



THE DADIYA

A collection of ethnographic and historical data from fieldwork 1989-1993

Series

Ethnographic and Historical Profiles of the Peoples of the Muri Mountains
- The Northern Groups

by Jörg Adelberger

ISBN 978-1-906168-16-2

Ethnographic and Historical Profiles of the Peoples of the Muri Mountains - The Northern Groups

The Dadiya

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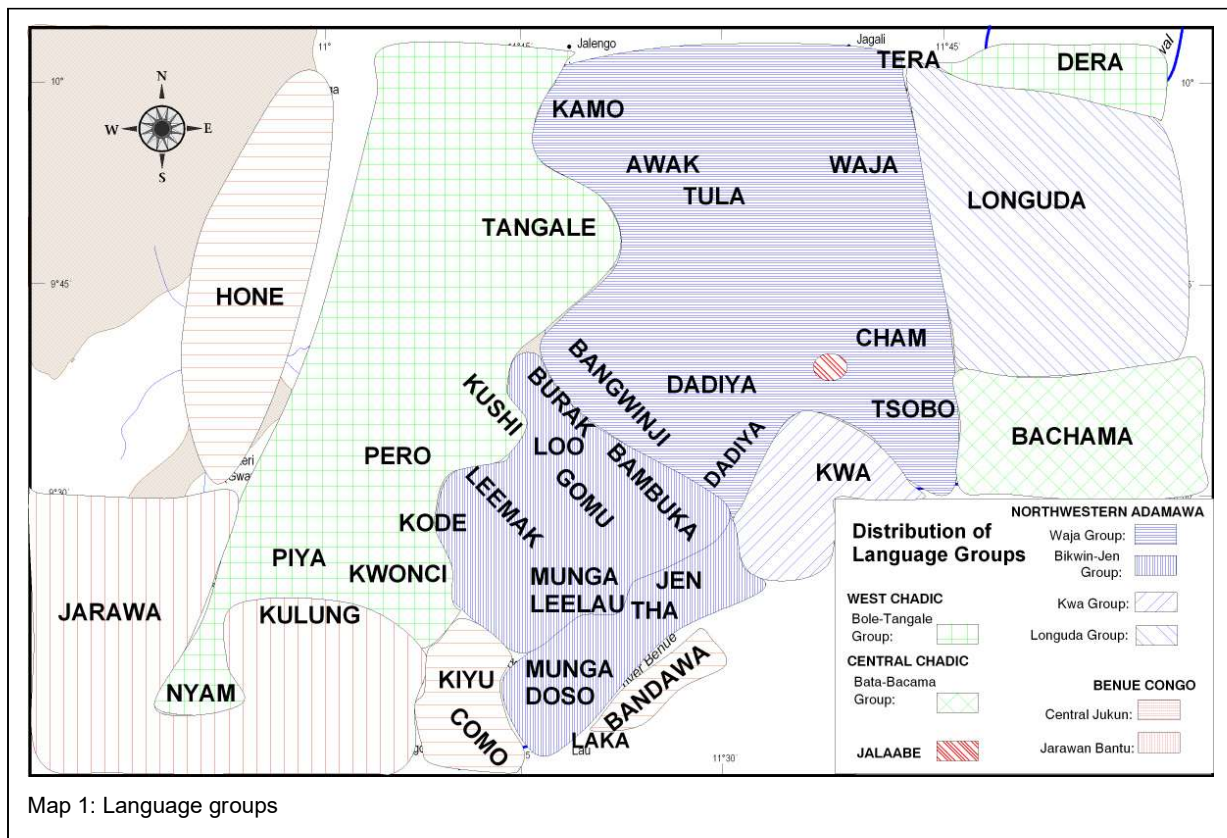
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Introduction

Ethnographic field research was undertaken within the framework of the interdisciplinary research project "Cultural Development and Language History in the Environment of the West African Savannah" (SFB 268) in the years 1989 to 1993. The information provided below reflects the situation at that time.¹

Linguistically the Dadiya [dbd] are part of the Waja group,² a sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum. Other members of the Waja group are Bangwinji [bsj], Cham [cfa], Tsobo [ldp], Waja [wja], Kamo [kcq], Awak [awo] and Tula [tul].



First mention is made by the German traveller Eduard Flegel, who explored the river Benue on board the steamer *Henry Venn* in 1879, and he reported that Dadia (Dadiya) and Bolera (Bolere) are localities to the east of Muri.³

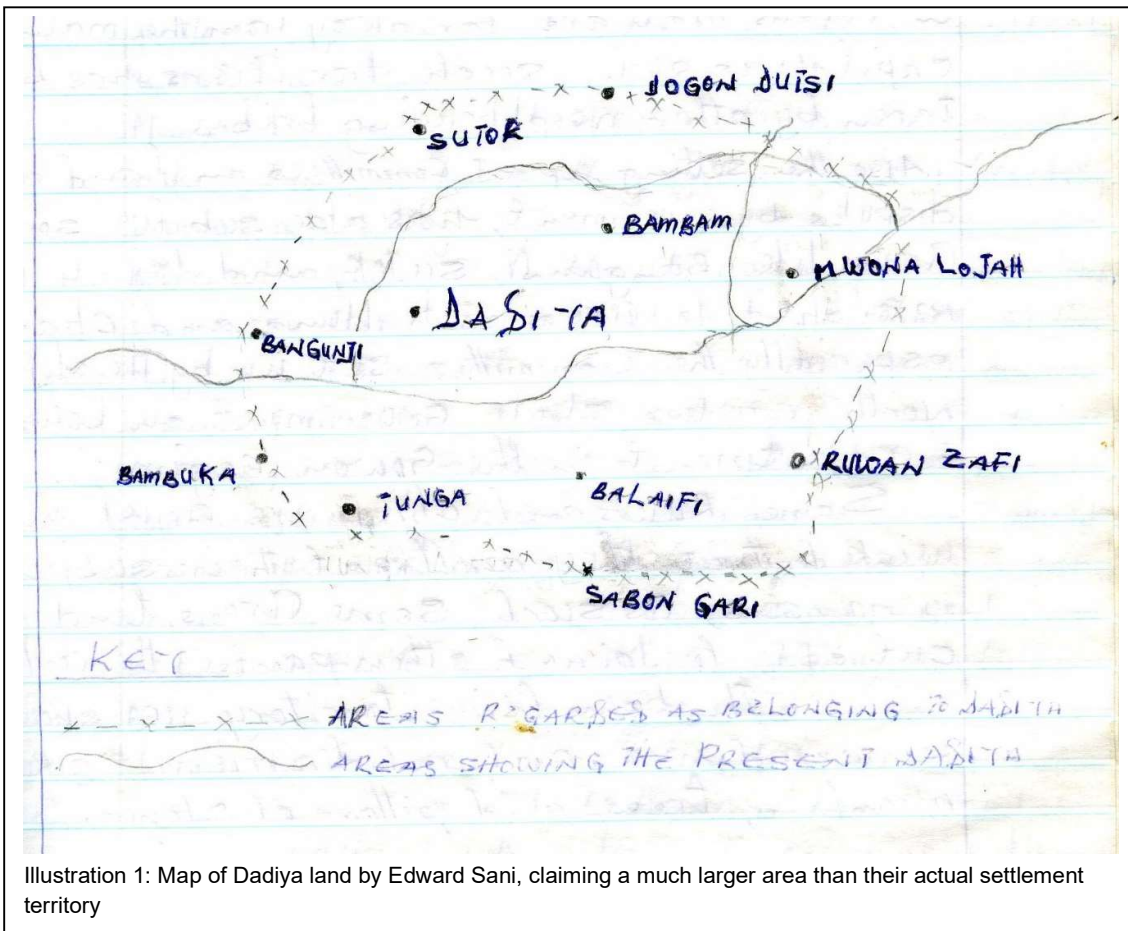
¹ I am grateful to Adamu Galadima, Albert Lapida, Audu Jibir, Bege Kire, Godwin Adamu, Pastor Kooli Fabi, Salihu Taamui Temtim, Samuel Dongmam and Teeme Kelu for their cooperation during my research. My special thanks go to Abubakar S. Mohamed, Hamidu Saleh and late Edward Sani Lapida for their untiring and invaluable assistance. Further I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² Cf. Kleinewillinghöfer 2014. In square brackets are the ISO 639 names of the languages. Stephen Dettweiler (2021a, 2021b) is studying the Dadiya language.

³ K. Flegel 1890: 23. For an overview of Flegel's explorations see Adelberger 2000.

Settlement area and demography

The Dadiya are settled in and along the northeastern and southeastern parts of the Muri Mountains in Northern Nigeria.



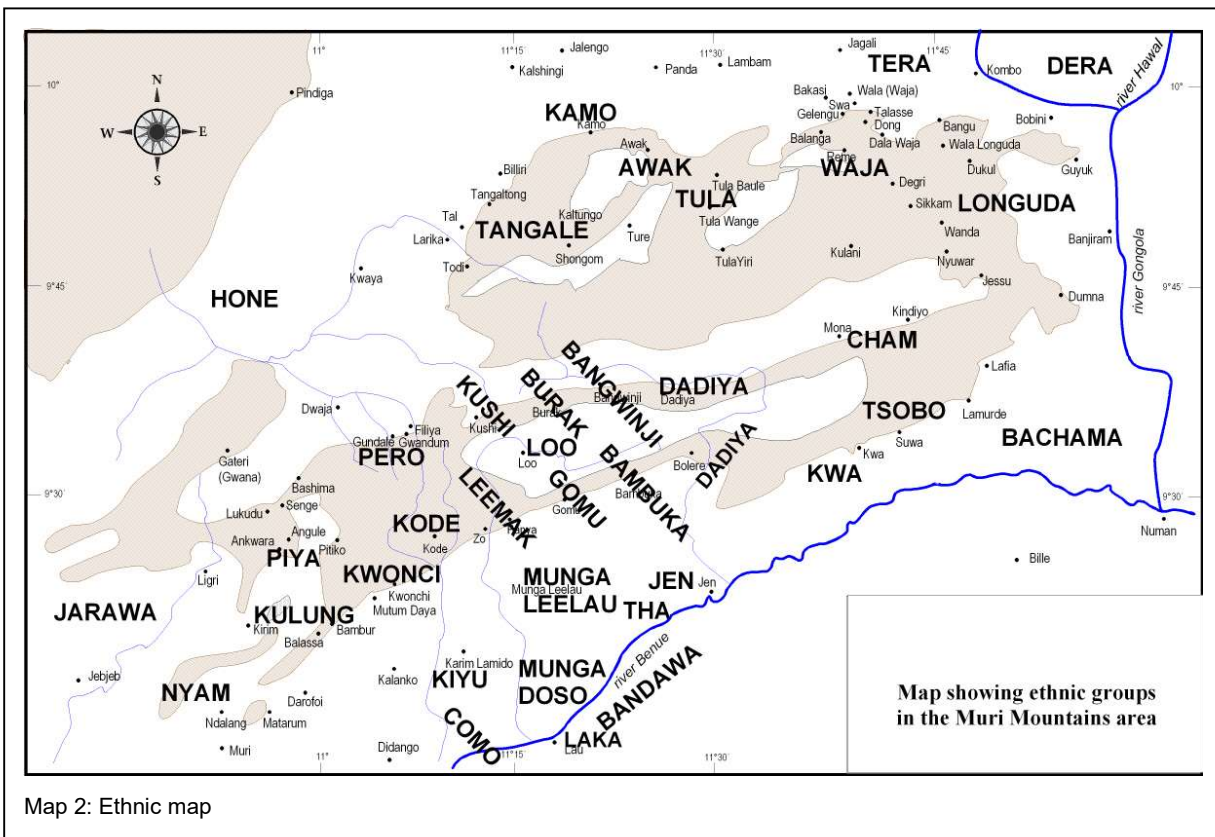
According to the population census of 1963 there were about 11,000 people living in the Dadiya District, of which 8,611 were living in the Dadiya Hills and 2,417 at Bambam, the commercial and administrative centre of the Dadiya land. In the early 1990s, the Dadiya population projected by the Bauchi State Development Levy was 21,394.

The southern offshoots (Tunga- or Bolere-Dadiya) located in Karim Lamido LGA, with an approximate number of 1,500 in the early 1990s (198 recorded taxpayers), have to be added to these figures.

Some of the Dadiya migrated along the river Bolleru to the south of the mountains, and this section, while they retain their ethnic identity as Dadiya, now consider themselves to be part of the supra-ethnic Bikwin cluster.

Most of the Dadiya clans claim to have originally come from the Longuda Plateau, and some clans are from neighbouring groups like the Tangale, Bangwinji or Tula, but also from the Mumuye further to the south-west. A significant number of clans are autochthonous and were the original settlers in this part of the Muri Mountains.

Their neighbours to the west are the Bangwinji, to the south the Bambuka [bka] and the Tsobo, to the east the Cham and to the north the Tangale [tan].



Their autonym is Lodiya.⁴

By the Bangwinji, their immediate western neighbours, the Dadiya in general are called Díríab / Dariyab, the Dadiya of Loofa within the Loo valley are called Fab, the Dadiya of Bolere are called Kuwab, and the Dadiya of Tunga (west of Bolere) are called Biyangdub.

By their southern neighbours, the Bambuka, the Dadiya north of Tunga are called Yafaa. By the Tsobo, the Dadiya are called Kwaabo.

The Dadiya have their own designations for the following direct and intermediate neighbours:

Bangwinji	Kwemtin
Tula	Yileb
Bambuka	Balbuweb
Tangale of Kaltungo	Tongem
Tsobo	Dətob
Gomu	Nyamu
Loo	Lob
Kushi	Binangem
Waja	Wab
Kwa	Kulub

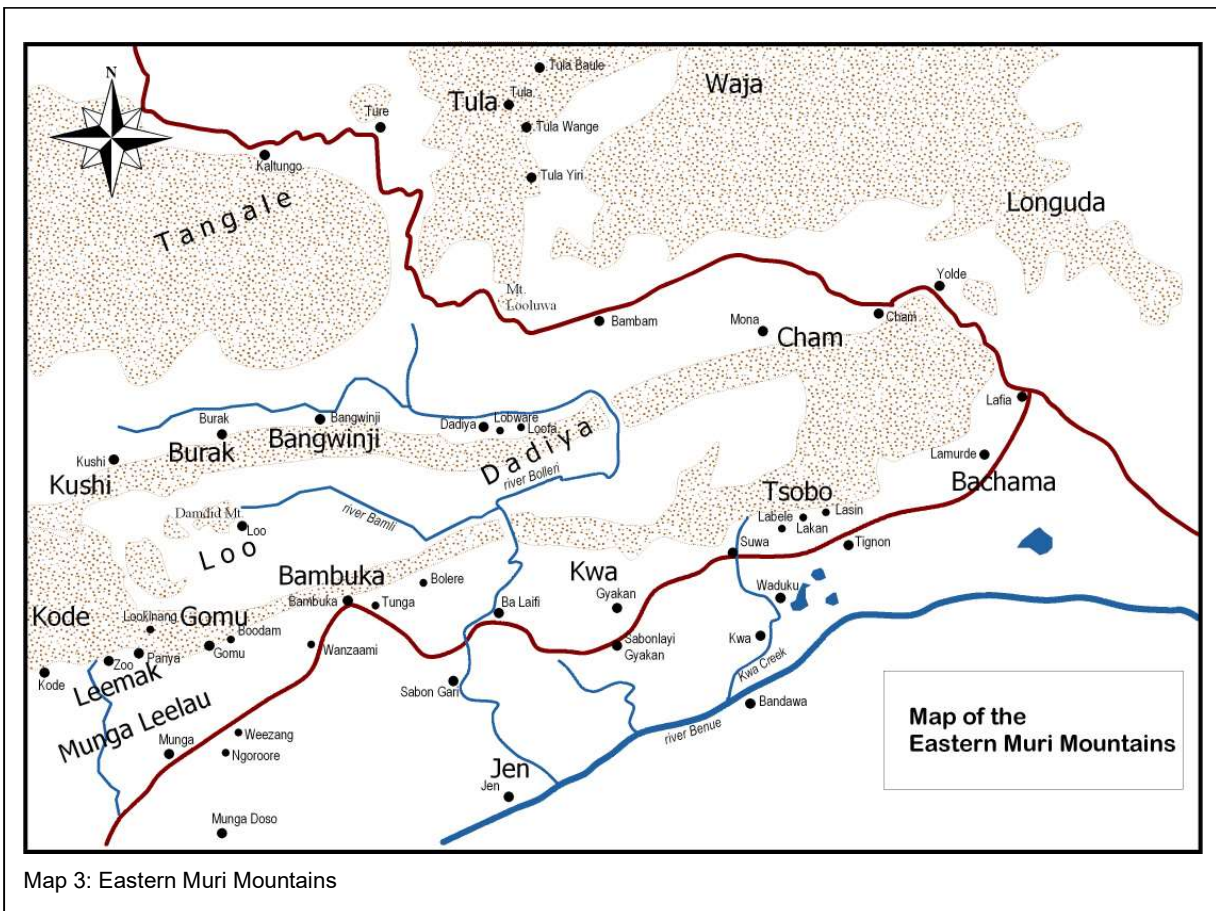
⁴ In the ethnographic survey of the Bauchi state by CAPRO (1995: 250-255) Lodiya is also given as their autonym.

Bachama

Mushub

Jen

Cilub



Map 3: Eastern Muri Mountains

Interethnic relations

The Dadiya are said to be on good terms with the Bangwinji, Awak, Cham-Mwona, Billiri-Tangale, Tula and Bambuka, and there are intermarriages especially with the Bambuka and Bangwinji. However, depending on whom among the Dadiya you ask, the statement about the nature of the relationship may change, as it is said that there were also fights with the Cham-Mwona, but never with the Cham-Looja. The Looja, who may be considered as autochthonous inhabitants of this part of the Muri Mountains, represent a historical linking element among those ethnic groups by whom they were absorbed.⁵ There were also good relations with the Tsobo, as the Loobwaja clan of the Dadiya incorporated some Looja, thus providing an indirect link to the Tsobo, who also incorporated parts of this autochthonous people.

The Dadiya have a joking relationship with the Awak, Kamu, Longuda, Jen, Kwa, Bambuka, Bachama and Kanakuru, meaning that they can abuse members of these groups on the background of a cordial relationship. The Dadiya had fights with the Tangale of Kaltungo and Shongom, Tsobo, Gomu, Loo, Bangwinji, Kushi and Waja; as before, this does not imply that the

⁵ For information on the Jalaabe (Looja) see Kleinewillinghöfer 2001.

relationships were exclusively bellicose: for example, a part of the Dadiya clan Looteni went to Kushi and settled there, creating the clan Pewurang of the Kushi.

Interethnic skirmishes seem to have been common in the pre-colonial era. In the dry season, small groups of two or three young men went into the bush to ambush men of other ethnic groups and start a fight in order to prove their warriorhood. The Dadiya are said to have worn a cotton loincloth and had peculiar scarification patterns on their body to make them distinguishable. When the Dadiya were victorious in a fight with the Tula, they (the Tula) had to present a girl to the war-leader (*yeli*) of the Dadiya who handed her over to a valiant warrior.

The clans of Loosuuni and Lootuli were founded by captives of war from Tula and had a subservient status among the Dadiya. The Loosuuni were placed under the Lookwila clan, and a part of the Lootuli were also placed under the Lookwila, while another part of the Lootuli were placed under the Loomum clan.

From these clans, who were descendants of captives of war, other Dadiya were allowed to take fruits from their farms or take from their livestock, and the Loosuuni or Lootuli could not complain, and if some other Dadiya man wanted to marry one of their girls, he could do so without paying a brideprice. When negotiating with other ethnic groups, these former captives often served as interpreters. In the course of time, other persons from Tula joined those of Loosuuni and Lootuli. Other clans of Dadiya with a subservient status were founded by members of other ethnic groups who had moved to the Dadiya area to escape famine in their place of origin and were allowed to settle in Dadiya country. The clans of Lookulakuli, Loomum and Lookwila were responsible for captives and slaves. Slaves or captives were allocated a plot where they could build a house and do their farmwork; their master could take their farm produce at will, but the slaves were not used for doing the farmwork of their masters. When a slave girl was married to a Dadiya husband, her slave status was dropped and she became a free member of society. When a male slave married a Dadiya girl, he did not gain complete freedom but was not usually bothered any more, only in times of need was he approached by his master.

The Dadiya also sold slaves whom they had captured, to Hausa or Nupe traders who came via the river Benue. They met the traders on the southern banks of the river Benue, opposite Bolere, at Jeken or Tsofon Gari. The slaves were exchanged for salt, necklaces and other trinkets, cloth, dyed leather, bronze bells or other goods. A male slave was worth 30 *kəmensili* (piece of iron used as money), a female slave was worth 100 *kəmensili*.

The people in the settlements of Bolere, Loofa and Biyangdung are Dadiya who moved to the south; they have close relationships with and intermarry with their Bikwin neighbours such as the Gomu or the Bambuka.

The Bikwin (meaning "We are One") cluster is mainly located in the southern and southwestern part of the Muri Mountains. The following ethnic groups agree to be part of the Bikwin cluster: the Leemak, Munga Leelau, Gomu, Bambuka, Loo and the southern sections of Dadiya. With the exception of the Dadiya, all groups are linguistically very closely related and their languages are classified as a sub-group within the Northwestern Adamawa languages of Niger-Congo phylum. The southern Dadiya sections, an off-shoot of the more northerly situated Dadiya, seem to identi-

fy themselves as part of the Bikwin due to interactions with their Bikwin neighbours. The overarching meaning of the term rests on the basis of close linguistic relationship, sharing of the same environment, common interactions and cultural similarities.

In times of distress, a Dadiya could pawn one of his sister's children to another family in exchange for foodstuff or farm products. This child would stay and live with its new family and become integrated into it, although it may bear insults by its new siblings. The child would not be returned to its original family in exchange for a return of the payment; however, if that family came under stress, it was likely that this child was forwarded to another group in exchange for foodstuff. The pawning was only practised within the Dadiya community, not with other ethnic groups.

There is an annual festival called *waabe* which is celebrated among the Dadiya and the Bangwinji. Originally, the Dadiya took over the festival from the Kaltungo-Tangale. It is celebrated in the following successive order: first among the northern Dadiya, second among the Bangwinji and third among the southern Dadiya (Bolere and Tunga), suggesting a seniority in ranking based on the relative order of introduction of the cult. Members of the aforementioned ethnic groups may visit and take part in each other's celebrations, but the rituals proper are conducted by ethnic groups only.

The Dadiya took over the possession cult *boori* from the Bambuka.

History

Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period

The Dadiya claim to have originally come from the east, from Yemel or Yemen. The reason stated is that they had to leave Yemel because of religious conflicts, with Muslims pushing out pagan believers. The Dadiya claim to have migrated together with the Tera, Kanuri/Beriberi, Waja, Tula and Cham-Mona. In some traditions Ngazargamu is mentioned as their first place of settlement in Nigeria. Most Dadiya, however, agree on Teeba as their place of settlement before arriving in the

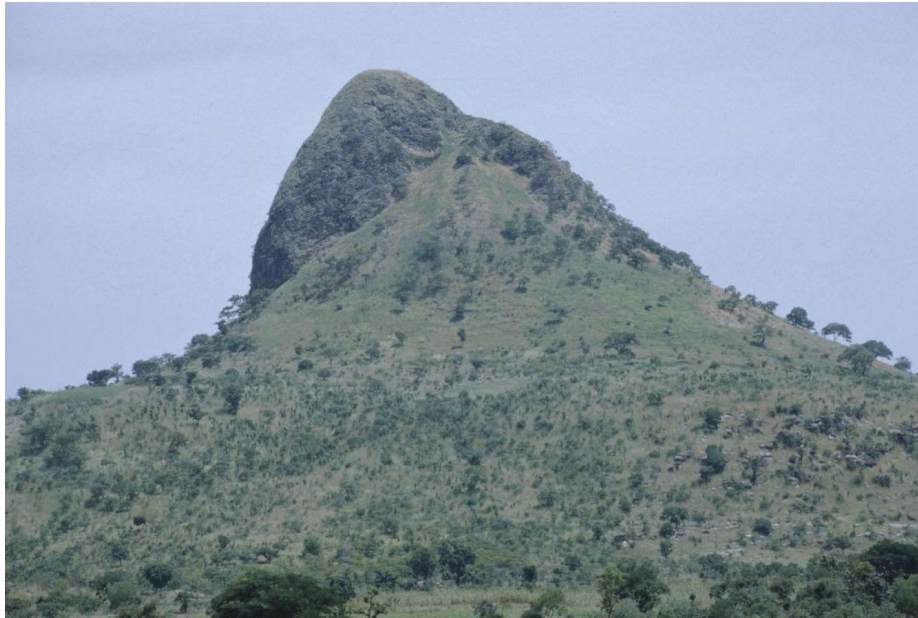


Photo 1: A view of Mount Looluwa/Dogon Dutse. In the middle, abandoned and overgrown terraces can be discerned.

region of the Muri Mountains. Teeba, now a deserted settlement, is said to be located in the Gongola valley in present day Longuda country. Due to conflicts with the Babur, Bachama, Lala (Yungur) and Longuda, the Dadiya had to leave Teeba going

westwards and they settled on an isolated mountain called Looluwa (or Dogon Dutse in Hausa) a few miles north to the Muri Mountains. The clans Loogolwa, Loodongi, Loobwashi and Lookulum are particularly said to have settled at Dogon Dutse.

From this mountain Looluwa, where today can still be seen abandoned settlement terraces, some Dadiya moved northward to Awak, but the main part went southward to settle in the northern part of the Muri Mountains. The reason stated for leaving Looluwa mountain is population pressure; the increased population could no longer find enough arable land and water for their needs. In the Muri Mountains the Dadiya met people already living there and integrated with them, these people are called the Looja or Jaab. Several of the present clans are said to originate from these autochthonous Looja people: mention is made of the Lootungi who are said to have come out of Lookulakuli stream (whose source is in the mountains); the Loolayi, Lookori, Loogutume, Loobayi, Lootubili, Lookabangi, Loolai/Lookai, Loogugulum, Looyilmi and Loogulo are also said to come from a stream or river; the Bwarep/Loobware, Bwajab/Loobwaja and Tenem/Looteni, as well as

the Lookulan and Lookulum, are said to be from a cave in the Muri Mountains. All these clans most likely represent an autochthonous population stratum.

The Loofila clan was allegedly the first to reach the foothills of the Muri Mountains when coming from Mount Looluwa.

Parts of the Lookwiila clan went to Bambuka and settled there. It is also said of the Lookwiila that some of them joined the Longuda after leaving Teeba. And parts of the Looteni clan went to Kushi to live there, they became the Pewurang clan of Kushi.

Some of the Dadiya migrated further southwards along the cleft cut by the river Bolere through the mountain chain, founding the settlements of Loofa, Bolere and Biyandum.

During the British colonial era, some Dadiya moved back to Mount Looluwa to settle there again.

Around the end of the 19th century, the Waja drove the Mwona-Cham out from Fitilai,⁶ as a result the Cham moved to Looja in the Muri Mountains and met the Looja or Jaab people there. The Dadiya from the Loobwaja clan captured people from Looja when waging war on the Cham-Mwona. These Looja captives were then integrated into the Loobwaja clan of the Dadiya.

In 1946 there was a migration of Tula Yiri into Bambam due to a conflict between the Tula Yiri and the Tula Wange (MS Hamidu Saleh).

Relations with Fulani emirates⁷

In pre-colonial times no Fulani had settled in the area.

As far as oral, archival or published sources can tell, the Dadiya were never conquered by the Fulani.

The military strategy of the Fulani emirates was largely based on their cavalry, with noble horsemen leading the attacks (Marjomaa 1998:218–19, 232–34, 254–56; Smaldone 1977:29–32).

Mounted warriors could employ their military tactics to great effect on the undulating plains of the Northern Nigerian savannah, but could not exploit their superiority in the craggy and hilly landscape of the Muri Mountains area nor in other mountainous regions. The inhabitants of the plains surrounding the hills, especially in the Tula area, built defensive stone walls and thorn hedges, which were successfully used to check attacks by horsemen. As a protective measure, the villages were strategically well-placed in the steep and rocky hills. Usually, they were protected by stone walls and could only be reached through narrow, winding paths, partly obstructed by gateways. These could be well defended against emirate raiders, even if they approached armed with rifles.

Firearms were part of the weaponry of the emirate forces, especially since the middle of the 19th century, but since they were of the front-loader musket type and, compared with contemporaneous European standards, few in numbers, their effect was mostly psychological inducing fear through their loud discharge. The arms of the mountaineers consisted of spears with varying, of-

⁶ NAK SNP 17-9150, S. W. Walker, 1929

⁷ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009.

ten quite vicious, tips, bows and arrows, the latter often poisoned, daggers, short swords and clubs. For protection, shields made of buffalo hide and elephant ears were used.



Photo 2: A Dadiya warrior.

Thus, although the different emirates exercised considerable pressure by undertaking frequent raids on the population groups of the wider Muri Mountains area and adjacent regions, their control of the area was rather loose and varied over time. Supported by a suitable terrain, the mountain dwellers could successfully defend themselves or were able to withdraw into even more inaccessible regions. The acephalous nature of their societies and the existence of a multitude of factions on the one hand made it difficult to form alliances for more successful defence, on the other hand the subjugation of a single community did not entail the conquest of any wider political network.

In the northern Muri Mountains, the Emirs of Gombe and Misau attacked the Tangale of Shongom in about 1886 but were repelled by the combined forces of the Shongom, Kaltungo, Ture and Tula Wange.

The Emir of Misau, Sale, was killed in the battle. In another attack on the Awak the emirate raiders were also defeated.

Defence in the lowland areas was more difficult and these areas were often incorporated into the emirate structure. In the Gombe region, the Plains Waja and the Western Tangale were given as fiefs to Sarkin Yaki and Galadima Gombe respectively. They paid tribute in exchange for immunity from attacks by Fulani (Low 1972:150 ff). Still, Buba Yero and his successors inflicted numerous raids on the settlements of Waja and Tangale and the Jukun of Pindiga. The payment of tribute or the conversion to Islam did not necessarily mean that a community was exempt from being the target of slave raids (see Yakubu 1992:146,150). Buba Yero visited the Waja from Dukku or Gombe, attacked the plains villages and was repulsed by Gelengu. On his way back he took his revenge on the Tera towns of Kwooll and Hinna for their expulsion of the Fulani. Yerima Suli, the son of Buba Yero, attacked and burnt Gelengu. His brother, Koiranga, attacked the Waja several times, and he undertook raids against the Tangale, Tula and Awak, assisted by the Emirs of Misau and Katagum. It is said that Koiranga fought seven wars with the Waja, capturing the settlements of Bakasi, then Balanga, Kube Gasi, Gelengu, Talasse and Swa. On his last raid the Emir fought Dong, whose inhabitants fled to the Degri hills and were able to drive back the Fulani. Reinforced by the Emir of Misau and his troops, Koiranga returned and attacked Reme and Degri simultaneously. There was heavy fighting with losses on both sides. Later Mallam Jibril Gaini also attacked the Waja village of Lambam and destroyed it.

Mountain dwellers, such as the Awak, Cham, Dadiya or Pero, were able to retain their independence against the Fulani (Temple 1922:34, 87, 88, 365).

In later years the Gombe Emirate's control over the Waja and Tangale fiefs weakened further still.

Colonial encounters

In their attempt to subjugate the region, the British colonial power undertook a series of military patrols.⁸

From November 1910 until January 1911 an extensive patrol under Assistant Resident Carlyle and Captain Wolseley traversed Waja, Tula and Tangale country and marched through hitherto untouched areas in the north-eastern parts of the Muri Mountains. In addition, Longuda country, which had only been marginally touched by the patrols in 1904 and 1906, was further explored. Fighting broke out with the previously unvisited Kindiyo (Cham) and Bangwinji, which left one Kindiyo and twelve Bangwinji dead, several wounded and the obligatory burnt compounds. The so-called 'pacification' of local conflicts in the Tangale settlement of Tal led to the destruction of a village and the death of one man.⁹

Assistant Resident Carlyle left Deba Habe on 17th November 1910 and went via Panda, Ture and Kaltungo to Tangaltong, where he arrived on 20th November and built his camp at Tal. The objectives of his patrol were to settle friction in the Tangaltong area, to enquire into disturbances in the Waja area and to arrange the boundary with Yola Province.

On 3rd December Carlyle arrived at the Waja town of Gelengu where he was joined a day later by a force of 41 rank and file and a Maxim gun under the command of Captain Wolseley and accompanied by the Medical Officer of Nafada, Dr. Lobb.

At Gelengu arrests were made in connection with a recent attack on the District Headman and the quarters of the guilty persons were destroyed.

The patrol started towards Cham country on 7th December, visiting Degri on the way and then Sikkam, which they left on 9th December 1910, then proceeding via Nyuwar to Kindiyo, which is one of the main settlements of the Cham. They stayed here until 11th December. Carlyle observed that the plain between the Muri Mountain range and Tangale country was full of elephant and big game and a portion was infested with tse-tse fly. He stated that the Cham had been driven out of Degri by the Fulani. This, however, is doubtful, as all evidence suggests that the Cham were pushed to their current territory by the Waja. According to Carlyle, Kindiyo was once visited by officers from Yola Province in 1906; Mona and Dadiya, however, had never been visited by British officers before.

⁸ See Adelberger 2009. The following is taken from this publication.

⁹ NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910, Waja District, Escort to Tangale Patrol: - Report of November 26, 1910 by Assistant Resident Carlyle, Assistant Resident Deba Habe to the Resident Gombe. The Tangaltong group of Tangale; - Assistant Resident Carlyle to Resident Gombe. Waja - Tangale Patrol; - Tangale - Waja - Longuda Patrol by Capt. E. J. Wolseley.

NAK SNP 7 - 1881/1911, Bauchi Province Annual Report 1910.

NAK SNP 7 - 952/1911, Bauchi Province Quarterly Report ending December 1910.

The patrol then marched along the foot of the mountain range to Mona.

The Cham people had been told to clear the road to Mona, but at Kindiyo the inhabitants of a small hamlet consisting of four compounds refused and even stopped other Cham from doing it. As a warning Carlyle had one compound burnt. This made the Kindiyo men pick up their arms, one arrow was shot and, as a result, the archer was killed. Then the rest of the compounds were burnt.

The patrol stayed at Mona and went to Dadiya on 12th December where they were welcomed. On 14th December they proceeded to Bangwinji (or Kwim, as it is called in the report, Kwim being the Dadiya name for Bangwinji), where they camped at the foot of the hills. Title holders from Dadiya, (i.e. Sarkin Dadiya and Galadima of Dadiya), accompanied the patrol. As the inhabitants of Bangwinji refused to come down from their mountain settlements, the patrol made their way up the hill and warned the Bangwinji people to show no resistance. At 2.30pm they advanced on the village on the summit of the hill, where two attempts were made to stop the patrol; these were answered by gunfire leaving twelve Bangwinji dead and three wounded. Again, the violence may have been aggravated by local interests as the relationship between the Dadiya and Bangwinji was strained. The chief of the Dadiya served the patrol as guide and interpreter at Bangwinji, thus it is quite likely that he manipulated the situation to have the Bangwinji punished. Evidence from oral traditions supports this interpretation.

The patrol stayed at Bangwinji until 15th December. From here they marched on 16th December further in a westerly direction to Kushi and proceeded on 18th December to Filiya. At the Jukun town of Gateri (Gwana) a WAFF (West African Frontier Force) station was established. Carlyle pointed out that there was some friction between the Filiya and Gwandum. The Pero, Cham and Dadiya were told that they had to pay tribute for the years 1911–12.

From Filiya the patrol went to Tal on 20th December. At Tal "several outrages" had been committed, but the inhabitants behaved in a friendly manner towards the patrol with the exception of one hamlet which was therefore destroyed. In the ensuing skirmish one Tangale was killed. The patrol remained at Tal until 25th December, then went back to Waja country halting at Ture on 25th, Tula Wange on 26th and arriving at Gelengu on 27th. From here they intended to meet Mr. Webster of Yola Province at Guyuk in order to delineate the border between Waja and Yola districts. Thus, on 28th December, they crossed the hills via Bungo and Wala to Guyuk, where they arrived on 31st December 1910. From Guyuk they proceeded southward along the 'Yam Yam hills', visiting various Longuda hamlets which they found to be mostly deserted. They stopped at Bobini on 3rd January 1911 and crossed the big range moving to south west with a detachment of twenty men. Here they visited some Longuda villages on the south-eastern side of the 'Yam Yam hills'. On 4th January they returned to Guyuk and as Mr. Webster did not arrive, they proceeded to Kombo the next day and returned to Nafada on the same day, arriving on 15th January. The report sums up that in total 180 shots had been fired and no casualties had been suffered on the British side. The major settlements of the various groups in and around the Muri Mountains had now all been visited by British patrols. However, local conflicts, refusal to pay tribute and highway robbery led to further patrols in the following years.

In the second quarter of 1912, the military section stationed at Dadiya under Lieutenant Fowle escorted the Resident Gombe Division, Captain Lonsdale, to settle a tribal quarrel in Tula where a quarter of the village refused to pay a fine of spears and was subsequently destroyed.¹⁰

From January to April 1913 Assistant Resident Carlyle undertook another extensive patrol through the southern region of Gombe Division and he left a trail of destruction. A skirmish with the Pero at Gwandum resulted in sixteen Pero being killed and four wounded and the destruction of the settlement; Kindiyo was again destroyed, as was the Waja settlement of Wala and a part of Ture.¹¹

The patrol, consisting of 30 soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Geoghegan, left Nafada on 21st January 1913 and marched via Tongo, Deba Fulani and Deba Habe to Panda, where they arrived on 26th January. They then went to Awak and Kamo and on the 30th back to Awak. Next day they proceeded to Ture where they stayed until 2nd February. On 3rd February they continued to Kaltungo and on 6th to Tal. A local fight which had occurred at the village of Larika in October 1912 had left two Tangale dead, thus a fine of 75 shields and 300 spears was imposed. Kalmei was fined 30 shields and 100 spears for an attack at Banganje.

On 11th February the patrol went to Filiya and Carlyle observed that no road clearing had been done. The chief of Filiya came in to meet him but the chief of Gwandum refused.

Thus, on the next day Carlyle, Lieutenant Geoghegan and 23 soldiers marched to Gwandum and went up Gwandum hill. Carlyle estimated its population at 2,323 with 829 male adults. As the Gwandum people came close, the soldiers started shooting and a skirmish ensued. The patrol fired their way up to the top and destroyed the town. In the evening the chief of Gwandum came in and reported that sixteen of his men were killed and four wounded.

The force returned to Filiya where they stayed until 17th February and ordered the road to be cleared as far as Bangwinji. On 18th they marched to Kushi, on 20th to Banwinji and then to Dadiya. On 3rd March they continued to Mona and on 8th to Kindiyo. Because of an antagonistic attitude towards the British, a part of Kindiyo was destroyed on 12th March. Two days later they went to Jessu, then visited Nyuwar on 16th, Sikkam on 17th and Kulani on 19th March. On 21st they arrived at Degri and on the 22nd at the town of Wala, which was destroyed without opposition. Next day they went to Jalengo and on 25th March to Tula Wange. On 26th the patrol went by night to Ture in order to arrest some offenders. On 28th March a part of Ture was destroyed. The patrol returned to Panda and marched via Deba Habe, Deba Fulani, Tongo and Bage to Nafada, where they arrived on 2nd April 1913.

¹⁰ NAK SNP 10 - 126P/1913, Central Province Annual Report 1912: Central Province (Supplement to Annual Report for 1912. Summary of principal change for seven years, 1906–1912 by Resident F. B. Gall.

¹¹ (NAK SNP 10 - 263P/1913, Central Province - Gombe Division, Pagan tribes, Report by Mr. T. F. Carlyle on his visit to: - South Gombe Pagan Patrol, January–April 1913, Diary of Itinerary by Lt. J. R. Geoghegan, - To the Resident Central Province re Your 236/A and subsequent correspondence by AR Gombe T. F. Carlyle.

At the end of the year 1913 Assistant Resident Carlyle, who obviously believed in bringing in the taxes by force of a patrol, again made a tour through Waja, Cham and Longuda country. Kindiyo (Cham) refusing to pay its tax was involved in a clash and eight Kindiyo men were killed. At Jessu the headman's compound was burnt. With the help of 2,000 Waja and 1,000 Tula who were asked to gather, Kindiyo was then forced to bring in their tax.¹²

Carlyle arrived at Nyuwar on 29th October 1913. The taxes from Dadiya, Tula and Tangale had been paid, and Nyuwar paid on the spot. He camped at Jessu and found that here no tax was paid. The Galadima was left to collect the tax and Carlyle proceeded on 31st October to Kindiyo, where he arrived on 1st November, which happened to be market day and therefore the efforts to collect money met with little success. He estimated that Kindiyo had 3,187 inhabitants. Tension started and in the night the inhabitants came and fired arrows. Next day Carlyle went to Mona. Mona paid their tax and Jessu also sent their tax to Mona. Carlyle sent for 12 soldiers and stayed the 4th to 5th November in Dadiya. The next eight days were spent preparing the road from Dadiya to Filiya, assisted by Dadiya and Tula Wange. He arrived at Kushi on 12th November and collected the tax from Pero. On 14th October Carlyle was joined by Haughton, Assistant Resident Lau Division Muri Province, and engaged in boundary demarcation from 15th to 21st November, which brought them to Lo and Bolere. On 18th November at Lo, they were joined by eleven WAFF soldiers from Nafada. At Bolere they also met Mr. Ryan, 3rd Resident Numan Division Yola Province, who was there because the trade road to Lau via Bolere had been closed due to some incidents. Carlyle learnt that all the Cham and Pero, except for the Kindiyo, had paid their tax. He left Bolere on 24th November passing through the Tsobo towns of Suwa (or Wobongil) and arrived at Kindiyo on 25th November. He found the town deserted; all inhabitants had gone into hiding. He tried to locate the most truculent and found them hidden among rocks on a hill north of the town on 27th November. A fight broke out which left eight Cham dead and one wounded. He returned to the town and next day the headman came in and told him that he was trying to persuade the men to surrender. Carlyle moved to Jessu, where he stayed from 29th to 30th November and appointed the Galadima as the new chief, (the ex-headman was hiding, and his compound was therefore destroyed). On 1st December he returned to Kindiyo, where the situation was unchanged, but when the various chiefs of Waja arrived with 2,000 men, all came in from their farms and paid their taxes. The Waja left on 3rd December when 1,000 Tula arrived and befriended the Cham people. In Carlyle's opinion their refusal to pay tax was sparked by the unadministered state of the Tsobo towns which paid no tax. The military escort left for Nafada on 5th December.

A combined patrol, consisting of officers from Gombe and Numan Divisions with 20 rank and file, toured the common border and the Tangale-Waja area in 1918 without causing any violent incidents.¹³

¹² NAK SNP 10 - 745P/1913, Military Escort for Mr. T. F. Carlyle: From 3rd class Resident I/C Gombe Division to the Resident Central Province, Naraguta by T. F. Carlyle.

¹³ NAK SNP 10 - 640P/1917, Bauchi Province - Waja-Tangale District, Military Escort to: Waja-Tangale Escort, March-June 1918 by E. S. Pembleton, ADO Gombe Division.

The ADO of Gombe Division, Pembleton, met with his military escort of twenty soldiers under the command of Colour Sergeant Mackenzie at Deba Habe on 10th March 1918. They first visited Tangale area and collected the tax of all Tula and Tangale communities, with the exception of the southern villages. At the Kampandi quarter in Western Tangale, all inhabitants had fled because they had rescued a certain Lautulo, who had been arrested for murder in February. Then they continued via Pero to Kindiyo where they met W. C. Moore, ADO Numan Yola Province, on 1st April. Moore collected tax from the Tsobo who had been subjugated the previous year. The Kindiyo and Jessu also paid their tax. Pembleton and Moore together investigated the Yola-Bauchu border near Dadiya. From Dadiya, Pembleton then went to Filiya to collect tax. Here the Pero people had suffered from a smallpox epidemic. At Kampandi he found that the inhabitants had returned and their ward head, Lawili, was arrested. On 2nd May they went to the Waja district where some men were convicted of murder. On 8th May Pembleton met Moore again at Kombo to continue with border matters. Pembleton then proceeded to Gelengu to collect the Waja tax and returned to Western Tangale on 20th May. On 23rd May he went to Kwaya and Pindiga, before returning to Nafada where he arrived on 2nd June 1918.

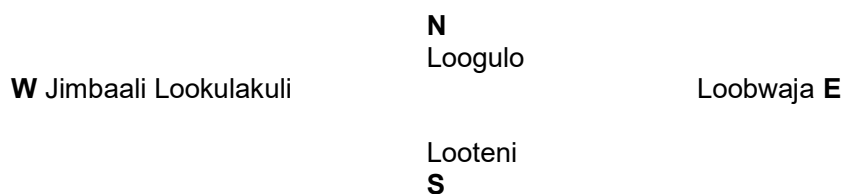
Social structure

Sections

The clans of the Dadiya are grouped into sections based on a tripartite spatial pattern, with a western, eastern and a southern section:

- 1) **Lookulaswa** comprises all the Dadiya in the eastern part of their country (*dadiyan gabas* H.), from the village of Lookulakuli towards the south, including the settlements (from west to east) of Loofula, Looteni, Lookwila, Loodedi, Loobwati, Loobwaja, Lookulangshange, Loogate, another Lookulangshange, Laabatashi, Yemfiyo, Lootuli and Loosuni.
- 2) **Diyang** or **Loodiya Diyeng** are the Dadiya of the western part (*dadiyan yamma* H.) comprising the settlements (from west to east) of Loofiyo, Looyilme, Looluba, Loogulwa (also behind the mountains), Loobwere, Lootakulan and Lookulakuli and Lookulang. The stream Laakan forms the boundary with Lookulaswa.
- 3) **Gul** or **Looguli** are the Dadiya living to the south and along the southern chain of the Muri Mountains with the settlements Bolere, Loofa and Biyandung. The latter two are subsumed under the name Tunga, comprising the Loofa, Biyandung-Loosabiyang, Biyandung-Lootakulan and Biyandung-Loofula.

On another level, the Dadiya were politically subdivided into four sections laid out to the directions of the compass, their respective main settlements were Looteni, Lookulakuli, Loobwaja and Loogulo:



Each of these sections had its own traditional chief called *fo/o*. Their meeting place was Gamdun at the settlement of Lookulakuli. The *fo/o* come only from the clans Lookwiila or Loomum. Further research is necessary to clarify the relationship between these structural categories presented above.

Clans

The Dadiya are subdivided in numerous patrilineal clans and lineages which, in general, are co-resident units, as is suggested by the fact that in many instances, clan names are also the names of villages.

The following table lists all the clans and lineages of the Dadiya, giving information on their origin and the section they belong to.

Table 1: Dadiya clans

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Lokulasuwa	Lokwila	Lokulansange	Yamel	Lokulaswa is a territorial unit in the east
Lokulasuwa	Lokwila	Logate	Yamel	
Lokulasuwa	Lokwila	Lotungi	Yamel	
Lokulasuwa	Lokwila	Lokwangi	Yamel	
Lokulasuwa	Lokwila	Lokwane	Yamel	
Lokulasuwa	Lofila/Loofula		Yamel	
Lokulasuwa	Loosuni		Tula	
Lokulasuwa	Lotani		autochthonous, some are from Tula	also called Tenem; were original settlers at Dadiya Mts.
Lokulasuwa	Lotani	Losola	from a hole	
Lokulasuwa	Lobwaja		autochthonous, some from te Tsobo, Cham-Mwona or Kwa	also called Bwajab; were original settlers at Dadiya Mts., owners and caretakers of lion shrine <i>kantulum</i> . In other accounts from Looja, this supports their claim to autochthony.
Lokulasuwa	Lokulai		some from the Mumuye	
Lokulasuwa	Yemfiyo or Loomam		Mumuye, Kwa, Tula	
Lokulasuwa	Yemfiyo or Loomam	Lodadi/Loodedi	Mumuye	
Lokulasuwa	Yemfiyo or Loomam	Lookulshi	Mumuye	
Lokulasuwa	Yemfiyo or Loomam	Losabiyang	Mumuye / or from Gomu (Panya)	
Lokulasuwa	Lomum		Mumuye	

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Lokulasuwa	Lobati		some from Jen, Bambuka and Gomu	in other accounts from Teeba
Lokulasuwa	Lotuli		some from Tula	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lokulan	Yamel/ from river Laabwere/ from cave	Lodiya Diyeng is a territorial unit in the west. Parts of Lobware are from the Bambuka, Kwa, Jen etc. Bayalle, Bemui, Muga and Falgeti were founders of the Lobware clan. Lokulan are from a cave
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Bwareb	from a hole	original settlers at Dadiya Mts.
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Losuwo	from Bangwinji, Lokulan and Lofila	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lofila	from Lofila in Lokulasuwa, see above	were the first to arrive at Dadiya foothills
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lotandiya/ Lootanya	from Tula Yiri	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lobanya	from Lokul (Kwa)	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lobake	from Bangwinji	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Lokulum	from a hole or cave	there is also Lokulum in Lotakulan clan
Lodiya Diyeng	Lobware / Loobwere	Logulo	from a stream	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Fiyeb or Lofiyo	from Yemfiyo in Lokulasuwa	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Logate	from Yemfiyo in Lokulasuwa	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Lobero	from Bangwinji	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Lojute	from Tula and Ture	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Loswamwe	from Lokwilo	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Lokumna	from Bolere and Lofa	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Lodungli/Lood ongli	from Yemfiyo in Lokulasuwa / from Kaltungo	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lofiyo	Tentire	?	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loyilmi/ Loyelme	Logoga	from Tula/Ture	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loyilmi/ Loyelme	Lotanglangi	from Bolere	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loyilmi/ Loyelme	Lobatam	real Loyilme from river	

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Lodiya Diyeng	Loyilmi/ Loyelme	Logani	from Ture	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Lobwala	real Loluba from Talo, place of their shrine house	introduced <i>wabi</i> and are caretakers of that cult
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Logugulum	from a stream	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Lojanka	from Bambuka	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Logani	from Ture	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Lokantilim	from Kaltungo	
Lodiya Diyeng	Loluba	Logate	from Lofiyo	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Lobwashi	from Loluwa (Dogon Dutse)	1 st settlers at Looluwa hill, caretaker of <i>juwan</i> god of famine
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Lokulum/Loogulo	from Lokul (Kwa) or from Tula	1 st settlers at Looluwa hill
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Lokai/Loogayi	from a stream/Lookwiila	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Lolai	from a stream	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Lobalbuwa	from Bambuka	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lotakulan	Loyemi/ Loyeme	from Bangwinji	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lotanglang	from Tula	1 st settlers at Looluwa hill, caretaker of <i>juwan</i> god of famine. In other accounts they are from Teeba
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lonyiksiu	from Burak	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Loganga	Yamel	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Loguma	from Kushi	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lojakab	from Jen	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lokabangi/Lokabanyi	from a stream, some from Kushi	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lotubili	from stream Loluwa	
Lodiya Diyeng	Logilwa/ Logolwa	Lobayi/Lolayi	from stream Lagambayi	original settlers at Dadiya Mts.
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Lofangama/ Loofangkame	from Bangwinji and Tula	in other accounts from Teeba
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Logutume	from river	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Lodongi/ Loodonge	from Yamel	1 st settlers at Looluwa hill, caretakers of <i>yelen</i> festival

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Lokori/Lookoti	from river Mwilang in Dadiya	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Lotungi	from Lokwila/ from river Lookulakuli	
Lodiya Diyeng	Lokulakuli	Lookulabange	Bangwinji	
Lodiya Diyeng	Sulub		from Jen	
Lodiya Diyeng	Nyamum		from Gomu/Panya	
Lodiya Diyeng	Donggem		some from Yemen, some from Tula and Awak	
Gul-Bolere	Lootisho		Looteni	
Gul-Bolere	Lookwali or Tetib		Loobati	
Gul-Loofa	Loobiyangdung		Loosabiyang	
Gul-Loofa	Loonangweeli or Tungga		Loobati	
Gul-Loofa	Loolakwang		Looluba	

There is a relatively large number of clans with an origin from other ethnic groups.

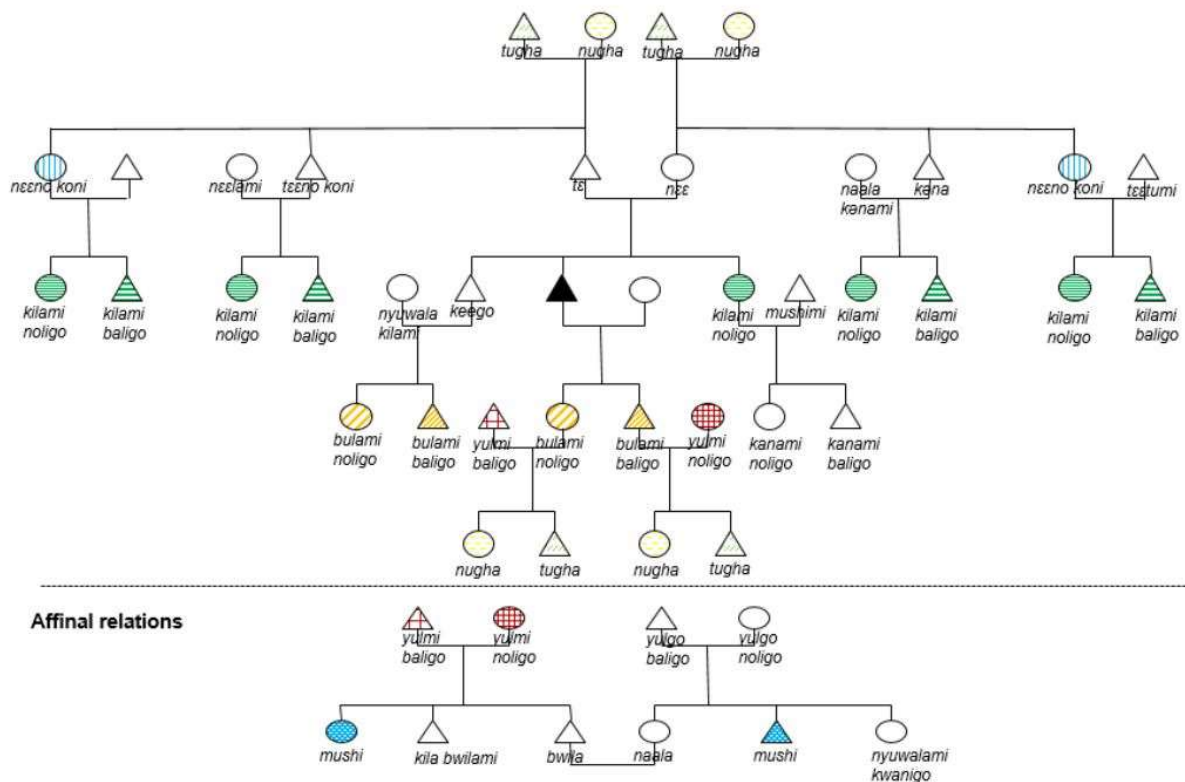
The Yimfiyo were originally Mumuye, who left their home due to unrest and fighting, and they were allowed by the Dadiya to settle in their area.

Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology of the Dadiya has features of a Hawaii system, where in ego's generation cousins carry the same term as siblings, differentiated by gender. However, the term for brother (*keego*) stands out and is unique, thus it cannot be considered a real Hawaii classification.

In the first ascending generation, the terminology also defies easy classification, for it would be bifurcate collateral, with the exception of the equation $MoSi=FaSi$ which is found in a lineal system.

Kinship Terminology - Dadiya



Family

The Dadiya practise the same system of *fangka* payments as the neighbouring Bangwinji, the Dadiya call it *kamendul*: a husband has to pay a certain amount of *kəmensili* (traditional iron currency in form of a rod) to the father of his wife (or WiBr or WiFaBr) in order to waive their possible claims on his children. The specified amount varies: for a boy 50 *kəmensili* are paid, and for a girl 100 *kəmensili*.

Filiation and inheritance follow the patriline. Women do not have property. If a woman has to pay a fine, her husband will take over the payment.

Residence rule is viri-patrilocal.

All births take place in the compound of the husband.

Marriage

A second wife may not be taken from the same clan as the first wife, unless the clan is divided into sub-units or lineages, and then she must come from another sub-unit. However, not all Dadiya share this view, and state that one may marry several wives from the same clan, but not sisters from the same father.

A divorced woman will not be married by a man from the same clan as her divorced husband.

There is no sororate, but levirate is practised.

Also, sister exchange is practised, however, accompanied by payment of a brideprice.

Women are classified according to the numbers of her marriages:

bini: a girl marrying for the first time,

kishibiyak: a woman marrying for the second time, for instance after a divorce,

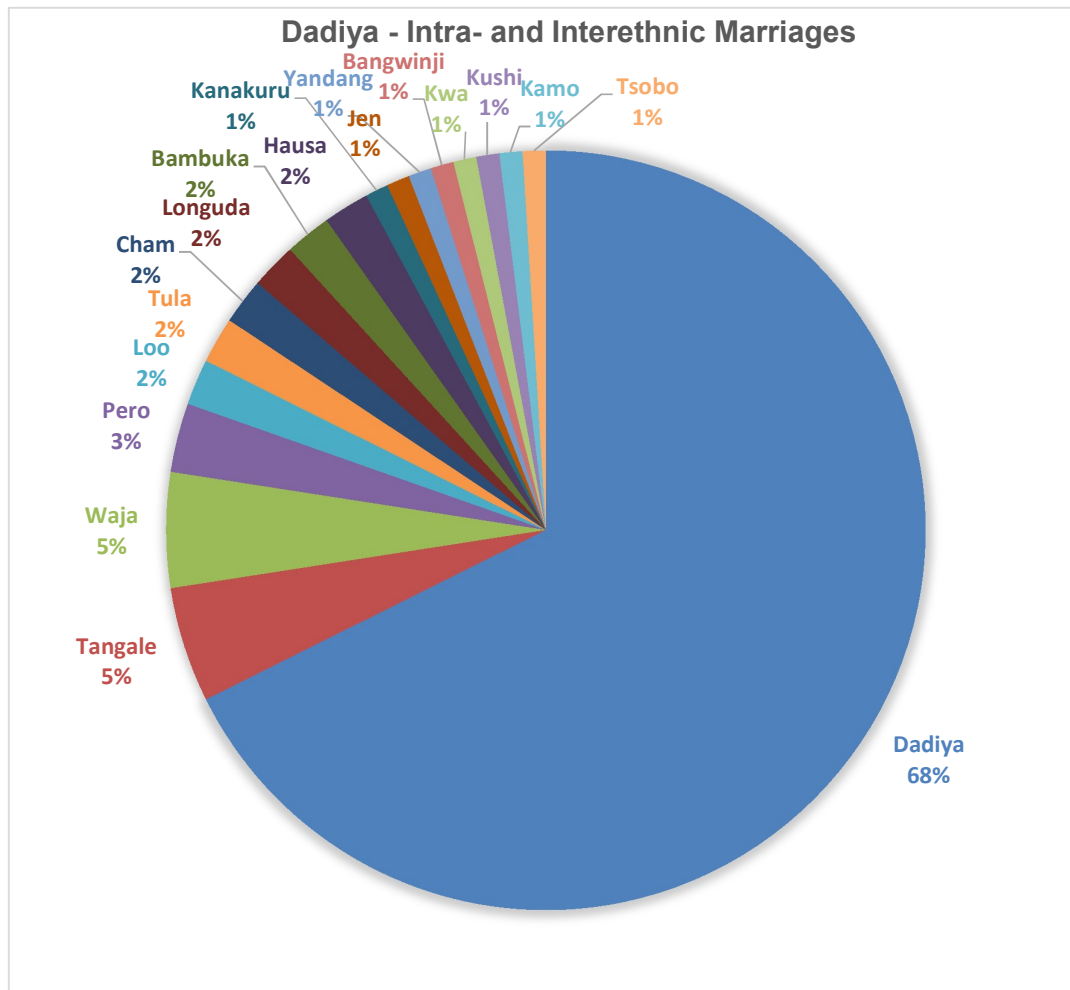
bete: a woman marrying for the third time,

all others (fourth marriage and more) are called *notwam*.

Some statistics

In a sample taken, there were 25 men who had married 102 wives, 8 of the wives came from the same clan as the husband. Polygamy rate was comparably high with 4.1, but the rate melted down to 1.6 when only considering concurrent wives (= 41), i.e. wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted.

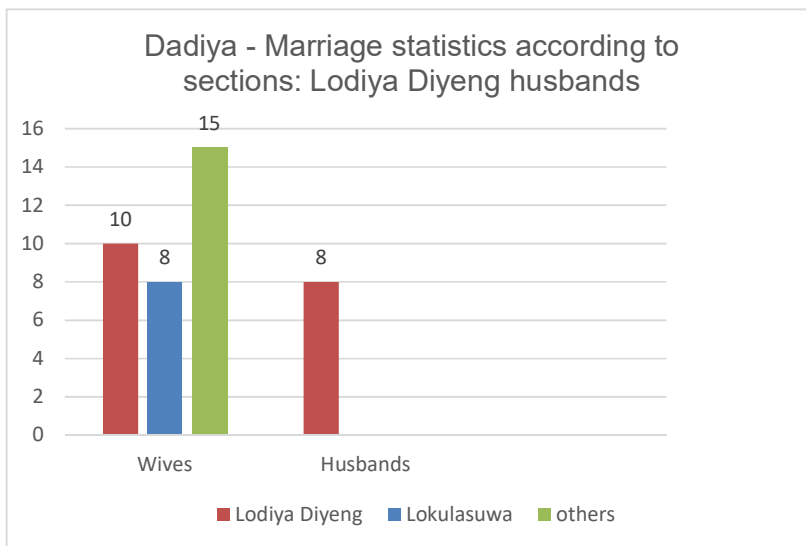
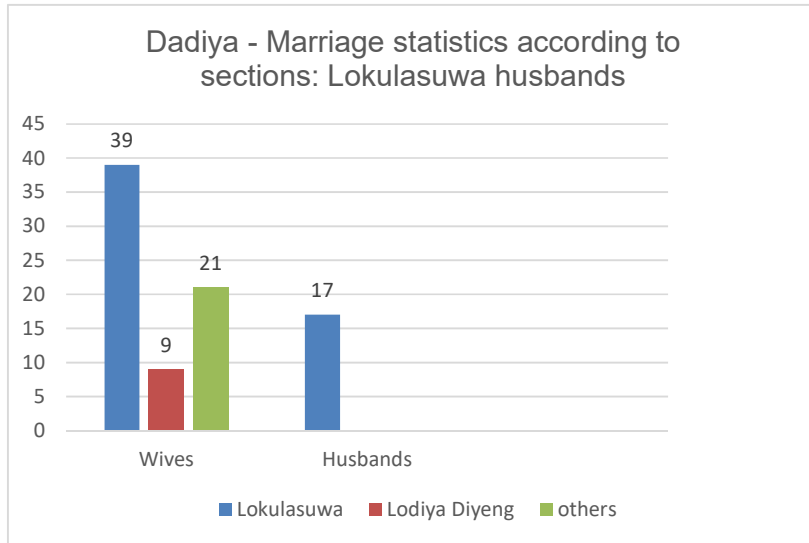
The incidence of interethnic marriages was rather high: 32% of wives came from other ethnic groups.



Marriages within the same section are prevalent:

marriage within the same section:	48.0 %
marriage with a wife from a different section:	16.7%
marriage outside the ethnic group:	35.3 %

Men from only two sections were in the sample, therefore the following graphics refer to only two sections.



Granaries

Men build the granaries and they fill them with farm produce. The initial opening of a granary and



Photo 3: A *bini* granary

removal of the first fruits is also done by men; afterwards the women get the foodstuff from the granaries.

When a sealed granary is opened for the first time, there will be a sacrifice: flour is soaked in a pot with water overnight and this mixture is sprinkled on the ground and granary in the morning as kind of libation.

As well as the big granaries (*bini*) standing outside of the house, there are also small granaries (*bwen*) built

inside a woman's house and standing at the inner end of the dividing wall behind which her bed is

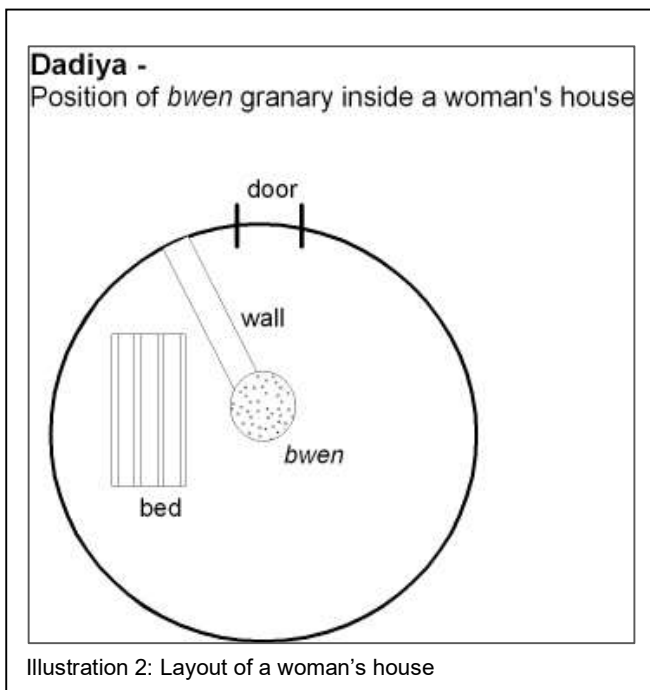


Illustration 2: Layout of a woman's house

placed. When building such a granary, first a foundation is made by using five flat stones, mud and straw mats, the granary is then erected on this foundation.

Another type of granary, similar to *bini* but of medium size, is called *beebini*. The different types are all built by men.

A large clay pot used to store foodstuff is called *cul*.

Village

Dadiya homesteads are surrounded by dry-stone walls, and especially in the old mountain villag-



Photo 4: Walled path in a mountain village



Photo 5: Dry-stone wall surrounding a compound

es, the architecture with extensive dry-stone walls and narrow passages between the compounds is impressive.



Photo 6: Defensive wall and gate

Walls with narrow gates were placed on the paths to the mountain settlements at strategic locations for defensive purposes.

Age groups

Young men of about 18 to 25 years are initiated into their age groups by a festival called *kal*. *Kal* is celebrated every five years around February to March and lasts about a week. There are two categories of *kal*: *kal male* (or *kal notomi* (= *kal* of women)) and *kal kun* (= *kal* of war, or *kal batami* (= *kal* of men)). The categories are alternating with each celebration of *kal*: every five years young men are initiated into a different category.

During the initiation into their age group *kal* every five years, the young men hold an object in their hand called *jengi* resembling a sickle, (similar to the Egyptian *heqa*-sceptre or -crook).



Photo 7: A *jengi* object

A *kal* ceremony was scheduled for March 1994. The attendants were to gather at Lootuni carrying whips with which they were going to whip each other; later on, there would be a dance.

Political organisation

The author of the MS "Brief History of the Dadiya People" relates that in the pre-colonial era, the Dadiya consisted of independent settlements, (including Bollere, Lofah, Bendum, Lokulakuli, Lofiyo, Lotakulan, Loluba, Yemfiyo, Lobore, etc.), with relative political autonomy, and continues:

"However, these political units were under the rulership of the FOLO (chief). Succession to the throne of the FOLO could only come from the LOMUM and LOKWILA clans. Present power structure has the FOLO as the ruler under which are Dagashi Bambam, Magajin Dadiya, and Village heads. Title holders in the chieftdom include viz: Waziri, Galadima; Uban Doma, Sarkin Yaki, Garkuwa; and the Wakilin Talakawan Dadiya (representative of the Masses)."

In pre-colonial times the chiefs (*folo*) were ritual leaders and heads of the different cults: *folo mam*, *folo waabe*, *folo yelen* and *titiya*. *Titiya* was the head of all *folos*, and he was the one to identify culprits through trial by ordeal (comparable with the Kushi). *titim tiya* is the ordeal to find out the witch causing trouble: suspicious persons have to go through a trap which will catch the witch and he is killed.

Titiya seems to be comparable to *Tee* among the neighbouring Bangwinji. *Tee* among the Dadiya, however, is not a title but designates a father with emphasis on the seniority of the person. However, according to information by Salihu Taamui, *titiya* or *titemtiya* is not a single person but a council of elders and priests whose obligation it is to judge about witchcraft accusations only. Analogous to the Hausa terms *sarkin tsafi* or *sarkin al adar* is the *folo jafulon*, he is the chief of idols and cultural matters. A district head is called *folo loodadiya*. *Yeli* is the war leader, he is different from *folo*. A council consisting of *folo* and elders is taking care of quarrels and disputes, for example at the instance of a divorce or about land.

The *folo* or chiefs of Looluba were:

1. Maashanga
2. Wulum (Br of 1)
3. Bashibi (So of 1, the British came during his time)
4. Laadi (So of 3, still in office).

According to the MS by Edward Sani, the traditional Dadiya society was organised into functional groups: *niplo*m for agriculture and rain, *fakulum* for defence, *nipiyam/nipitimtiya* for judiciary/ruling (*folo tiya* is chief judge), *fatilim* and *nipmam* for health and medicine. *Guto tiya* is a pot with a rough back painted with red earth, belted with locust bean tree leaves, with an open mouth carrying four sticks in it, it is used for judgments.

The title of Village Head (VH) was introduced by the British administration.

Economic activities

The Dadiya practised terracing of hill farms; the dry-stone terraces were built by both sexes.

Salt/potash was produced locally from the ash of burnt plants.

After a successful hunt, some of the bag had to be given to the mother's brother of the hunter.

The Dadiya found iron ore on the Cing Mountain. Iron was smelted for instance at Kwaljan near Kalua. Blacksmiths were not recruited from a particular clan, anyone who wished so could become a blacksmith.

The Dadiya traded with the Bangwinji, but there was not much to trade.

Market days are rotating in the settlements in and around Dadiya country. On each day of the week there is a market in another village:

- on Monday at Bambam,
- on Tuesday at Lekal,
- on Wednesday at Gusuba (near Billiri),
- on Thursday at Bangwinji,
- on Friday at Kushi,
- on Saturday at Burak, and
- on Sunday at Laushi.

Division of labour

Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Dadiya (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m & f
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	-
threshing	f
preparing threshing ground	f
winnowing	f
build house walls	m
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	f
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	f
weave mats	m
weave baskets	m
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	m
weaving cotton	m
spinning	m & f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

Animal husbandry

Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses (m: male, f: female)

Animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, leather, milk	both sexes do milking
dwarf cattle (<i>nambulolo</i>)	m	meat, leather, milk	
horse	m	riding	used by title holders
pony	-	-	
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden. Meat and skin are eaten by men	only men eat donkey meat
goat	m & f	meat, leather, hair used for dance dress decoration	
sheep	m & f	meat, leather, hair used for decoration	
pig	m & f	meat	
dog	m	guardian, assisting in hunting, meat eaten by men	only men eat dog meat
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs, feathers used in rituals	in earlier times women ate no chicken or eggs
duck	m & f	meat, eggs	
guinea fowl	m & f	meat, eggs	no use of guinea fowl in earlier times
pigeon	m & f	meat, eggs	
cat	m	meat, protection against rats, leather for trad. pouches	only men eat cat meat, fur is used by traditional healers

In a census of 24 households, the following numbers of domestic animals were determined:

Table 4: Dadiya - Domestic animals kept by 24 households

	Cattle	Horses	Donkeys	Goats	Sheep	Pigs	Dogs	Chickens	Ducks	Guinea Fowls	Pigeons	Cats
total	61	1	13	259	98	46	22	478	47	18	50	6
mean no.	2.5	0	0.5	10.8	4.1	1.9	0.9	19.9	2	0.8	2.1	0.3
median no.	2.5	1	1	8.5	4	4	1	20	4	6	50	1

Material culture

Toonyangshange is a dagger with a spiked pommel on the hilt. The spikes are as numerous as



Photo 8: A *toonyangshange* dagger



Photo 9: *toonyangshange* attached to sheath of sword

the number of warriors killed in battle, or leopards killed on a hunt. It was an award given to brave warriors or hunters. The war leader *yeli* had one as a symbol of his bravery.

Twigs from the locust bean tree are kept in the hand by successful hunters during dances.

twanfuan is a ceremonial axe carried by both sexes during dances



Photo 10: *twanfuan* (left) and *jengi* (right)



Photo 11: *lusen* horn trumpet. In his right hand the man holds a *kemensili* iron currency

lusen is a trumpet or bugle made from a horn which was blown as a signal in times of war, on return to the village. The wide end was covered with the skin from the scrotum of a roan antelope (*kiyou* (Dadiya), *gwanki* (Hausa)).

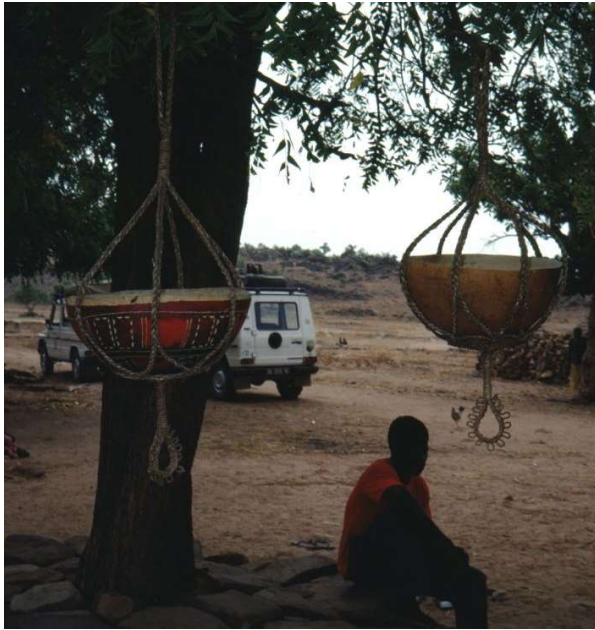


Photo 12: Types of Dadiya macramé holding calabashes

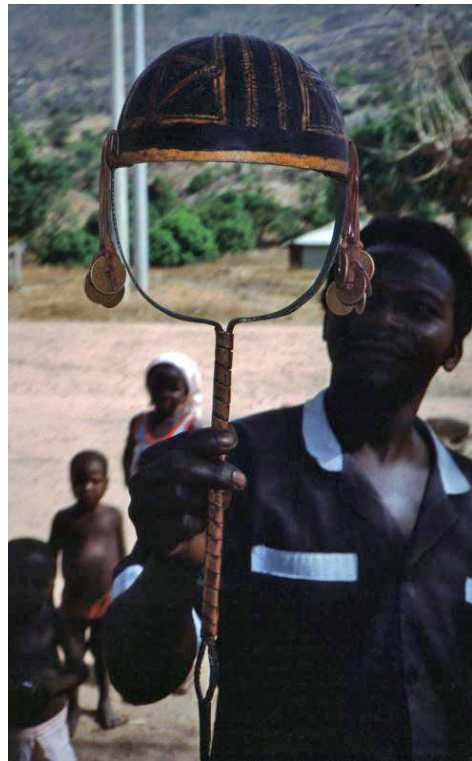


Photo 13: Decorated calabash carried during ceremonies



Photo 14: Various weapons



Photo 15: A shield - shown is the obverse side with handle



Photo 16: Assortment of Dadiya spear tips



Photo 17: Hoe with ornamentation on the handle



Photo 18: Objects used during dances



Photo 19: Dadiya beer pot, in the foreground a sieve

Musical instruments

The Dadiya, as well as the neighbouring Bangwinji, have a specific xylophone called *gelengeleng*. While other West-African xylophones have gourds as resonators – see for example the wide-spread Balafon – here the resonators are hollowed cow horns, the tips of which are cut off and then sealed with the fabric of a spider's nest, creating a peculiar humming sound.



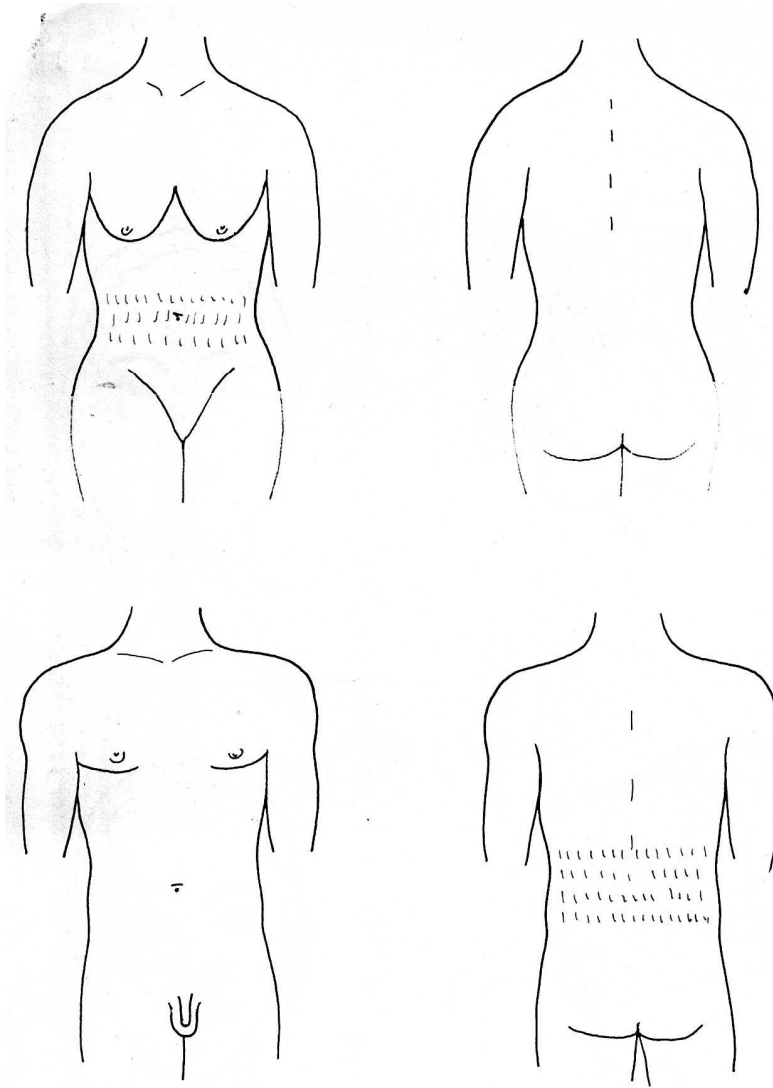
Photo 20: Dadiya xylophone *gelengeleng*

Drums

The Dadiya have several major dancing grounds which are used on the occasion of communal ceremonies: at Loofula, Lootakula, Lookulan, Looluba and Loofiyo. Four large drums: *bindul*, *kul*, *gange*, *shunglibin* and the *jual* flute are kept at each of these dancing grounds.

Cicatrization, bodily ornamentation

Men and women have cicatrizations only on their body, there are no face markings.



Ritual and religion

Table 5: Religious concepts and their material expression

Dadiya

Concept	Name	manifestation / comments
high god	<i>kwama</i>	creator
ancestors	<i>buto, bul</i>	<i>buto</i> : evil meaning spirit of the dead. <i>Bul</i> : comes as a snake, a bee or by making domestic animals die
water spirit	<i>yuwa, bweela, jum</i>	<i>yuwa</i> is general name for water spirit; <i>bweela</i> is evil spirit, living invisibly in pools
bush spirit	<i>ningka</i>	
protecting spirit	<i>mam</i>	
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol, fetish)	<i>magula tiya</i>	pair of male & female in shrine house of <i>mam gabra</i>
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	-	-
drum		
clay pot		
clay figure	<i>magula boli</i>	standing in shrines of <i>mam</i> and <i>waabe</i>



Photo 21: *magula boli*

Spirits and associated rituals

Mam is a spirit associated with water; its priests come from the clans Lookwiila and Loofula. The cult is said to have come from the Bandawa.

Dadiya pray to *mam* in order to get sufficient rain, for help against barrenness of a woman, for protection against smallpox. *Mam* is seen as analogous to *Tangbe* of the Bangwinji. Lee is the spirit of smallpox; it is evil and is strongly feared.

In April at Loobwere a ritual is conducted to ensure sufficient rainfall and protection against crop pests. Red and white stripes are painted on the rock near the shrine of *mam* by using red and white soils.

Mam is celebrated twice a year: in May/June *mam kwanshittinin* and in November/December *mam shakwala*. The ceremony in June is to gain permission to start sowing. During the December ceremony the new guinea corn is sacrificed, and only after this has been done one is allowed to consume the new corn. Each household gives two heads of guinea corn; these are collected and carried to the shrine of *mam* by its priest.

Mam shakwala is also the occasion when the water sources are cleared of debris. The following clans are responsible for water sources: Lobware, Losabiyang, Lokulakuli, Lotani and Lobwaja. With the exception of the Losabiyang, these clans are considered to be autochthonous.

A wooden idol is called *magula tiya* and is only handled by adult men. The priest *folo jafulon* is responsible for the idol and can speak with it. Only the clans Loofula and Lookwila have these idols, whereby Loofula have a female and Lookwila a male idol. Sacrifices are made to them when a baby has been born. Each clan has one pair of wooden idols.

There are other idols, made of clay, called *magula boli*, these are also made in pairs of male and female.¹⁴

The shrine of the spirit *mam* is called *kan mam*, the idols *magula tiya* and *magula boli* are kept inside and a special spear called *swε mam*. This *swε mam* is an iron rod with a length of about 1.8 m, decorated with strips of leather and feathers. It is standing beside the male *magula*. In November before harvest, the male *magula* is carried to the female *magula* for a ceremony accompanied by dancing; afterwards it is brought back. *Magula boli* are made to help cure sickness; chicken blood, feathers and millet beer are sacrificed by the *folo mam*. While the clay idol *magula boli* is used in individual or household related rituals, the wooden idol *magula tiya* is used in rituals concerning a whole clan or community.

There is a slight difference in veneration of the spirits embodied in idols called *magula*: the clans of Loofiyo, Loogulwa and Looluba have their own idol called *jimbaali*, (accordingly their priests are called *folo jimbaali*), and during dances they hold leaves from *yangwing* tree (*taliyayi* in Hausa). All other clans hold a special spear *swε mam* in their hands during dances.

A big snake *jum*, (which assures the flow of water), lives in the water sources at Loobwaja and Looteni. When a house is burning, one may not shout, otherwise the sources will run dry. If the flow of water is disturbed, the priest *folo mam* goes to the source and begs for water. At Loobwaja no menstruating woman may fetch water or the flow of water will be disturbed. However, such a woman is allowed to fetch water at Looteni, because here the water is not fetched directly when coming out from the ground, but it first flows to a rocky basin from where it is fetched. The basin is situated at some distance from the source.

Waabe festival was taken over from Kaltungo Tangale and brought to Dadiya by the Loluba clan. *Waabe* is also found among the Bangwinji and the southern (Bolere) Dadiya. It is celebrated among these ethnic groups in successive order which may not be altered: first at Dadiya, second at Bangwinji, and third at Bolere. The groups may visit each other for the festive aspects, but the rituals proper are conducted by the local communities only. *Waabe* is celebrated twice a year: in April/May to ask for a good and fertile planting season, and in October/November as a thanksgiving for the new crops. The first food from a newly opened granary is given to *waabe*.

¹⁴ See also Berns 2011 for *magula* and other ritual objects in a regional perspective.

Juwan is god of famine, thus if any other clan borrows cooking utensils, seed or a calabash from a member of the clans Lobwashi or Logolwa, the *juwan* will follow and lack of food will occur in that family.

The Dadiya took over the **mam gabra** cult (*boori* in Hausa) from the Bambuka; it is meant to heal illness caused by evils spirits or witchcraft. *Mam gabra* is a possession cult – sometimes also called ‘arm-slashing cult’ - and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character.

Ritual experts

The religious authority lies in the hands of the four clans Looteni, Loogulo, Lookulakuli and Loobwaja who supply the cult priests *folo mam*.

Vei is a herbalist and soothsayer, (comparable to the Bangwinji *niibwa*). Hamidu Saleh in his MS lists the following ritual experts:

vei gatim kwal: a soothsayer or fortune teller,

vei duwatim mwe: can bring back the soul stolen by a witch; witches (*noswan*) are able to catch the soul of fellow humans and eat it,

vei tatim buto: can exorcise the ghost of a dead person disturbing the living.



Photo 22: Ritual objects: on the left a *datal*, in the middle in the background a *lutu*

The "*ju-ju*" bundle consisting of feathers, skin and horns is called *lutu*. The clay pot with a single bent 'leg' (phallic in appearance) is *datal*.

Spirits of the bush

Bwela (*iska* in Hausa) is an evil spirit which haunts the nightly hours after midnight, it lives in the thick forest or near rivers.

Ritual calendar

Waabe takes place in April, and only after *waabe* the fields may be cleared and prepared for sowing. During *waabe* the ancestors are addressed and asked to help the seeds to germinate and grow. At the same time all the little boys who learnt to walk are presented to *mam* during *waabe*. There is another *waabe* around October during which the first guinea corn is sacrificed allowing its consumption. Pumpkin is among those crops which have to be sacrificed before they may be consumed.

Yelen/Yelan takes place in August; it is a ritual intended to secure a good progress of the farming season and subsequently a bountiful harvest and at the same time showing gratefulness for the achieved successes; it is celebrated together by members of the same age group. A head of guinea corn is presented and the priest asks for a successful maturing of the crop. Newly married women are presented during this festival and get their new clothes. *Yelan* is represented by a pair of calabash bottles, one male, one female. Caretakers of the cult are the Lodongi.

Mam in May/June (*mam kwanshittinin*) is intended to secure sufficient rainfall and is allowing the first sowing; seeds are sacrificed at the shrines of *mam*. *mam* in November/December (*mam shakwala*) is a kind of thanksgiving allowing the consumption of the new crops, and indicates the beginning of the dry season.

Dadiya

Annual festivities

Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>waabe kwanshittinin</i>			—									
<i>mam kwanshittinin</i>					—							
<i>yelen</i>								—				
<i>waabe shakwala</i>										—		
<i>mam shakwala</i>											—	

Miscellanea

Twins are not killed at birth, but they are considered with fear because they it is believed that they have malevolent powers.

It is believed that when a person who has led a good and reputable life dies, then his soul stays in the compound and will be reborn in a baby; the soul of a bad person, however, will haunt the living (such a soul is called *buto*).

The name of a dead person should not be mentioned (see also Kleinewillinghöfer 1995). When it can be discerned that the soul of an ancestor is re-incarnated in a baby, the baby may not bear the same name as the ancestor but must be given a new name.

Taboos

Lion (*tulum*) and jackal (*bagyashi* / *beda*; *dila* (H.)) may not be killed or eaten. Lion is considered to be similar to man and were together with them since the days of creation, there is even a lion shrine devoted to the god of lion *kantulum* and the owners of it and its ritual experts are members of the Lobwaja clan.¹⁵ If a jackal is killed, the whole clan of the hunter will die.

¹⁵The taboo to kill a lion the Dadiya share with the Jukun: "Otherwise there is a more or less formal punishment for killing a lion [among Jukun]" E.H.O. Keates, A.D.O. 'Anthropological Notes on the Jukon Tribe', SNP 9 - 3137/1921.

Glossary¹⁶

Dadiya	Gloss	Comment
<i>bagushi</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum, gautaa</i> (H.)
<i>bagyashi</i>	jackal	
<i>beebini</i>	granary outside of the house, of medium size	
<i>bete</i>	a woman marrying for the third time	
<i>bindul</i>	sp. drum	
<i>bini</i>	large granary outside of the house	
<i>bini</i>	a girl marrying for the first time	
<i>buto</i>	haunted soul	
<i>bwalan</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus, ku-beewaa</i> (H.)
<i>bwela</i>	evil spirit living in the wild	
<i>bwen</i>	small granary inside the house of a woman	
<i>cûl</i>	clay pot	used for fetching water and storing beer and other foodstuff
<i>datal</i>	ritual pot	
<i>dîngli</i>	plaited basket	
<i>dogomtwogom</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranean, gujiyaa</i> (H.)
<i>dwam</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea, gyadaa</i> (H.)
<i>falimin</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp., audugaa</i> (H.)
<i>folo</i>	trad. chief	
<i>folo jafulon</i>	priest in charge of idols	
<i>folo mam</i>	priest of <i>mam</i>	
<i>folo waabe</i>	priest of <i>waabe</i>	
<i>folo yelen</i>	priest of <i>yelen</i>	
<i>gange</i>	sp. drum	
<i>gélénggéléng</i>	percussion instrument, partly made of cow horns	
<i>gum</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus, ayaa</i> (H.)
<i>jengi, jengi</i>	object resembling an Egyptian crooked staff <i>Heqa</i> , carried by young men during their initiation into their age group <i>kal</i> every five years	
<i>jangafim</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays, masaraa</i> (H.)
<i>jimbaali</i>	sp. idol	
<i>jual</i>	sp. flute	
<i>jum</i>	a mythical snake safeguarding the flow of water from a source	
<i>juwan</i>	god of famine	
<i>kal</i>	age group	
<i>kamendul</i>	payment by a father to the clan of the mother of his child in order to void any claims from that side	
<i>kan mam</i>	shrine of <i>mam</i>	
<i>kamenseli, kâmen-sili</i>	trad. iron money	<i>taaje</i> (H.)
<i>kataa</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus, guna</i> (H.)
<i>kishibiyak</i>	a woman marrying for the second time	
<i>kiyou</i>	roan antelope, bush cow	<i>gwanki</i> (H.)
<i>kul</i>	sp. drum	
<i>loko</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta, roogoo</i> (H.)
<i>lûsen</i>	sp. bugle	

¹⁶ H. = Hausa term.

<i>lutu</i>	magic 'ju-ju' bundle consisting of horns, feathers, etc.	
<i>magula boli</i>	anthropomorphic idol made of clay	
<i>magula tiya</i>	anthropomorphic idol made of wood	
<i>mam</i>	a spirit as well as a cult	
<i>nambulolo</i>	dwarf cattle	
<i>nuyila</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp., shinkaafar</i> (H.)
<i>shunglibin</i>	sp. drum	
<i>swε mam</i>	sp. ritual spear	
<i>tama</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana rustica; N. tabacum, taabaa</i> (H.)
<i>titim tiya</i>	trial by ordeal	
<i>titiya</i>	head of traditional chiefs	
<i>tomatir</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum, tumaatur</i> (H.)
<i>toonyangshange</i>	sp. dagger with a spiked pommel on the hilt	
<i>tulum</i>	lion	
<i>twanfuan</i>	ceremonial axe, carried by dancers of both sexes	
<i>vei</i>	herbalist, fortune teller, soothsayer	
<i>waabe</i>	spirit/deity; also a ritual celebrated in May before farms are being prepared for sowing, also for initiating small boys	
<i>wale-wale</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp., barkoonoo</i> (H.)
<i>wasaku</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas, dankalii</i> (H.)
<i>washin</i>	beans	<i>waakee</i> (H.)
<i>yangwing</i>	sp. tree	?, <i>taliyayi</i> (H.)
<i>yeli</i>	war leader	
<i>yu</i>	beniseed	<i>Sesamum orientale, riidii</i> (H.)

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