing crisis situations. The structural complexities of this were manifold and not only embedded in their kinship-based adult initiation system and architecture, but also in the way the ethno-genesis of the Dghwede was relayed in an oral historical sense. We described the importance of the integration of outsiders as founders, and how apparently they only succeeded because they were in possession of a legendary clan medicine which caused them to reproduce and expand. By connecting the collective memory of the south-to-north migration with the palaeoclimatic evidence of the whole of the 17th century as a wet period, we came to the conclusion that the Tur tradition of origin was most likely historically linked to that climate change. It not only triggered population pressure and patrilineal infighting, but also changed tribal war alliances, which in our opinion led to the late pre-colonial ethnic re-formation of the Dghwede, and we hypothesised that this re-formation was represented by the travelling bull festival as a cosmological symbol of unity and peace.

We tend to think that the Dagha peacemaker lineage possibly developed during this period, as might all the other specialist lineages, including the Amuda as the powerful subregional ethnic clan group of divine cornblessers. Amuda had inherited *Cissus quadrangularis* from his father who had brought it as divine food from the celestial world and who then married the daughter of a local man. Amuda's full-brother was called Ganjara and he became the founder of a rainmaker lineage among the Glavda, while the Vreke clan of the Moskota hills became the most powerful ritual specialists of the subregion. In comparison to the Godaliy of the Gwoza hills, the Mafa chief of Vreke owned all the different clan medicines and kept them locked in a special room with no visible entrance (Chapter 3.13). On the western side of the Dghwede massif was Hambagda from where Mughuze-Ruwa had received a clan medicine, and which pointed back to tradition of the Dagha diviners linked to the Margi area of Mulgwe. It seems that all these late pre-colonial influences had established a ritual culture in which *Cissus quadrangularis* was central, which together with other plants of similar ritual significance was referred to by Mathews in 1934 as *gadali*.

I remember from 2002, being told by the Mafa of Kuva (a village in the centre of the DGB area) that a group of 'Godaliy' had once come to Kuva because they wanted to collect a certain type of plant that grew near DGB1, the largest of the archaeological DGB sites. Unfortunately, at the time I did not connect the ritual density of *Cissus quadrangularis* in the Gwoza hills with this statement, and therefore did not explore the information further. We remember, from Chapter 3.3 about the wider subregional context of the Tur tradition, that the Mafa of the DGB area claimed that the Godaliy had been the last inhabitants of DGB1. The Mafa tale from the village of Kuva that a group of Godaliy had once come to collect such a ritual plant might not carry any historical truth, but knowing that it could well have been *Cissus quadrangularis* they were looking for surely underpins the connection between the ethnonym Godaliy and the ritual significance of *Cissus quadrangularis* in the Gwoza hills area.

We have now reached the end of our Dghwede history from the grassroots, and I agree, the ending is less than spectacular, emphasising that we do not really know very much and that is nothing new. We also realise that we have reshaped the few fieldnotes available from my time in Dghwede, and that much of our interpretation has raised more questions than answers. I also admit that perhaps the presentation tells more about me as an ethnographer and area specialist of our wider subregion than it does about the local people who lived and farmed there for hundreds of years. However, I think it is good to have written it all down and to have presented as many oral accounts as possible as they were originally collected in the field with the help of my friend and research assistant John Zakariya. Without John I would have not

been able to do this work as an outsider over a period of about 15 years, trying to document Dghwede traditional culture of the past. I hope that the field accounts that present the testimonies of our oral protagonists will serve the Dghwede survivors of Boko Haram as fond memories from their mountain homeland, while the discussions and interpretations will hopefully help future historians to critically review the things I have written in a meaningful way. I hope from the bottom of my heart that the many modern descendants of the Dghwede will go on to study their shared history from the perspective of the far distant future, but would like them not to forget that we are all bound to the present when reshaping ideas about the distant past.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

As a result of the First World War and the subsequent Treaty of Versailles the Gwoza hills that separate the Nigerian Gwoza hills from the Cameroonian side of the northern Mandara Mountains have long been neglected by ethnographers. The area was first divided into a British and a French mandated sphere and later as a result of two plebiscites both sides gained national independence in 1960/1. On the Cameroonian side this led to a series of ethnographic studies inspired by French researchers while the British did not maintain such a relationship with the Gwoza hills. The result was that many studies of the Mandara Mountains did not even include the Gwoza hills on the maps, giving the impression that the Mora hills and not the Gwoza hills were the most northerly extension of the Mandara Mountains. This is significant because the Gwoza hills are the only mountain range to reach into the semi-arid plains south of Lake Chad far beyond the 11th parallel north, and they are also the range more or less directly linked to Kirawa as the centre of the formation of the early Wandala state. This omission has become even more apparent since the archaeological exploration and exact chronological dates that have been obtained from the stone ruins of the DGB sites along the northern slopes of the Oupay massif to the immediate south of the Gwoza hills. They demonstrate a pre-colonial subregional contemporaneity with Kirawa as the pre-Islamic capital of Wandala, long before it moved to Doulo and then to Mora. Therefore this Dghwede history from the grassroots presents the missing link.

The wish to preserve my Dghwede notes with the greatest possible authenticity was triggered by Boko Haram recently taking over and controlling the Gwoza hills as a hiding place and potential action zone for their cross-border terrorist activities. The Gwoza hills are still unsafe today, and the memory accounts presented here might eventually be the only Dghwede oral history source collected from their original mountain homeland. The way they have been presented here demonstrates my awareness of that historical circumstance, which has also made me particularly careful not to unpick my fieldnotes for the sake of a more theory-driven approach based on ethnographic comparison. With this aim in mind I have used very little additional ethnographic source material but have relied more or less exclusively on my own fieldnotes. The background was that I had already been doing ethnographic work in the Mafa area of Gouzda on the Cameroonian side, and had also collected oral history data from the Moskota hills and other areas overlapping the international boundary. This allowed me to consider the northwestern Mandara Mountains as a wider subregion, not only from the perspective of its original pre-colonial setting but also from the view of my own ethnographic work, in the context of which I have presented the Dghwede of the Gwoza hills as a missing piece of the puzzle.

This approach has led to a way of writing that has an emotional undertone, being the result of many years of friendship that have caused me to care personally for the losses of so many of my Dghwede friends and the situations that others of the Gwoza hills have encountered. I concluded that if I did not put their oral testimonies at the centre of the narrative, and merely summarised the accounts as selective illustrations for theoretical comparison, I would not be able to write with a voice of personal integrity. This is also why I chose 'Azaghvana' as the title of this book, as it means 'I say' in the Dghwede language, almost as a way of protesting against not being heard and historically recognised. It turns out that 'Azaghvana' as an ethnolinguistic reference to the Dghwede also has another dimension, namely that an overall sense of Dghwede ethnicity has been a result of colonialism and subsequent independence, but this was not necessarily a feature of how the Dghwede might have seen themselves as an ethnic group in pre-colonial times. My ethnographic research across the international divide reveals how the collective memory of the Dghwede regarding past relationships with their neighbours on the Cameroonian side might have been affected in oral historical terms since early colonial times. The international boundary dividing the subregion has created a geographical division that has not only conditioned the collective memory accounts of our

Dghwede friends. As pointed out at the beginning, it has also impacted the general ethnographic research situation because the Gwoza hills were systematically excluded from being viewed as an integrated part of the northern Mandara Mountains.

The underlying narrative of our Dghwede history from the grassroots is a reconstruction based on collective memories of pre-colonial Dghwede, the cosmography of which we have classified as pre-Copernican. They saw their mountain locality as the centre of this world and the sun rose out of its 'bottom' in the east. This cosmographic orientation conditioned their ideas around reproduction as part of the mixed farming system in which dung played a key role in fertilizing the terrace fields. Because land was passed on locally, its fertility had been maintained by the ancestors over generations, and it was believed that there were mirror worlds below and above the localised version of this world which needed to be regulated by ritual means. At the same time the labour-intensive farming system required high ritual density in order to regulate social relationships concerning the land rights of individuals and local groups. We emphasised the importance of individual competition while terrace farmers were striving for success, and it was embedded in a network of patrilineal and matrilineal extended family connections to which we referred as kindred. However there has been a lack of kindred-related data, because as a result of my previous research I concentrated too much on lineal descent grouping, but we were able to emphasise the importance of marriage alliances in reproductive social networks. We came to the conclusion that as a consequence of their polygynous marriage system the Dghwede once formed reproductive alliances across extended family branches descending from the same 'kitchen' (*kudige*) of full-brothers. They formed special relationships with their mother's brothers, and we contextualised this aspect with the social order of the right of individual farm owners to begin 'adult initiation' (*dzum zugune*). In the reconstruction of adult initiation we showed how a new candidate (*ngwa hamtiwe*) had to give his mother's brother a billy-goat with a cloth called *gwambariya* around its neck if he wanted to start *dzum zugune* before him, but he could only do this if his own father and senior brothers had already performed *dzum zugune*.

From our fragmented ethnographic examples we concluded that solidarity along kindred lines was necessary for successful terrace farming, as was the ambition of individual of farm owners. However, the complexities were too rich to comprehensively summarise in a theoretical manner, as presenting the oral history of the egalitarian terrace culture of late pre-colonial Dghwede in that way would have meant losing its descriptive authenticity. This is why we will highlight here just one possible theory in relation to the already mentioned *gwambariya*, in the context of the first step of the second stage of *dzum zugune*. This was where each *ngwa garda* wore a *gwambariya* cloth around his waist before participating in the running competition. Before the *ngwa garda* could start the race, the *ngwa yiye*, who were in the third stage of *dzum zugune*, ritually forced the *ngwa garda* to kneel before them in submission. As in all of the other stages of *dzum zugune*, the *ngwa garda* consisted of participants of various ages, and in order to understand this better we need to look again at the underlying kindred order that this competitive scenario of adult initiation implied. As we know, such a display of submission would have excluded the possibility of a full- or half-brother of the performer's own extended family kneeling before a younger brother, because the performer's older siblings would have already completed that stage of *dzum zugune*, but a brother of his mother could have been among them. Therefore, the fact that the mother's brother as *ngwa garda* had been ritually compensated with a billy-goat wearing a *gwambariya* around its neck before being forced to kneel before his sister's son as *ngwa yiye*, indicates that the Dghwede system of adult initiation was based on the solidarity derived from the genealogical concept of 'kitchen' (*kudige*) which classified matrilineal relationships.

Sets of full-brothers who were sons of the same mother and father had 'kitchen' matrilineal relationships with their mother's brothers who represented different exogamous patrilineages, and we concluded that these relationships with matrilineal full-brothers were the result of the way the Dghwede organised marriage alliances. We explained that the Dghwede used the term *gwagha* to refer to patrilineal exogamy, and used the same term to refer to one another

as Dghwedè in relation to other ethnic groups of the Gwoza hills, while the system of matrilineal exogamy was known as *zbe*. The above scenario regarding ritual entitlement in the context of adult initiation tells of the sophisticated complexities resulting from the management of reproduction in terms of *zbe*, and that the social relationship system of pre-colonial Dghwedè was an inherent part of it. We concluded that during colonial times extended families who were not exogamous on the matrilineal side (*mbthawa*) were theoretically unable intermarry for at least four generations after an intermarriage, but this might have been different in pre-colonial times depending on the possibility finding suitable marriage partners. Consequently, finding support among exogamous matrilineal *zbe* relationships, meaning the full-brothers of one's mother, in addition to one's full- and half-brothers who were sons of the same father, was a core element of an individual's success. It might have led to a situation in which a father and farm owner of younger age was able to fill the three granaries of his house to complete adult initiation, while a farmer of greater age but with fewer kindred connections could not.

The above example shows the complexity of Dghwedè ritual culture, and that the formation of wider social alliances than only those of direct kinship could have been crucial. This does not mean that kinship was not an element of social organisation, but that the idea behind the formation of kindred relationships was presumably socio-economic survival in which the driving force was finding alliances that would best serve collective survival. This view is supported by the fact that patrilineal exogamy (*gwagha*) was not written in stone, but most likely changed as soon as one local descent group extensively reproduced or diminished, and we suggested that the patrilineal exogamy described in Chapter 3.6 resulted from late pre-colonial times. We demonstrated this by presenting the oral history of the gradual expansion of the Vaghagaya-Mughuze who grew in number and eventually replaced the Gudule as the most successful reproductive local clan group of southern Dghwedè. According to Mathews (1934) the weakening of the Gudule led to them giving up patrilineal exogamy altogether, because they were no longer able to exchange enough daughters for marriage. Still, we were able to establish that the Gudule remained of great ritual importance with regard to starting the travelling bull festival (*har daghile*) for the whole of Dghwedè, and in Chapter 3.13 we explored the possibility that they might even have played a ritual role during adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). We raised this as a theoretical question in relation to the Vaghagaya-Mughuze, despite the Gudule having been known for not performing *dzum zugune* themselves. We used the Mafa example of the ritual role of the Ruwa of Mazay to underpin our hypothesis, and to demonstrate that lineal and patrilocal descent was traditionally used to renew settlement alliances between local clan groups in order to maintain mutually accepted ritual blessings over land fertility. We argued that one of the reasons for this was that the soils needed to be continuously manured, an aspect of successful terrace farming we connected with the concept of Dghwedè locality being intrinsic to their cosmographic orientation.

A general conclusion of my wider subregional research is that one of the main differences between the Mafa of the Gouzda area and the Dghwedè was that despite the Mafa also forming clan groups of the same ancestral origin, the Dghwedè clan groups were much smaller by comparison and diagonally less nested. Some of the Mafa clans turned out to have been former ethnic groups which had become Mafa clans as part of ritual alliances across traditional village boundaries, such as the Wula-Sakon of Mtskar. We described how the Wula-Sakon as first settlers of the Gouzda area were pushed northwards by the largest expanding Mafa clans, the Vuzay and the Zhele, and how the cross-village alliance of that expansion was kept alive by passing on sorghum beer in a certain ritual order. In the context of this the Ruwa of Mazay played a crucial role, despite being a very small local clan group. Similar to the Gudule in relation to the expanding Vaghagaya-Mughuze, the Ruwa of Mazay represented the Wula-Sakon as the original first settlers of Mazay. This meant that the Zhele of Mazay, as the most recently expanded clan group, could only perform their locality sacrifice after the Ruwa of Mazay had passed on sorghum beer to the most senior lineage group of the Wula-Sakon in Mtskar. It was part of the oral historical narrative that recent pre-colonial descendants of the original Ruwa had been resettled in Mazay to maintain that

alliance across traditional village boundaries. We compared this with the potential role of the Gudule as representatives of the first settlers of southern Dghwede when they wanted to leave for Gudulyewe (Gudur) because they had lost their reproductive capacity as the largest local clan group. The Gudule had been defeated by the expanding Vaghagaya, but when they said they would leave altogether for Gudulyewe, the Vaghagaya asked three of their 'brothers' to stay behind. This request implied that they were considered to be the authentic first settlers of southern Dghwede.

Unlike the Dghwede, the Mafa had developed chiefly clans as a result of ethnic expansion, and in Chapter 3.21 we described how the British colonial officers might have used that knowledge to promote an egalitarian system of chiefly self-governance in the Gwoza hills. The Dghwede never had such a chiefly clan system, but we were able to show that the oral historical management of soil fertility was linked to a similar pattern of autochthony as among the neighbouring Mafa on the Cameroonian side of our subregion. The Dghwede way of dealing with the rise and fall of population number was equally regulated by ritual means when it came to local group formation. We argued that the underlying reason for this was the cosmological worldview of the Dghwede, which mirrored their system of lineal and patrilocal socio-economic reproduction managed by a cyclical ritual calendar linked to the agricultural seasons. The cycle began with the family ancestors of the house, and ended with the travelling bull festival in which the wider community of southern and northern Dghwede participated. Three paternal ancestors of a living father and owner of a house were represented by three ancestor stones in every household. The seventh-born living son of a deceased father represented good reproductive luck, while the eighth-born child in the past was cast out or fell victim to infanticide. Every father and owner of a house was a potential father of a seventh born, a symbol of ongoing reproductive good fortune which transcended Dghwede ritual culture on the descent group level. The lineage representing the seventh-born branch of a local group provided the most important custodian of the land that their members had manured and farmed.

The local ancestral connection to the next world could be equally linked to autochthonous settlers who had previously manured the farmland. An additional aspect was the chronic shortage of arable land in the semi-arid mountainous environment, and the Dghwede had been exposed to environmental emergencies leading to regular food shortages from at least the very wet 17th century. Paleoclimatic data linked to the changing water levels of Lake Chad helped us to construct this view. We compared the archaeological dates of the DGB sites with early written sources about the formation of Kirawa as pre-Islamic Wandala capital, and compared the oral history of south-to-north traditions of origin across the wider subregion with the same cyclical pattern of climate change. As a result of this comparison we came to the conclusion that Ghwa'a as early arrival zone from Tur most likely already existed in the 16th century, which showed that it was contemporaneous with the end of the DGB period. We constructed a theoretical scenario in which the largest of the DGB sites had been reactivated by the 'Pagan usurper' mentioned by Ibn Furtu in 1576, which led to the siege of the foothill of Kirawa by the Borno king of Idris Alauma. We subsequently connected the rise of the Mughuze-Ruwa of southern Dghwede with the Tur tradition of the much wetter 17th century, when the Wandala capital moved to Doulo and the DGB period came to an end. We identified the formation of the Mafa and the Dghwede as being contemporaneous, and referred to that period as late pre-colonial times, also represented by their war alliances described at the beginning of our Dghwede oral history retold.

We therefore want to generally conclude that as a result of cyclical climate change, the kinship-based local alliances of the ethnic group we refer to as the Dghwede were based on local descent group compositions that did not last very long. This did not mean their descent system did not work, but only that successful local reproduction was a constant factor conditioning it. Strategies for the sustainable management of good and bad luck were therefore deeply embedded in the Dghwede way of life, which extends further back than the type of ethnic unity we described in the oral history of the travelling bull festival. The main

evidence for this argument is the absolute chronological dates obtained from the DGB sites, and the high likelihood of their contemporaneity with the early history of the Wandala state which was already unfolding between the northeastern foot of the Gwoza hills and the Moskota hills during the 15th century. We think that such an early pre-colonial period also existed before the formation of the Glavda, who according to our oral historical sources once occupied the Moskota hills together with the Vreke clan. The Vreke later became incorporated by the expanding Mafa, while the Glavda were driven out and withdrew into the eastern plain of the Gwoza hills. The Godaliy tradition of the Mafa is in our opinion also of late pre-colonial origin, and we identified it also as a Mafa legend from the DGB area, pointing to the inhabitants of the Gwoza hills being the previous inhabitants of the DGB area. All these south-to-north movements, in whatever way they took place in detail, in our opinion represent the most recent layer of the collective memory of our wider subregion, and we conclude that they were not only post-DGB but most likely also post-Kirawa traditions.

This also included the ethnolinguistic composition of most of the other groups, although we are not able to tell the exact age of the Dghwede language, also referred to as Azaghvana. The Dghwede language continued to be ritually spoken for a long time on the Zelidva spur, after the language of Ghwasa, the original outsider from Ghwa'a, the early arrival zone from Tur, was adopted there by Lamang speakers and before the Zelidva became the dominating ethnic group who subsequently adopted the languages of the Wandala and the Glavda. There is evidence of Lamang-related languages on the heights of Tur, for instance the language of the Hide of Tur, while Tur itself has a founding ancestor with oral historical links to the Margi, and we constructed a hypothetical north-to-south migratory route which could theoretically have included the DGB area. We have evidence of such an early north-to-south migration in the history of the Wandala of Kirawa, and it was the legendary king Agamakiya who initiated that move from Ishga Kawe about 50km north of Kirawa. The *Wandala Chronicles* presented King Agamakiya as the one who united the most reproductive but more junior branch with the less numerous but more senior branch of the original dynastic Wandala, by allocating to the latter custodianship over the land between Ishga Kawe and Kirawa. We also critically reviewed the narrative of the noble stranger from the east as founding ancestor of the more reproductive dynastic line represented by king Agamakiya, with the importance of outsiders as founders in the Gwoza hills, and also reviewed in a similar context the role of Katala-Wandala as a legendary adaptation of Wandala origin from the hills.

Another interesting piece of circumstantial evidence is the distribution of pots with small apertures not only in the Gwoza hills and in the Glavda area, but also along the western foothills among the Lamang-speaking groups and among the Wandala-speaking Zelidva. This distribution of material culture we attempted to link to the DGB sites was wider than the sophisticated stone architecture we documented, such as the smooth front stonewalling of a house. Together with the lower and upper kitchens on either side of the foyer area this typical architectural feature could only be found among the Dghwede, the Chikide and the Guduf. We discovered that the small apertures of ritual pots representing family ancestors were necessary for keeping sorghum beer fresh, and we described their use and spatial journeys in and around a Dghwede house as far as the grave of a deceased father. The spatial movement of the ancestor pot during the cyclical sacrifice to the deceased father of a house (*har ghwe*) had a strong reproductive aspect. This became clear through the ritual journey and specific locations where that particular ancestor pot was temporarily stored. The ritual beer it contained had to stay fresh for at least two days, and it spent a night above the doorway connecting the room of the first wife and the room of the husband and father of the house. We further showed that the wish for a boy as a firstborn child and also for a seventh-born son had an ancestor-related reproductive aspect, by illustrating how a generation age mate (*skmama*) of a deceased father acted as family priest to initiate a first wife into a future husband's patriline. This practice might only have been of late pre-colonial origin, but the small aperture serving to keep the ritual beer fresh suggests that the potsherds with similar small apertures found on each of the DGB sites had once served a similar ritual function. Such pots with small apertures being reserved for ritual purposes linked to the cultivation of sorghum could

also be identified among the Lamang of the western foothills. This suggests a long contemporary history of the ritual importance of sorghum beer during an earlier phase of the DGB area and the adjacent plains surrounding the Gwoza hills when the Wandala of Kirawa of that early period were pre-Islamic. We found no such ritual beer pots among the Wandala of Kirawa as it had long become Islamic and only archaeological excavation could provide such evidence, but we identified legendary evidence of a mountain origin of the Wandala as part of the Tur tradition among the groups of the Gwoza hills. This suggests a long contemporary history of the ritual importance of sorghum beer during an earlier phase of the DGB area and the adjacent plains surrounding the Gwoza hills when the Wandala of Kirawa of that early period were pre-Islamic.

We compared some of the roles of outsiders linked to the Dghwedè legend of Katala-Wandala as mother and first wife of Tasa, and of Gudule and Ske as full-brothers of the same ancestral 'kitchen' representing cornblessing and rainmaking. It was not unusual in Dghwedè legendary accounts for structural key events to be presented to me as actual historical events. We demonstrated how bulama Ngatha described the mythological invention of sorghum and the attacks of Hamman Yaji as equally true events, and the legendary accounts might have bridged early and late pre-colonial times. We like to conclude that it was the underlying pre-Copernican terrace farmers' view of the world that set the background for this kind of oral historical accounting. We used the cosmological image of 'blessings from the celestial world above' represented by rainmaking, and 'blessings from the primordial world below' represented by cornblessing, to comprehensively underpin this worldview. While the first was more relevant during the growing period, the second played a greater role during the harvesting period, and we were able to attach similar cosmological images to sorghum cultivation and manure production. We subsequently suggested that these concepts might already have been of cosmological importance during early pre-colonial times. It is difficult to believe there is no connection between the contemporaneity of cyclical climate change, the DGB stone structures, and the emerging Wandala state at the entrance of the intramountainous eastern plain between the Gwoza hills and the Moskota hills.

By including the rising Wandala state in this hypothesis we realise that Kirawa as the oldest mountain capital had already existed for about 350 years by the time the Wandala finally converted to Islam in the early 18th century. That Durghwe, the most northerly subregional rain shrine, was very likely a pre-Dghwedè arrival zone from the south during the 16th century, makes this part of the Gwoza hills a possible cosmographic centre during the end phase of the DGB period, at least from the oral historical perspective of our Dghwedè protagonists. For example, the legendary accounts of our Dghwedè sources claimed that Kunde was once a Wandala settlement, and we underpinned the connection with the legend of Zedima who collected 'the roots of the sun' from the primordial world below to establish montagnard superiority in rainmaking over his father-in-law the Wandala chief of Kirawa. Another aspect was that the Tur tradition included most of the groups of the Gwoza hills and also the Wandala themselves, a fact we can further underpin with the evidence that a dialect of Wandala was already spoken around the northern foothills during pre-colonial times. However, the question of whether the Wandala of Kirawa once had anything to do with the DGB sites remains circumstantial. Perhaps we need to see the change of direction in terms of population movement as a cyclical event also, and that the underlying cultural-historical element was passed on in the long term by the shared local language, and only in the short term as part of ethnic belonging. In that way, an underlying long-term oral historical message might well be embedded in the cultural practice of the late pre-colonial Dghwedè we have reconstructed from the collective memories of our oral sources.

One of the main aspects of our Dghwedè oral history retold is the ritual management of socio-economic reproduction. In the context of this we were able to show the importance of dung production, by documenting the ritual dunghole near the senior rainmaker's house which had not been used for at least 60 years. We were able to show that many of the sequential rituals had changed in the meantime, and demonstrated those changes by studying the oral history of

cyclical rituals as part of the Dghwedè seasonal calendar. In the context of this we argued that change in agricultural methods in the form of the increasing use of chemical fertiliser might have been a strong contributing factor. Our comparison of Dghwedè ritual culture with that of their immediate neighbours revealed another level of complexity. For example, our reconstruction of the Dghwedè system of adult initiation revealed that the Glavda had a similar system, while the Lamang did not, but the Dghwedè shared many other ritual practices with the Lamang, such as the belief in the reincarnation of twins. We conclude from these variations that ethnicity might have been secondary while the use of the same language was perhaps more important in constructing a sense of identity and local belonging, especially when they shared the same cultural practices with some of their neighbours.

We can demonstrate this assessment by the way Dghwedè ritually organised sacrifices related to local territories. There was very little evidence that their community and lineage shrines were embedded in the same pattern of cyclical rituals as the sacrifices to a father or grandfather of a house. It was more that a request related to an emergency would require such a sacrifice, and the sacrifice to the mountain shrine Durghwe is a good example of this. The seventh-born descendant of the Btha lineage represented Ghwa'a as earth priest, and this also gave him the ritual responsibility for Durghwe. We portrayed Durghwe as the cosmographic representation of Ghwa'a as early arrival zone and entry point into the northern part of the Gwoza hills in pre-colonial times, from where groups continued to spread or to where they withdrew depending on the environmental circumstance. Therefore Durghwe had an interethnic dimension, which further underpins the fact that topographical landmarks such as Durghwe might already have been part of the cosmographic worldview long before the three granaries it represented were allocated in that way. The crucial factor was that the ritual responsibility for Durghwe always lay with the local group that had been able to claim the most recent oral historical entitlement. We therefore suggest here that Azaghvana as a pre-colonial reference to the Dghwedè language as a long-term expression of local self-reference, might represent exactly that, while a Dghwedè ethnicity derived from Dofede as a shared ancestor of the two largest clan groups in Dghwedè is more likely a late pre-colonial development. One of the underlying reasons might have been the high ritual density we have described as typical.

We presented the high ritual density as part of the Dghwedè cultural system, linked it to the labour-intensive terrace farming system, and showed that any change in population number had the potential to bring about a shortage of arable land. The insecure foothill areas were not always an option for expansion, in the context of which we showed how the eastern intramountainous plain had in the past suffered the threat of slave raiding by the late pre-colonial Wandala. It might have been that the Dghwedè had not paid their tribute, and the eastern plains were therefore not safe to farm when there was population increase in the hills. The circumstances could be complex, but climate change, epidemics and other environmental risk factors were the most frequent, and the pre-colonial experience of cyclical climate change must surely have been a key factor in bringing about strategies to prevent such crises. The ability to fill three granaries as part of the four stages of adult initiation (*dzum zugune*) is the strongest evidence for this hypothesis. That *dzum zugune* was most likely commonly practised during late pre-colonial times can be theoretically linked to the severe cyclical climate change since the very wet 17th century, and before this period the rituals needed to guarantee successful socio-economic reproduction might have been different. On the other hand, events such as *dzum zugune* might have taken on a different form before that, considering the evidence of the sophisticated DGB stone architecture along the northern slopes of the Ziver-Oupay massif. If we think of population movements following climate change, the Gwoza hills will still remain the most northerly extension of the Mandara Mountains where a record of the most sophisticated ritual ways of managing good and bad luck will hopefully now survive through the oral testimonies and the material culture we have documented.

However, the international boundary has unfortunately meant that some of the oral memories have not survived, as neither have the various systems of colonial rule which the British and

French practised over the years in our wider subregion. While the British practised indirect rule, and unsuccessfully tried to allocate to Dghwedè a system of self-governance using chiefly councils, the French never attempted to mix traditional and administrative offices. The difference is the reason why in 2001 I was still able to witness the bull festival of the Mafa of Zlama at the eastern foot of the Ziver-Oupay massif, where the chief represented the most numerous and therefore chiefly local clan group. As a traditional chief he had to stay at home throughout the bull festival, and there was a female gender aspect related to his behaviour. He was never allowed to be alone but always had to be accompanied by a second representative, an aspect we have referred to in reproductive terms as pairing or doubling, and which in different ways was once a feature of Mafa and Dghwedè ritual culture. In the case of the Mafa, the pairing or doubling carried an aspect of chiefly descent as a result of successful reproduction of the local clan group to which he belonged. The Mafa used a system of leaders (*bay*) and followers (*biy gwala*), in the context of which the leaders represented the more senior lineages, and the followers the more junior lineages of the local descent group. Several such clan groups formed village alliances under the ritual leadership of those among them who were locally most successful, who were referred to as 'sons of the leader' (*kr biy*).

The same system of *bay* (ritual leader) and *biy gwala* (ritual follower) crossed into the structure of Mafa extended families, who applied these terms to their more senior or junior family representatives in the context of ritual beer drinking, which underpins its egalitarian dimension. It was in the first instance about patrilineal reproduction linked to the formation of chiefly clan majorities in terms of number, rather than about constructing dynastic succession, and I presented these traditions in *The Way of the Beer* (Muller-Kosack 2003). I was still able to practice participant observation while working in the Gouzda area during the second half of the 1980s, and did not need to reconstruct the rituals from collective memories alone. Also, the Mafa bull festival was still performed in 2001, while the bull festival in the Gwoza hills had ceased either shortly before or shortly after national independence. The British had declared the Gwoza hills an Unsettled District while they were busy developing a new elite in Gwoza town from early colonial times. They were interested in the concept of majority (*gadghale*) which the Dghwedè practised, but the British failed to understand that it did not have the chiefly aspect that it did with the Mafa. However, the French were not interested in using any of the traditional structures because they did not believe in indirect rule at all. Therefore, due to their traditions being uninterrupted I was still able to witness the bull festival of Zlama on the eastern slopes of the Ziver massif.

Our description of how the Dghwedè system of majority without chiefs might have influenced the making of collective decisions cannot be fully understood without applying the underlying cosmological worldview we have reconstructed. As with sacrifices to community shrines, there were no cyclical gatherings of elders as the British colonial officers might have liked to imagine in order to promote administrative self-governance. An important element of Dghwedè ritual culture was that a crisis situation was needed to trigger such a majority decision, and overall authority was based on the reproductive success of patrilineal descent. This would mean that the representative of the local lineage majority would determine in which specific locality the Gaske rainmaker should carry out rituals to promote rainfall. This belief was deeply embedded in the local cosmography, and in the case of Ghwa'a, Durghwe was the dominant subregional mountain shrine. We described the importance of its visibility, showed how it was linked to water and how it was seen as the house of twins, and that it had three cosmological bulls living in its primordial centre. The image of the bull is not necessarily a direct consequence of the travelling bull festival but is connected to the bull as a symbol of fertility, for example the Chikidè and Guduf never had a travelling bull festival but they kept bulls enclosed for several years and ritually slaughtered them on the level of the extended family only. On the other hand, the Lamang, the Dghwedè and the Gvoko to the south of Dghwedè shared a travelling bull festival with the neighbouring Mafa, and we concluded that the ritual link of the Dghwedè to Gudur belongs, like the travelling bull festival of the Mafa, to the late pre-colonial period.

It is important not to underestimate the historical impact of the two different colonial systems on the ritually interconnected wider subregion, and how following independence this situation has also influenced the ethnographic research of the two parts that are now divided nationally. The international boundary represented by the Kirawa river for instance separates the Moskota hills from the Gwoza hills, and it was almost impossible to find sound oral historical evidence of the role the ritual Moskota chief of Vreke once played in relation to the Gwoza hills. The same problem occurred in relation to the southern border that the Dghwedè shared with the Mafa of Huduwa, and the Gaske rainmaker of Gharaza who accompanied me there was surprised to learn that the Mafa referred to their rainmakers in same way as the Dghwedè, but traced their oral historical origin to the Mafa rainmaker of Moudoukwa. There was a further oral historical hint we did not follow up but will mention here, which is that Zakariya Kwire of Ghwa'a pointed out that the main mountain of the Muktele area was considered by the Dghwedè of the past to be 'the house of rain'. There was also some cross-border oral historical evidence in relation to the Podoko who were considered to be former inhabitants of the Gwoza hills, and my ethnographic research in the Muktele and the Podoko area revealed the existence of pots with small apertures. Other than that, I could find no such evidence in the DGB area itself or to its south, which indirectly confirms that most of the evidence of material and immaterial culture to be found in the northern Mandara Mountains is indeed of late pre-colonial origin.

All these interesting and inspiring wider regional oral historical references that might still have existed in the collective memories of the Gwoza hills have now come to a brutal end due to Boko Haram using the mountains as hiding place. To date it is still not safe to visit the Gwoza hills, and I am pessimistic as to whether any collective memories and material culture will be able to be found and interconnected once it is safe to visit again. This is why we have presented this fragmentary history of the Dghwedè from the grassroots in such great detail, and I want to suggest here again, being an outsider and representative of western culture and education, that the truth is not what we want to believe but what we search for and uncover, and then review and examine. The fact that I am an outsider might be a hindrance, because I do not speak Dghwedè and I do not feel Dghwedè, but the other side of the coin is that I feel that what I have discovered tells me something about my own culture.

It tells me that in the face of increasing man-made climate change driven by western-style industrialisation, the post-Copernican view of the world is not automatically more sustainable. This was already the case during colonial times when chemical fertiliser was seen as progress, while the animal manure on which the farming system of the Dghwedè depended became an anachronism that ought to be left behind. Now we realise that the reverse is the case and far too much chemical fertiliser is used, and there is an overproduction of animal dung due to overconsumption of meat which causes problems on a global scale. I therefore want to encourage my Dghwedè and Gwoza hills friends, who most brutally lost their mountain homeland through the actions of religious fanatics and terrorists, to remember with pride the pre-colonial way of life of their montagnard forebears as it is presented and interpreted in this book. They struggled and did not get everything right either, but they knew how to reproduce and survive in a culturally rich and sustainable manner.

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Year/s	Title of File at National Archives (Kaduna)	Reference
1915	Administration of Dikwa District (Cameroons)	S.N.P.10-7379/1915
1916a	Dikwa Suggestion by Mr Tomlinson as to official spelling	S.N.P.10-262p/1916
1916b	Cameroons (North) Administration by French Civil Administrator of the Tchad Territory - Transfer to the Military Commandant	S.N.P.10-183p/1916
1920	Dikwa District - General 1920-48	MaidProv-1667
1921-25	Pagan District - Programme of Work in (1921)	GwozDist-83/1921
1923	Report on Mandated Area of Cameroons	S.N.P.15-236
1925	Customs and Mode of Life among the Hill Pagans - Report by Capt. P.E. Lewis, June 1925	GwozDist-83A/1925
1925/26	Slave Cases - Mandated Territory - Trial of in Provincial or Native Court (1925)	S.N.P.17-K.1641
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1927b	Adamawa Province - Annual Report 1927 by G.S. Browne (Resident)	S.N.P.17-K.6826 vol.I
1927c	Cameroons (Mandated Territories) - Annual Reports	S.N.P.17-K.5321 vol.I-III
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1933	Northern Mandated Areas - Amalgamation with Pagan Areas of Dikwa 1933-34 - Correspondance	YolaProv-281
1933-37	Hill District - General (1932-38)	GwozDist-10
1934a	Madagali District - Reorganisation of in conjunction with Bornu Province	YolaProv-2301
1934b	Hill District - Dikwa Division - Reorganisation of - 1934 - various reports by A.B. Mathews	MaidProv-1035D

1935a	Notes on the Marghi Tribe - W.O.P. Rosedale, H.S. Kulp, MacBride - 1935	YolaProv-J.21
1935b	Madagali District Reorganisation of - Intelligence Report on - by J. Hunter Shaw, 1935	YolaProv-2764
1935c	Chubunawa District - Higi Tribal Area - Intelligence Report by J. Hunter Shaw - Report 1935	YolaProv-2759
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1950-55	Gwoza Resettlement Scheme (1950-55)	GwozaDist-178 vol.I
1951	Assessment Reports - Dikwa Division - Test Assessment Gwoza - 1951 - by R.D. Ormsby	MaidProv-4632/S.2
1951-57	Gwoza Terracing (1949-57)	MaidProv-4632/S.2
1953/54	Gwoza Disturbances 1953-54	MaidProv-1538 vol.II
1955	Report on the Hill and Foothill Pagans of Gwoza District - Dikwa Division - by J.A. Reynolds	<i>This report was given to me by someone in Gwoza</i>

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List of quoted oral protagonists from Dghwedé (1995-2010)

Abubakar Dga from Ghwa'a
Baba Musa of Barawa
Baya Lakwa of Ghwa'a
Buba Nza'awara of Ghwa'a
Bulama Ayba Ngwiya of Kunde
Bulama Bala of Korana Kwandama
Bulama Ghdaka of Hembe
Bulama Mbaldawa of Tatsa
Bulama Mbasuwe of Korana Basa
Bulama Ngatha of Hudimche
Bulama Tada Zangav of Hudimche
Chika Khutsa of Kwalika
Dada Dga (Dga Pardâ) of Ghwa'a
Dada Dukwa of Ghwa'a (Dzga)
Fahda Mofuke of Ghwa'a (Dzga)
Ghama Vunga of Ghwa'a
Kalakwa Wila of Ghwa'a
Musa Kalakwa Dawa of Barawa

Ndruwe Dzuguma of Gharaza
Tada Nzige of Ghwa'a
Zakariya Kwire of Ghwa'a

A glossary of key Dghwede expressions used in this book

The glossary contains key expressions in the Dghwede language which appear in various chapters of the book, and there are also some Hausa and Kanuri words that need explaining and we have indicated when this is the case. The glossary is selective and does not list all the Dghwede words used. The reader is invited to return to chapters with additional Dghwede word lists, such as the chapter about working the terraced land and the chapter about the ritual density of Cissus quadrangularis. Another list for study is the list of ritual pots in the chapter about the house as a place of religious worship, and the list of dress and body adornments in the chapter about adult initiation (*dzum zugune*). Other relevant chapters are referred to in the Dghwede cultural vocabulary below.

A	
<i>Alla [dala] ghuza'a</i>	A mixture of goat's blood and sour milk (perhaps <i>alla</i> should be spelled <i>dala</i>); it was consumed on ritual occasions and our Dghwede sources mentioned <i>alla ghuza'a</i> being removed from them by force during the visit of lawan Buba which eventually led to his killing in 1953 (see comparison of colonial report and oral accounts in Chapter 2.2).
Azaghvana	Ethnonym often used by colonial officers to refer to the Dghwede; Azaghvana means 'I say' in the Dghwede language and as such was an ethnolinguistic self-reference claiming ethnic identity, but it was also used by neighbouring groups. We interpret it more as a reference of ethnic belonging to an Azaghvana-speaking local group rather than as an expression of an overarching Dghwede ethnicity; see Table 1 for similar synonyms for neighbouring groups (Chapter 1.2).
B	
<i>Bajije</i>	Grandmother: you call your mother's mother <i>bajije</i> ; your father's mother you also call <i>bajije</i> ; you also call the sisters of your father's and mother's mother <i>bajije</i> ; see Chapter 3.6 for more details.
<i>Bak zalika</i>	The fourth and final stage of adult initiation <i>dzum zgune</i> (see Chapter 3.14); see also photograph of a lance called <i>zalika</i> in Plate 59b.
<i>Bala wurighe</i>	Part of a palm tree (<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>); it is mentioned in Chapter 2.2 as one of the gifts taken by the Dghwede peacemaker mission to the British resident in Maiduguri, leading to the arrest of Hamman Yaji in the 1920s (see Chapter 2.2).
<i>Balghaya</i>	Mountain yams (Chapter 3.10)
<i>Balinga</i> or <i>Ghandawa lusa</i>	'Monkey' or 'ash-coloured monkey'; consult Chapter 3.22 about the classification of living and non-living things.
<i>Balwaya</i>	Lance made of iron, used by the <i>ngwa yiye</i> during the third stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see a photograph of a <i>balwaya</i> lance in Plate 59b (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Bangagave</i>	Hyena; see ritual link to harvesting from a bushfield in Chapter 3.22.
<i>Barike</i>	From English: barracks – Dghwede reference to the colonial guesthouse in Ghwa'a (it was burnt down at the time of the killing of lawan Buba in 1953); see comparison of colonial report and oral memory account (Chapter 2.2).
<i>Bathi'a</i>	Sorrel to make a ritual sauce for <i>thagla</i> (harvest festival) in the absence of guinea corn for ritual beer making; see also <i>ndighuva</i> as another

	alternative for ritual sauce in the absence of guinea corn (Chapter 3.13).
Batiw daghara	Upper room of a traditional house; belongs to the father of the house; see house plan illustrations in Figures 18 and 19b.
Batiw gadada	Miniature ancestor room for deceased father (<i>gadada</i>); see Figures 18 and 19b; see also Plates 35a and 35b (Chapter 3.11).
Batiw gajije	Miniature ancestor room for deceased grandfather (<i>gajije</i>); see house plan in Figures 18 and 19b; see also Plates 35a and 35b.
Batiw tighe	Lower room of a traditional house; allocated to the first wife of the house; see house plan illustrations in Figures 18 and 19b.
Batiwe	Room or building; general term for individual room of a house (<i>ghaya</i>); Figure 18 shows groundplan and Plate 22a shows individual thatched roofs (Chapter 3.11).
Baya	Mother; you refer to your mother and to the sisters of your mother as <i>baya</i> . So do your half-siblings, but they sometimes also refer to their siblings' mothers as <i>yaya</i> , which is a general term for a person slightly older than oneself regardless of gender. The prefix <i>ba</i> in <i>baya</i> signifies the reference to a female. You can refer to any woman's daughter from your mother's kin as <i>dugh baya</i> and to any woman's son from your mother's kin as <i>ske baya</i> , in both cases regardless of their age. There is also a general term to cover both which is <i>vjirbaya</i> (Chapter 3.6).
Baza	Unripe fruits of mahogany tree; also means premature sex or miscarriage; see dada 'Dga's ideas around conception (Chapter 3.19).
Blungwe	Guinea-corn flour cooked in water used during twin rituals; the remainder of <i>blungwe</i> was used by a twin to ritually feed a dead twin brother (see interview with dada Dukwa in Chapter 3.19).
Btha	The Btha lineage holds the ritual custodianship of the land in Ghwa'a; as seventh-born ancestral descendant from Thakara they provide the lineage priest (<i>thaghaya</i>) of Ghwa'a; this included the ritual custodianship of the subregional mountain shrine Durghwe; see oral account by Zakariya Kwire and dada 'Dga (Chapter 3.17).
Bulama	Kanuri: ward head; developed in Dghwede during colonial times as part of indirect British rule; is part of today's administrative system linked to Gwoza the administrative centre of the Gwoza LGA.
Bungwe	Leopard; the 'Dagha peacemaker lineage owned a ritual treatment known as <i>vavanz bungwe</i> which was believed to control people's fear of leopard attacks (see Baba Musa's oral account in Chapter 3.7 about specialist lineage groups).
Bzaka	Tree variety growing at Durghwe; its fresh leaves are used by the former mother during twin ceremony for taking the reborn twins indoors, and by the new mother seven days later for taking them out of the house again (see Chapter 3.19 for more details).
C	
Chima	Kanuri: 'messenger' (colonial expression of indirect rule); in 1925 captain Lewis lists the first <i>chima</i> and <i>bulama</i> of Ghwa'a (see Table 3) which marks the beginning of British indirect rule (Chapter 2.2).
Chuwila	Sacrifice to prevent bad luck, or if someone had an accident; see

	Chapter 3.10 about working the land and Chapter 3.12 about rituals of the house.
D	
<i>Dada</i>	Father; you refer to your father as <i>dada</i> but you can also refer to any older male as <i>dada</i> ; the term <i>dada</i> is also used to refer to someone's deceased father represented by a stone erected at the foot of his house shrine (<i>thala</i>). A senior brother responsible for the sacrifice of his junior brother's ancestor stone is also referred to as <i>dada</i> . Even a generation mate (<i>skmama</i>) of a deceased grandfather or great-grandfather can be referred to as <i>dada</i> (Chapter 3.6).
<i>Dag dala</i>	Ritual sauce (made of animal fats); could play a role in the context of many rituals; <i>dala</i> was a reference to useful leaves which could be used for making sauce; <i>dag/dg dala</i> could also be a reference for leftover sauce; it was also a general reference to liquid as opposed to solid food (see Chapter 3.22 about the classification of things).
<i>Dag mbarda</i>	Clan medicine used by the Gaske rainmaker to protect crops against insects; see oral account by rainmaker Ndruwe Dzguma (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Dag gwaya</i>	Something that disappears magically (<i>dag</i> = something; <i>gwaya</i> = disappear); sorcerers can make themselves disappear magically; guinea corn or a tree might also magically disappear (Chapter 3.22).
<i>Dagha Kadzgware</i>	Dagha healer and diviner lineage in Dghwedè with links to Hambagda via Kwalika as the most north-westerly settlement unit of Dghwedè; see Chapter 3.4 for more details.
<i>Dagha-ha</i>	Dagha peacemaker lineage (plural of Dagha) descending from Wasa, an ancestral co-descendant of Dghwedè; Wasa was also the name for a firstborn twin and the Dghwedè seem to like oral narratives of ancestral pairing of this kind (see Chapter 3.7 about specialist groups).
<i>Darke</i>	Indigo-coloured textile made of strips of cotton sewn together; was worn by the <i>ngwa yiye</i> as ' <i>thah lusa</i> ' ('black cows') during the third stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> , representing and defending fully developed fecundity at its best; see photograph in Plate 57i (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Dawakara</i>	Kanuri or Hausa: Assistant bulama (assistant ward head)
<i>Dawana</i>	A brass bracelet which plays a magical role in the legend of Zedima; Zedima uses a <i>dawana</i> to force the Wandala chief of Kirawa out of Ghwa'a by causing an apocalyptic drought; see 'the roots of the sun and the moon legend' (Chapter 2.1) and Plate 49b (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Dg/dæg or dug/dag</i>	Prefix to refer to living and non-living things (<i>dg/dæg</i> = something/thing); consult Chapter 3.22 for details about the Dghwedè classification system.
<i>Dgahtha</i> or <i>lmana</i>	General terms for farm animals; <i>dgahtha</i> most likely means 'living things like cattle'; we do not have a literal translation for <i>lmana</i> (see Chapter 3.22 for more details).
DGB	DGB is an abbreviation of the Mafa expression <i>diy ged'biy</i> for at least 16 archaeological stone ruins found on the northern slopes of Mount Oupay (south of Dghwedè); we use the radiocarbon dates to link the end of the DGB period with the beginning of the subregional expansion of the Mafa into the DGB area, and link that with the late

	pre-colonial formation of Dghwedè and the Tur tradition during the wet 17th century (see Chapters 2.1 and 3.3); also consult Table of Contemporaneity (Chapter 2.1) and see Figure 16 (Chapter 3.8).
<i>Dgdale</i>	Traditional sauce mainly made of leaves (<i>dala</i>) but cattle fat could also be used to make it (Chapter 3.22).
<i>Dgkalkwa</i>	Wild animals or 'things' between or among rocks; by contrast, <i>dgsiye</i> was used to refer to 'wild animals of the bush' (Chapter 3.22).
<i>Dgndala</i>	Term for birds and insects that can fly: 'things which fly' (in this way butterflies are classified with birds, while termites are not); see Chapter 3.22.
<i>Dgsiye</i>	Wild animals of the bush (<i>siye</i>), meaning: 'living things of the bushland' as opposed to <i>dgkalkwa</i> for wild animals and 'things' between the rocks; see Chapter 3.22 for more details.
<i>Dgthile</i>	Wild animals of the plains; comprising here of both wild animals found on cultivated land outside settlements and on uncultivated bushland (Chapter 3.22).
<i>Dgvughe</i>	Snakes: 'things which crawl' (Chapter 3.22)
<i>Dgyuwe</i>	Water animals: 'things in the water' (<i>yewe</i> = water); see Chapter 3.22.
<i>Dhagla</i>	Useful weed that grew between terrace walls and functioned as an anti-erosive measure; also played a role as a legendary plant the Gaske rainmakers once used to magically produce drinking water in an emergency situation (see baba Musa's account in Chapter 3.7).
<i>Dhal susiye</i>	Hoeing uncultivated land (<i>dhal</i> = hoeing; <i>susiye</i> = uncultivated land); consult Chapter 3.10 about working the terraced land for more details.
<i>Dhanga</i>	Front wall of the foyer of a house; consisting of a very smooth dry stone wall facing the infields; see Plates 24a and 24b in Chapter 3.11; the same smooth front stone walling with a kitchen on each side was also typical of the Chikidè and the Guduf (Plate 21d).
<i>Ding dva</i>	General word for wrist bracelet; see Chapter 3.14 for more details.
<i>Ding ghwala</i>	Bangles for twin boys and girls and also for a first child born after twins; see illustrations of twin bangles in Figure 30 (Chapter 3.19).
<i>Duf dala</i>	Ritual guinea-corn beer libated over ancestor stones as a replacement for <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i> if farm owner cannot afford to slaughter a he-goat (see Chapter 3.12 about the house as a place of religious worship).
<i>Dugh dzugwa</i>	Marriage by promise; literally means 'befriending a girl' (<i>dugh</i> = girl) – is a reference to an arranged marriage initiated by the groom's father (see John's testimony in Chapter 3.20).
<i>Dugh pata</i>	Marrying a girl without notice of the girl's parents (<i>dugh</i> = girl); consult Chapter 3.20 for details.
<i>Dugh viya</i>	Marriage by capture (<i>dugh</i> = girl; <i>viya</i> = 'use of force'); see Chapter 3.20.
<i>Dughwa-ha</i>	Reference to newly-married girl or woman as 'new wife' (Chapter 3.20)
<i>Dung ga baya</i>	Ritual pot for deceased mother as first wife, kept in her former lower kitchen (Chapter 3.12)
<i>Dungwe</i>	Ritual cooking pot or small aperture beer pot as spirit pot for a child;

	see photographs in Plate 41a, Plate 41b and Table 8 (Chapter 3.12).
Durghwe	Mountain shrine in Ghw'a (no literal meaning is known); had an inter-ethnic function with the Chikidè and Guduf, and also played a role as a subregional rain shrine for neighbouring groups further south (consult Chapter 3.17 for a detailed description of the role of Durghwe).
Dutsa	Iron bar; in the past <i>dutsa</i> served as currency for obtaining cows for dung production as part of the pre-colonial subsistence economy; since colonial times chemical fertiliser has led to guinea corn increasingly losing its ritual significance and millet and beans becoming socio-economically more important; we hypothesise that this was a result of the modern market economy (Chapter 3.10) impacting on the bi-annual ritual calendar of the Dghwedè (Chapter 3.8).
Dzadza	Leaves from freshly-germinated shoots of the <i>wurighe</i> tree (fan palm) used for body adornment during <i>dzum zugune</i> ; leaves were also worn on necks and foreheads of former and new parents of reborn twins; <i>dzadza</i> was also the name for the lower leg covers made of fresh palm fronds worn by keen young men who had not yet started <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photograph of a <i>dzadza</i> lower leg cover in Plate 58a (Chapter 3.14).
Dzar dva	Ritual cutting of cake-like solid food (<i>javda</i>) during marriage ceremony after the three days seclusion of the woman to be married; see also illustration of <i>zalahwa</i> ritual in Figure 32 (Chapter 3.20).
Dzibuwa	Term for 'god the thief' who is responsible for death; also seen as a singularity in the sense that he is perceived to be a childless old man (<i>dnugwe</i>); see oral accounts in Chapter 3.16.
Dzum zugune	Adult initiation; it consisted of four stages ideally performed over a period of seven years; <i>dzum zugune</i> stopped being performed in colonial times and we had to reconstruct this important communal Dghwedè event from the memories of our Dghwedè friends who could remember it (see Chapter 3.14); we interpret <i>dzum zugune</i> to have been a means of crisis management for avoiding chronic food shortage in the semi-arid environment of the Gwoza hills, being the most northern extension of the Mandara Mountains.
Dzura	Space above the door between lower room (<i>batiw tighe</i>) and upper room (<i>batiw daghara</i>), where <i>tughdhe kule</i> was ritually deposited overnight (Chapter 3.12); see illustration of it in Figure 20b.
F	
Fstaha	Initiation ceremony carried out during two stages of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; was also the general word for adult initiation in Chikidè (see Chapter 3.14); see also <i>yew fstaha</i> (ritual water) as part of initiation of a bride into her future husband's patriline (Chapter 3.20).
Ftsukwe	West; see discussion about Dghwedè cardinal points in Chapter 3.16.
Fug gida	Moonlight dance; was traditionally performed after harvest period.
G	
Gabajuwala	Keen young men, married or unmarried, who had not yet started <i>dzum zugune</i> ; Chapter 3.14 explains their important role as future candidates for the ritual cycle of adult initiation.

<i>Gadegal /gidegal</i>	<i>Gadegal</i> and <i>gidegal</i> are colonial expressions describing the alleged chiefly function of the Dghwedè concept of lineage majority (<i>gadghale</i>); see critical discussion in Chapter 3.21.
<i>Gadghale</i>	A majority of elders represented by the most numerous local lineage group in late pre-colonial times (Chapter 3.21); see <i>gadegal</i> and <i>gidegal</i> for the colonial application of the concept.
<i>Gadike</i>	Flat roof made of thatch on wooden supports; see Chapter 3.11 about the architecture of a traditional house.
<i>Gagha</i>	Acacia albida (Chapter 3.10)
<i>Gamaka</i>	Harvest storage facility that could be used for guinea corn or millet
<i>Garda</i>	Neckband woven of five layers of speargrass (<i>thardè</i>) which gave the <i>ngwa garda</i> during the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> their name; see photograph in Plate 57c (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Gaske</i>	A member of the Dghwedè rainmaker lineage; <i>ga</i> = people; <i>Ske</i> = founding ancestor of rainmaker lineage; see Chapters 3.7 and 3.13.
<i>Gazhiwe</i>	Main cornblessor lineage of Dghwedè; Zhiwe was a 'son' of Gudule (see Chapter 3.7 for more details).
<i>Ghadike</i>	Ritual sauce kitchen for the husband of a house; see Figure 18 (Chapter 3.11) and Figure 19c (Chapter 3.12) for general layout plans.
<i>Ghalaghala</i>	Carpet grass (<i>Axonopus</i>); see Plate 19a for a photograph of carpet grass; it was used by the rainmaker to tie to the <i>ngurangura</i> tree (<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>) to control strong winds (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Ghaluwa</i>	Celestial world above this world; hard sky; firmament; see Chapter 3.16 where we attempt to reconstruct the cosmographic worldview of the pre-colonial Dghwedè; <i>ghaluwa</i> was also a place where powerful healers struggled with sorcerers over an abducted spirit, or where rainmakers fought with other rainmakers for rain to fall in a particular locality.
<i>Ghamba</i>	Name given to the first child born after twins; Ghamba was also the name given to the third child in case of the birth of triplets (Chapter 3.19); Ghamba did not fall victim to infanticide when born as an unlucky eighth-born child (see Chapter 3.18 for details).
<i>Ghar</i>	On top; high up; hill
<i>Ghar malga</i>	Upper passageway or upper foundation of the foyer area of a house (<i>malga</i> = foundation stone); see photograph in Plate 28c and also groundplan of the foyer of a house in Figure 19c (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Ghawaghawa</i>	Cursing; the place where someone might have been cursed in the pre-colonial past was referred to as <i>vakwada</i> (Chapter 3.15).
<i>Ghaya</i>	House; homestead; farmstead; the Dghwedè residence was patrilocal and a farmstead was occupied by a nuclear family as the socio-economic base unit; individual rooms of a house are called <i>batiwe</i> ; see Figure 18 and Plate 22a for the general architectural layout structure of a traditional Dghwedè house (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Ghdha vda</i>	Forging or hammering iron bars (<i>dutsa</i>) into iron tools (<i>ghdha</i> = smithing; <i>vda</i> = hammering into tools, forging); consult Chapter 3.10.

Ghdisiye	Jackal: 'dog of the bush'; see Chapter 3.22 for classificatory details.
Ghramba	A big flute
Ghuvare	Charcoal; charcoal also played a strong ritual role (Chapter 3.23).
Ghuze	Guinea-corn beer (see Chapter 3.16 about its cosmological origin); <i>ghuze</i> played a key role in libation over the three ancestor stones (<i>kwir thala</i>) of a house shrine and was the most important ritual drink shared among the congregation of extended family.
Ghwa'a	Oldest settlement unit of Dghwedë; see Chapter 3.3 about the role of 'Johode' as early arrival zone from Tur, also consult Chapter 3.4 where we present Thakara as the common ancestor of Ghwa'a as part of our reconstruction of a Dghwedë lineage tree (Figure 12).
Ghwala	Twins (Chapter 3.19); like Ghamba, Ghwala did not fall victim to infanticide if born as a unlucky eighth-born child (see Chapter 3.18 for more details).
Ghwe	Goat; the he-goat was the most common sacrificial animal slaughtered (<i>har</i>) in Dghwedë calendrical ritual culture; during times of environmental crisis only one elder slaughtered a he-goat on behalf of the rest of his extended family or even lineage group (Chapter 3.8).
Gjuwa	Goatskin for older women, known as 'old skins' (see photograph in Plate 51a). The <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> wore several of them turned inside out packed around their hips while dancing back uphill to complete the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> (Chapter 3.14).
Godaliy	Subregional Mafa ethnonym for the Dghwedë; consult Chapter 3.3 about the meaning of Godaliy as a synonym for <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> ; also consult Chapter 3.23 about the ritual density of <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> .
Gudahiya	Storage facility for guinea corn only (<i>hiya</i> = guinea corn) [It might not have been <i>guda hiya</i> but <i>ghuda hiya</i> (<i>ghuda</i> = cutting)]; see interview with Zakariya Kwire about <i>thagla</i> (harvest festival) in Chapter 3.13.
Gude	Loft; adobe dome on top of the lower and the upper room of a house; see photo of upper room loft opening in Figure 34d (Chapter 3.11); the ritual role of the first wife's <i>gude tighe</i> is discussed in Chapter 3.12.
Gude daghara	Upper loft (belonged to the upper room of the husband); see Plate 34d in Chapter 3.11 for illustration.
Gude tighe	Lower loft (belonged to the lower room of the first wife); see Plate 43a and Chapter 3.12 for details about its potential ritual role.
Gudule	Clan group in Dghwedë; the Gudule started the bull festival in Dghwedë (Chapter 3.13).
Gudulyewe	Dghwedë word for Gudur; Gudulyewe literally means: 'water of Gudul' and was visible from Gudule as being situated at the eastern fringes of the Mandara Mountains; see map in Figure 21b (Chapter 3.13).
Gudur	Small ritual chieftaincy in Mofu-Gudur area facing the Diamaré plain on the northeastern fringes of the Mandara Mountains (see also Gudulyewe); see Figure 21b for regional view of travelling bull festival (Chapter 3.13).
Gwagha	Patrilineal exogamy (the opposite is <i>mbthawa</i>); exogamous lineage

	brothers could not marry each other's lineage sisters due to their shared patrilineal descent; larger clan groups practised lineage exogamy while smaller clan groups remained exogamous; <i>gwagha</i> was also used by seasonal workers in referring to themselves as Dghwedè (Chapter 3.6).
<i>Gwal ghwa'a</i>	People of the mountains (<i>gwal</i> = people; <i>ghwa</i> = on top, mountains); <i>gwal ghwa'a</i> means people of the mountains in general and not only the people of Ghwa'a (see Chapter 3.4); see also Figure 25 (Chapter 3.16).
<i>Gwal ngurde</i>	Specialist healer to treat severe sorcery attacks (<i>ngurde</i> = medicine); see Chapter 3.15 about ideas around existential personhood and compare with the concept of <i>zalghe</i> (wizard or sorcerer).
<i>Gwal vda</i>	People involved in iron production (<i>gwal</i> = people; <i>vda</i> = forging); see Chapter 3.10 about iron production in the past; see also Chapter 2.1 and compare the link to the word for slave (<i>vāda/vda</i>).
<i>Gwalghaya</i>	Family home; homestead (<i>gwal</i> = people; <i>ghaya</i> = house); <i>gwalghaya</i> was also a reference to the extended family as the congregation for the ritual ancestor worship of a deceased father (<i>dada</i>) or grandfather (<i>jije</i>) of the father and owner of a house; see Figures 20a and 20b for spatial dimension and architectural details (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Gwambariya</i>	Black and white cotton strips used on several occasions during <i>dzum zugune</i> , including by the <i>ngwa garda</i> who wore them around the waist; see photograph and explanation in Plate 58b (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Gwargwara</i>	Leather strips with glass beads worn over each shoulder by keen young men who had not yet started <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photograph in Plate 57h (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Gwazgafte</i>	Supreme Being; God; divinity; house god; personal god; we see the concept of <i>gwazgafte</i> as being rooted in the semi-arid mountain environment of the Gwoza hills and consider most of our oral accounts as being rooted in late pre-colonial times; consult Chapter 3.16 for a more detailed discussion, also in comparison with our Mafa fieldnotes.
<i>Gwiye</i>	Farmland; farm; see Figure 17 on Dghwedè farm layout (Chapter 3.10).
H	
<i>Hadz kule</i>	Ceremony of libating beer over the grave (<i>kule</i>) of a deceased father as part of <i>har ghwe</i> ; was done after the top of the grave had been cleaned; see Figure 20b for a spatial illustration of <i>har ghwe</i> (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Hamada</i>	Tribute payments or tax; see oral accounts in Chapters 2.1 and 2.2.
<i>Hamtiwe</i>	Vitaceae (grape) variety (most likely of the <i>Cissus</i> genus); played an important role in the opening stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photograph and further explanation in Plate 57a (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Har</i>	Slaughtering; sacrificial slaughtering; see Table 5a for the different sacrificial slaughterings as part of calendrical rituals (Chapter 3.8); the most frequent animal to be ritually slaughtered was the goat (<i>ghwe</i>).
<i>Har batiwe</i>	Sacrificial slaughtering ritual in the context of an individual room of a house; see Chapter 3.12 about the house as a place of worship.
<i>Har daghile</i>	Bull festival (<i>daghile</i> = bull); see Chapter 3.13 for detailed reconstruction of the Dghwedè travelling bull festival.

<i>Har ghaya</i>	Sacrificial slaughtering linked to the house as a whole (<i>har</i> = sacrificial slaughtering; <i>ghaya</i> = house or farmstead); consult Chapter 3.12.
<i>Har ghwala</i>	Slaughtering for twins (<i>ghwala</i>); see Chapter 3.19 for more details.
<i>Har ghwe</i>	Sacrifice to deceased father; <i>har</i> = slaughter; <i>ghwe</i> = he-goat; see Figure 20b for a detailed spatial illustration (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Har gwazgafte</i>	Ritual slaughtering of he-goat for divinity and house god before the threshing of guinea corn; see photographic illustration in Plate 44a for spatial aspects of boundary marking for <i>har gwazgafte</i> (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Har jije</i>	Sacrifice to deceased grandfather; he was the most significant patrilineal family ancestor to form calendrical ritual congregations; see Figure 20a for spatial dimension across an extended family setting (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Har khagwa</i>	Closing ritual by mixing the meats kept from <i>har ghwe</i> (for deceased father) and <i>har jije</i> (for deceased grandfather) which had to be done before <i>har daghile</i> (bull festival); see Chapters 3.8 and 3.13.
Hidkala	The Lamang of Hidkala (Vile, Hudugum and Hambagda); Kwalika in particular had strong oral historical links to Hambagda (Chapter 3.4).
<i>Huba</i>	<i>Urginea maritima</i> ; played an important role as a ritual plant to promote lineage expansion and also to increase the yield of crops (Chapter 3.10); Mathews (1934) refers to it together with <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> as 'gadali' which he wrongly translates as 'cactus' (Chapter 3.3).
<i>Huba fite</i>	<i>Urginea maritima</i> was used by rainmakers against lightning (<i>fite</i>); see oral account of Ndruwe Dzguma from Gharaza (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Humtara</i>	Ritual <i>vavanza</i> (<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i>) variety used to put in a he-goat's mouth which would burst and kill the goat instead of slaughtering it by knife; a way of sacrificing a he-goat used by the Gaske rainmaker immediately after the harvest; see interview with Ndruwe Dzguma in Chapter 3.12.
<i>Hupala</i>	Foyer area of a house; literally means 'a complete space'; see general layout of the foyer area of a house in Figure 19c (Chapter 3.12).
J	
<i>Jadva</i>	Cake-like solid food used during marriage ceremony; see <i>dzar dva</i> which was most likely a reference to the ritual cutting of the <i>jadva</i> cake into three stacks; see also John's testimony about the <i>zalaghwa</i> ritual and its illustration in Figure 32 showing how the middle stack was broken in two on the head of the bride, for a boy and a girl to run with their portions to the sauce kitchen and the beer kitchen (Chapter 3.20).
<i>Jahurimbe</i>	Ritual beer and sauce bowl with a stand; was stored in the 'stomach' of the house shrine (see Plate 37a) and used by the <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> to start <i>dzum zugune</i> (Chapter 3.14); it also played a role during the Dghwedé marriage rituals of the late pre-colonial past (Chapter 3.20).
<i>Jije</i>	Grandfather; and the mother's brother and the mother's father; you even called the sons of your mother's brother <i>jije</i> ; you could also call any elderly person <i>jije</i> (Chapter 3.6); <i>jije</i> was not only a significant relationship term used across patrilineal and matrilineal family connections but was also the most important paternal family ancestor in terms of ritual performances of the house (Chapter 3.12).

<i>Jij-ha</i>	Forefathers (<i>jije</i> = grandfather; <i>ha</i> = people); this underpins the general importance of the patrilineal grandfather (<i>jije</i>) as ancestral key figure.
Johode	Hausa alternative for Ghwa'a or Dghwedè; was used by colonial officers; see Chapter 3.3 about 'Johode' as early arrival zone from Tur.
K	
<i>Kaba</i>	Ritual linked to the first <i>har ghwe</i> (sacrifice for a deceased father) that a man had to perform in which his senior brother as <i>dada</i> priest had to come for assistance before he could start <i>dzum zugune</i> (adult initiation); this would have only been an option if the senior brother had performed <i>dzum zugune</i> before him (Chapter 3.14).
Kaftrusa	Dghwedè reference to the British resident of Borno in the 1920s; read the legendary narrative about the arrest of Hamman Yaji (Chapter 2.2).
<i>Kalbaka</i>	Clouds (mainly a reference to rain clouds); see rainmaker Ndrüwa Dzuguma's oral account in Chapter 3.8 describing his local rainmaker perspective of ritually interacting with the rainy season.
<i>Kalyagha</i>	Dry season; see Chapter 3.8 about the Dghwedè seasonal calendar; the Dghwedè only counted the rainy season (<i>viye</i>) as the agriculturally active part of the year while the dry season was dedicated to repair and maintenance work; in terms of ritual performances the main festive season started with the harvest of guinea corn (see also Chapter 3.10).
<i>Kambarte</i>	Lineage section; literal meaning: a 'new beginning' in terms of a new local ancestral beginning, as opposed to <i>ksage</i> which refers to ancestral descent through lineage sections; see illustration of local group formation along patrilineal kinship ties in Figure 14 (Chapter 3.6).
<i>Kavere durghwe</i>	The three rock pillars representing the three 'granaries' of Durghwe; see Chapter 3.17 for more details about the cosmography of Durghwe; the three rock pillars also represented the three shrines allocated to the Dghwedè, the Chikidè and the Guduf; the Btha lineage of the Thakara of Ghwa'a was responsible for subregional sacrifices.
<i>Kavire</i>	Temporary storage facility for sorghum in the front yard of a house (sorghum had a cosmological significance and needed particular ritual attention when it was harvested, threshed and brought into the house); see <i>har gwazgafte</i> (slaughtering for divinity) in Chapter 3.12.
<i>Kba</i>	War helmet (see Plate 56a) worn by <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> , <i>ngwa yiye</i> and <i>bak zalika</i> ; the ritual wearing of a war helmet during the different stages of <i>dzum zugune</i> only began after the first half of the second stage when the <i>ngwa garda</i> had run downhill and changed into <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> to dance uphill again; see also the public <i>fstaha</i> initiation ritual of the <i>ngwa yiye</i> described in Chapter 3.14.
<i>Kdafa</i>	Ritual meal dedicated to a first wife on reaching the seventh month of her first pregnancy; was linked to the transformation of a three-legged cooking pot into a personal spirit or god pot (see Chapter 3.12).
<i>Khalale</i>	Lineage shrine; water spirit; the word is similar to the Mafa word <i>halalay</i> which not only meant water spirit but was also used for a sacred grove or hilltop representing a shrine dedicated to the local ancestor of a clan or lineage group (see Chapter 3.9).
<i>Khudi luwa</i>	Dghwedè word for hillside hamlet (<i>khudi</i> = stomach; <i>luwa</i> = settlement); also has a cosmological dimension as <i>luwa</i> is also a

	synonym for this world as opposed to the image of a next world below and a world above this world (<i>luwa</i>); The word <i>khudi</i> also means womb or belly and is a cosmological image of socio-economic reproduction linked to food production (see Chapters 3.10 and 3.11).
<i>Khudi thala</i>	Centrepiece of Dghwedé house shrine (<i>khudi</i> = stomach; <i>thala</i> = house shrine); equivalent of <i>khudi luwa</i> 'stomach of the settlement' but now also as individual house shrine as the representation of a cosmological 'stomach' of food production; calendrical rituals of religious worship start with the sacrifice to the deceased father (<i>dada</i>) and the deceased grandfather (<i>jije</i>) and end with the ritual release and sacrifice of a stall-fed bull (<i>har daghile</i>) by the most successful households across Dghwedé; consult Figure 19c for a layout plan of the foyer of a house, and Plates 25c, 26c and 26d for photographs of a <i>khudi thala</i> .
<i>Khwa khwa</i>	Crotal bells made mainly of brass attached to a string worn by <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> around the waist during the opening stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photograph in Plate 58a (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Ki6a</i>	Fighting stick used by the <i>ngwa yiye</i> (in third stage of adult initiation) to force the <i>ngwa garda</i> (second stage) to kneel before being allowed on the downhill running competition; the biological age of the <i>ngwa garda</i> goes across the age range and there might have been quite a few <i>ngwa yiye</i> who forced an older neighbour to kneel (see Chapter 3.14).
<i>Kla dughwe</i>	Ritual in which a girl as part of a 'marriage by promise' (<i>dugh dzugwa</i>) was initiated into her future husband's patriline before sexual maturity; she was called back when ready to consummate the marriage (see Chapter 3.20 for more details).
<i>Kla pana</i>	Cultivated terraced land; outer fields (<i>kla</i> = break; <i>pana</i> = corn stalk); the cultivated farmland outside of <i>khudi luwa</i> (hillside hamlet); see also Figure 17 showing the general Dghwedé farm layout (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Ksage</i>	Classifying lineal descent back to a remote ancestor, whereas <i>kambarte</i> refers to a new beginning of a local descent group; <i>ksage</i> has more the meaning of classification along one line of descent while <i>kambarte</i> refers to a specific locality where a line of descent once started; see also <i>kudige</i> for patrilocal descent among full-brothers as a model for future lineage splitting (see Chapter 3.6 for more details).
<i>Ksluwa</i>	West; see Chapter 3.16 about Dghwedé cosmographic orientation.
<i>Kudig daghara</i>	Upper kitchen or right kitchen; see groundplan of a traditional house in Figures 18, 19b and 19c (Chapters 3.11 and 3.12).
<i>Kudig tighe</i>	Lower kitchen or left kitchen (belongs to the first wife); played a greater ritual role than <i>kudig daghara</i> (right kitchen); see Figure 19c showing 3D illustration of the foyer of a traditional house (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Kudige</i>	Brothers of one matrilineal 'kitchen' are often seen as co-descending ancestors, and ego-centred genealogical descendants from a 'kitchen' of full-brothers are used to trace intergenerational inheritance rights (Chapter 3.6 and also Chapter 3.18).
<i>Kula kula</i>	'Talking oracle' used for twin ceremony; divination performed with hollow branches of the <i>wulinge</i> tree (see Chapter 3.19 for more details).

<i>Kwadgara</i>	Room for firstborn child (see groundplan in Figures 18 and 19c); a new bride stayed in seclusion there for three days as part of a traditional marriage ceremony (Chapter 3.20).
<i>Kwalanglanga</i>	Brass bells on iron chains which gave the <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> their name (the <i>kwalanglanga</i> danced uphill with these bells attached to the waist); see Plate 58a in Chapter 3.14 on adult initiation (<i>dzum zugune</i>).
<i>Kwata</i>	Calabash for drinking sorghum beer; played a role in many ritual contexts and was often stored in the first wife's loft (<i>gude tighe</i>) or in the 'stomach' of the house shrine (<i>khudi thala</i>); see Plate 59h (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Kwatama</i>	Headdress made of cow or bull hide; was worn by keen young men who had not yet started <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see Plate 56b (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Kwatimba</i>	Mat-like tent around the <i>tsaga</i> stick above the upper passageway of the foyer area of the house during the bull festival; see Figure 21a illustrating this ritual arrangement (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Kwir dada</i>	Ancestor stone for a deceased father (see Figure 19c for location); played a central role during <i>har ghwe</i> as calendrical sacrifice to a deceased father (see Figures 20a and 20b for spatial dimension).
<i>Kwir jije</i>	Ancestor stone for a deceased grandfather (see Figure 19c); played a central role during <i>har jije</i> , the calendrical sacrifice to a deceased grandfather; see Figure 20a for spatial dimension (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Kwir thala</i>	General name for the three ancestor stones at the foot of the house shrine (<i>kwire</i> = stone; <i>thala</i> = house shrine); see Plate 25c showing my friend Buba overlooking his ancestor stones (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Kwir uvawa</i>	Volcanic plugs (<i>kwire</i> = stone) of Roumsiki on the central plateau, which are visible from Dghwedē; see Figure 4 for a geographical overview.
<i>Kwir wuje</i>	Individual ancestor stone for paternal great-grandfather (see Figure 19c); was the ancestor stone which was moved and stored under the granary of the father of the house (see photograph in Plate 36a) when the father of the house died (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Kwir yewe</i>	Rainstones (<i>yewe</i> = water, rain); see images in Plates 14 and 46a.
<i>Kwire</i>	General word for stone or rock; see introduction to Chapter 3.12.
L	
<i>Lave</i>	<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i> (see Plate 18c); was used to make a <i>tsaga</i> stick for the bull festival; see Figure 21a for an illustration (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Lawan</i>	Kanuri: village head; in each of the villages of the Gwoza LGA I visited during my 1994 survey I was kindly supported by the <i>lawan</i> as village head (Chapter 1.2); has its roots in colonial times (Chapter 2.2).
<i>Lamana mdughe</i>	Bridewealth (<i>lamana</i> = 'wealth you pay'; <i>dughe</i> = bride; girl); bridewealth was paid in two stages and sometimes even in three stages (see Chapter 3.20 about past ways of marrying in Dghwedē).
<i>Lusa</i>	Dark shades of colours; indigo, dark green or black; see the Dghwedē word list linked to shades of colours in Chapter 3.22; see also <i>darke</i> (indigo cotton dress) worn by <i>ngwa yiye</i> as symbol of ripeness.

<i>Luwa</i>	Settlement; earth (refers more to the mountains than the plains); see Figure 25 about <i>luwa</i> as key word for cosmographic mirror worlds; the term <i>luwa</i> for this world has a strong pre-Copernican dimension, with <i>ghaluwa</i> as an image of the world above and <i>luwa mbarte</i> an image of the next world below this world; see Chapter 3.16 for ethnographic details.
<i>Luwa haya</i>	Settlement of the adjacent plains (<i>haya</i> = a flat place); see Chapter 3.16.
<i>Luwa mbarte</i>	Alternative expression for the next world (see Chapter 3.16); powerful rainmakers could travel inside <i>luwa mbarte</i> (<i>mbarte</i> = rectum, bottom, beginning, east) to collect 'the roots of the sun' to increase their local efficacy in controlling rainfall (see also the legend of Zedima in Chapter 2.1); <i>luwa mbarte</i> was also where the ancestors lived, which was considered to be a mirror world of this world (<i>luwa</i>).
M	
<i>Madza</i>	Fence of thorny shrubs as Fulbe defence against the Wandala in the western plain; consult interview with Chika Khutsa of Kwalika about oral history of the late pre-colonial boundary between Madagali and the Disa foothill (see Chapter 2.1).
<i>Magrata</i>	Iron sword carried by <i>ngwa yiye</i> during <i>dzum zugune</i> (see Plate 59l).
<i>Magulisa</i>	Clan medicine used by Gaske rainmakers to increase the yield of crops; consisting of <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> (<i>vavanza</i>), <i>Urginea maritima</i> (<i>huba</i>), quartz (<i>changwithe</i>) and charcoal (<i>ghuvare</i>); see photographic illustration in Plate 20a (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Mahide</i>	The milk of this euphorbia variety was used for a specific ritual treatment (<i>skwe</i>) to cause or cure diarrhoea; see Plate 64 (Chapter 3.23).
<i>Ma'ira</i>	Bull's feeding place (Plate 34b); was used for <i>pagh yewe</i> ritual as part of the bull festival (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Malga malga</i>	Corner or foundation stone of a traditional house (see also <i>ghar malga</i>); <i>malga malga</i> was where the father of the house sat when he sprinkled ritual water (<i>yewe fstaha</i>) over the future wife of his son, to bless her as a new member of his patriline (Chapter 3.20).
<i>Man skwe</i>	Handling (<i>man</i>) ritual treatment (<i>skwe</i>); one aspect was the maintenance of the regularity of rituals in order to avoid bad luck; another aspect was the ownership of certain ritual treatments (<i>skwe</i>) by specialists to regulate good and bad luck in the community; <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> (<i>vavanza</i>) in this context had a particularly high density regarding the variety of ritual applications (Chapter 3.23).
<i>Mandatha</i>	'Calming down'; <i>vavanz mandatha</i> was used for divination and healing; see photographs of this in Plates 62a-62e (Chapter 3.21); it was also used calm a potentially vicious bull before its ritual release as part of the Dghwede bull festival (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Matatala</i>	Rope used to tie a sacred bull to a tree after he had been ritually recaptured as part of the Dghwede bull festival (Chapter 3.13); see also Chapter 3.10 about rope making (Plate 16a) as a task for males only.
<i>Mbart luwa</i>	East; literal meaning: 'bottom of the world' (Chapter 3.16)

<i>Mbarte</i>	Rectum; anus; ground level or bottom level; the sun is seen to rise out of the 'bottom' of this world which we interpret as an oral historical reminder of a pre-Copernican worldview (Chapter 3.16).
<i>Mbitha</i>	Gourds grown at the house
<i>Mbra/Ngra</i>	Mythical ancestor of all Dghwedè and many other groups of the Gwoza hills, including the Wandala; linked to the Tur tradition (Chapter 3.3).
<i>Mbthawa</i>	Patrilineages that could intermarry (opposite of <i>gwagha</i>); see example of marriage alliances between the major lineages descending from Thakara as founding ancestor of Ghwa'a (Chapter 3.6).
<i>Mughuze-Ruwa</i>	Outsider ancestor of the largest clan group in Dghwedè (see Chapters 3.4 and 3.5); Vaghagaya was the most successful 'son' of Mughuze and played a key role in the founding legend of Korana Basa; in Mughuze's case the oral historical narrative puts great emphasis on the legendary role of his first wife 'Bughwithe' of Hembe as the mother of Vaghagaya (see Chapters 3.7 and 3.20).
N	
<i>Ndafa</i>	Sauce and eating bowl (Plate 59g); also had ritual uses, and we identified two dedicated storage facilities: one was the 'stomach' of the house shrine (<i>khudi thala</i>) and the other was the loft of the first wife's room (<i>gude tighe</i>); see Figure 20b and Plate 43a for storage illustrations; the <i>ndafa</i> stored in the 'stomach' of <i>thala</i> was also used to libate beer over the three ancestor stones (<i>kwir thala</i>).
<i>Ndange</i>	Ceremonial bird-shaped knife (Plate 59k); was carried in the right hand by the <i>ngwa garda</i> at the place called Fkagh Gwatadhe (see Figure 22 illustrating the key stations of <i>dzum zugune</i>) during the first step of the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Ndighuva</i>	Seeds of the fruits of a tree used to make a ritual sauce for <i>thagla</i> (harvest festival) in the absence of sorghum for brewing ritual beer; the rest of the <i>ndighuva</i> fruit seeds are thrown on the path; another alternative to sorghum beer was sorrel leaves (<i>bathi'a</i>); see interview with Zakariya Kwire in Chapter 3.13.
<i>Ndughwe</i>	Large beer pot (Plate 29e); it was used for cooking and storing beer.
<i>Ngurangura</i>	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i> ; tree used by rainmaker to tie carpet grass (<i>ghalaghala</i>) to increase the growth of crops and also to control strong winds (see Chapter 3.10); Table 6b lists a ritual group site in Gathaghure as 'Ngurangura ga Gaza' (Chapter 3.9).
<i>Ngwa garda</i>	First step of second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see Chapter 3.14 for details.
<i>Ngwa hamtiwe</i>	First stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; only a man whose father and senior brothers had completed <i>dzum zugune</i> (at least as long as they were alive) could be a <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> ; see also <i>kaba</i> ritual following the death of a man's father as precondition of becoming a <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Ngwa kwalanglanga</i>	Second step of second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; after the <i>ngwa garda</i> ran downhill they changed into <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> and danced back uphill to perform the <i>fstaha</i> initiation of the house (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Ngwa yiye</i>	Third stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; after the senior rainmaker had planted the

	spear (<i>nzav ruma</i>) in the ritual dunghole the <i>ngwa yiye</i> performed the public <i>fstaha</i> initiation nearby (see Chapter 3.14 for more details).
<i>Nise</i>	Wife (Chapter 3.6)
<i>Nzav ruma</i>	'Planting the spear' in the ritual dunghole during third stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; the senior rainmaker planted the spear near his house; after that the <i>ngwa yiye</i> had their public <i>fstaha</i> initiation; the local lineage elders of Ghwa'a (Figure 24) were also present (Chapter 3.14).
P	
<i>Pagbagha</i>	Sashes with double row of cowries sown onto leather strip. Was worn as bandolier and waistband by the <i>ngwa garda</i> during <i>dzum zugune</i> and by women during funerals; see images in Plate 59a (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Pagh yewe</i>	Ritual pouring of <i>vavanz mandatha</i> over feeding place of the sacred bull (<i>pagh</i> = 'pour it away'; <i>yewe</i> = water); see Chapter 3.13 on bull festival.
<i>Pakdinda</i>	They hung from the sides of the war helmets (<i>kba</i>) of the <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> during the dance uphill as part of the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see Plate 54a and Figure 23b (Chapter 3.14).
Plata	Fulbe (singular) in Dghwedë; a Fulbe (Fulata) from Madagali; see interview with Zakariya Kwire and dada Dga about Hamman Yaji's attacks in Dghwedë during early colonial times (Chapter 2.2).
Plat-ha	Fulbe; Hamman Yaji; Dghwedë (with the suffix <i>-ha</i>) plural of Plata (derived from Fulata); see Chapter 2.2 about unsettling colonial times.
R	
<i>Rata</i>	Eleusine; finger millet; is planted by women (Chapter 3.10); <i>rata</i> was used together with milk and charcoal to stop diarrhoea spreading as part of a ritual treatment known as <i>skwe njida</i> (Chapter 3.23).
<i>Ruma</i>	Spear or lance made of iron with two functional ends; was carried by the <i>ngwa yiye</i> , and the senior rainmaker planted his own <i>ruma</i> spear in the ritual dunghole; see Plates 59c and 60a (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Ruwe</i>	Tamarindus indica; Table 7b (Chapter 3.10)
S	
<i>Safa</i>	Breath; life or life force; we translate <i>safa</i> (breath) as soul, a representation of life or life force, distinguished from <i>sdukwe</i> (shadow) which was the word our protagonists used for the human spirit; it was explained that the spirit was the part of the mind that could be abducted by a sorcerer, which could lead to death when <i>safa</i> ceased as a result of the spirit abduction; see discussion about the structure of the mind in Chapter 3.15 on existential personhood.
<i>Sak batiw gajije</i>	Three-legged cooking pot (<i>sak</i>) in the miniature ancestor room of a deceased grandfather (<i>batiw gajije</i>); see photograph of a <i>sak batiw gajije</i> in Plate 35e (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Sak batiwe</i>	Ritual cooking pot dedicated for a particular room of a house but not necessarily on three legs (<i>sak sage</i>); see Chapter 3.12 for description.
<i>Sak sage</i>	Three-legged ritual cooking pot (<i>sage</i> = legs); see Chapter 3.12.
<i>Sake</i>	General name for a cooking pot used to prepare solid food or sauce; see Chapter 3.12 for detailed description of different types of pots.

<i>Sakgharkhfire</i>	Spirit or god pot; literally 'pot on top of your head where you sleep'; see photograph in Plate 40a and bulama Ngatha's description in Chapter 3.12; this pot protected his spirit (<i>sdukwe</i>) while asleep.
<i>Sdukwe</i>	Human spirit; derived from the word <i>sdukwe vagha</i> for human shadow (<i>sdukwe</i> = shadow; <i>vagha</i> = body); we distinguish 'spirit' (<i>sdukwe</i>) from 'soul' (<i>safa</i>); we understand <i>sdukwe</i> (shadow) as the mental representation of the human faculties and <i>safa</i> (breath) as the transcending vital principle; see Chapter 3.15 about Dghwedé ideas around existential personhood.
<i>Sdukwe vagha</i>	Human shadow (<i>sdukwe</i> = shadow; <i>vagha</i> = body); see Chapter 3.15.
Shatane [shaitan]	'Evil spirit'; a Dghwedé expression of earlier Islamic or later Christian influence; was used by healer-diviner Katiwa ga Ghuda of Ghwa'a as a substitute for <i>gwazgafte</i> (divinity) when referring in an interview to his own healing 'evil spirit'; see discussion of Katiwa ga Ghuda's oral account in Chapters 3.15 and 3.21.
<i>Shire</i>	General name for a pot to fetch water; see bulama Ngatha's list of types of pots in Chapter 3.12.
<i>Shiwe</i>	<i>Ziziphus abyssinica</i> ; was used to make <i>tsaga</i> stick for bull festival; see Table 7b (Chapter 3.10) and Figure 21a (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Sishe</i>	Cosmological serpent embracing this world (<i>luwa</i>) by biting its tail as a symbol of reproduction; also known as Ouroboros; see illustration of cosmographic mirror worlds in Figure 25 (Chapter 3.16).
<i>Siye</i>	Bush fields, fallow land; see illustration of a model of the general Dghwedé farm layout in Figure 17 (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Ske</i>	Ancestor of the rainmaker lineage Gaske; from same ancestral 'kitchen' (<i>kudige</i>) as Gudule; see illustration in Chapter 3.13 of Ske and Gudule as ancestral full-brothers; see also Chapter 3.7 about specialist lineages.
<i>Skmama</i>	Generation mate of a deceased father (<i>dada</i>) or grandfather (<i>jije</i>); see Figure 14 (Chapter 3.6), and Figures 20a and 20b (Chapter 3.12) to see how generation mates acted as family priests (<i>zal jije</i>).
<i>Sknukwe</i>	Exogamous lineage brother (Chapter 3.6); was most likely responsible for cooking sauce in the ritual sauce kitchen (see groundplan in Figure 18) in the context of the <i>har jije</i> sacrifice to a deceased grandfather (consult Chapter 3.12 for more details).
<i>Sukdu-skwa nay varmbe</i>	Someone short-leasing out a piece of farmland: 'sell out to get it back' (<i>sukdu-skwa</i> = sell-buy; <i>nay varmbe</i> = getting it back); see John's account about changes in local resource management (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Sunde</i>	Placenta pot; a ritual pot buried outside a house (Chapter 3.12)
<i>Susiye</i>	Bushland; see <i>susiye</i> in the general layout of a Dghwedé farm (<i>gwihe</i>) as presented in Figure 17 (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Suteke</i>	Large ritual beer pot with a small aperture used during adult initiation (<i>dzum zugune</i>); see Plate 59f and description in Chapter 3.14.
<i>Suwa</i>	Shuwa Arabs; see oral account about late pre-colonial contact while delivering tribute to the Wandala of Mora via Mozogo (Chapter 2.1).
<i>Suya</i>	Hausa: skewer kebab; see oral account of journey to Madagali as part

	of the arrest of Hamman Yaji during early colonial times (Chapter 2.2).
T	
<i>Tab hupala</i>	Central passageway of the foyer area of a house (<i>tab</i> = in the middle); see Figure 19c and description of Dghwedé architecture with photo illustrations of <i>tab hupala</i> in Chapters 3.11 and 3.12.
<i>Tadiya</i>	Amulet worn by children born with a 'helmet head' (Caput galeatum); see illustration of <i>tadiya</i> amulets representing a fallopian tube (Figure 31).
<i>Tag dutsa</i>	Processing iron sand (<i>vize</i>) into iron bars (<i>tage</i> = working; <i>dutsa</i> = iron bar); see Chapter 3.10 with oral account on Dghwedé iron-making skills of the past; <i>dutsa</i> also functioned as currency for acquiring cows (<i>tha</i>) for dung production to fertilise soil for successful terrace farming.
<i>Takwakwala</i>	Adobe container as an integrated part of the loft (<i>gude</i>) of the lower room belonging to the first wife; see photograph in Plate 32d in Chapter 3.11 about vernacular Dghwedé architecture.
Tar Durghwe	Flat place (<i>tar</i>) at the upper foot of Durghwe; see Plates 61b and 61c and Figure 27 illustrating the cosmography of Durghwe in Chapter 3.17; Tar Durghwe held water with an underground rock formation which the Dghwedé saw as a cosmographic grinding stone with a croaking toad.
<i>Tardé</i>	Speargrass (<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>); used for <i>dzum zugune</i> body adornment, worn as a bandolier by <i>ngwa hamtiwe</i> (first stage) and as a neckband by <i>ngwa garda</i> (first step of second stage); see Plates 57b and 57c (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Tatadiya</i>	Fallopian tube; see section about Dghwedé ideas around conception in Chapter 3.19; the <i>tadiya</i> amulet represented a fallopian tube (Figure 31).
<i>Tghwa</i>	Tigernuts; the image in Plate 16b demonstrates how women were in charge of planting tigernuts (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Tgija</i>	Useful weed for growing between terrace walls as an anti-erosive measure; was tied to beans by Gaske rainmakers to encourage them to flower; see photo of <i>tgija wushile</i> in Plates 19b and 20b in Chapter 3.10.
<i>Tha</i>	Cow or cattle; was significant in ritual and socio-economic terms for manure production and also as a symbol of good luck in the context of the image of <i>thaghaya</i> as seventh-born son. We translate the word <i>thaghaya</i> as 'cattle in the house' (<i>ghaya</i> = house), while <i>gwalghaya</i> (<i>gwal</i> = people) is a reference to the nuclear and extended family; the 'red cows' (<i>thah tva</i>) and 'black cows' (<i>thah lusa</i>) of the second and third stages of <i>dzum zugune</i> also demonstrate the importance of cattle for the mixed farming system; more cows could be obtained by processing iron sand (<i>tag dutsa</i>) into iron bars (<i>dutsa</i>) as a pre-colonial currency; successful <i>dutsa</i> producers leased out their cows to less successful neighbours to produce more cows in exchange for dung (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Tha'a</i>	Fermentation; especially of sorghum beer (<i>ghuze</i>); see mythological account about the discovery of fermenting guinea corn in Chapter 3.16.
<i>Thaghaya</i>	Seventh-born son; custodian of the earth; literally: <i>tha</i> = cattle, <i>ghaya</i> =

	house; the family <i>thaghaya</i> inherited the lion's share (including the house and infields); we translate <i>thaghaya</i> as 'cattle in the house' referring to the mixed farming system and the importance of dung production in keeping soils fertile (see Chapter 3.10); see Chapter 3.18 to learn about the significance of the eighth-born child as a symbol of bad luck; see also Table 6a which lists lineage-related local <i>thaghaya</i> as ritual custodians for starting the planting and harvesting across Dghwedé (see Chapter 3.9 for more details).
<i>Thagla</i>	Harvest festival; we established that <i>thagla</i> was an annual festival that stopped being performed some decades ago; see oral testimony from Zakariya Kwire at the beginning of Chapter 3.13.
<i>Thah lusa</i>	'Black cows' was the name given to the <i>ngwa yiye</i> during <i>dzum zugune</i> (see Chapter 3.14 for details); the dark colour of <i>lusa</i> was represented by the <i>darke</i> , an indigo cotton dress (see Plate 57i); we conclude that the dark shade of <i>lusa</i> linked to a cow represented successful socio-economic reproduction.
<i>Thah tva</i>	'Red cows' was the name given to the <i>ngwa garda</i> during <i>dzum zugune</i> (Chapter 3.14); we think the colour 'red' might have been a reference to the light orange-red colour spots of a cow, being a symbol for this earlier stage of adult initiation (Chapter 3.22).
Thakara	Apical ancestor of the largest local clan group of Ghwa'a; compare the two versions of the Dghwedé lineage tree (Figures 12 and 12a) and consult the Thakara lineage tree (Figure 12d) and its localised representations across Ghwa'a (Figure 13) as presented in Chapters 3.4 and 3.6.
<i>Thala</i>	House shrine (no literal translation); there is the 'stomach' and the 'bed' of <i>thala</i> (Figure 19c) and also the 'roof' of <i>thala</i> (Plates 21c and 22a) above the foyer of a traditional house; see Plate 22b with the remains of the foyer area of an abandoned house (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Thayanga</i>	People who can see things ordinary people cannot see; see Chapter 3.15 about ideas around Dghwedé existential personhood; specially gifted people referred to as <i>thayanga</i> were mainly seen as positive personalities who could make predictions about the future; for example rainmakers and peacemakers were seen as having such special gifts serving the greater good of the community.
<i>Thlace fice</i>	Powerful rainmaker collects 'the root of the sun' (<i>thlace</i> = root; <i>fice</i> = sun) to control wind and rainfall; see the legend about Zedima who collected 'the roots of the sun and moon' from deep inside the earth to cause a severe environmental crisis in order to assert himself over the Wandala chief of Kirawa (see Chapter 2.2 for more details).
<i>Tikwa</i>	Any ritual liquid poured over ancestor stones (see Zakariya Kwire's explanation in Chapter 3.9).
<i>Tikwa ghriβα</i>	Long decorated wooden stick with ram's beard on top; was carried by <i>ngwa garda</i> while running downhill during the first step of the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photograph in Plate 59i (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Tikwa kupe</i>	Ritual for first consumption of newly-harvested guinea corn; old and new guinea-corn flour was mixed with water and applied to ancestor stones; see Table 5a with list of bi-annual rituals (Chapter 3.8).
<i>Tikwa thagla</i>	Guinea-corn beer or any other liquid poured over ancestor stones

	during harvest festival (<i>thagla</i>) which was performed annually; see Zakariya Kwire's oral account of <i>thagla</i> in Chapter 3.13.
<i>Timbe</i>	Funeral drum; was also used for bull festival; see photograph of a <i>timbe</i> drum in Plate 34c (Chapter 3.11); the <i>timbe</i> drum was beaten over the back of a recaptured bull before its sacrifice (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Tka</i>	Iron diggers; mentioned in Chapter 2.1 as gifts that were taken on legendary journey to the resident of Borno in order to initiate the arrest of Hamman Yaji during early colonial times; see also <i>vardinga</i> (worn-out iron hoes), <i>tghwa</i> (tigernuts) and <i>bala wurghe</i> (part of palm tree) which were additional gifts to gain access to the resident of Borno.
<i>Tsaga</i>	Ritual stick made from the freshly cut branch of a <i>shiwe</i> or a <i>lave</i> tree for celebrating the bull festival; see illustration (Figure 21a) of a ritual <i>tsaga</i> stick planted in the upper passageway of the foyer of a house during the Dghwedè bull festival (Chapter 3.13).
<i>Tsakine</i>	People who can do extraordinary things. They often claim to fight a 'war' in the night in the upper or celestial world (<i>ghaluwa</i>); witches (<i>wadighe</i>) and sorcerers (<i>zalghede</i>) or specialist healers (<i>gwal ngurde</i>) belong to this class of people, but rainmakers and peacemakers as members of specialist lineages might also have had this ability but were seen to have inherited the gift from their forefathers (Chapter 3.15).
<i>Tsra</i>	Khaya senegalensis; mahogany tree (was inherited by family <i>thaghaya</i>); see Table 7b (Chapter 3.10).
<i>Tsufa</i>	General word for ritual (we are not certain about this term); mentioned only once by bulama Ngatha (Chapter 3.8) as the general term for ritual; the only similar sounding word we know is <i>tsufga</i> for adult initiation as part of <i>utiva</i> (harvest festival) in Glavda culture (Chapter 3.14).
<i>Tsukwana</i>	A ficus tree variety; see Chapter 3.10 for more details.
<i>Tswila</i>	Ritual throwing of guts of a sacrificed he-goat into crops before harvest; see Table 5e about calendrical rituals; was reportedly done during millet and guinea corn years (see Chapter 3.8 for more details).
<i>Tswila gharghaya</i>	'Ritual throwing of guts on the hill near the house' (<i>ghar</i> = hill; <i>ghaya</i> = house); mentioned by bulama Bala in Chapter 3.10.
<i>Tswila thagla</i>	Guts thrown into crops for harvest festival (was performed annually); mentioned by Zakariya Kwire as part of the harvest festival (<i>thagla</i>) in Chapter 3.13.
<i>Tughdhe</i>	Ritual beer pot with small aperture; see annotated list of ritual pots found in a Dghwedè house (Table 8); see photo series in Plate 38a illustrating the Dghwedè technique of making small apertures (Chapter 3.12); important for comparison with DGB small-aperture potsherds.
<i>Tughdhe batiw gajije</i>	Ritual beer pot with small aperture (<i>tughdhe</i>) kept in the miniature ancestor room of deceased grandfather (<i>batiw gajije</i>); see photograph in Plate 35c (Chapter 3.11).
<i>Tughdhe fke</i>	Large beer pot with small aperture to serve the public; see list of ritual pots of the house in Table 8 (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Tughdhe ghwala</i>	Twin pot (<i>ghwala</i> = twin) with dual aperture for twin boy; see photo in Plate 42a (Chapter 3.12).

<i>Tughdhe gude</i>	Ritual beer pot with small aperture for the first wife's loft (<i>gude tighe</i>); see photograph in Plate 43a (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Tughdhe kule</i>	Ritual beer pot with small aperture (<i>tughdhe</i>) to take to the grave (<i>kule</i>) of a deceased father; was stored in the deceased father's ancestor room; see photograph in Plate 35d (Chapter 3.11); see also Figure 20b for the spatial dimension or the 'way' of doing <i>har ghwe</i> after death of <i>zal thaghaya</i> as father and husband of the house.
<i>Tughdhe thala</i>	Ritual beer pots with small apertures (<i>tughdhe</i>) stored in the 'stomach' of the house shrine (<i>khudi thala</i>); the <i>tughdhe thala</i> of the living father of the house and the <i>tughdhe thala</i> (also known as the <i>zal jije</i> pot) of his deceased grandfather are stored there; see photographs in Plates 26c and 26c (Chapter 3.11) and Plate 37a and 37b (Chapter 3.12).
<i>Tva</i>	Abbreviation of 'red cows' (<i>thah tva</i>); see Chapter 3.14 about role of 'red cows' and 'black cows' (<i>thah lusa</i>) as representations of the second and third stages of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; <i>tva-kul-kule</i> meant an orangey-red not a dark red; <i>tva-kul-kule</i> for this lighter shade of red referred to the colour spots on a cow (Chapter 3.22).
V	
Vaghagaya	Largest lineage section in Dghwedé; ancestral 'son' of Mughuze-Ruwa (see the Dghwedé lineage tree in Figure 12); Vaghagaya's mother was Dugh Viye Hembe also known as 'Bughwithe' (see Figure 12b on key marriages of Mughuze and Vaghagaya); see also Figure 12c (Vaghagaya lineage tree); Vaghagaya's mother was accused by her co-wives of witchcraft but she was able to reassert herself as the first wife of Mughuze; see legendary account about outsiders as founders in Chapter 3.5 and in Chapter 3.20 about past ways of marrying in Dghwedé.
<i>Vaghiya</i>	Guinea corn year (<i>vag</i> = year; <i>hiya</i> = guinea corn); see Table 5b showing the Dghwedé calendar linked to the Gregorian calendar (Chapter 3.8); the Dghwedé had a bi-annual seasonal calendar and alternated between a guinea corn year and a millet year (<i>vagwira</i>); we conclude that during colonial times the guinea corn year (<i>vaghiya</i>) still had a greater variety of attached calendrical rituals (see Chapter 3.8).
<i>Vagwira</i>	Millet year (<i>vag</i> = year; <i>wira</i> = millet); see Table 5b showing the Dghwedé calendar linked to the Gregorian calendar (Chapter 3.8); the millet year traditionally had fewer calendrical rituals but during my time some of the previously bi-annual rituals had become annual (see Chapter 3.8 for details on <i>har ghwe</i> and <i>har jije</i>); one reason might have been the increasing use of chemical fertiliser, the use of which had been officially promoted since colonial times (Chapter 3.10).
Vaima	Also known as 'Baima'; was a ward head of Ghwa'a in the mid-1920s and belonged to the 'Dagha peacemaker' lineage; Vaima led the montagnard delegation to Maiduguri to complain about Hamman Yaji's attacks (see oral protagonist's account in Chapter 2.2).
<i>Vakwada</i>	Swearing place (see also <i>ghawaghawa</i> = cursing); consult section in Chapter 3.15 on existential personhood about individuals proclaiming innocence in the face of public sorcery accusations in the past.
<i>Vale</i>	Wind; earth's atmosphere; see Chapter 3.16 where we reconstruct the Dghwedé cosmographic worldview of the pre-colonial past; <i>vale</i> was

	between <i>luwa</i> (the earth of this world with its settlements) and <i>ghaluwa</i> (the upper or celestial world above the firmament); see Figure 25 for an illustration of a model of the Dghwedé view of cosmographic mirror worlds; rainmakers were the traditional meteorologists who observed <i>vale</i> with its winds and cloud formations and they could also travel above <i>ghaluwa</i> to fight with other rainmakers for rainfall in their respective mountain localities; rainmakers could also travel deep inside the primordial earth of the next world (<i>luwa mbarte</i>) to collect 'the roots of the sun' for the control of rainfall.
Vara	Animal manure; dung; see Chapter 3.10 about working the terraced land; animal manure was the most important ingredient for keeping the terraced land fertile; this was done over generations and the infields near the house were particularly treated in this way; it had already changed during my time as chemical fertiliser had taken over, increasingly leading to a reduction in sustainability; the development was apparent in the changes of the bi-annual ritual cycle (Chapter 3.8).
Vardinga	Iron from used hoes; it was used for tribute payment to the pre-colonial Wandala together with <i>taghwa</i> (ground tigernuts) and <i>balghaya</i> (traditional mountain yams); see oral account in Chapter 2.1.
Vavanz mandatha	Floating type of <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> used for divination; was also used for healing (<i>mandatha</i> = to calm things); see Chapter 3.21.
Vavanz skwe	<i>Vavanza</i> (<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i>) used for <i>skwe</i> (ritual treatment); see Table 12b about its ritual application by the Dagha peacemaker lineage who owned <i>vavanz skwe</i> ; see <i>vavanz magzhime</i> (ibid) which was the pot the Dagha peacemaker used to apply <i>vavanz skwe</i> (Chapter 3.23).
Vavanza	<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> ; in Chapter 3.23 we describe the high density and ownership of ritual <i>vavanza</i> in Ghwa'a; the Dagha peacemaker lineage owned the most powerful ritual <i>vavanza</i> , but non-Dagha could also own a ritual <i>vavanza</i> (see Table 12a with list of photos and Table 12c without photographs); the neighbouring Mafa referred to the Dghwedé as 'Godaliy' which we identify as an ethnic synonym showing the high ritual density of <i>Cissus quadrangularis</i> among the groups of the Gwoza hills (Chapter 3.3).
Vde	Infield or house field (see Figure 17 about the general Dghwedé farm layout); the seventh-born son (<i>thaghaya</i>) inherited the house and the infields as the best-manured fields (Chapter 3.18); the reason the infields were the most fertile was their short distance from the farmstead where most of the dung was produced (Chapter 3.10).
Vde	Traditional stool (Plate 59e); played a role during the <i>fstaha</i> initiation of the <i>ngwa kwalanglanga</i> as the completing part of the second stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> (Chapter 3.14).
Vāda/vda	Slave; blacksmithing; forging; see oral memory accounts about late pre-colonial relationship with the Wandala; the fact that the word <i>vāda</i> means slave and also forging is of oral historical significance regarding the relationship with Kirawa which was a centre of iron trade in the late 16th century; see Table of Contemporaneity in Chapter 2.1 for pre-colonial key sources in relation to the Gwoza hills area.
Viye	Rainy season; was linked to the agriculturally active part of the year which lasted eight lunar months for a sorghum year and seven lunar months for a millet year (Chapter 3.8); Table 5b shows the Dghwedé

	seasonal calendar linked to the Gregorian calendar for better understanding; the Gaske rainmakers played a decisive role in controlling the rainfall in accordance with the two labour-intensive hoeing periods (Table 5d).
Vize	Iron sand; it was collected by women in the past (Chapter 3.10).
Vjardghawa	Unmarried young women; see Chapter 3.14 for more details.
Vjir mile	Firstborn child (<i>vjir</i> = child; <i>mile</i> = first); see reference to <i>vjir mile</i> by rainmaker Ndruwe Dzuguma in Chapter 3.12.
Vra	Grinding top; see Plates 29c and 29e showing photographs of grinding tops (<i>vra</i>) in the lower and upper kitchen in the documentation of the architecture of a traditional Dghwedé house (Chapter 3.11).
W	
Wadighe	Witch; a <i>wadighe</i> was seen as being unable to kill while a <i>zalghede</i> (sorcerer) was able to kill; the gender aspect of the Dghwedé concept of witchcraft and sorcery is explored in Chapter 3.15 as part of the Dghwedé concept of existential personhood.
Wahili	Kanuri: administrative title
Wa'iyé	Anogeissus leiocarpus; was used for roofing; was inherited by seventh-born son (<i>thaghaya</i>); see list of useful trees in Table 7b (Chapter 3.10).
Wala	Name of the younger of twins (Wasa was the older); see Chapter 3.19.
Wasa	Name of the older of twins (Wala was the younger); see Chapter 3.19.
Wuba	Sour milk; it played a role in the twin ceremony; see Chapter 3.19.
Wulinge	Tree used to make hollow branches for the <i>kula kula</i> 'talking oracle' used to identify the former parents of twins (Chapter 3.19); the leaves were also used to retrieve a lost spirit as part of a healing ceremony (see Chapter 3.21 for details).
Wura	General word for inheritance; see illustrations in Figures 28a and 28b about the role of the family seventh born (<i>thaghaya</i>) as main beneficiary of the Dghwedé inheritance system (Chapter 3.18).
Wurighe	Borassus aethiopum; Fan palm (inherited by seventh-born son); see description of its many uses in Table 7b, and Plate 18a for a photo of this very useful tree (Chapter 3.10).
Wusa-wayá	Shortleasing a piece of land (<i>wusa</i> = hoeing; <i>waya</i> = sunroof, hangar); John described short leasing as modern development and explained that a sunroof was built for short-term use only (Chapter 3.10).
Wushighwe	Facial make-up; see illustration in Figure 23a (Chapter 3.14); the make-up was most likely made with ochre; a mark across the forehead for females and across the nose for males; it was applied to young males (referred to as <i>gabajuwala</i>) who had not yet performed <i>dzum zugune</i> and to young women (referred to as <i>vjardghawa</i>).
Wushile	He-goat; see also <i>tgija wushile</i> (Table 7c and Plate 19c) which was a reference to a grass grown between terrace walls to prevent erosion and which the rainmaker tied around beans to promote their growth (Chapter 3.10); we know that he-goats (<i>wushile</i>) were the main sacrifice of the house to a deceased father or grandfather for successful terrace farming.

<i>Wuts gwazgafte</i>	Main entrance of a house (<i>wuts</i> = in front; <i>gwazagafte</i> = divinity); see photographs in Plates 44b and 45b for an inside and outside view of a main entrance; the guts of a he-goat were applied to the outside before the guinea corn was threshed and brought into the house to be stored in the granaries; see dedicated section of Chapter 3.12 for a detailed description of this sacrifice.
<i>Wuts kudige</i>	Passageway in front of the kitchen (<i>wuts</i> = in front; <i>kudige</i> = kitchen); see Figure 19c for architectural details: <i>wuts kudige tighé</i> (in front of left kitchen) and <i>wuts kudige daghare</i> (in front of right kitchen).
<i>Wuts kudige daghare</i>	Passageway in front of upper or right kitchen (<i>wuts</i> = in front; <i>daghare</i> = upper); see Figure 19c in Chapter 3.12; the right or upper kitchen was the ritually less charged of the two kitchen areas of a house; see role of upper kitchen as part of the marriage rituals (Chapter 3.20).
Y	
Yerwa	Synonym for Maiduguri; see Dghwedé legendary account about the arrest of Hamman Yaji during early British mandateship (Chapter 2.1).
<i>Yew fstaha</i>	'Ritual water' (<i>yewe</i> = water; <i>fstaha</i> = initiation); Sprinkling ritual water over a bride was called <i>yew fstaha</i> (see also <i>kla dughwe</i> = marriage ceremony); see Chapter 3.20 for a detailed description of how the father of the house sat on the corner stone (<i>malga malga</i>) of the house while sprinkling the ritual water over a future wife.
<i>Yewe/yuwe</i>	Water; rain; apart from animal manure it was the most important ingredient for successful terrace farming; see also the use of water in <i>yew fstaha</i> as ritual expression of patrilineal family reproduction as a key part of a Dghwedé marriage ceremony (Chapter 3.20); Durghwe was the most important subregional mountain shrine linked to rain and water and as such was a representation of the Dghwedé pre-Coperenican worldview (Chapter 3.17); twins had a strong link to water (Chapter 3.19) and so had the rainmaker lineage Gaske who represented cosmological blessings from above (Chapter 3.8).
Yude	White man; European; see Chapter 2.1 about the legendary Dghwedé account related to the arrest of Hamman Yaji.
Z	
<i>Za'a ndole ndole</i>	Thread (<i>za'a</i>) made of cowpea fibre tied around the waist of a girl while in seclusion during a 'marriage by promise' (<i>dugh dzugwa</i>); <i>ndole ndole</i> means 'promise' and <i>za'a ndole ndole</i> could be translated as 'thread of promise'; see Chapter 3.20 for John's testimony which includes a detailed description and discussion; according to John the ritual tying of a cowpea fibre was a symbol of a first marriage; John emphasised that the seventh-born son from a first wife would remain the family <i>thagaya</i> even if his mother left for a secondary marriage.
<i>Zah yakara</i>	Potage made of guinea-corn flour and sour milk; was used for twin ceremony (see also <i>zahgha</i> = gel-like mixture) to celebrate the rebirth of twins as symbol of communal reproduction; see oral account of dada Dukwa for detailed discussion (Chapter 3.19).
<i>Zahgha</i>	General term for a gel-like mixture (see also <i>zah yakara</i>); see dada Dga's views on Dghwedé ideas around conception (Chapter 3.19); he describes the solidification of sperm and menstrual blood in the

	fallopian tube as a divine intervention to bring about new life.
Zalaghwa	Marriage ritual in which the middle layer of three stacks of solid food (<i>jadva</i>) was broken in two on the head of the bride by a woman who had not lost her first child; she gave one half with her right hand to a boy and the other half with her left hand to a girl; see illustration in Figure 32 of how the boy runs to the ritual sauce kitchen and the girl to the lower kitchen before they consume both halves (Chapter 3.20).
Zal duf dala	One of the two ritual assistants of a <i>dzum zugune</i> performer who has not yet performed adult initiation himself (<i>zal</i> = husband or priesthood; <i>duf dala</i> = leftover sauce); a <i>zal duf dala</i> represents someone who has not yet managed to fill three granaries as his counterpart <i>zal fstaha</i> has done; we think this implies that a <i>zal duf dala</i> symbolically still relies on 'leftover sauce' to feed his family (Chapter 3.14).
Zal fstaha	One of the two ritual assistants of a <i>dzum zugune</i> performer who has completed <i>dzum zugune</i> (<i>zal</i> = husband or priesthood; <i>fstaha</i> = initiation); he has already demonstrated his accomplishment by ritually redistributing food and sorghum beer for communal feasting (Chapter 3.14).
Zal jije	Family priest; is also the name for the ancestor pot for a deceased grandfather stored in the 'stomach' of the house shrine (<i>khudi thala</i>); the prefix <i>zal</i> (<i>zala</i> = husband) for both the family priest (who is a generation mate of the deceased) and for the <i>zal jiji</i> ancestor pot suggests a strong symbol representing reproduction (Chapter 3.12).
Zal thaghaya	Husband and owner of the house; again we have the prefix <i>zal</i> which in our opinion refers to sexual reproduction, the epitome of which is to have a seventh-born successor born to him by his first wife; see Figure 20b in Chapter 3.12 about the way of <i>har ghwe</i> (ritual for a deceased father) following the death of a <i>zal thaghaya</i> , and Chapter 3.18 for more details about the Dghwede inheritance system and the significance of the seventh- and eighth-born child representing good and bad reproductive luck expressed in terms of birth order.
Zala	Husband; a wife refers to her husband as <i>zala</i> , and his wives' sisters also call him <i>zala</i> ; a man's wives refer to each other as <i>tatghe</i> (Chapter 3.6); also see the use of <i>zala</i> as prefix in the different ritual contexts of patrilineal reproduction such as <i>zal thaghaya</i> and <i>zal jije</i> ; in <i>zalghede</i> (wizard or sorcerer) it could even be seen as negative reproductive spirit exploitation (Chapter 3.15); spirit abduction through sorcery could lead to reproductive spirit loss which might be interpreted as erectile dysfunction (see Chapter 3.21 for more details).
Zalghede	Wizard or sorcerer; see Chapter 3.15 about Dghwede ideas around existential personhood for the interpretation of <i>zalghede</i> as being predominantly male sorcerers; they were thought to be able to consume the life-force of an abducted spirit while female witches (<i>wadighe</i>) were seen as not powerful enough for such deadly attacks; sorcery of that kind was seen as intentional, being the sacrifice of an abducted spirit to a negative aspect of divinity in the celestial world.
Zalika	Lance made of iron used for <i>ngwa yiye</i> during the third stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> ; a <i>zalika</i> was also used for hunting leopards; see photograph of a <i>zalika</i> lance in Plate 59b; the fourth and final stage of <i>dzum zugune</i> was called <i>bak zalika</i> but we do not know whether they carried a <i>zalika</i>

	lance when they celebrated their newly gained freedom to eat and drink as they pleased (Chapter 3.14).
Zawya	Brass armlets worn on upper arm by the <i>gabajuwala</i> dressed as keen young men who want to start <i>dzum zugune</i> ; see photo illustration in Plate 50a for more details (Chapter 3.14).
Zbe	Matrilateral exogamy; a son could not intermarry with the daughter of his mother's father's lineage for up to four generations in the past but this was already reduced to two generations during my time; see also the concept <i>kudige</i> (kitchen) representing full-brothers descending from various wives of a husband and father leading to different levels of matrilateral exogamy within a polygynous family; the matrilateral kindred of a extended family was also referred to as <i>zbe</i> (Chapter 3.6).
Zinga-zinge	F-shaped throwing knife; see photograph in Plate 59j (Chapter 3.14).
Zuwala	Name for an eighth-born child; see Chapter 3.18 where we explain how a child named Zuwala was still cast out or fell victim to infanticide during early colonial times; in the mid-1920s the British changed the custom to adoption and we attempt to interpret the tradition as a most likely late pre-colonial form of population control driven by the unpredictable semi-arid environment of the Gwoza hills.

