



THE KULUNG

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

Series

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

by Jörg Adelberger

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

The Kulung

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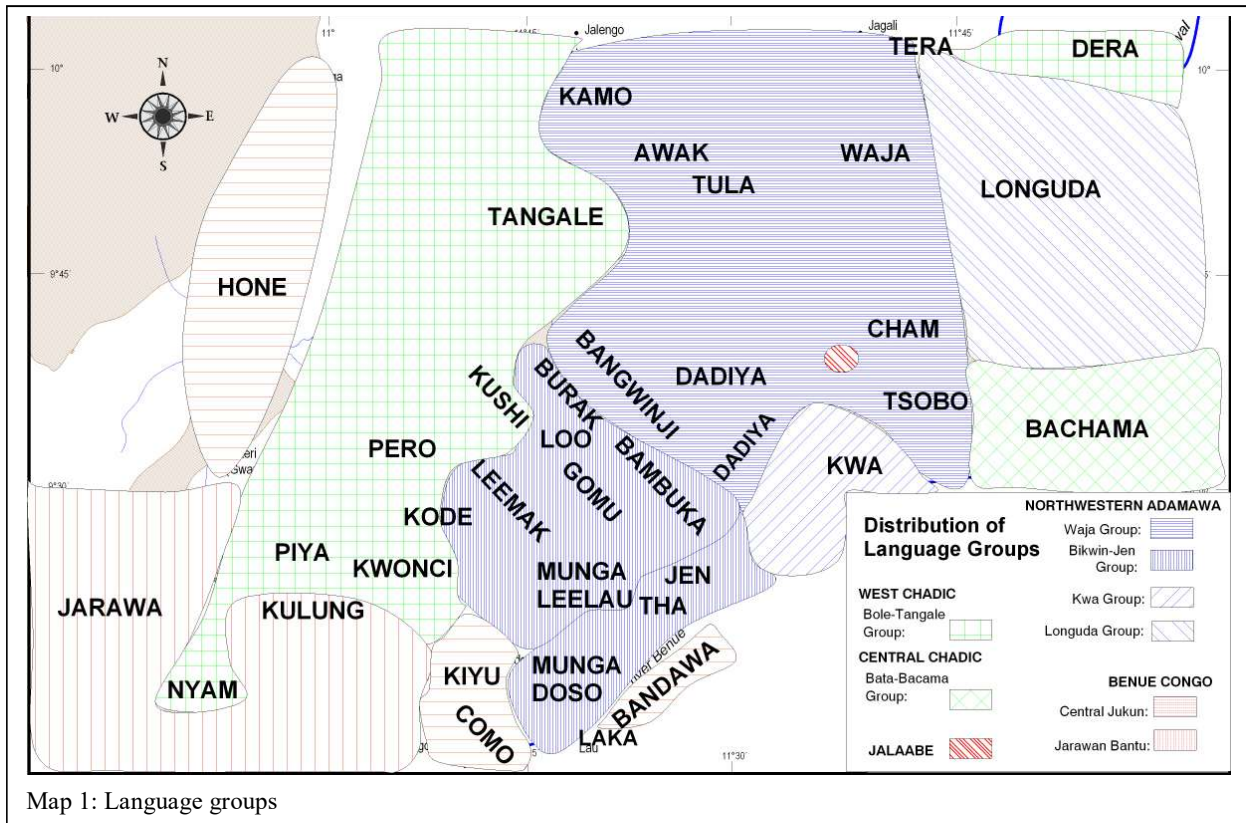
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Introduction

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



The Kulung are a large ethnic group consisting of several sub-divisions or sections. The language of the Kulung [bbu] is classified as a member of the Jarawan Bantu group of the Benue-Congo language family, a branch of the Niger-Congo phylum.²

The meaning of the name Kulung seems to be ambiguous: it was explained to me that the name means "people who are born on their knees" because this is the traditional position of giving birth; or that it means "someone who walks gently" alluding to a tortoise.³

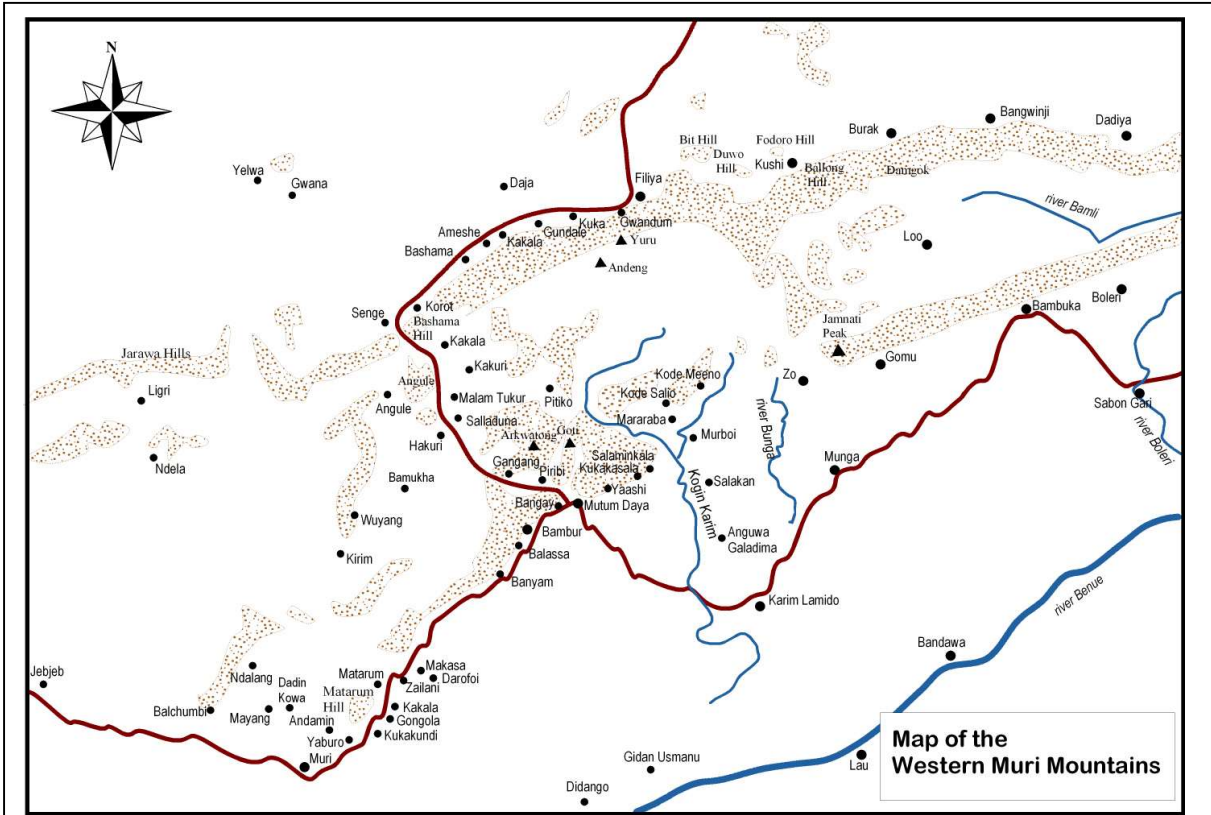
Some informants maintain that Kulung was the name given by the Piya to the people of Balasa.

¹ I am grateful to Ali Chiroma Galadima, Alihu Musa (VH of Kirim), Pastor Aliya Baraya, Baba Jatau, Garba Jatau, Al-Hasan Alafi, Helen Dan Lami, Isa, Isa Kuke, Jarufai, John Damisa, Maisalati Saleh, Reverend Mazadu Bakila, Masadu Danga, Shehu Sambo, Steven Taylor Baraya, Sulaimu Yaro, Umaru Chiroma, Wesley Ahmed and Yusuf Saati for their co-operation during my research. My special thanks go to Reverend Sylvester Gakya, the late Gideon Tonga, Augustin Alamari and Zikky Kyani for their untiring and invaluable assistance, Abubakar Haruna Kirim (Garkuwan Muri - District Head of Wurkun District) for introducing me to Kirim, to Sr. Ilse Bertsch and Jim Keech of the United Methodist Church and to Else Mamman of the Women's Training Centre at Bangai for their hospitality. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

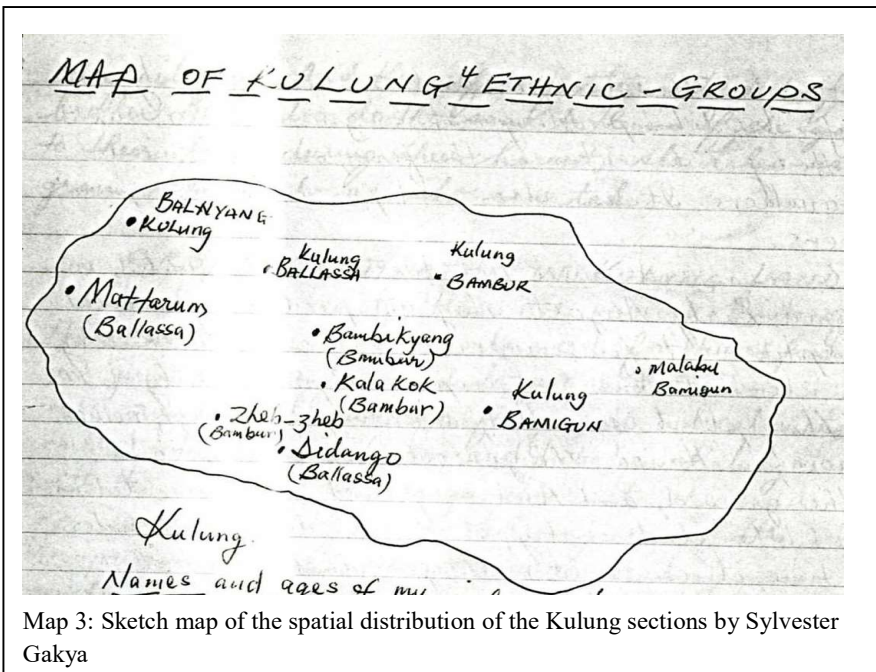
² Isa Adamu Haliru (2016) is studying the language of the Kulung. Unlike other groups living in the Muri Mountains, the Kulung are relatively well represented in written studies: classics are the article by Meek (1934) and the writings of McBride (n.d., IAI), Bailey Saleh (2010) has written a kind of monograph on their culture and history, in this context see Blench (2015) for a study of local ethnographies in Nigeria. The current treatise should be read in conjunction with the aforementioned studies. It is very likely that Meek received a considerable amount of information from Ira McBride (see Adelberger and Kleinwillinghöfer 2016: 9-10).

³ Haliru & Busa (2018: 161) explain Kulung as meaning 'tortoise'.

Settlement area and demography



Map 2: Western Muri Mountains



Map 3: Sketch map of the spatial distribution of the Kulung sections by Sylvester Gakya

The Kulung are settled in the western part of the Muri Mountains. They are subdivided into the localised sections Balasa, Bambur and Bamingun, each consisting of a number of patrilineal descent groups. The centre of the Bambur is the town with the same name, with Worum being their

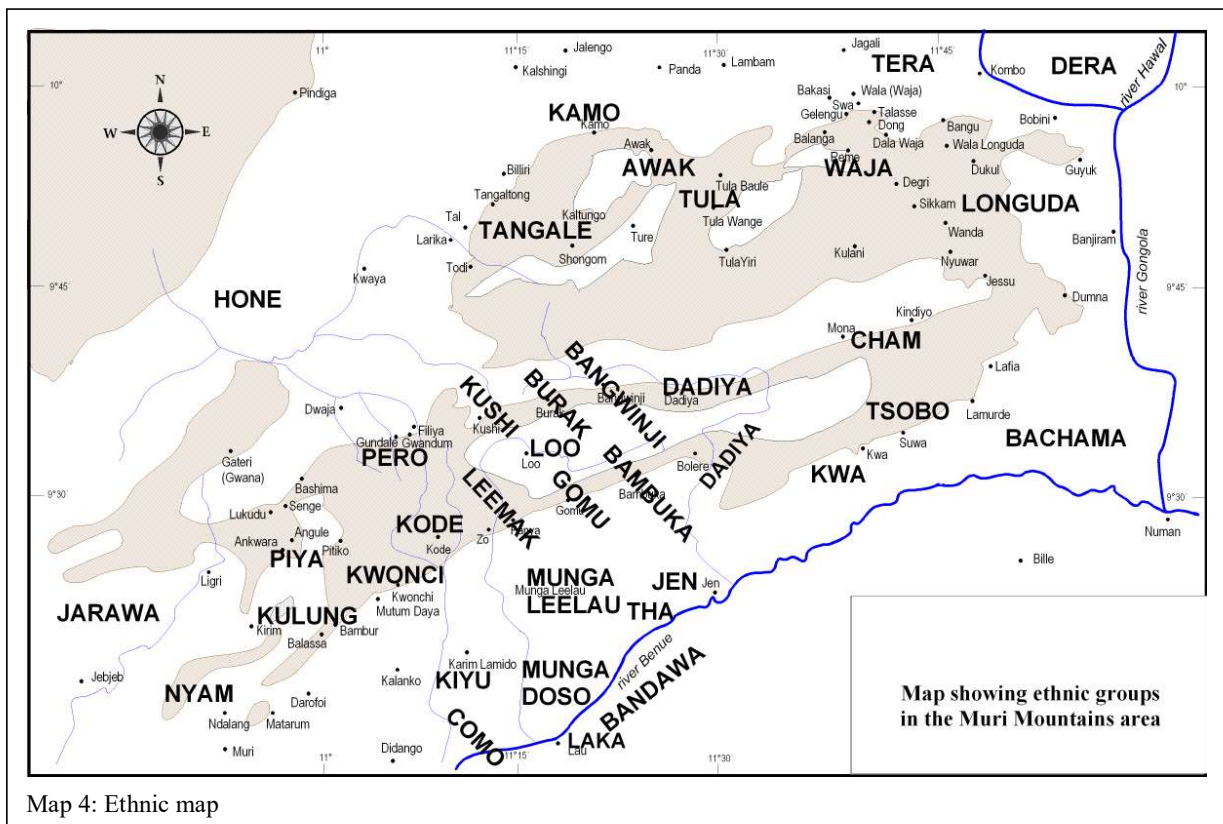
westernmost settlement; the Bamingun live in the eastern part of the settlement area bordering the Kwonci and the Piya; the Balasa are found mainly in the northern and western parts, their centre is the town Balasa; other important towns are Darofai and Kirim, their westernmost local-

ity is Matarum hill, where remnants of deserted settlements of the Kogoro, Kaapineng and Ka-madebre clans can be found; the Balnyang, (who are also called Nshikonong), live in the western part from Banyam to Zelany and are considered as a sub-unit of the Balasa.

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 Bambur is a locality to the east of Muri. He intended to visit Bambur from Muri, but had to abandon his plan because he could not find a guide.⁴

At the time of research, the following numbers of taxpayers (TP) were recorded in the main settlements: Kirim 273 TP, Balassa 195 TP, Bambur 525 TP, Darofai 786 TP, adding up to a total of 1,779 TP. That may be extrapolated to a population figure of about 12,000 people.

It should be noted that in many settlements, especially in the larger ones, different ethnic groups are living together.



Map 4: Ethnic map

Interethnic relations

Their neighbours to the northeast and east are the Piya [piy] and the Kwonci [piy], to the northwest various Jarawa groups (the Jarawa-Ligri, Jarawa-Gombondeela, Jarawa-Deela and Jarawa-Goora), and to the southwest the Nyam [nmi].

⁴ E.Flegel 1880a: 227, K. Flegel 1890: 23. For an overview of Flegel's explorations see Adelberger 2000.

The Kulung acknowledge being part of the supra-ethnic Wurkun cluster, consisting of the Kwonci, Kode, Piya and Kulung, and probably the Pero in the past.⁵ More often than not, individuals identify themselves as being Wurkun, and only when pressed specify that they are Kulung. Wurkun is derived from the Jukun language meaning “rock dwellers”.

The Kulung have joking relationships with the Jukun of Gwana, Kona and Wukari, as well as with the Jarawa and the Bachama (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92), allowing them to mock and insult each other in a conciliatory way. They have a good relationship and intermarry with the Nyam, as well as the Peelang and Garuma sections of the Piya, however, there is mention in Kulung traditions that there were also conflicts with the latter. Groups from Nyam and Garuma migrated to Lawau, a Kulung village, to settle, and became part of the Worom clan of the Bambur section (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).



Photo 1: Aerial view of a part of Bambur, in the rainy season

According to oral traditions, there were three clashes between the Kulung-Balasa and the Jarawa; in some versions, originally sparked by a conflict between two individuals, or by arguments over the common boundary as argued in another version, for the Jarawa complained about the Balasa farming on their territory. Haruna Ngabira (a Jarawa) and Sarkin Baka Dimo (a

Wurkun-Balasa) were hunters and friends and visited each other. One day Dimo's wife went to Haruna alone and he sold her away; in another version Haruna shot Dimo's wife with an arrow. Dimo learnt of this, went to Haruna's house, where his wife was alone, and shot her with an arrow. Thus the conflict evolved. The armed encounters between the Jarawa and the Kulung took place at Gora, but as no party could defeat the other, they made a truce. Most probably all this happened at the beginning of the 20th century. In general, however, the relationship between the Jarawa and the Kulung-Balasa was cordial, the Balasa exchanged their groundnuts for millet from the Jarawa (Abdulumuni Sule Kirim ms 1992).

⁵ For the term Wurkun and the Wurkun groups see Adelberger 1992.

The fightings to ward off the hegemonic ambitions of the Fulani in the 19th century are still remembered. It is said that of the five battles that were fought with the Fulani, the Kulung won

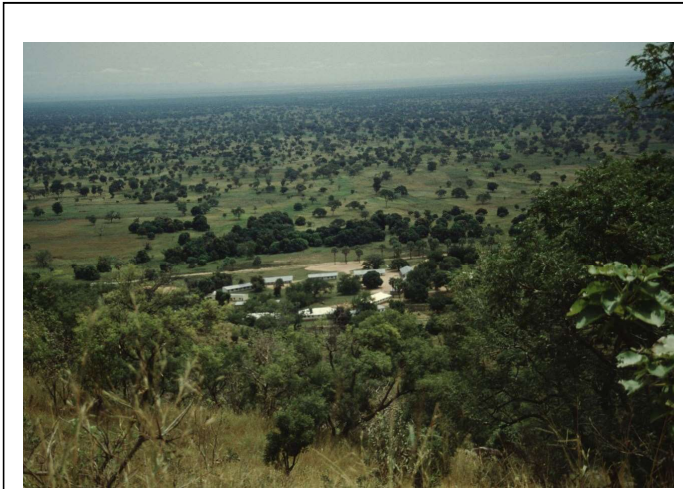
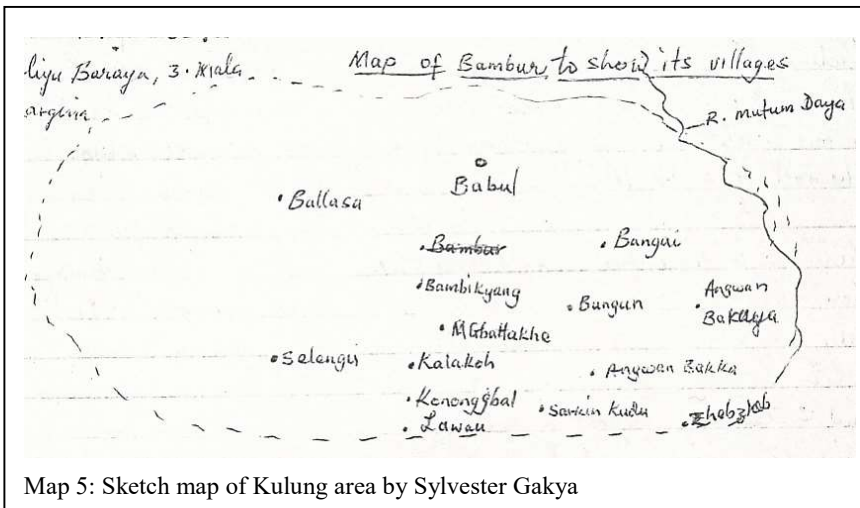


Photo 2: View from Bambur hill to the south

four of them. The fightings took place at Minyorong near Kalanko, and at Malgauri near Didango. The Kulung were only defeated in the second battle.

There were frictions between the Kulung-Bambur and the Kwonci, as well as the Piya, and there were even disputes between the Kulung sections of Bambur and Balasa.

At the present quarter of Worom there is an area called Kabari, mean-



Map 5: Sketch map of Kulung area by Sylvester Gakya

ing grave in Hausa, where in the past many broken pots marked the graves. People of the Balasa and of the Bambur-Worom were living close to each other on the hill, the Balasa further up, the Worom below them, and they

were sharing one water source. A conflict developed between the neighbouring groups which escalated into a fight and eventually led to the emigration of Worom people to the west, towards the Jos Plateau, as well as to the east where they found refuge among the Leemak people. This is confirmed by the Leemak, where several clans relate to have an origin from Worom. In general, however, the relations with other Wurkun groups were amicable and it is claimed that there are peer relationships, involving attendance of each other's festivities, between clans of the Kulung and the Piya, for instance between:

<i>Kulung clans</i>	<i>Piya clans</i>
Kalabe	Kajenge and Pijilang
Kadwe	Anyaxara

The Kulung also had friendly relations with the Pero and the Chomo.

The Kulung-Balasa have close ties especially with the Piya and intermarry with them. It is emphasised by both the Kulung-Balasa and the Piya that their relationship is very close and cordial. On the summit of Mount Balasa is a ritual site where the Kulung and the Piya worship together. This place is called *talimisa* by the Kulung (*wajen tsafen rana* in Hausa: 'the place where they sacrifice in the daytime'); in particular, matters that require the swearing of an oath are dealt with there. If someone was accused of having committed an offence, the accused had to bring a white cockerel, whose blood was splashed by the priest on the sacred stone standing there and the accused had to profess whether he was guilty or not. If he lied or had sworn falsely, the idol called *kunkumi* would catch him, he would fall ill after one to two months, get diarrhoea and die. But if he was not guilty, the one who had wrongly accused him would die, unless he recognised his own guilt and repented by offering a sacrifice to the *basali*. That sacred stone is called "stone of the sun", and only white, no black animals were sacrificed there (Garba Jatau, Malam Masadu ms 1991).

While the priest operating at this site is a man from the Kasanga clan of Kulung-Balasa, the second most important ritual expert is a Piya from the Ampoxoram clan. There is also a special drum (called *ngom* in Kulung language) serving jointly at certain annual celebrations (*zolo* in Kulung, *kewu* in Piya). If this drum has to be repaired, it can only be done by the Piya and the Kulung-Balasa together. Further, on that mountain is a cave (called Kilim Baaso, the Kalua clan is in charge of it) where locusts live inside. The locusts are protectors of the Piya and the Kulung-Balasa. In case of a conflict, sacrifices are made to the locusts and they are asked to destroy the crops of their enemies. The locusts will swarm out and consume only the crops of their adversaries. Nowadays, there are still some locusts there, but they no longer leave the cave. Another ritual place, belonging to the Piya, exists on Mt. Angule, where oaths are taken and which is also used by members of the Kadwe clan of the Kulung-Bambur.



Photo 3: A view of the Balasa range, in the rainy season

There are ritual connections between the Kulung and their neighbours: the Kulung claim to have been the first to adopt the *mam gabra* cult from the Wurbo and then passed it on to the Piya as well as to the Bikwin groups. The Kulung received the *dambang* cult as well as the *eku* cult from the Piya, who had taken over the latter from the Jukun-Gwana. The Kulung took over the *waka* cult from the Pero.

There are several annual rituals which are performed by the different ethnic groups living in the area. The Piya, Kode, Kwonci, Kulung and Karimjo celebrate an annual ritual called *kewu* or *zolo* among the Kulung; the chronological

order in which *kewu* is celebrated is as follows: first by the Piya of Mount Andeng, second by the Piya-Pireego, third by the Kulung and fourth by the Kwonci. Another ritual that is celebrated annually in a successive order is *kwolo* or *core eku* as it is called by the Piya: it is first performed by the Piya, second by the Kulung and third by the Kwonci.

People of the Wurkun groups, (the Piya, Kulung, Kwonci and Kode), are organised in the Wurkun Development Association, which was founded as the Wurkun Social Club at Kaduna in 1967, and renamed to Wurkun Development Association in 1989. It represents the interests of the Wurkun people with the purpose to foster unity among them. The association has branches in major towns to give Wurkun persons a place to go. Men and women from the age of 12 may become registered members; in 1991, membership fee was 50 Kobo monthly or 6 Naira annually. Further, there is an association for the Kulung speaking people in Northern Nigeria called *Mbabi* which was founded in 1990.

Table 1: Kulung names for neighbouring ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Kulung
Bambuka	Mùgá
Bandawa	Bataghban
Chomo	Bágàù
Fulani	Kúllàtà
Jarawa	ǎáyári
Jen	Shèn
Jukun	Jíbù
Jukun of Gwana	Gbanang
Karimjo	Bataghban, Bíbínàng
Kode	Pákhàrà, Págdàrà
Kwonci	Báng
Leemak	Páw
Loo	Jwúngà
Munga Leelau	Mùgá
Mumuye	Zóma
Pero	Pípérò, Gbandum
Piya/Ambandi	Piya

History

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

The Kulung comprise a vast number of descent groups, organised in three sections Balasa, Bambur and Bamingun, and accordingly their traditions of origin are manifold.⁶

The close relationship between the Kulung-Balasa and the Piya is confirmed by traditions of origin. One account by an informant from the Balasa section maintains that the Balasa, together with the Piya, came from Ngazargamu, where they left because of armed conflicts. They separated, the Balasa first settled at Daashing near Yola, and the Piya settled at Shellen, from

⁶ See also McBride (n.d.; IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4)) as well as Saleh (2010) for historical traditions.

where they later moved to Mt. Tondolo. The Balassa left Daashing because of clashes with the Fulani and moved on to Mount Balasa, where no one had settled before them. The Banyam (Nshikonong) came from the Pero area and joined them. The Bambur came in groups: the Kagong clan came from Gundale, the Worom clan from the Nyam, the Tabulo clan from the Kode, the Bambanglang from the Kona-Jukun, the Bangai from Pitiko, the Kasagba from the Jen-Joole, the Kadwe from Mt. Angule and the Kalabe from Pijilang. The Bamingun were previously together with the Balasa, but moved to the Kwonci area to hunt and then settled there.

Although this is but one account among many collected, it contains the salient features found in the other traditions of origin: while the majority of Balasa groups are said to have arrived from the Filiya-Gwandum mountains, the Bambur groups have a more diverse origin, adding the Mbula around Yola as well as Wukari to the above listing and it is said that the name Bambur is derived from the place where they settled first because *mbur* trees (black plum tree) were growing there.

To make the picture more complete, I add a summary of McBride's (n.d.: 1-13) presentation of Kulung history based on a multitude of oral sources he recorded about 60 years earlier.

Bambur: Mbur, ancestor of the Bambur came from the Jibu (Kona) with his brothers Suma, Luabe and Ngwoba, (founders of the clans Bansuma, Kalabe and Kangobo); in another account Suma, Luabe and Ngwoba were originally from Kpanang/Gateri, then went to Kona before migrating to the Bambur area. These were joined by Mbangalang, (founder of the clan Bambanglang), who also had come from Kona, but via a western route and first settled at Gerere west of Banyam. The Ka Luabe (Kalabe) were joined by two men from Zo/Panya. Ngai, (ancestor of the Bangai clan), was a Piya man having come from the north and was found in a cave by Ngwoba, who was later rescued by Ngai from being killed by the Fulani. The Waram, (Worom), lived on the eastern slopes of Balasa Mountain but were harassed by the Balasa and moved downhill.

Balasa: firstcomers to Balasa Mountain were Nyimlo and Sanga, (ancestors of the clans Kanyemlo and Kasanga), they originally came from Gwoti Mountain and went to Pero, from here to Balasa. The Bambur came later. The Pigulum came down along the river Benue, settling first at Sobalingo, opposite Lau, before moving to Balasa; the Piu and the Pira came together with them, the Pira settling on Kwonci Hill. The Ka Nzuma (Kanzuma) and the Ka Gbari (Kagbaari) came from the Pero, one clan whose name is not mentioned came from Bayeri/Jarawa. The Ka Kpara (Kagbaari) came from Pero to a mountain called Panji, then to Balasa where they lived in a cave called Kpara. Then the Balasa put them on Kpara hill to the west of Angule peak. The colonial officer Mr. Groom forced them and others to leave their mountain abodes and they scattered.

The Banyam were called Nhzi Kwano (Nshikonong) in the olden days; they came from Kona and found safety on Banyam Hill, they learned the Kulung language from the Balasa. Banyam Ridge is a continuation of the Wurkum range to the west. Danwu was one of their ancestors

coming from Kona, he had to leave because of a quarrel with the chief, and, on Ba Kwana Hill, he met the Ka Gamla people who had come from Panji, a mountain to the south of Pero. At that time Muri was inhabited by the Jukun-speaking Ngye Muri (Je Muri).

At Baraia, to the west of Banyam Ridge, live people whose ancestors came from Wukari; at their arrival the Balasa, Bambur and Banyam were already living in the area. Some Piya were living close to them and they later went north to live in a village called Kyanga to the northwest of Kerum (Kirim). The immigrating Wukari-Jukun first learned the Piya language, but after the Piya left, they learnt the Kulung language and now say that they are Kulung.

The latter paragraph exemplifies the flexibility applied to language and ethnic identity in these historic processes.

It is difficult to pin-point the time when these movements may have taken place; obviously slave raids by Emir Yakubu of Bauchi in the first half of the 19th century triggered a wave of migrations to the west, (see Adelberger 2009; NAK Yola Prof K.5/SII, Gazetteer of Adamawa Province 1936: 99). An earlier initial migration is suggested in a British colonial report, putting the date around 1750:

"...some older men and one in particular at the village of Walkali state that quite 150 years ago the Wurkumawa immigrated from Gwendon [Gwandum] in the North East and originally settled on the summit of Balassa hill, from where they pushed out colonies north and west, namely Angule, Ankwara, Walkali and Bashima (...). Simultaneously with this movement from Gwendon, many Jukums from Kwona crossed to the north bank of the Benue and formed a colony at the foot of Kulum Hill in the south eastern portion of the district within a few miles of Balassa. They also pushed out colonies west, and the ancestors of the present generation are said to have founded the town of Kirum 30 years ago."⁷

The migrations at that period may also probably be linked to a heavy period of drought affecting the whole region around 1740-1750 (cf. Tarhule, Woo 1997: 613).

During the colonial era, the settlements were moved from the hills to the foothills and the plains. The sloping hillside settlements were erected on dry-stone terraces (*kúshèn*).

The Kulung speak a Jarawan-Bantu language, and their language affiliation allows some inferences regarding early migrations. Eldridge Mohammadou (2002) who undertook a comparative study of the various Jarawan Bantu groups in Northern Nigeria and Cameroon, comes to the conclusion that due to droughts in the early 18th century, a series of migrations took place which caused Jarawan Bantu speakers to shift from the Upper Benue Basin (in modern Cameroon) downstream along the Benue River to Mbula, (where the river Gongola empties into the Benue), and further down to the Muri Mountains. The western Muri Mountains (or so called Wurkun hills), are considered to be the area from where the Jarawan Bantu, (such as the Jarawa or Mbaru speakers), in modern Bauchi State dispersed further afield (Ballard 1971: 299-300).

⁷ NAK Ministry for Local Government – 4377/1912, Muri Province: Wurkum Pagan District, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton. See also Fremantle 1972: 27.

Relations with the Fulani emirates⁸

Bauchi Emirate was founded by Yakubu, who had already received a flag from Uthman dan Fodio prior to 1804. Bauchi town was founded in 1809 and in the following years a vast area, including the Wurkun hills in the western Muri Mountains, down to the rivers Benue and Gongola, was conquered. Yakubu pitched a war camp in front of Bambur Hill (McBride, n.d.:15; Fremantle 1972: 27) and it is said that he destroyed Kode and Gomu and received slaves as a sign of submission, but no regular tribute was paid.⁹ Under Yakubu's successors, however, the control over the subject peoples weakened, especially under Umaru (1883–1902). The region inhabited by non-Muslim peoples in the south of Bauchi Emirate was a regular target for slave raids (Yakubu 1992:147).

With regard to the southern parts of the Muri Mountains, the Piya are said to have migrated from the Gwandum hills in the Tangale-Waja area as a means to escape the slave raids of Emir Yakubu of Bauchi and they "...scattered over the whole of the North Western part of the [Wurkun] District extending from Darfur [most probably Darofoi, J.A.] to Bachama."¹⁰ Emir Yakubu made some of the Piya pay an annual tribute of slaves and hoes,¹¹ which, however, was discontinued after his death (Temple 1922: 365). The Nyam living in the western end of the Muri Mountains were constantly attacked by Fulani from Bauchi and Muri and because of this, subsequently moved to Gateri (Gwana).¹²

In their oral traditions the Kulung remember various skirmishes with the Fulani, but they were never actually conquered. The settlements at Matarum and Ndalang are said to have been destroyed by Muri Emirate raiders and their inhabitants taken into slavery. Some Kulung settlements, for instance Kirim, seem, however, to have recognised the suzerainty of Muri Emirate and paid tribute (cf. McBride n.d.:15–22). Although suffering from the various raids, large parts of the populations were able to retain their independence. It is said that the Wurkun groups were never successfully subjugated by the Fulani. Still, according to local information collected by the missionary McBride (IAI cons 2 box 2(4)), several communities such as Bambuka, Leemak of Panya and Zo, Munga, Karim and Jen also paid tribute to one of the Fulani emirates of Bauchi, Muri or Yola. Most probably this was more a payment to be exempted from raids than a continuous taxation. Lo, Gomu and Burak, on the other hand, were never forced to pay tribute. 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).

⁸ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

⁹ NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

¹⁰ NAK Yola Prof K.5/SII, Gazetteer of Adamawa Province 1936, p. 99.

¹¹ Iron hoes were used as a kind of money.

¹² IAI cons. 2 box 2(4), McBride.

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 mountain dwellers consisted of spears with varying, often 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.

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.

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).

Colonial encounters¹³

In the aftermath of the Bauchi-Bornu expedition of 1902, the first campaign to subjugate parts of the Muri Mountains took place. Starting from Yola, Captain Cubitt carried out operations in Bachama country and the Wurkun hills, sanctioned by Lord Lugard. Cubitt left Yola on April 28th, 1902, with two guns, two Maxims and 130 rank and file, marching along the north bank of the River Benue. The patrol reached Lau on May 4th. From here Cubitt started towards the Wurkun hills on 6th May. On 7th May their camp at Pitiko was attacked, but the Wurkun warriors were repulsed and several of them killed. Further fighting occurred the next day, until the Wurkun chiefs sued for peace. The district was considered pacified. The force was back at Ibi on 16th April 1902.¹⁴

¹³ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

¹⁴ NAK SNP 15 Acc. No. 30, Report on Field Operations 1902. See also Dugate 1985:145–155.

In 1904 the Wurkun country was visited by the Acting Resident Elphinstone with a military patrol and "*thoroughly subdued*"; unfortunately, no further information is available on this patrol.¹⁵

Sarkin Bambur, who had acted as a guide for this patrol, was killed around the end of the following year, apparently by people from Bacama, and Elphinstone felt compelled to punish them with another patrol.

Thus, in November 1906, Assistant Resident Waters, escorted by 70 soldiers under Lieutenant Aubin, toured the area to subdue the Wurkun and to re-open the main trade route from Lau to Gateri, which had been disrupted by highway robbers. In the course of that patrol, 65 Wurkun people were killed and five villages burnt for offering resistance, and 12 villages were ordered to clear sections of the road as punishment for having robbed traders (Ruxton, Muri Province Annual Report for 1906 by Capt. F. H.).

A combined patrol of forces from Gombe and Muri, with officers from both provinces, toured the Muri Mountains proper in May and June 1909.¹⁶ They went along the northern edge, then crossed the hills to the south and returned along its southern edge. Several places in that mountain refuge were visited for the first time. At Gomu, a violent conflict arose which resulted in about 30 Gomu being killed. The Gomu warriors were defeated at the same place where they had beaten the Fulani forces years before.¹⁷ The proclaimed intention of the patrol was to bring the area under control and to stop offences being committed on traders disturbing the important trading centre of Lau.

On 20th April 1909 Colour Sergeant Bailey, with 22 rank and file, left Nafada and marched via Deba Habe, where they joined Assistant Resident of Gombe Carlyle, to the Jukun town of Gateri where they arrived on 28th April. Here they expected to meet with the party from Muri Division, but, due to an illness of the Assistant Resident Fitzpatrick, the meeting was delayed. Eventually on 12th May they were joined by Resident Lau Division K. V. Elphinstone, Assistant Resident Brice-Smith and Lieutenant Feneran with 54 rank and file. The combined patrol left Gateri on 14th May.

¹⁵ NAK SNP 15 Acc. 117, Reports from Muri Province 1906: Province of Muri, Report No. 45 for months April, May and June by Acting Resident Mr. K. V. Elphinstone.

¹⁶ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi: Extract from report on Wurkum Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone;

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909:

- Report by Col. Sergeant C. Bailey 15th June 1909,
- Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909,
- Extract from report from AR Gombe to Resident Bauchi by Lt. Hugh de Putron, OC Nafada.

¹⁷ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi. NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909.

NAK Yola Prof Acc. 15, Misc. Papers re Wurkum and Muri 1912: Gwomu District Wurkum Country Assessment Report Nov. 1912 by AR T. H. Haughton.

NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

From here they first marched east and then south along the boundary line on which, however, both parties had differing views. That stretch of country was covered for the first time by a British patrol. They first visited the Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya, and Elphinstone remarked that he was repelled especially by the Pero. As the Pero and Tangale claimed the same saltings on the river, that topic was discussed during the visit by the Galadima of Tangale and Sarkin Filiya. The next settlements they reached were Kushi and Burak. The Burak expressed their contentment with the new administration protecting them against the neighbouring Loo and Pero, and they prepared a road to Gomu. Then the patrol continued to Loo, Gomu and Bambuka. Bambuka had been visited by W. P. Hewby in 1900 (he was an agent of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue and, later, Resident of Benue province) and the Bambuka were said to have been subject to the Emir of Yola. Recently there had been a series of disputes between the Gomu and the Bambuka. When the patrol approached Bambuka, the people, armed with spears and shields, were working in the fields, and, at first, they assumed that the patrol were Gomu warriors. To settle the discord, Resident Elphinstone decided on a fine of spears and shields from both groups, but the Gomu resented the fine. After waiting for one day, the patrol marched into Gomu town on 25th May. Half way up the pass the force was met by the Gomu ready to defend their town, so the soldiers fired two volleys at them and fighting ensued, in which the Gomu were joined by the Loo who were their allies. At the end there were 31 Gomu killed and 19 wounded, and one Loo killed and 9 wounded, with no casualties on the British side.

The patrol continued to Kode. They considered the Kode people to be at a low stage of development but friendly and co-operative. Then they passed through Panya, Bambur and Kwonchi without incident and continued to Pitiko, Bashima, Kirim, Balasa, Ankwara and Batingo. The inhabitants of these settlements were considered to be friendly with the exception of those of Angule. Angule had been burnt three times and fought twice in the past, but now the inhabitants showed no resistance. The patrol did not collect the full amount of tribute, and nothing was given to the Emir of Muri as they felt he had not earned it, for the villages were not administered by him. Although the district had been placed under the Emir by the British administration in 1900, he had never visited it. The route taken by the patrol was determined to be impractical and it was recommended that it should never be taken again. On 27th May the two parties split and the Gombe party proceeded to Tangale country, arriving at Nafada on 14th June.

In 1914 in the southern parts of the Muri Mountains, Assistant District Officer (ADO) Houghton with a police escort visited several settlements of Wurkun groups and Jen due to what was termed "*various outrages*" and took "*executive measures*" at Bambur, Lukudu, Senge and Jen. In September 1914 District Officer Glenn reported that Bashima, Kode and Jen refused to pay grain tribute for the troops at Yola, this resistance was explained with reference to the First World War. No patrol was undertaken because there were no police available. Ankwara, Kwa, Lukudu (Angule) and Lo refused to pay their tax for 1914, and further government messengers

were assaulted at Ankwara and driven out by Lo. Ankwara and Kwa did eventually pay their tax in February 1915.¹⁸

In the next year, 1915, there was a patrol in Wurkun country again, leaving five Kwonci dead and their compounds burnt.¹⁹

District Officer Groom left Mutum Biu on 6th March 1915 and went via Lau to Karim, where he arrived on 10th March. Here he tried to gather information about an incident in which two messengers, who had been sent to Kwonchi to tell them to provide labourers in order to assist a gun convoy, were killed. On the next day there was also a clash between some Kwonci and some Fulani from Yola, in which three Fulani men were killed and four cattle slaughtered. On 13th March, when Major Ellis returned from leave, the patrol, consisting of District Officer Groom, Major Ellis and 24 soldiers, together with the District Head, left Karim for Kwonci country. Certain quarters of Kwonchi, which were suspected of having been involved in the killing of the messengers, had formed an armed camp two miles north on the road to Kode. When the patrol approached the camp on the morning of 15th March, however, they fled. Major Ellis followed them and tried to arrest some; in the skirmish five Kwonci were killed and one wounded. On the next day, the compounds of the men found guilty were razed. This led to the submission of the other quarters of Kwonchi. The following day the compounds of the men who had clashed with the Fulani were also destroyed. The patrol then moved to Angule via Pitiko. On arrival at Angule Lukudu, the tax was collected without resistance. At Ankwara the man who had assaulted the government messengers was arrested. In 1910, ADO Haughton had forbidden a resettlement on Ankwara hill, but nevertheless a highway robber had established himself with some followers on the hill overlooking the Bauchi trade route. He escaped, but his houses were destroyed. The patrol then returned to Kwonchi on 20th March. On 22nd March they proceeded to Zoo and arrested two men. These were sentenced to up to two years' imprisonment. Two others from Kode and Gomu were sentenced for resisting Native Authority. It was reported that the Loo had prepared for a fight before they learnt about the patrol's dealing with the Kwonci, and so the Loo brought in their tax without resistance. In the report, the Loo and the Kode are described as being the least developed groups in the district. Groom then returned to Karim on 24th March, left Major Ellis at Lau and proceeded to Mutum Biu on March 27th, 1915.

The Resident of Muri Province, Fremantle, together with Major Edgar and a police force made a tour in Wurkun district for a fortnight in 1918. A chief feature of the visit was the capture by night by Major Ellis' police in three places of persons who had been involved in the Wurkun outbreak

¹⁸ NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919, Report on Wurkun District, Muri Province: A. Holdsworth Groom "From the District Officer I/C Muri Div. to the Resident Muri Province", 7th April 1915.

¹⁹ NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919, Report on Wurkun District, Muri Province: A. Holdsworth Groom "From the District Officer I/C Muri Div. to the Resident Muri Province", 7th April 1915. R. Fairfax Ellis "From Major Ellis, Assistant Commissioner of Police to the D.O. in charge Muri Division", 24th March 1915.

of 1915. Three were condemned to death by Major Edgar and two sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.²⁰

Social structure

The Kulung comprise three localised sections: the Balasa, the Bambur and the Bamingun; the Banyam, (also called Balnynang or Nshikonong), are mentioned as a fourth section by Saleh (2010: 2 ff.) and are also treated as a separate unit by McBride (n.d.: 12 f.), but according to my own research they are considered to be a sub-unit of the Balasa. Each of the sections consists of a number of named, patrilineal descent units or clans (major lineage: *ka*) which are often subdivided into named lineages (minor lineage: *bal*).

Clans

There is also a section among the neighbouring Kwonci called Bamingun, consisting of clans with the same names as among the Kulung. From the point of view of the Kwonci, the Kulung-Bamingun are a break-away group of the Kwonci; from the standpoint of the Kulung, the Bamingun were originally from the Kulung having lived at Damgassuma near Bambur, then moved into the Kwonci area due to an outbreak of diseases and returned to the Kulung comparatively recently. The information available suggests that this happened in the late colonial or early independence era. Further research is desirable to learn about the history and origin of the Bamingun clans.

While the clans are nominally exogamous units, in practice it is on the level of the lineage where exogamy is actually observed. In a sample of 132 marriages, there were 42 with partners from the same clan, but a different lineage. Generally, clans are co-resident units; for example at Bambur, each clan lives in its own ward.

There exist joking relationships between certain clans, and they support each other in times of distress. These are examples from the Bambur section:

Kalabe	Kangobo, Bangai, Worom, Bankonong
Kadwe	Kasaxa
Tabulo	Kabaxara, Kagbala
Worom	Banbanglang
Kagong	Batakiri
Bankonong	Nshikonong

The following is a list of the various clans; if there are variants of names, these are due to variations given by informants. The structuring of the different units was developed with input from numerous informants.

²⁰ NAK SNP 10 - 62P/1919, Muri Province, Annual Report: Resident J. M. Fremantle Report No. 102 for Half Year ending 30th June 1918. See also McBride (n.d.: 25).

Table 2: Kulung clans

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Balasa	Ampoxoram			Balasa claim in general to have come from Ngazargamu
Balasa	Badda			
Balasa	Baginje			
Balasa	Bakila			
Balasa	Bakila	-Kamasang		
Balasa	Bakila	-Kapula		
Balasa	Bakila	-Kawakunu		
Balasa	Bakila	-Moyo'		
Balasa	Balbiru			
Balasa	Banggali/ Bangguli			
Balasa	Bataxmoro		Gwandum	
Balasa	Bataxmoro	-Bawalum		
Balasa	Bataxmoro	-Piganu		
Balasa	Bawalum			
Balasa	Bayali			
Balasa	Dangera			
Balasa	Fikani			
Balasa	Firu/Piu			according to McBride they came from the Benue around Lau arriving from the Mumuye
Balasa	Fitoboro			
Balasa	Gbalbaba			
Balasa	Gedede		Piya	
Balasa	Kaapineng/ Kabenem/ Kapenum			
Balasa	Kabongo			
Balasa	Kacika			
Balasa	Kadare			
Balasa	Kadoro			
Balasa	Kafiragura			
Balasa	Kagbaari/ Kagwari		Pero	
Balasa	Kagila			
Balasa	Kajange/ Kajenye			

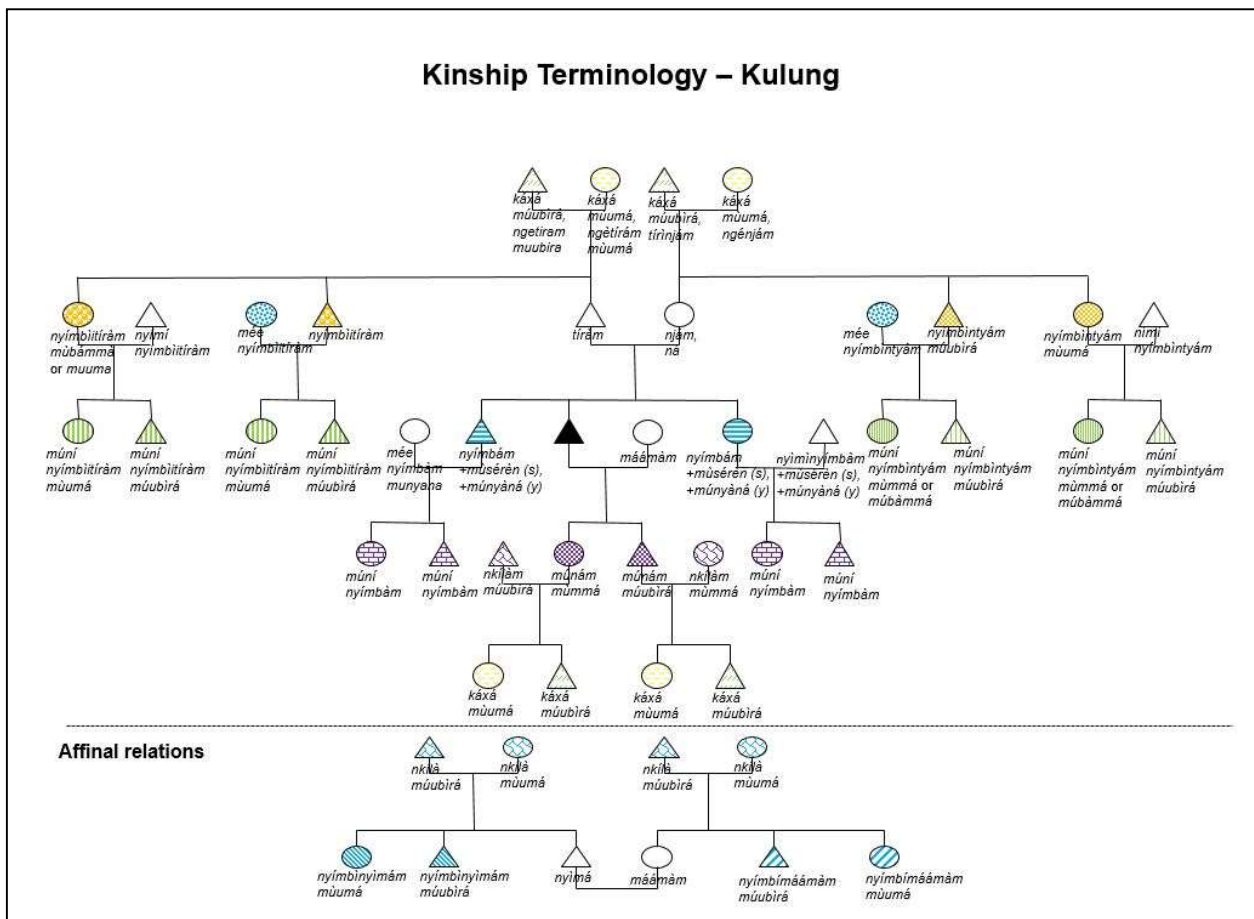
Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Balasa	Kajilo/Kajila			
Balasa	Kakungga			
Balasa	Kalua/Kaluwa			"warriors", responsible for locust cave on Mt. Balasa
Balasa	Kamadebre		Piya	
Balasa	Kamanga			
Balasa	Kamoxo			
Balasa	Kanyemlo/ Kanyimla			
Balasa	Kapiyu		Piya	
Balasa	Kapulla			
Balasa	Kasanga/ Kasangghan			
Balasa	Kashiragura			
Balasa	Katai			
Balasa	Kawaghuma			
Balasa	Kawakunu			
Balasa	Kayimbo			
Balasa	Kazere			
Balasa	Kazumo/ Kagumo/ Kanzuma		Pero	
Balasa	Kogoro			
Balasa	Mukabila			
Balasa	Nshikonong		Dello (Darofai)	Nshikonong are also called Banyam/Balnyang. According to McBride they came from Kona or the Piya
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Bakango	from the Biibinang (Karimjo)	
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Balgamla		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Balkitau		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Balnay		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Baloro		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kadang		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kafenong		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kagiza		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kakyeka		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kaloori		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kamar	Gwandum or Karimjo	

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kanshexe		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Kayi		
Balasa	Nshikonong	-Pigulum	Piya	according to McBride they came from the Benue around Lau arriving from the Mumuye
Balasa	Peeco/Peekyo		Piya	
Balasa	Puktu		Piya	
Bambur	Bangai		Mt. Pitiko (Piya)	the Bangai are an off-shoot of the Cengera clan (Piya) from Pitiko Buro; have an idol called " <i>kuura</i> ". According to McBride they came out from a hole in the rock
Bambur	Bangai	-Badaara		
Bambur	Bangai	-Baljaba		
Bambur	Bangai	-Kaagal-Balwala		
Bambur	Bangai	-Kaagal-Balzeli		
Bambur	Bangai	-Kagunga		
Bambur	Bangai	-Kamanso		
Bambur	Bankonong		Mumuye or Munga	have idol called " <i>gendang</i> "
Bambur	Bankonong	-Balkosox		
Bambur	Bankonong	-Kakosox		
Bambur	Bankonong	-Kamaghum		also called Badanganyeme (people who protect the animals), were good warriors
Bambur	Bankonong	-Kamughu		also called Badanganyeme (people who protect the animals), were good warriors
Bambur	Bankonong	-Kanshere	Kode	also called Badanganyeme (people who protect the animals), were good warriors
Bambur	Bankonong	-Kasumusi		
Bambur	Bankonong	-Papalo		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Babanglang/ Bambanglang	Kona-Jukun	are chief priests of Bambur. Did not know death
Bambur	Bansuma	-Balmom		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Balndangbang		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Batakiri		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kabaxra/ Kabaxara		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kadwe	Mt. Angule	have idol called " <i>do</i> "
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kagbaala		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kagong	Gundale	

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kagubok		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kalabe/Kaluabe	Pijilang	have idol called " <i>luabe</i> ". According to McBride they came from Gwana/Gateri
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kalabe-Balabe		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kalabe-Balmil		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kalabe-Balzagha		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kangobo		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Kasaxa/ Kasagba	Jen-Joole	have idol called " <i>saxa</i> " or " <i>gendang</i> "
Bambur	Bansuma	-Tabulo	Kode	
Bambur	Bansuma	-Tabulo-Balbiru		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Tabulo-Balkyengereng		have idol called " <i>gbarang</i> "; ancestor Nyimla
Bambur	Bansuma	-Tabulo-Gangirey		
Bambur	Bansuma	-Worom	Nyam	some returned from Zo where they had found refuge
Bambur	Kawule			
Bamingun	Bagbaghi		Mt. Balasa	
Bamingun	Bambughu		Mt. Balasa	name means 'leaves of tree'; perform rain rituals
Bamingun	Baradi		Tangale	
Bamingun	Dungngu		Kode	
Bamingun	Kalakwoolo		Mt. Balasa	
Bamingun	Peena		Filiya	
Bamingun	Piida		Tsobo	
Bamingun	Piigong		Mt. Balasa	
Bamingun	Pijilang		Senge	
Bamingun	Pikoro		Mt. Balasa	

Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology of the Kulung defies easy classification. The terminology would qualify

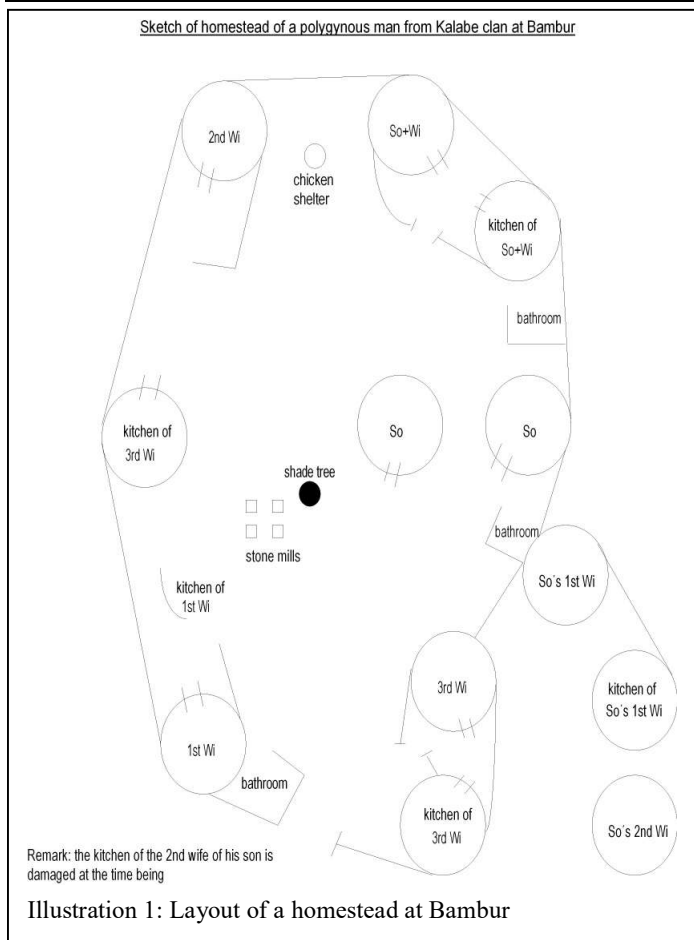


as an Eskimo system, where cousins are called by the same term, only differentiated by gender, and distinguished from Br and Si, but in the Kulung language the patrilineal cousins are distinguished from the matrilineal cousins. The Kulung share this structural feature with the Piya.

In the first ascending generation, it is a bifurcate collateral system with descriptive terms for each kin position.

Family

A core family consists of a man with his wives and children. In Kulung language, a co-residential family is called *bala* ("people of the house", *la*: house); *kable* is a term for several genealogically related households/families forming a neighbourhood. Inheritance passes always through the male line. If a wife dies, her property is inherited by her husband. If a husband dies, one of his brothers will take care of the children, and his widow has to leave the homestead temporarily as she is considered to present a temptation to the other males present and a danger for the purity of the household attracting misfortune. In case an offence has been



committed, a sacrifice consisting of millet beer, porridge and a goat have to be offered to the *dodo* (clan idol) in order to ward off the consequences of impurity.

Towards affinal relatives of a higher generation, such as parents-in-law, great respect is shown: one may not look them in the eyes, and has to kneel down or bow the head when meeting them. Between those of the same generation, such as brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law, there exists a joking relationship: for example, a husband may tease his brother-in-law by telling him to take his sister back, as he is tired of her.

In a homestead inhabited by a polygynous household, each wife has her own kitchen where she prepares the food for herself, her

children and the husband; and each wife has her own granary where she stores the harvest from her fields. A husband will allocate farm plots to his wives. The children live in the house of her mother, boys from the age of 16 years will build their own dwelling with the help of their father. The husband does not have a house of his own in the homestead, but he will rotate between his wives and spend a certain amount of time with each in her house. During the duration he stays with her, the respective wife will also cook for him. That period may last from

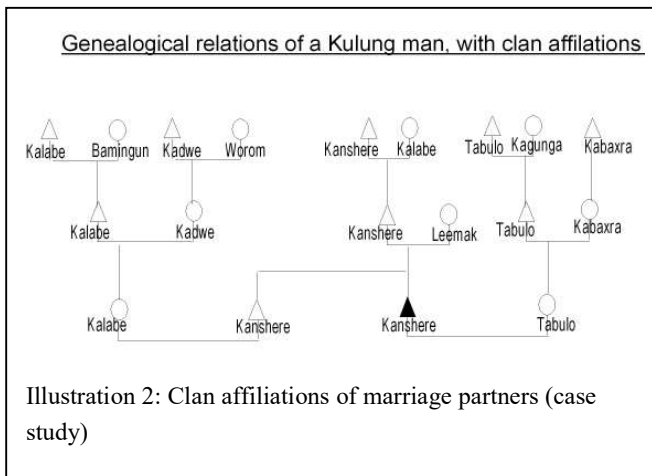


Photo 4: Millstone in a homestead at Bangai

a day to a week, but it is crucial that he spends the same time with each of his wives, as every wife must always be treated equally. A husband has to provide the staple food, clothes, shoes and medicine for his wives and children.

Marriage

In pre-colonial times, sister exchange (*ngárà*) was practised, but has been given up long ago. It is also said that marriage by abduction was practised: a group of men from a particular clan would seize a woman by force and take her away; this could result in fighting between rival groups. Levirate (*kondwo*) is practised: a widow will be married by one of the brothers of the deceased husband. This may be a classificatory brother, because the widow can choose to marry a brother, one of their sons or any other man from the descent unit. A man may not marry two wives from the same clan, each should come from a different clan or lineage. This also applies when a wife dies: the widower may not marry anew from the lineage or clan of his dead wife. However, in the case of levirate this principle does



not apply, and the wife 'inherited' from a deceased brother can come from the same lineage/clan as an earlier married wife. Principally, the patrilineal clans are exogamous units, but in practice, the exogamy rule is mainly observed at the sub-clan or lineage level. Further, a man may not marry from a clan to which he has maternal relations to. A bridegroom has to perform bride-service on the farm of his future parents-in-law.

The Kulung distinguish four types of marriage: 1) *wula* – a girl is married for the first time, 2) *saringema* – marrying a divorced woman, 3) *ngema* – marrying an old woman beyond menopause, 4) *kondwo* – levirate.

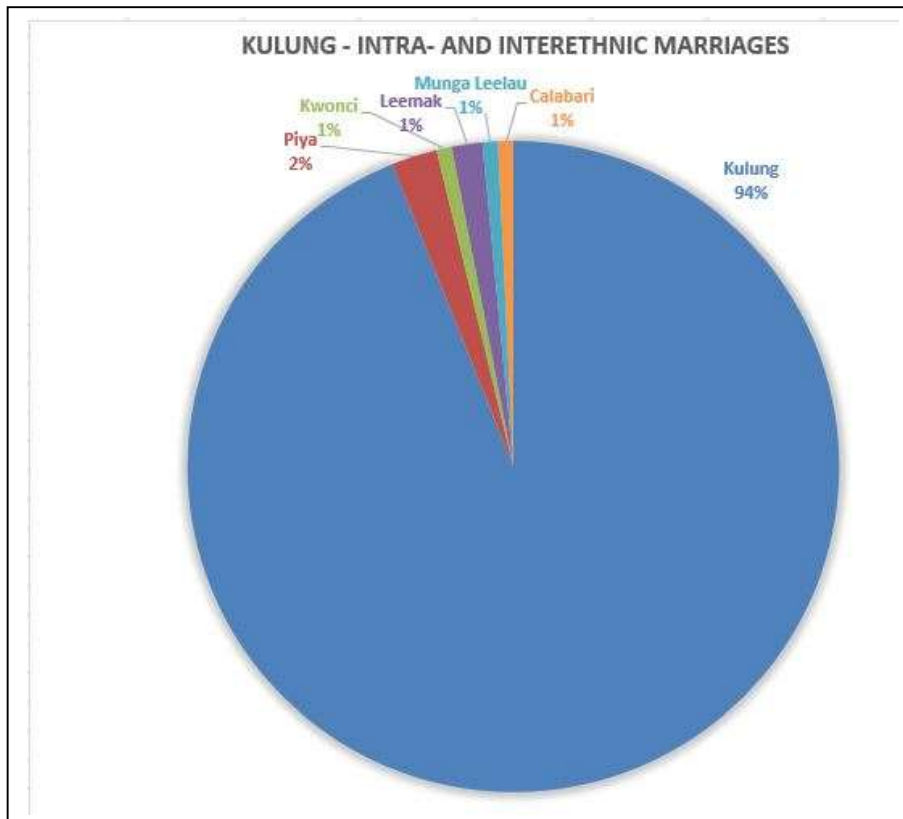
Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92) describes the following course of events with regard to marriage:

when a boy wants to marry a girl, he starts visiting the homestead of the girl. Then one day, the most cunning member of his family will visit the girl in the night and persuade her to come with him to the house of her suitor, this is done in secret without knowledge of the girl's parents. If he happens to persuade her, she will spend the night at her suitor's house. The following morning two elders from the boy's family carry a chicken to the girl's parents for them to approve the arrangement. If they agree, the marriage is approved and the girl stays in the boy's residence for three days. If they reject, the marriage is nullified and the girl returns to her parent's homestead immediately. It is believed that a girl who marries her suitor against the will of her parents will be punished with barrenness. After having spent three days at the boy's house, the girl returns to her parents and stays there about one year while preparing for the final moving. During that time she gathers items for her household such as various kinds of calabash containers, different clay pots, bundles of corn and four

big calabashes with corn flour. On the day when she finally moves into the homestead of her husband, the marriage is finalised. All the items are brought into her new residence by a procession of female friends and paternal relatives. An old couple will serve the bride and bridegroom porridge and millet beer before the new house-wife is allowed to consume food and cook by herself in her new home. That kind of traditional marriage is called *tiru kulung*. Another kind of marriage is called *tiru bang*: the suitor succeeds in bringing the girl to his house and his success is announced by drumming and dancing. On the next morning, an elder of the clan of the boy will carry a chicken to the girl's parents for approval of the alliance. If they accept, the process can continue, if not, the girl has to marry one of her former suitors approved by her parents. The bride will spend two weeks in the homestead of her new husband; during that time she will only drink and not eat solid food and her head is shaven. On the 16th day she is escorted by girls from her clan to her father's house where they will have a feast. The bride will spend about a year in her parent's homestead gathering items from all relatives for her new matrimonial status. At the end of the period she moves with her belongings into the homestead of her husband. There are variations in the marriage procedures between the sections/major clans, the Balnyang clan may start an engagement any time, the Balasa, Bambur and Bamingun usually attach it to festivities like *zolo* or *malbiyu*.

Some statistics

In a sample of 64 married Kulung men, there were a total of 132 wives, of which 124 were from the Kulung, and 8 were from other ethnic groups.



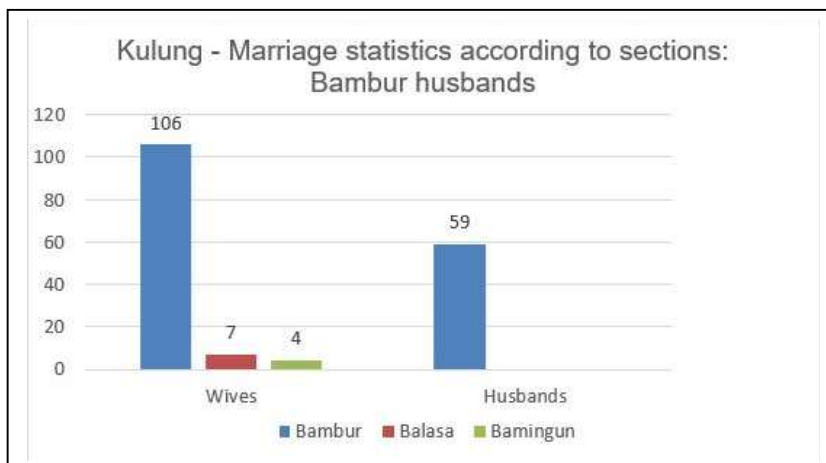
The overall polygamy rate was 2.1, the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 1.5.

Marriages with partners from the same section (Bambur, Balasa or Bamingun) are prevalent.

Marriage within the same section: 87.9 %

Marriage with a wife from a different section: 12.1%

Marriage outside the ethnic group: 6.1 %.



The census was conducted at Bambur, therefore a disproportionately high number of Bambur men are represented, the incidence for men from other sections (Balasa: 4, Bamingun: 1) is too low to allow a meaningful inference regarding other sections.

Granaries

Granaries (*bàghà*) are usually standing outside at the back of the homestead. Men as well as



Photo 5: Kulung granaries (*bagha*) at Bambur, with and without straw covers

women have granaries. In a polygynous household, the husband and each wife have their own granaries which are all built by the husband. After the harvest, the husband distributes supplies of staple crops to his wives, which should last them until the following harvest. Once a woman has used up her supply, she must take from her own stock. If a husband needs millet beer, for instance as a compensation for

communal labour on his farm, the first wife goes to his granary and takes out the grain from which the beer is then produced. The husband does not take out supplies from his granary, this is the task of his first wife. If she is ill, the second wife will do it instead. The granaries of both men and women are replenished by men, but removing the contents is done by women. If a husband is in need of cash, he will sell a part of his supplies on the market: if only a small quantity is sold, it is one of his wives (usually the first wife) who will sell it and get a share of the proceeds; if a large quantity is sold, the man himself will sell it. In terms of their shape, the granaries are the same as those of other Wurkun groups like the Piya or the Kwonci. The Kulung also use a more temporary type with walls made of straw mats that is called *kálá bàghà*.

Birth

The first child is born in the homestead of the mother's parents, the second child, as well as the following ones, in the mother's own house in the compound of her husband. In any case, the cut umbilical cord is stuck into a split wooden stick (regardless of the type of wood) and attached to the ceiling of her house. The afterbirth is usually buried next to the door of her house. A certain plant *zhimma* (?) is pounded and desiccated in the sun, then it is ground into powder which is boiled with water; the cooled liquid is applied to the umbilical wound with a feather (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

When twins were born or the birth has been a breech-birth, a little wooden statue (*gunki* H.) is procured to prevent the child or the mother from becoming ill or even dying. A child born through a breech birth as well as the wooden effigy are called *tiiru*.

A breech-birth (*tebee*) was considered to be a punishment by the ancestors; sickness and misfortune for the baby, as well as the parents, were imminent and had to be warded off by offerings of millet beer and porridge with a special sauce (*miyang dargaza* H.) to the clan idol. A

child is named by his grandparents without a naming ceremony several days after the birth. Elders discuss whom of the ancestors the child resembles and name the baby accordingly (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

Only the births of boys are reported to the clan idol, the *basali*, and therefore only the deaths of males are reported to the *basali* (Abdulumuni Sule Kirim ms 1992)

Burial

Formerly, burials took place at a graveyard outside the settlements, and the graves were marked by clay pots. Nowadays, bodies are buried besides the compound and sealed under a concrete slab. Babies are buried within the homestead as they are believed to come back and be reborn.

If a married man dies, the eldest of his homestead will take a new half of a calabash, put three or more leaves of a fig tree (*ngunyalala*) inside and place it on the belly of the deceased. Then he turns the calabash over, puts the leaves back in and carries it beside the house where he looks for a suitable place for the grave. At the spot he turns the calabash with the opening on the ground and draws a circle around it. The grave will be dug there.

A thread is blown into the nose of the dead person to show that he is no longer among the living, but now in the world of the spirits. The corpse is washed and wrapped in a cloth. A grain stalk is measured out to the length of the deceased and put into the grave, then the corpse is placed on it: men on their left side facing west, women on their right side facing east. One reason stated for this is because men lie on their right side and women on their left during coitus; but also because the right hand, which is used for fighting and hunting by men, should be free. Earth is poured on the corpse from the calabash three times, indicating that he is now among the dead and has assumed a new status as a metaphysical being. The calabash is then placed under the bed of the first wife, which shows that although her husband has physically ceased to exist, he is still spiritually present.

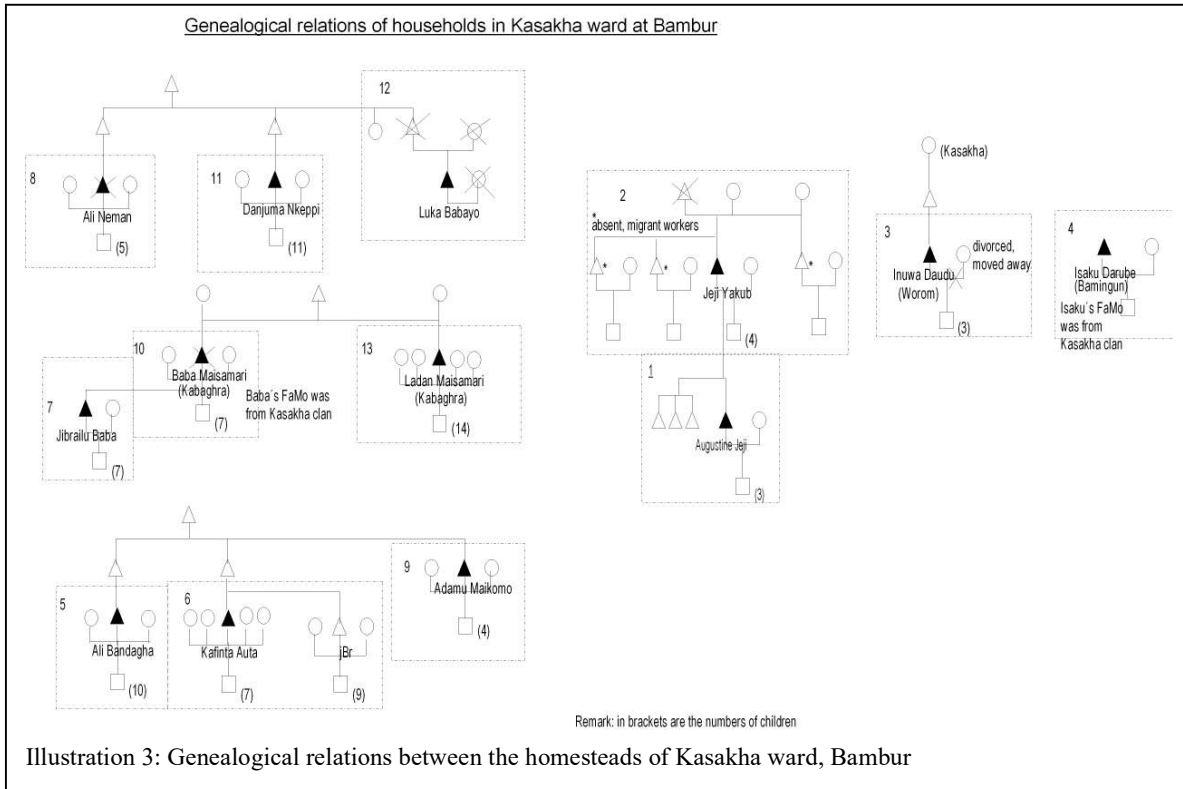
After the grave has been closed, a stick is placed across to also close it in a spiritual sense. Should the dead return as a spectre and bother his family, a lizard is killed and put into the grave. If the deceased was a female, some of her cooking utensils are broken to signify the end of her relationship with the matrimonial body (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

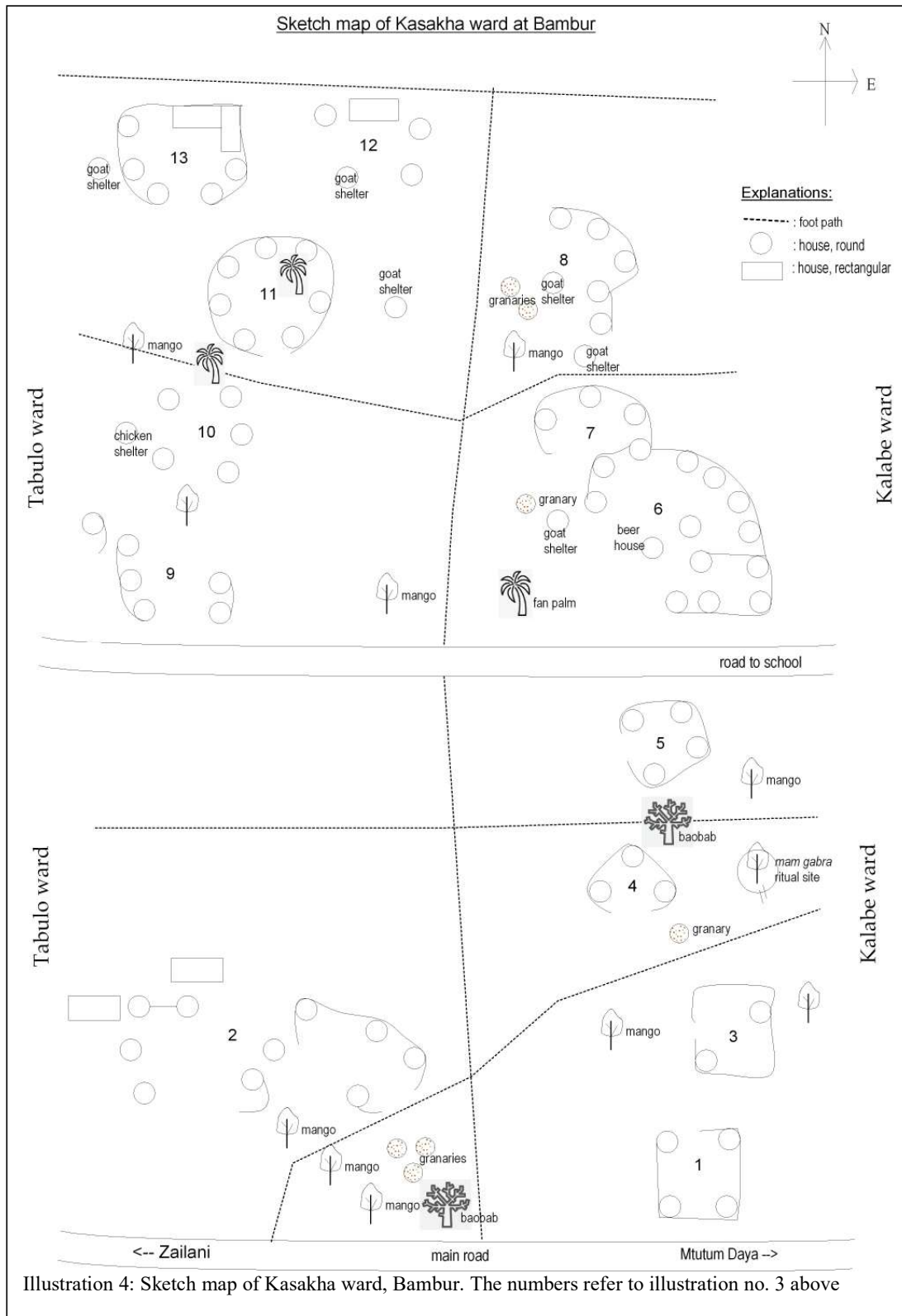
At the occasion of the annual ceremonies *wobbongay* and *kwolo*, the recently deceased persons are commemorated, and they are asked for the reasons for their death, which is then also announced to the widows waiting at a distance. After this celebration, the dead man's belongings are distributed to his heirs and his wife is free to marry someone else.

Sylvester Gakya (ms 1990-92) writes that formerly the Babanglang clan did not know death, and because they were teased that they only attend burial ceremonies of others and never entertain them with millet beer served during their own burials, they killed a lizard and mourned it as if it was a human being. From that time they started to die.

Village

The settlements of Bangai, Bambur, Balasa and Banyam are located along the east-west road from Mutum Daya to Zailani like pearls on a string. At Bambur, wards are named according to the clans residing there, but they are not exclusively inhabited solely by one clan. Gardens are usually cultivated and useful trees are planted between the homesteads.





In a census conducted among 119 compounds at Bambur, 892 inhabitants in total were counted, of which 416 were males, 476 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 7.5, with slightly more females (4) than males (3.5).

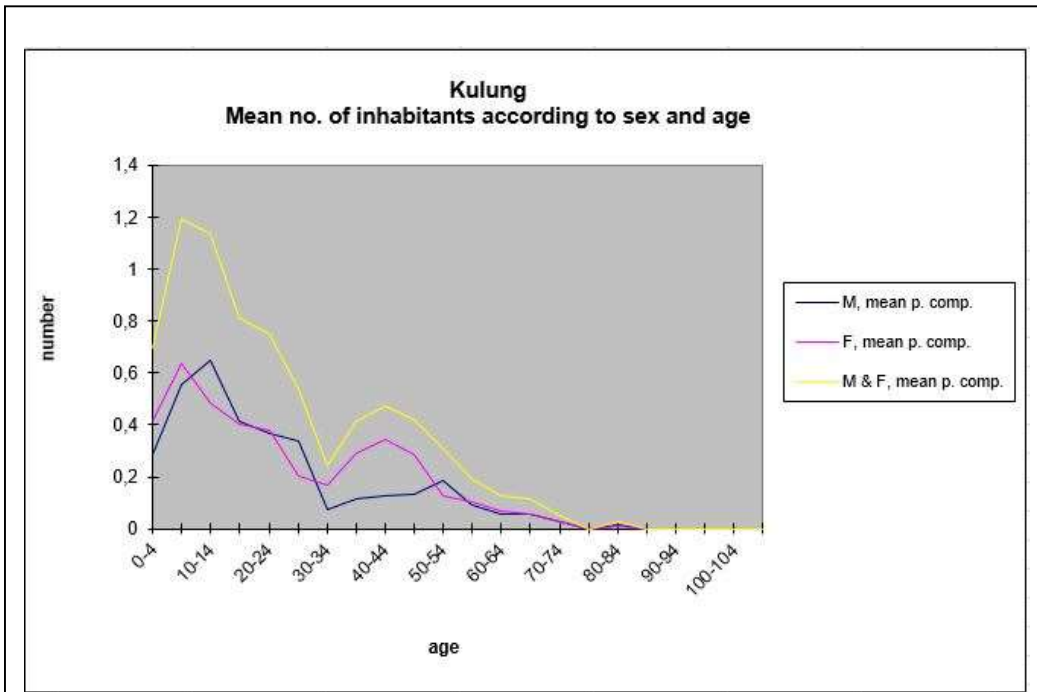


Figure 1: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Bambur

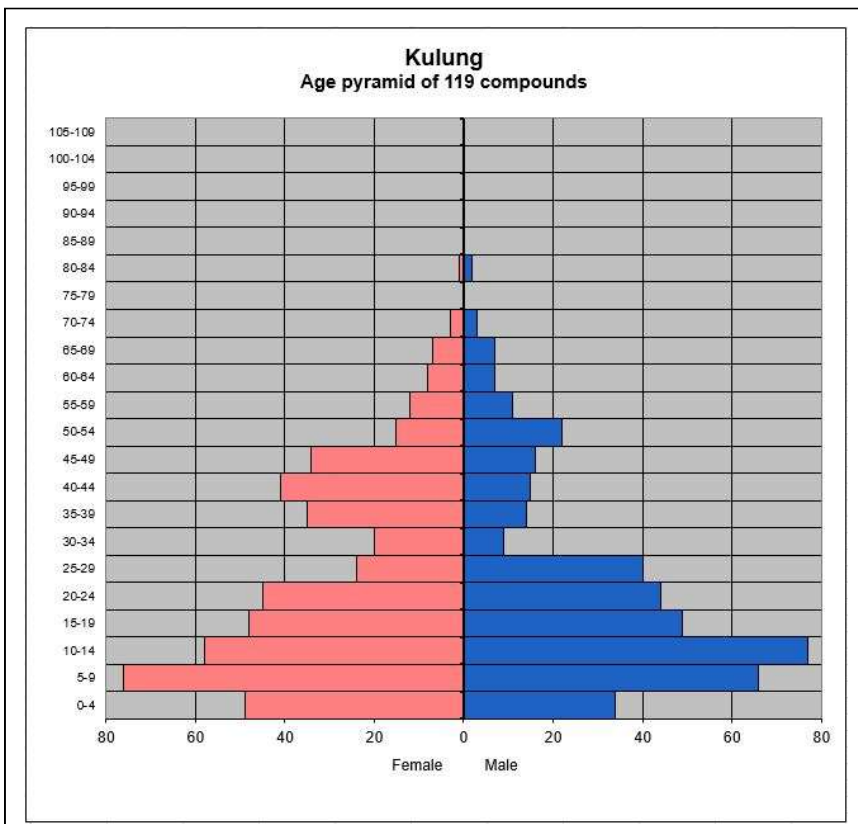


Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Bambur

Age groups

Age groups are rather informal groupings bonding males of a certain age. During communal hunts or collective (agricultural) activities they play a role, as these may be organised according to age categories.

Boys of the age between 15-20 years are circumcised according to clan affiliation during a ritual in December and thus initiated into adulthood including being entitled to marry and become a warrior. The initiates go to the shrine of the clan idol *basali*, where millet beer and porridge are offered to the deity. They are taught secrets of the *basali* cult and learn to endure hardships. It seems that the connection between circumcision and initiation ritual is not traditional for I was told that circumcision was only introduced in the early 1920s.

Those initiated together form an age group who will convene during hunts and at festivities, for example, during the *malbiyu* festival in December, there are activities like dancing and wrestling that are organised on an age group basis. Age groups cut across the boundaries of the descent units. However, as the number of followers of the world religions increases, the number of adherents of traditional beliefs decreases and accordingly these initiations are slowly disappearing.

Political organisation

Village Head

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

In pre-colonial times, the *tàllé* were the traditional authorities in matters political and ritual.

Among the Bambur section, the *tàllé básáli* was the priest of the *basali* clan idol and was provided by the Tabulo clan; the war leaders came from the Kasaxa, Kalabe and Kadwe clans. The *talle* was assisted by a council of elders; they held their consultations at a huge baobab tree called *morokh bàsérèng*.

With regard to the chiefs of Bambur, Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92) relates that the first chief was Kasala Gba from the Kangobo clan, he was weak and therefore overthrown by his mother's clan Tabulo, the second chief was Bakkah who was a harsh ruler. Due to an intrigue by the Fulani he was deported by the British. Then third came Duhruh who preferred some clans in his rulings, and the fourth was Yawai.²¹

With regard to the chiefs of Balasa (Kirim), the following information was culled from local manuscripts (Abdulmumini Sule Kirim ms 1992, Garba Jatau and Malam Masadu ms 1991): for the pre-colonial time, the names Pigum, Gwali, Loobe (from the Pigulum clan) and Kukke are mentioned, then as 'official' chiefs

1. Sambo Noghafa (from the Pekyo clan), gave his daughter to Emir Yakubu of Bauchi while the latter was at Jebjeb
2. Mamman Kumbo (Pekyo), 1919-1926, Sambo's brother who had served as a soldier in WW1
3. Mallam Dogo (Pigulum) 1926-1965
4. Musa (Pekyo)
5. Ali Musa (Pekyo).

This list, however, cannot be considered to be definite and needs validation. Further, McBride (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4)) in his unpublished manuscript suggests that there were two lines of rulers of Kirim.

In this context, the following account which is preserved in historical traditions with varying details, is significant:

Sambo formerly was the chief farmer, by that time they were under Bauchi and paid their hut tax to Bauchi. Yakubu, the Emir of Bauchi,²² came with a white man and told Sambo to meet them at Jebjeb; Sambo and his advisers, Foi and Kuki, went there carrying *gari* and chicken. The white man went with them to Wagal, to Yashintuwo and Bandawa and at these places planted cocoyam telling them that all this is his land. The white man, Yakubu of Bauchi and the chief of Fali later went to Kirim and Sambo gave his daughter Adama to Yakubu. Yakubu

²¹ See Saleh (2010: 9 f.) for a somewhat different listing of Bambur chiefs.

²² This should be Yakubu II, Emir of Bauchi 1907-41 (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 464).

was very pleased and advised Sarkin Fali to make Sambo chief of Kirim (Sarki Ali Kirim, n.d.). Later another DO came from Kaduna and promoted Sambo by giving him a staff of office. Mafindi of Muri²³ witnessed this and by applying a trick took the staff and never gave it back. The white man informed Sambo that he should give the tax collected to Jalingo-Yola instead of Bauchi. Sambo told him that the Fulani are their enemies. Mafindi installed Bawuro as Ubandoma who started to collect the tax in Wurkun district, he succeeded with the Bandawa, Jenjo, Gomu and Munga, but failed with the Bambuka, who refused to pay their tax to him. Meanwhile, Sambo saved all the tax which was not collected from Bauchi, for four years. When a DO from Jalingo toured round the Wurkun area and came to Kirim, Bawuro sowed doubts about Sambo's loyalty, indicating that Sambo embezzled tax money. Mafindi sent two policemen to drive away or kill Sambo, who therefore fled to Fiko, a Jarawa town. Mamman Kumbo, a brother of Sambo who had served in WW1 against the Germans was appointed next chief of Kirim. Bawuro used his influence over a number of Village Heads and forced them to hand over the tax, leaving the chief of Kirim powerless in spite of his official rule over the Wurkun area. So, many people moved to Balasa to escape from Bawuro. Ahmadu, Maigandi and Shehu, three pupils of the mission school at Kirim, later were arrested and sent to prison for 3 years because they had dared to ask for the staff. Not long after they were released they all died because they had been maltreated in prison. (Garba Jatau, Malam Masadu ms 1991).²⁴

The frustration of the Kulung that in the colonial era they had to surrender their autonomy to a party which had oppressed and enslaved them in the past becomes apparent in these traditions.

²³ Muhammadu Mafindi, Emir of Muri 1903-53 (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 453).

²⁴ McBride (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): 5-6, 8) gives the story of Sambo told by himself.

Economic activities

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

- on Monday at Karim Lamido
- on Tuesday at Didango
- on Wednesday at Zailani
- on Thursday at Andamin (to the west of Zailani)
- on Friday at Jen and
- on Saturday at Mutum Daya.

The market at Mutum Daya is an important one, attracting traders from Gombe, Futuk, Kasher, Filiya, Tudu, Dogonyali (=Senge), Didango, Zelany, Tignon and Lau. People come on foot from a radius of up to 15km to attend the market. The market's speciality is skins, both from wild and from domesticated animals.

Kirim was an important town with a market that was attended by people from Wase and Bauchi until the 1960s, but lost its significance in more recent times.

Division of labour

Table 3: Gender specific division of labour among the Kulung (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m & f
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	-
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winnowing	f
build house walls	m
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	m
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	-
build fence	m
weave food cover	-
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	f
weaving cotton	-
spinning	-
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

Agriculture

The Kulung cultivate guinea corn and millet, maize, groundnuts and beans as major, staple crops; rice, sesame and various vegetables are also cultivated but on a smaller scale.

Seasons: rainy season (April - November): *biyang*,

dry season (November - March): *bou*,

When yields start to diminish, the field is left fallow for about two years to allow the soil to regenerate, and either a new plot is opened or the field of a neighbour is leased. Land is communal property and by clearing a plot a farmer only acquires usufruct rights. After a period of three years of fallow this right expires and the plot becomes free for use by others, be this man or woman. Three circles on a fallow field indicate that it has already been claimed by someone.

The Kulung did practise terracing on their hillside farms; remains of stone terraces (*kúshèn*) on now abandoned areas on the mountain slopes are evidence for this.

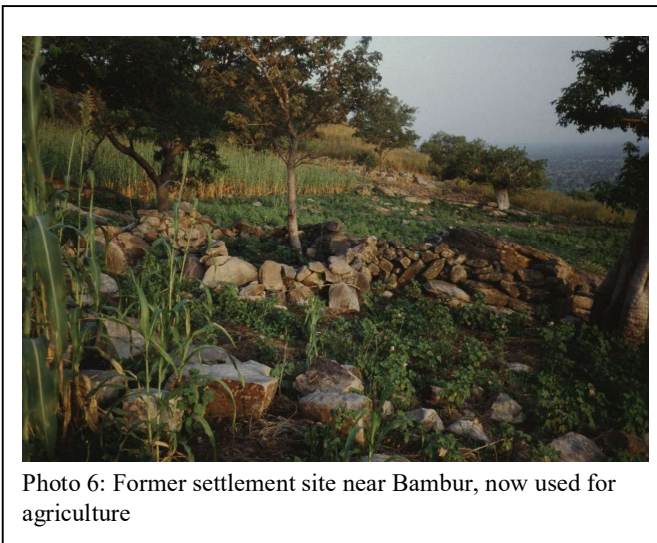


Photo 6: Former settlement site near Bambur, now used for agriculture

In the case of a drought, it is the responsibility of ritual experts from the Bambughu clan to ask for rain. Several elders will go on the summit of the mountain with a pot of millet beer, making libations there and praying for rain, then a goat will be sacrificed and a jar placed with its opening towards the sky to be filled with rain water. If rain still does not fall, the dance *sonno bulo* will be performed also at the mountain top (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92)

More demanding agricultural activities such as sowing, weeding and harvesting are usually accomplished by communal labour. There are two kinds: *ligang kari* (*gaya* H.) is a large work-party consisting of clan peers, relatives and friends of the organising farmer, and *tigbug*, a small work-party with five to ten participants. While *tigbug* is based on reciprocity and only millet beer or porridge is provided for the workers, at a *ligang kari* vast amounts of millet beer are provided and it does not entail the aspect of reciprocity, i.e. the host is under no obligation to assist the attendees when they need help on their farm.

A husband has a special obligation to attend work parties organised by his in-laws.

Ethnic Group: **Kulung**

1

Table: **Annual Agricultural Cycle**

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
guinea corn (red) <i>meneng</i>						1.	2.		3.				clay & loamy soils, sown at 1st rainfall
guinea corn (reddish) <i>bakhara</i>						1.	2.		3.				sandy & loamy soils, sown at 1st rainfall
guinea corn (white) <i>misa biyang</i>													silt, sandy & loamy soils
millet <i>manza</i>					1.	2.							intercropped with g/corn
millet <i>mar</i>					1.	2.	3.						intercropped with g/corn
beans (<i>waakee</i> H.) <i>nkinding</i>						1.							sandy & loamy soils, with g/corn, groundnut, millet
beans (<i>kananade</i> H.) <i>ngangshi</i>													clay & loamy soils, with g/corn, groundnut & sesame
rice <i>nkáabá</i>					early	late	early	late	early	late			clay & loamy soils, intercropped with maize
maize <i>mikim</i>						1.	2.						clay & loamy soils, intercropped w. g/corn, rice
guinea corn (red) <i>nya nyiri</i>					1.	2.	3.						clay & loamy soils
groundnuts <i>nzugu</i>				early	late	early	late	early	late				loamy soils, intercropped with g/corn, millet, beans
Bambara nut <i>gbam</i>													sandy soils
tiger nut <i>mbiyu</i>													clay, loamy & sandy soil
sesame <i>saari</i> (white)													clay & loamy soils, with beans
sesame <i>leedu</i> (grey)													clay & loamy soils, with beans
sesame <i>nyiiro</i> (black)													clay & loamy soils, with beans
tobacco <i>tang</i>									nursing	transplanting			clay & loamy soil
okra <i>denge bau, d. biyang</i>				<i>biyang</i>	<i>biyang</i>		<i>bau</i>	<i>bau</i>			<i>bau</i>		clay & loamy soil, with g/corn, millet
cassava <i>mbai, bus lagam</i>				1. transplanting (1 year later)		2. transplanting		3. transplanting					sandy & loamy soils
tumuku <i>ngo</i>													clay & loamy soil
pepper (hot) <i>shimaama</i>					nursing	transplanting							silt, loamy soils
garden egg <i>yaaghe</i>					nursing	transplanting							clay & loamy soil

planting: _____
weeding: - - - - -
harvesting: - - - - -

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
kenaf <i>zang ayok</i>						_____	-----			_____			clay & loamy soils, with millet, g/corn etc.
roselle <i>zang maashi</i>						_____		_____					clay & loamy soils, with millet, g/corn etc.
melon <i>ziiri</i>						_____		_____					clay & loamy soils, with g/corn, millet, maize, g/nut
tomato <i>tumatir</i>						_____	transplanting	_____	_____				silt, loamy soils
rizga <i>sama</i>							_____			_____			clay, loamy & sandy soils

planting: _____

weeding: -----

harvesting:
.....

Animal husbandry

The Kulung traditionally keep goats, sheep, donkeys, chickens and dogs as domestic animals. In the past, sheep were only kept for sacrificial or ritual purposes, like swearing oaths; goats (*mbilim*) were not used for ritual offerings by the Balasa clans²⁵; horses were only kept by chiefs (Abdulmumini Sule Kirim ms 1992).

Table 4: Domestic animals and their uses (m: male, f: female)

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, leather	no cattle in the past, milk is not consumed
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	riding	used by title holders. Horse gets a burial like human
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden, leather used for drums	
goat	m & f	meat, leather	
sheep	m & f	meat, leather, wool used by dancers for decoration	
pig	m & f	meat	no pigs in the past
dog	m & f	meat, guardian, assisting in hunting	in the past the meat was not consumed, dead dogs were given to the Piya
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs, feathers used in rituals (<i>boori</i>)	in the past, women ate no eggs
duck	m & f	eggs, meat, feathers used as decoration in dances	no ducks in the past
guinea fowl	m	eggs, meat	women did not usually eat guinea fowl in the past
pigeon	m	meat	kept by children and adults
cat	m & f	meat, protection against rats	women did not keep cats in the past. The fur is not used.

In a census of 25 households at Bambur, the following numbers of domestic animals were determined:

Table 5: Kulung - Domestic animals kept by 25 households

	Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Pigs	Dogs	Chickens	Ducks	Guinea Fowls	Cats
total	48	164	68	41	28	236	53	32	9
mean no.	1.9	6.6	2.7	1.6	1.1	9.4	2.1	1.3	0.4
median no.	3	7	5.5	2	1	9	6	7	1

Other activities

Hunting is done either individually (called *gaa faa*, with a duration of one day) or as a communal affair organised along clan lines with a duration of three days spent in the bush (called *gaa norjno*); each clan has a chief of hunters who announces the date for the hunt. After the hunt has been concluded, a part of the kill is offered to the clan idols at their shrines in the hills. After successfully hunting a large animal like an antelope, a ritual dance *sono muru* was performed:

²⁵ That prohibition on goats did probably apply to some clans only.

locust bean leaves were tied around the neck of the dancers, they wore little bells and were decorated with chalk; the dance lasts for hours and is repeated the following day. Women may not take part and have to keep their distance (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92). Neighbouring ethnic groups like Jarawa, Jukun or Piya may join in the communal hunts (Abdulmumin Sule Kirim ms 1992).

Salt is extracted from the soil along the banks of some streams; saltings are said to be to the



Photo 7: Types of spears: *móoni* (left) for fishing, *kínyàŋ* (right) for hunting

east of Bangai and also at Kirim. Major saltings were at Bomanda and Jebjeb.

Pottery is done by women only; there are few blacksmiths. Iron was smelted at Gangang on Balasa Mountain. In pre-colonial times, weapons and iron tools were traded with the Kona Jukun in exchange for salt.



Photo 8: Wooden stool

Material culture

Like other ethnic groups belonging to the Wurkun cluster, the Kulung have “victory drums”;²⁶



Photo 9: Set of victory drums at Bambur



Photo 10: Set of victory drums at Kirim

these come in sets, usually consisting of three or more drums: the one standing on legs is called *ngóm sónómùrù*. Quite often a smaller-legged drum is also part of the set. In this area at least, these three-legged drums are found only as parts of these sets of victory drums. The



Photo 11: Set of victory drums at Bangai – front view



Photo 12: Set of victory drums at Bangai – back view

small drum is considered to be the senior of the two. The small one is not beaten, only the others. The drum membrane is made of leather prepared from the hide of donkey, cattle or bushpig. They are only played on special occasions like success in big game hunting, victory in war or in some ritual contexts, like the annual celebration *zolo*. The traditional priest (*talle basali*) is in charge of the drum set. The drums are decorated with carved geometrical patterns, characteristic of different clans. It is said that the clan-specific patterns are also replicated on the headdress made of leaves from the locust bean tree, worn by a good hunter to mark his achievements. At Bambur, the Bansuma, Bankonong and Bangai clans each have their own set

²⁶ For this kind of drums see also Adelberger 2011: 435.

of victory drums. Each drum set is assigned to another dancing place (*dam sonomuru*). There is a homology between the body of the drum and the human torso, as is suggested by the protrusion in the middle of several drums resembling an umbilicus. A particular "victory drum",



Photo 13: Set of victory drums of the Kalabe clan

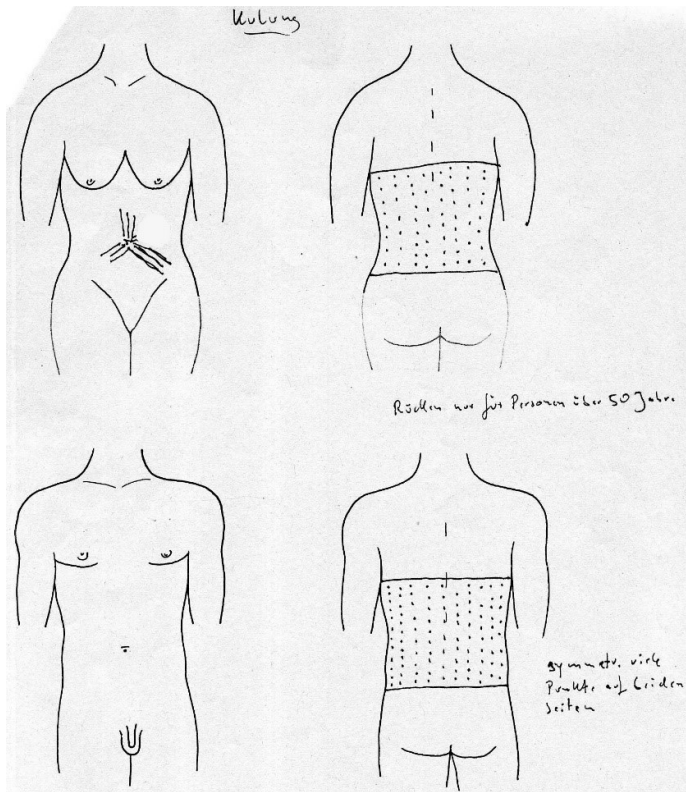
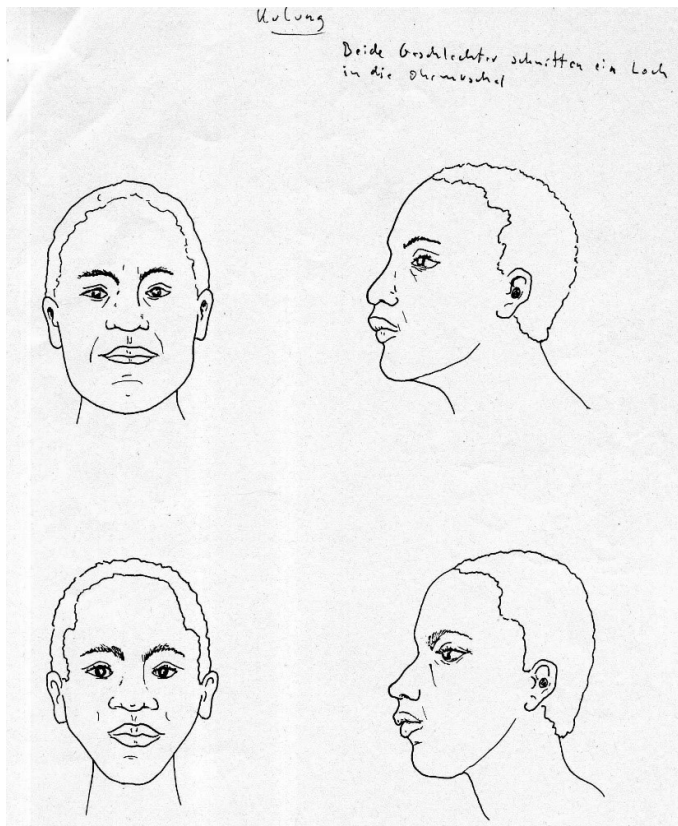


Photo 14: A victory drum of the Bankonong clan

which stands on Mt. Balasa, manifests the close relationship between the Kulung and Piya, for it was only used in joint ceremonies and was ritually maintained by both groups. Although - to the best of my knowledge - all other groups in the Muri Mountains have the concept of "victory drums", it is only among the Wurkun peoples and the Pero that they are carved in such a distinctive shape.

Scarification/cicatrisation, bodily ornamentation

Men and women perforated their ears with a hole.



Only elder persons (above 50 years) had cicatrization patterns (*nyonglongboni*) consisting of symmetrical lines of dots on their back.

Rituals and religion

Many Kulung are Christians and there are also a number of Muslims, besides, there are still adherents of the traditional local religion. One of the first Christian missions in the region was established at the Worom ward of Bambur, and there is a Theological Seminary at Banyam.²⁷

Spirits and associated rituals²⁸

While in the traditional religious belief *mól*, (also called *yámhá* like among the Chadic speaking neighbouring groups), is the creator god, *mol* is too far removed from the sphere of humans, and other deities or spirits have a more active role.

Básáli (*dodo* H.): represents the collective spirits of the ancestors, and is considered to be at the apex of the spirits/gods. The priests are the *tállé básáli* (*sarkin dodo* H.) who are assisted by a council of elders. It is said that a special staff (*gàrá bùlò*) was kept in the shrine house of *basali*, which was taken to the battlefield when a fight was imminent.

The *basali* are incarnated in different entities:

- *Zùkí* is considered to be male and was adopted from the Piya, together with *eku*. *Zuki* is very powerful and is said to have assisted the Kulung during their fights against the Fulani by frightening their horses.
- *Ékù* is considered to be female and was also adopted from the Piya. The Piya, in turn, are said to have adopted the cult from the Gwana-Jukun.
- *Bóngàì* is considered to be female and is a Kulung original; it exercises social control in the village by uncovering and sanctioning misconduct such as adultery, etc.
- *Gilà/jilà* (among the Piya it is called *kodo*) is considered to be male and punishes misconduct; it is embodied in a huge wooden vertical mask, each clan has one. Some informants say that the cult was adopted from the Leemak. Its celebration takes place in late September to October and it is forbidden for women and non-initiates to watch.
- *Ngebasali* is considered to be female and said to be the mother of the four *basali* mentioned above, there is only one at Bambur. Its shrine is called *kunguni*.

There are other smaller and less important spirits like *táù* and *pùgùrùm*.

Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1909-92) mentions *gugun*, *limbi* and *gyilo* as evil spirits that are dangerous for humans. But *limbi* may also be friendly and helpful, they can transform into a human being and may appear as a woman or old man asking for help; the person helping them will then be rewarded. In contrast to this, *gugun* asks for human blood in return for a favour. *Gyilo* are malevolent and cruel and kill people.²⁹

²⁷ For the history of the Christian mission in the area see Adelberger & Kleinewillinghöfer 2016.

²⁸ See Meek (1934) and Saleh (2010) for a study of cults and beliefs of the Kulung; also CAPRO 1992: 403-409 for some information on rituals and traditional beliefs among the Wurkun groups. For a comprehensive study of sacred objects and associated beliefs of the Wurkun see Adelberger (2011); for a study of vertical masks in the region see Berns (2011).

²⁹ See Meek (1934: 265) for more information on *gyilo*.

Purum (called *wàamínà* by the Piya): tutelary spirit of a clan or lineage, embodied in a pot, fends off any attacks on the descent group and protects their farms and property from theft by punishing any thief.

Ngúnpùró (called *kundul* by the Piya, this term is also used by the Kulung, *gunki* in Hausa): carved wooden columnar statues, usually occurring in male/female pairs; they are stuck on an



Photo 15: *ngunpuro* in situ, with sticks and pot for offerings



Photo 16: Kulung *ngunpuro*, used for rainmaking, thus called *ngorimbulo* or *sonomisa*

iron rod to prevent damage by termites. The male figurine is distinguished from the female by a crest on the head, signifying a certain headdress worn in ceremonial contexts. They are used in rituals concerned with healing and well-being. A person suffering from a disease will visit a traditional healer who may instruct him to procure a pair of these figures as a remedy. These healers have the gift to see spirits and communicate with them. After the patient has received the statues from a wood carver, he will lie down on his bed, the healer brings millet beer and a chicken or rooster. Some of the beer is poured onto the *ngunpuro* and the sick person as well as the healer consume it. The chicken is slaughtered and its blood is poured onto the statues. Then the chicken is roasted, some of the meat is offered to the *ngunpuro*, the remainder is eaten by healer and patient. After the patient has recovered, offerings of millet beer should be made annually after harvest, particularly at the occasion of the *kolo* celebration in August and the *màlbíyu* festival in December.

The effigies may further serve as a protective device when, after having killed certain animals, a hunter is haunted by the spirit of the animal. There are animals called *gōla* which are not real animals but spirits and the *ngunpuro* offer protection.

Depending on its function, the *ngunpuro* may be called differently: it is *jeru* if a child is frequently ill and the priest detects the cause with the assistance of *dambang*. The treatment may then include the preparation of a pair of spiked wooden figures, which in this context are called *jeru*. These are fixed with their spikes into the thatching of the room belonging to the child's mother. Sacrifices of millet beer and chicken blood made to the *jeru* are repeated every year around October. Further, these wooden figurines can serve in rain rituals and then are called *ngorimbulo* or *sonomisa*.

Dambang, also called *nzaletak* in Kulung: the cult of *dambang* was adopted from the Piya and is generally concerned with well-being, strength and fertility. The *dambang* statues look very



Photo 17: Ritual object *nzaletagha* used in *dambang* rituals

similar to *ngunpuro* but are larger than the latter and they are regarded to be superior and more powerful than the *ngunpuro*. They also come in pairs of male and female and are usually spiked on an iron rod. The person in possession of *dambang* figurines is called *ba dambang*. He uses them to divine the cause of an illness or find out the culprit of a theft. Like the *ngunpuro*, the *dambang* statues offer protection when a person is haunted by the spirit of an animal which he has killed. The *dambang* stand in their own shrine house within a spiral enclosure made of *zana* mats, which is located next to the homestead of the *ba dambang*. Within the shrine is also a clay pot and a spear. The layout of the shrine is spiral-shaped, a layout pattern that is also applied on other ritual sites.

Saleh (2010: 90-91) mentions that in the first half of the 20th century, the Fulani of Muri embarked on an attempt of forceful Islamisation of the Kulung “... by using the Native Authority security outfit (Yandoka) to burn the Basali and Gabira shrines throughout Kulung land.” In later years, the sacred effigies attracted the attention of African Arts dealers; repeatedly I was told that *basali* statues or masks had been stolen by ‘runners’ from Cameroon for sale on the arts market.



Photo 18: Abandoned site *lamasaali* for *basali* worship

Sketch: layout of *dambang* shrine and enclosure

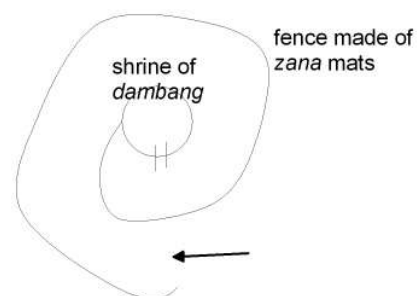


Illustration 5: Layout of *dambang* ritual site

Table 6: Religious concepts and their material expression

Kulung

Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>basali nzugu, mol, yamba</i>	<i>basali nzugu</i> is highest of spirits on earth, <i>mol</i> or <i>yamba</i> is the creator god
ancestors	<i>basali, kagho</i>	
water spirit	<i>gumur</i>	embodied in a snake
bush spirit	<i>limbi, gyilo, gugun</i>	<i>limbi</i> are only dangerous if one steps on them, <i>gyilo</i> are vicious and attack anyone
protecting spirit	<i>purum</i>	
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>ngunpuro</i>	pair of wooden statues male & female. Every year bast fibres (<i>shiga</i>) from <i>ngooli</i> tree (?) is wound around the neck and beer is sacrificed
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>gila</i>	wooden vertical mask

Ritual calendar³⁰

Gábrà (also called *mam*; *boori* in Hausa): also known as arm-slashing cult³¹; it is a possession cult and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character. It is widespread in the area; during the



Photo 19: A *gabra* site with typical enclosure

colonial era it was banned by the authorities.³² The Kulung claim to have been the first in the area to have taken over the cult from the Wurbo or the Karimjo respectively: the Karimjo sought refuge at Bambur from the attacks by the Fulani jihadists and brought the *mam* cult with them which they again had adopted from the Wurbo. Boys from the age of 16 may be initiated into the cult. A person who

wants to join the cult has to undergo an initiation which includes blowing a powder made from the *nying shibi* tree³³ into his nostrils, driving him into a frenzy and making him cut his arm with a knife. Adherents of the cult use Jukun as their secret language. Members of the cult may not eat food prepared by menstruating women.

Women may join the dances during the celebrations, but may not be present during the rituals performed within the shrine enclosure.



Photo 20: *Gabra* dance, Bambur, Oct. 21, 1990: *gabra* enclosure

Case study: A *boori* dance took place on October 21st, 1990 at Bambur. First, the men danced within an enclosed square until the spirit allowed them to leave. They moved out of it to the sound of rattles and drums and continued dancing in a circle around a nearby silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*, *riimii* H.). Individual groups broke away from the circle again and again, making short bursts inside the circle, reminiscent of mock

battles. The drummers stood in the centre of the circle. In addition to the male dancers, women and girls also took part, but only in the dances outside the fenced-in *boori* enclosure.

³⁰ See also Saleh (2010: 56 ff.) and Meek (1934: 260 ff.) for information on rituals. There seem to be considerable variations, probably due to regional or sectional differences.

³¹ Cf. Meek 1934: 263.

³² NAK YolaProf 5640 – Report on Wurkum District by A.D.O Brierly, p. 7-8.

³³ Most probably alligator pepper (*Aframomum melegueta*). I am grateful to Dr. Katharina Neuman for identifying that plant sample. According to Meek (1934: 263), seeds of the azakami (?) plant are used.



Photo 21: *Gabra* dancers with decoration, Bambar, Oct. 21, 1990



Photo 23: *Gabra* dance, Bambar, Oct. 21, 1990

The dancers had bare torsos, some had fishing nets over their heads and backs, one had a grass mat lying over his shoulders, two or three wore feathers in their hair, of which one was a peacock feather. No menstruating woman was allowed to be in the vicinity. Some of the dancers pierced their forearms with an iron spike and licked off the blood to show that they



Photo 22: *Gabra* dance, Bambar, Oct. 21, 1990: dancers moving out of the enclosure

were without fault and the power of *mam* was with them, otherwise the wound would get sore and would not heal. On such an occasion, members of the cult have the ability to heal, especially if an illness was caused by witchcraft. They find out the reason of the illness and drive out the malevolent spirit. The symbol of *mam* was an iron spike with a pointed tip and a tuft of feathers attached to it. This spike was also used by the dancers to injure themselves.



Photo 24: *Gabra* dancer in action, Bambar, Oct. 21, 1990

Kulung Annual festivities												
Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>makmisa-nsali</i>			—									
<i>wóbbòngáy / basalinjo</i>				—								
<i>kóló / kwolo</i>								—				
<i>gyilà</i>									—			
<i>zóló</i>										—		
<i>málbíyù</i>												—

The following annual rituals/celebrations with a link to agricultural activities were elicited. They are all intended to ensure a successful season and good harvest.

Makmisa nsali – a rain ritual taking place in March and associated with the Bambughu clan. The rain priest (*tale mbulo*) and some elders of the clan go to a site on the mountain where in a cave called Sengum a special pot, made of unfired clay, is kept. This pot is held upwards to the sky while asking for rain and a good rainy season. The ritual involves offerings of millet beer, porridge and chickens. On their return, the delegation informs the people to start preparations for sowing. A week later it will start raining.

Wóbbòngáy – takes place three times a year; prayers are said in memory of those who have died. The main ritual is performed around April to May.

Kóló/kwolo - takes place in the third week of August. In the rituals the spirit *eku* is addressed, and non-initiated men as well as women have to stay away from the ritual sites. The ritual was taken over from the Piya.

After death, the spirit of the deceased lives in a kind of intermediate stage until the *kolo* celebration has taken place. It is performed at a ritual site on the mountain, food and millet beer are given as offerings; at the occasion, the spirits of the recently deceased disclose the cause of their death to their relatives. The event lasts three days (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

Gylà – takes place in late September to October, addressing the ancestral spirits embodied in a wooden yoke mask/vertical mask that may not be seen by women. Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92) mentions *sób gylà* as being celebrated in January to February with fishing activities taking place.

Zóló – called *kewu* by the Piya, is celebrated in October and marks the first harvest as well as the end of the rainy season, and celebrates the first crops, such as beans, Bambara nuts, rizga, amora, tumuku and *dúgù* (?). *Zolo* has to be performed first before the harvest of

staple crops such as guinea corn or millet is allowed. Maize, groundnuts, rice and cassava are exempted (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92). The date of the celebrations is fixed by elders from the Balasa and Bambur sections; it should take place at the full moon before harvest. At this occasion, the wooden family idols (*ngunpuro*, *tiiru*) are anointed with oil; and young men bring food and various crops to their fiancées.

Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92) reports that *zolo* is further intended to foster marriages and to ward off sickness and evil spirits. The Bambughu clan announces the time for *zolo*; a young and an old man from this clan go on the mountain top and perform a ritual, four days later in the evening the clan gathers shouting, thereby signalling that *zolo* will start the next day. During these five days before *zolo* takes place, all will be quiet and calm, no shouting is allowed as a means of respect for the ancestors. In the evening of the fifth day, all Kulung go outside their homesteads holding bows, arrows, axes or spears and facing the mountain. Elders of the Balasa will be on the mountain waiting for the new moon, as soon as they see it, drums will be beaten and horns blown. Each clan performs its *zolo*, in Bambur the Kalabe, Bankonong and Kagubok are the first clans.

This *zolo* (*kewu*) festivity is a regional phenomenon celebrated by various ethnic groups in chronological order guided by the lunar calendar: one week before the new moon the Pero start it, then the Piya follow 2-3 days before the new moon and at the new moon the Kulung perform their festival, about two weeks later the Kwonci celebrate *kewu*, then the Kode, Lee-mak, Gomu, Bambuka and Karimjo (Kiyu) follow (Andrew Haruna ms).

Màlbíyu – is an important celebration taking place in December after the harvest of the staple crops of guinea corn and millet has been concluded.

It is meant for the veneration of ancestral spirits and at the same time is a social event. *Malbíyu* is announced by the Babanglang clan and people start brewing beer, which takes five days until it is ready. Every family that has lost a member during the last 12 months will bring a jar of beer to the *basali* shrine on the mountain as an offering to the spirits of the deceased. Then there are dances, which are organised according to age-grades, lasting for three days. A dance called *wakka* is the most prominent, it needs no drums and the dancers are adorned with bronze items on their legs and arms (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

Water sources

Water sources are claimed by those clans having arrived and settled first close to them; the springs and streams are in the care of specific clans who also tend for the spirits living in the area, taking care of sacrifices and collecting the penalties when any wrongdoing has been committed, e.g. when a tree was felled near the spring. Such a penalty may consist of a white cockerel and a dish of guinea corn for preparing beer.

The following examples from Bambur are given by Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92):

<i>Clan</i>	<i>Name of water source</i>
Babanglang	Nahor stream
Kalabe	Murkpamisa spring
Kagal	Kalang stream
Tabulo	Balimsa stream
Worom	Vettel seasonal stream
Kadwe	Dongolong seasonal stream
Kagubok	Banyeme
Bamingun	Murzazong

However, the attributions cannot be considered definite, because I was told that the sources Nakhor (Nahor) and Boni belong to the Kagal clan.

Children up to the age of 15 years were not allowed to go to a stream or a spring at noon or in the evening, lest they run the risk to become possessed by evil spirits (*limbi*) that live on mountains and in trees, especially in mahogany, locust bean, baobab and *ngai* (tamarind) trees. Male adults are not attacked and female adults only when they are pregnant, then there is danger both for the woman and the unborn child. A woman one month after having given birth is still regarded like a pregnant woman, they do not cook either. The *limbi* spirits do not live in the water, but in the wilderness of the bush. Menstruating women are not allowed to fetch water from a spring, they have to wait nearby and someone else fetches the water on their behalf. It is believed that a certain snake (*gumur*), described as being large, with a shining body and having horns, provides the water in a spring and therefore may not be disturbed, the snake also has an affiliation to the ancestors. The *gumur* snakes in the mountains are said to have horns, but those in the plains do not.

All these ideas and regulations only pertain to 'natural' water sources, not, for instance, to water pumps.

Healing

Like other Wurkun groups, the Kulung have healers (*bàbóri*) who treat their patients with a



Photo 25: Traditional healer with a selection of dried medicinal plants

procedure involving the use of a clay pot. If a person is sick, the patient visits the herbalist with a new clay pot. The herbalist selects certain herbs which he places into the pot and then prepares a concoction by cooking the herbs with water. The patient is enveloped by the rising vapour, he drinks a part of the concoction as well as washing himself with it. After a successful treatment the pot remains with the healer as evidence of his accomplishment.



Photo 26: Place used by traditional healer for diagnosing patients



Photo 27: Pots of former patients near the compound of a traditional healer

Headhunting

In pre-colonial times, warriors proved their bravery by taking the heads of defeated enemies. The skulls were gathered at certain ritual sites (*dam sonomuru*) where dances also took place. The skulls were prepared by removing the skin and then they were hung, fixed with ropes, on a special tree (*mâlák*), which is said to exist only there. For the clans of the Bambur section, this was at a site called Sengum where there is also a cave. During initiation ceremonies the skulls were shown to the novices.

Miscellanea

Witches (*bammasok*) are believed to attack only members of their own family or clan; there are not only malevolent but also benevolent witches. Someone who is a witch has the ability to transmogrify into an animals such as snake, hyena or buffalo. To find out whether the accusation of being a witch is true or not, the accused has to undergo a trial by ordeal (*nuzi*) by drinking a concoction produced from certain herbs. When he starts to vomit, he is innocent, otherwise he will suffer from diarrhoea and will be punished accordingly (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

The following acts are considered to be unclean and an affront to purity:

- adultery with relatives of one's spouse,
- theft in general and especially the stealing of crops,
- one must not pick up or take anything lost by others, it should be left lying around, otherwise death will come to the family,
- lying in general,
- a child must not insult the relatives of its parents.

The *gbarrang* cult is practised by the Kaluabe, Bakonong, Kagobo and Bangai clans, and is meant to cure people from madness and disorientation. The *gbarrang* shrine is in a forest grove (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

Taboos

Women and children may not eat non-poisonous snakes or reptiles.

Menstruating women will not cook during that time and they will sleep apart from their husband.

Lions are not killed or hurt and should it happen that a lion is wounded by mistake during a hunt, the activity is stopped immediately, a day of mourning and two days fasting are done. A lion will also not hurt any Kulung person (Sylvester Gakya ms 1990-92).

The wood of the *song* tree (?) may not be used for firewood.

A tradition which is also told among other Wurkun groups recounts how once a Balasa/Wurkun man helped a lion to remove a bone from his throat that got stuck there, out of gratitude the lion led him to the animal it had killed. The Balasa will even give the carcass of a lion that was killed by other tribes a burial (Abdulmumini Sule Kirim ms 1992).³⁴

Some clans do not eat python or *gauraka* (H., crown bird, crested crane), especially the Kadoro clan do not eat *gauraka*; and no Balasa person will eat the meat of a monitor lizard. The tree/shrub *jan yaaro* (H., *Hymenocardia acida*) is not cut or harmed by a Balasa person, otherwise it will attract misfortune (Abdulmumini Sule Kirim ms 1992).

³⁴ See also McBride (n.d.: 6) for a version of this story in which Mbur, ancestor of the Bambur, is the hero helping the lion.

Glossary³⁵

Kulung	gloss	comment
<i>bàbóri</i>	healer, herbalist	
<i>bàghà</i>	granary with clay walls	
<i>bal</i>	prefix for minor lineage	
<i>bala</i>	people of the house, inhabitants of a home- stead	
<i>bammasok</i>	witch	
<i>bangna</i>	red	
<i>basali</i>	clan idol	<i>dodo</i> H.
<i>bauni</i>	relative to which one has a joking relationship	
<i>biyang</i>	rainy season	
<i>bóngàì</i>	sp. idol	
<i>bou</i>	dry season	
<i>bukhu-bukhu</i>	green	
<i>dam luwa</i>	battlefield	
<i>dam sonomuru</i>	dancing place where the <i>ngom sonomuru</i> drum stands	
<i>débbà</i>	hyena	dialect of Bambur, Balasa, Bamingun
<i>ékù</i>	sp. idol	
<i>gaa faa</i>	hunting individually	
<i>gaa nono</i>	communal hunting	
<i>gábrà /gapira</i>	so called 'arm-slashing' cult	<i>boori</i> (H.) or <i>mam</i> (Wurbo)
<i>gàrà bùlò</i>	sacred wooden staff	
<i>gbáámè</i>	trad. iron money	
<i>gílà, jílà</i>	sp. idol in form of a vertical mask	<i>kodo</i> in Piya
<i>gugun</i>	evil spirit	
<i>gumur</i>	sp. snake providing water in a spring	
<i>gyilo</i>	evil spirit	
<i>jeru</i>	wooden idol, used as treatment against illness of children	another name for <i>ngunpuro</i>
<i>ka</i>	prefix for 'major lineage'	
<i>kable</i>	a neighbourhood consisting of genealogically related households	
<i>kálá bàghà</i>	granary constructed of straw mats (<i>zaana</i> H.)	
<i>kínyàn</i>	sp. spear for hunting	
<i>koloo/ kwolo</i>	celebration of <i>eku</i> around August near the end of the rainy season	
<i>kondwo</i>	levirate, a widow is married by a brother of the deceased	
<i>kúmbú</i>	calabash	
<i>kúmbú ngùn</i>	wooden bowl (for porridge)	

³⁵ H. = Hausa term.

Kulung	gloss	comment
<i>kungguni</i>	shrine of idol <i>ngebasaali</i> , on Balasa mountain	
<i>kúshèn</i>	terraces made of dry stone walls	
<i>kúurà</i>	traditional sandal made of leather	
<i>kyel</i>	dance cap made of sheep wool	
<i>la</i>	house	
<i>lasa</i>	tongue	
<i>lèbé</i>	broad-bladed spear	
<i>ligang kari</i>	large work-party	<i>gaya</i> H.
<i>limbi</i>	evil spirits, living in trees in the bush, near water sources	
<i>màlák</i>	sp. tree where skulls of enemies are hung	
<i>màlbíyu/ marpiu</i>	annual celebration in late December	
<i>mbilim</i>	goat	<i>mbil</i> in Jarawa language
<i>mól</i>	creator god	also <i>yàmbá</i>
<i>móoni</i>	spear for fishing	
<i>morokh</i>	baobab tree under which communal gatherings took place	
<i>bàsérèng</i>		
<i>mureder</i>	yellow	
<i>ngàrà</i>	marriage by sister exchange	
<i>ngebasaali</i>	sp. Idol	
<i>ngema</i>	marriage with an old woman beyond her menopause	
<i>ngóm sònómùrù</i>	large wooden drum standing on three legs	
<i>ngùnpùró</i>	columnar wooden idol	<i>gunki</i> (H.)
<i>nkyém</i>	razor blade	
<i>nuzi</i>	trial by ordeal	
<i>nyíí</i>	hyena	dialect of the Bankonong
<i>nyonglongboni</i>	cicatrised body ornamentation	
<i>nzaletak</i>	sp. cult, also called <i>dambang</i>	
<i>nzayogho</i>	sp. food used for offerings	<i>tuwo miyang dargaza</i> (H.): porridge with draw soup made from <i>Grewia mollis</i>
<i>pinnaa</i>	black	
<i>pubna</i>	white	
<i>pùgùrúm</i>	a spirit	
<i>purum</i>	tutelary spirit of a clan	
<i>saringema</i>	marriage of a divorced woman, one who was married before	
<i>shigal</i>	bast fibre	
<i>shííri</i>	sickle	
<i>sóbgylà</i>	a rain ritual	
<i>tàllé básáli (tállè básalé)</i>	traditional priest	<i>sarkin dodo</i> (H.)

Kulung	gloss	comment
<i>tàllé mbulo</i>	rain priest	<i>sarkin ruwa</i> (H.)
<i>tàllé, tala</i>	trad. chief of the Kulung	
<i>táù</i>	a spirit	
<i>tebee</i>	breech-birth	
<i>tigbug</i>	small work-party	
<i>tiiru</i>	name for a child that was born by breech-birth, as well as for the effigy carved for these cases	
<i>waka</i>	sp. dance	
<i>wóbbòngáy</i>	prayer for the remembrance of the dead	
<i>wula</i>	marriage with a girl who has not married before	
<i>zolo</i>	annual celebration in	
<i>zùkí</i>	sp. idol	
<i>zur</i>	ram	<i>zul</i> in Jarawa language

Plants:

Kulung	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
<i>aleyahu</i>	<i>alayyafoo</i>	waterleaf	<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>	
<i>bakhara</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	also called <i>misa shibu</i> , reddish g/corn from Jibu
<i>biyu</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>	
<i>bóóki</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	
<i>daara nyiuro</i>	<i>karkashii</i>	false sesame leaves	<i>Ceratotheca sesamoides</i>	
<i>dankali</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	
<i>deje bou, deje biyaŋ</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	<i>bou</i> : dry season, <i>biyaŋ</i> : rainy season
<i>dúgù</i>	<i>gwoiwan gadu</i>	?	?	
<i>gbam</i>	<i>gujiiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
<i>jogale</i>	<i>zoogale</i>	horseradish tree	<i>Moringa oleifera</i>	
<i>kabla</i>	<i>jan yaaro</i>	sp. shrub	<i>Hymenocardia acida</i>	
<i>kabushe, kamushe</i>	<i>gwanda</i>	pawpaw	<i>Carica papaya</i>	
<i>lebinu, ngún lébi</i>	<i>giginya</i>	fan palm	<i>Borassus aethiopicum</i>	
<i>leedu</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	grey variety
<i>manza</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	old variety of the Kulung
<i>mar</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	old variety of the Kulung
<i>mbai, bus lagam</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	<i>bus lagam</i> is the old name
<i>mbiyu</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>	

Kulung	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
<i>mbul</i>	<i>dinyaa</i>	black plum tree	<i>Vitex doniana</i>	
<i>melkho</i>	<i>amora</i>	Polynesian arrowroot	<i>Tacca leontopetaloides</i>	
<i>meneŋ</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	also called <i>misa kulung</i> , old variety of red g/corn
<i>mikim (Bam-bur), missikim (Balasa)</i>	<i>masaraa</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>	
<i>misa</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	guinea corn in general
<i>misa biyaŋ</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	white and red varieties, from the Hausa
<i>naaza</i>	<i>kanjuu</i>	cashew	<i>Anacardium occidentale</i>	
<i>nder</i>	<i>doorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>	
<i>ngai</i>	<i>tsaamiyyaa</i>	tamarind	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	
<i>nganŋshi</i>	<i>kananade</i>	beans		curved variety
<i>ngò</i>	<i>tumuku</i>	tumuku	<i>Solenostemon rotundifolius</i>	
<i>ngooli</i>	?	sp. tree	?	
<i>ngun kakalee</i>	<i>durumii</i>	heart-leaved fig	<i>Ficus polita</i>	
<i>ngún mòròk</i>	<i>kuuka</i>	baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>	
<i>ngun yalala</i>	<i>ceediiyaa</i>	fig tree	<i>Ficus thonningii</i>	
<i>njabi</i>	<i>kaɗanya</i>	shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>	
<i>nkáábà</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	
<i>nkindiŋ</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans		straight variety
<i>nmanza, mazza</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	bulrush millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	
<i>nya nyiri</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	red variety from the Fulani
<i>nyiiri (Bam-bur), nyiiròk (Balasa)</i>	<i>bakin riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	black variety
<i>nying shibi</i>	<i>cittaa</i>	alligator pepper	<i>Fromomum malegueta</i>	
<i>nzugu (Bam-bur), kindiŋ (Balasa)</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	
<i>saari</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	white variety
<i>sama</i>	<i>rizgaa</i>	rizga	<i>Plectranthus esculentus</i>	
<i>samah ngoh</i>	?			
<i>shimáámà</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>	
<i>song</i>	?	sp. tree		
<i>tang</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	
<i>tuba</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>	
<i>yaaghe</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>	
<i>zàŋ áyòk</i>	<i>ramaa</i>	kenaf	<i>Hibiscus cannabinus</i>	
<i>zaŋ maashi</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	

Kulung	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
<i>zhimma</i>	?	sp. plant	?	used as medicine for the umbilicus
<i>ziiri</i>	<i>guna</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	

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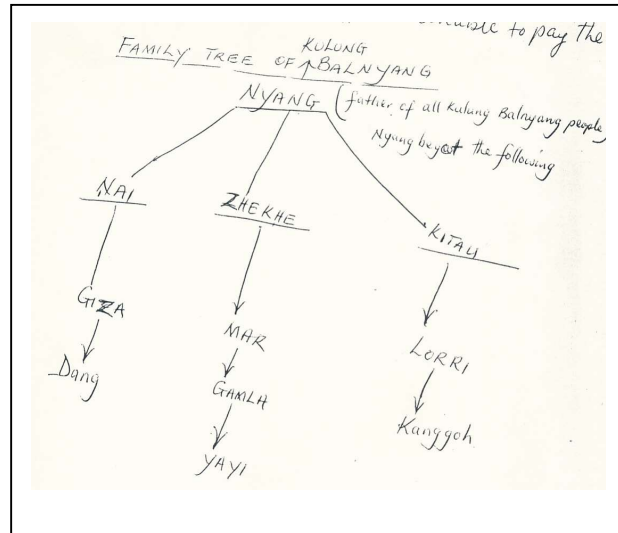
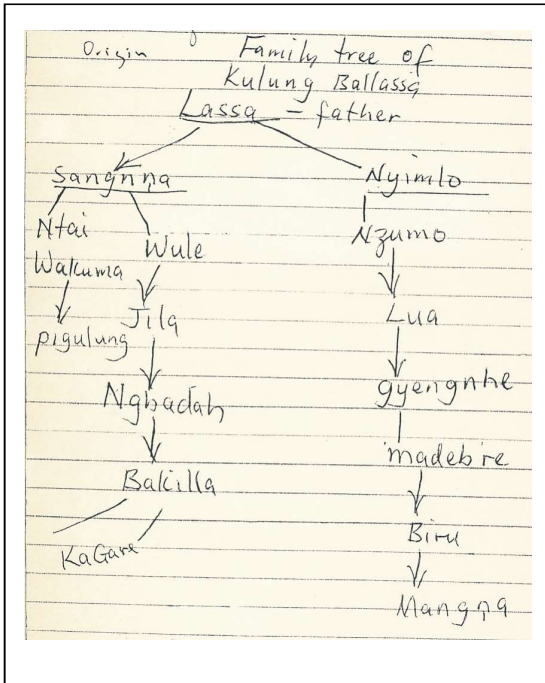
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Appendix

Genealogies of Balasa and Banyam as presented by Sylvester Gakya

Sylvester Gakya in his ms (1990-92) presents genealogical trees of Balasa and Banyam (Balnyang), based on his own research. They should be read as a structuring of social units expressed in genealogical terms.



Facsimile of Karl Kuglin "Eku at Bambur"

This short article is an eye witness account of the Eku celebration at Bambur by the missionary Karl Kuglin, published in the rare journal of the Sudan United Mission *The Lightbearer* 37/3, May-June 1941: 43-44. On the activities and other writings of the SUM missionaries see Adelberger & Kleinwillinghöfer 2016.

