



THE MUNGA LEELAU / LEELAU

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

Series

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

by Jörg Adelberger

ISBN 978-1-906168-16-2

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

The Munga Leelau

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Settlement Area and Demography	2
Interethnic Relations	2
<i>History</i>	4
Pre-colonial migrations	4
Relations with the Fulani emirates	5
Colonial encounters	6
<i>Social Structure</i>	9
Clans	9
Kinship terminology	11
Family	12
Marriage	12
Granaries	15
Birth	16
Burial	16
Village	17
Age groups	18
<i>Political Organisation</i>	18
Village Head	18
<i>Economic Activities</i>	20
Division of labour	20
Agriculture	21
Animal husbandry	21
Scarification/cicatrization, bodily ornamentation	23
<i>Rituals and Religion</i>	24
Spirits and associated rituals	24
Water sources	24
Ritual calendar	25
Miscellanea	27
Taboos	28

Glossary	29
Literature	32
Unpublished sources	34
Appendix: 19th century map showing Munga	36
Maps	
Map 1: Language groups	1
Map 2: Ethnic map	2
Map 3: Eastern Muri Mountains.....	3
Photos	
Photo 1: A man's granary	15
Photo 2: Granary for women.....	15
Photo 3: Remnants of a canoe at Munga Leelau	19
Illustrations	
Illustration 1: Sketch of granaries by Akila Apollos	15
Tables	
Table 1: Munga Leelau clans	9
Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Munga Leelau.....	20
Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses	21
Table 4: Munga Leelau - Domestic animals kept by 25 households	22
Table 5: Religious concepts and their material expression.....	25

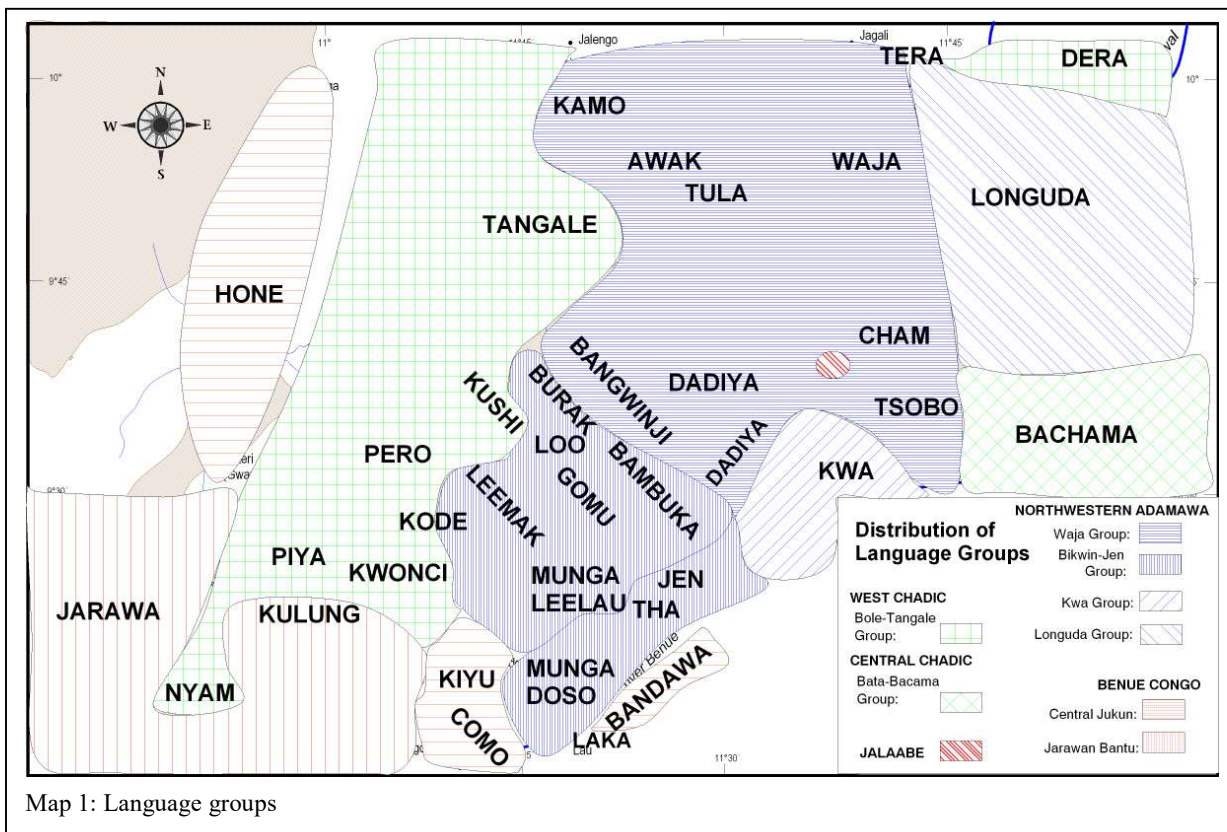
© Jörg Adelberger

Mandaras Publishing 2024

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 language of the Munga Leelau [ldk] is part of the Bikwin-Jen sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum.² Other members of the linguistic Bikwin sub-group are Loo [ldo], Gomu [gwg], Bambuka [bka], Leemak [pbl], Burak [bys] and Tala of Kode [gmd].



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 Munga is a locality on the route from Muri to the Bachama area (see appendix).³

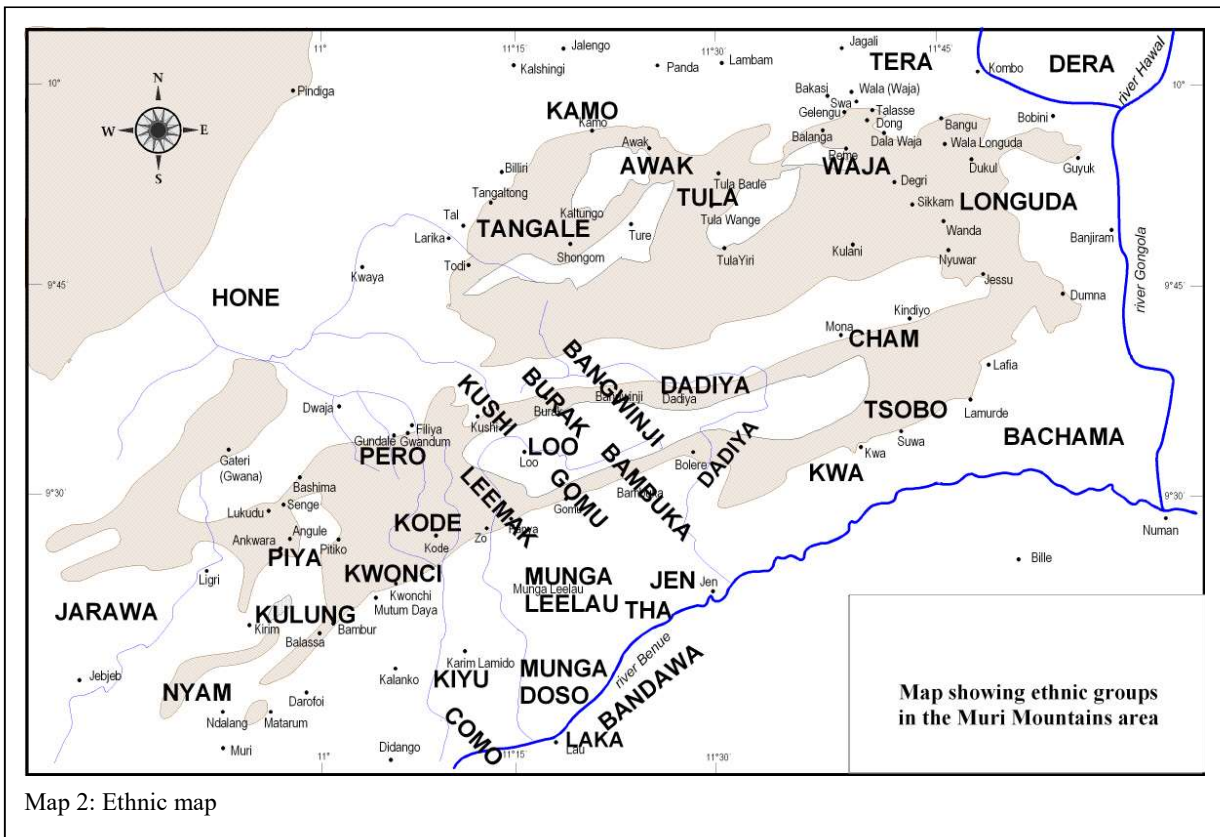
¹ I am grateful to Musa Laana for his co-operation during my research. My special thanks go to Akila S. Apollon for his untiring and invaluable assistance. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² Cf. Kleinewillinghöfer 2015, see also Othaniel 2017. In square brackets are the ISO 639 names.

³ E.Flegel 1880b: 149. For an overview of Flegel's explorations see Adelberger 2000.

Settlement Area and Demography

The Munga Leelau call themselves Leelau⁴ and live on the southern margins of the Muri Moun-



tains. At the time of research there were 511 taxpayers registered at their main settlement Munga, that may be extrapolated to a population figure of about 3,600 people. Other settlements where the Munga Leelau are living are Magami, Ngoroore and Murboi.

Interethnic Relations

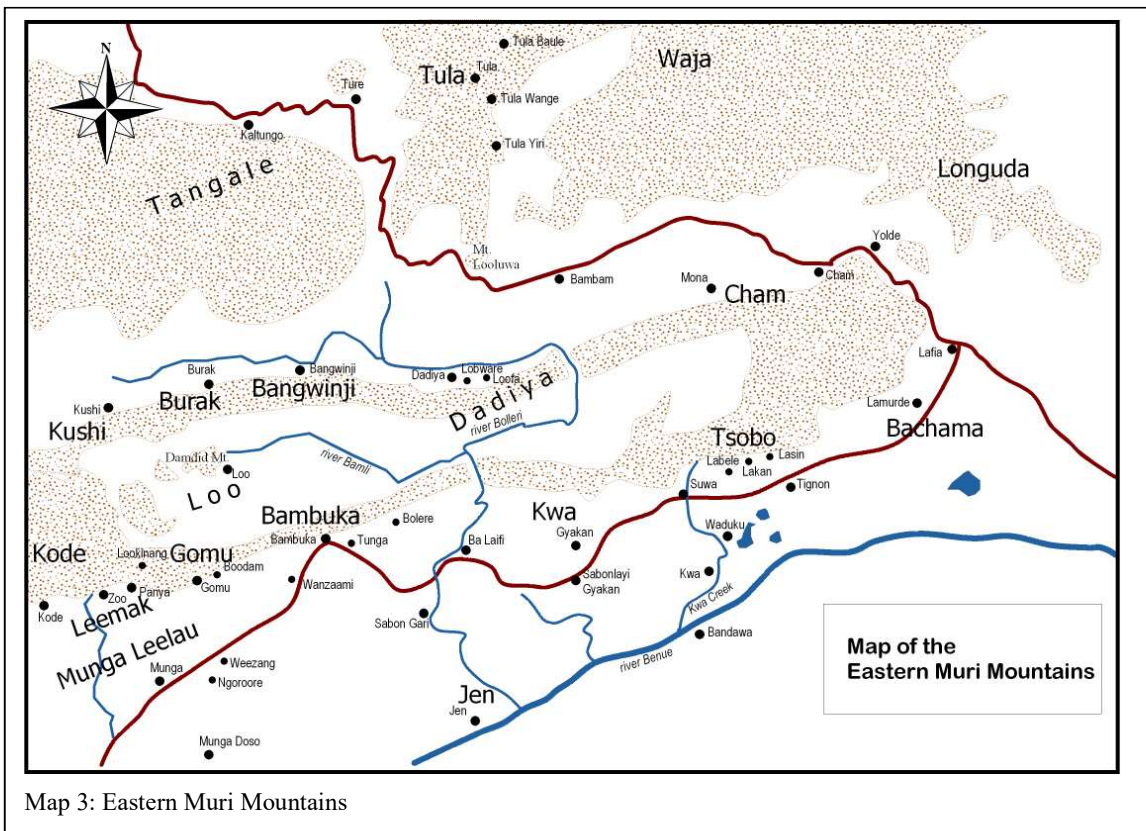
Their neighbours to the north are the Leemak, to the east the Gomu, to the south the Munga Doso [mko] and to the west the Kode.

The Munga Leelau acknowledge being part of the supra-ethnic Bikwin cluster, consisting of the Leemak, Munga Leelau, Gomu, Bambuka, Loo and the Tunga section of Dadiya.

Bikwin means "We are one", and the meaning of the term rests on the basis of close linguistic relationship (with the exception of the Tunga-Dadiya), a shared environment, common interactions and cultural similarities.

Administratively, Bikwin is also a political constituency with representatives in the House of Assembly.

⁴ In the ethnographic survey by CAPRO (1992: 57 ff.) they are called Munga Lelau.



Map 3: Eastern Muri Mountains

The Munga Leelau have their own designations for the following direct or intermediate neighbours:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| Bachama | Yaa Dulum |
| Bambuka | Yaa Liwob |
| Bandawa | Yaa Thiram |
| Bata | Yaa Kwa |
| Dadiya | Yaa Kam |
| Gomu | Yaa Mau |
| Jen | Yaa Then |
| Jukun | Yaa Kuna |
| Kode | Yaa Magoy |
| Leemak | Yaa Tamu |
| Loo | Yaa Loo |
| Mumuye | Yaa Gungo |
| Munga Dooso | Yaa Mungam |
| Piya, Kwonci & Kulung (Wurkun) | Yaa Bambur |
| Tsobo | Yaa Wong |

The Munga Leelau were on good terms with the Bambuka, Leemak, Munga Doso, Jen, Bandawa, Yandang and Mumuye. Relations with the Leemak of Panya are especially close due to their his-

torical relationship as they stayed together in the same area in the past. They join in each other's rituals, for instance *mam gabra*.

Relations were strained with the Kode, Loo, Gomu and the Jukun of Kona and there were conflicts between these groups.

Akila Apollos in his MS mentions several fights of significance: there was a campaign by the Fulani against the Jukun of Kona in which some Munga Leelau took part; then there was a conflict with the Gomu because the latter had killed two children from Munga Leelau who went to the Gomu area to collect *nukballashi* leaves which are used to cover the private parts. In a skirmish at Ngoroore village against the Gomu, in which the Gomu were supported by the Loo, the Munga Leelau were victorious and many of their enemies were killed, so the Loo refused to help the Gomu in future fights against the Munga Leelau. And there was an encounter with the Kode; in the fighting so many Kode were killed and their heads taken that the Kode finally surrendered.

Since the *Pax Britannica* was established in the colonial era, the bellicose relations with other groups in the past have been substituted by joking relationships that allow the parties involved to mock and abuse each other in a playful and amicable way. Thus, the Munga Leelau joke with the Jukun, Gomu and Kunini (the Kunini had fought with the Munga Doso).

History

Pre-colonial migrations

In his manuscript, Akila Apollos mentions a site called Gyengyenlozoah, where the Munga Leelau are said to have settled under the suzerainty of the Gwana Jukun until they moved to Panya in the southern Muri Mountains, due to the pressure caused by the *jihad* of the Fulani. The *jihad* broke up the Kwararafa confederation, of which the Munga Leelau were supposedly a part. Then, when they were defeated by the Gomu, clans of the Leemak arrived and also settled at Panya. Later, the Munga Doso, who speak a language closely related to Jen, also came to Panya where the Leelau and Leemak were living.⁵ Because the Doso were killing lizards for meat, they were sent away from Panya to the site of today's Munga, which was a hunting ground. Killing lizards is considered a taboo according to the traditional beliefs of the Munga Leelau. A man called Byeng of the Wuson clan was a Munga Leelau who had already settled at Munga. While still living in the mountains, the Munga Leelau had their farms on the plains. Thus, the Leelau asked the Doso living at Munga to protect their farms from being damaged by animals.

The Munga Leelau were later subdued by the Fulani and also moved from Panya in the mountains to their present site of Munga on the plains, and subsequently, because of conflicts between the two groups, the Munga Doso went further south in the direction of Jen. The Fulani made the Munga Leelau fight for them, for instance against the Kona Jukun and the Wurkun (Akila Apollos MS).

⁵ Hamman (2007: 80) relates that the Munga were routed by the Fulani and fled to Bandawa and Panya in the early 19th century. However, he does not distinguish between the Munga Leelau and the Munga Doso.

The Tanyam clan of the Munga Leelau are said to have descended from heaven and settled at Panya in the mountains, cultivating farms on the foothills and on the plains. The imprints of a human foot and horse hoofs left by their ancestors may still be seen on the mountain rock.

Relations with the Fulani emirates⁶

Kiri Fulani under the leadership of Hammarwa (otherwise called Hammanruwa), who later became the first Emir of Muri Emirate, established a base near Lake Dulum and approached the groups in the region with the choice of either becoming their allies or being subjugated. The Jen made a covenant with the Fulani, and after about two years, the Fulani moved to Gowe in the present Lau district and made a covenant with the Kunini, staying one year at Wulnongo south of Kunini. Before moving on to Kona, the Fulani had a series of clashes with the Bachama and the Bata, culminating in a fierce battle at Gowe, where the Bachama suffered huge losses, and subsequently the place was called 'pit of death' by the Bachama. At Gowe, Hammarwa received his flag from Buba Yero and started the *jihad* in 1812. While at Wulnongo, the Fulbe approached the Munga, who neglected a covenant and the Fulbe fought and defeated the Munga, who fled to Bandawa and then to Panya. From Wulnongo the *jihadists* went to Kindang-Kuro in Lau Habe, a centre of the Kona state and defeated the Jukun. In 1817, the Fulani took Muri and drove out the Je-Muri, a Jukun group settled there. The areas of Bambuka, Loo, Zo, Gomu and Panya, as well as others, were administered by officials of the Emirate of Muri: the *liman* was in charge of Bandawa and Munga, Jen was under the *kaigamma* and the *waziri* took care of Bambuka and Panya.⁷ Local information, collected by the missionary McBride, corroborates that several communities such as the Bambuka, Leemak of Panya and Zo, Munga, Karim and Jen paid tribute to the Emirate of Muri.⁸ The Loo, Gomu and Burak, on the other hand, were never successfully forced to pay tribute.

In the second half of the 19th century, Muri Emirate forces successfully raided the southern fringes of the Muri Mountains for slaves, until they came to Gomu, where they were severely beaten and lost about 150 men.⁹

Although suffering from the various raids, and at least being nominally under the administration of the Emirate of Muri, parts of the populations were able to retain their independence. It is said that the Wurkun groups were never successfully subjugated by the Fulani.¹⁰ This view is supported by local traditions. Many groups were strong enough to be able to disrupt trade routes. For instance,

⁶ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

⁷ Cf. Hamman 2007: 79-81, 86, 103, 111. *Liman*: *imam*, leader of prayers, *waziri*: vizier, senior adviser, *kaigamma*: commander-in-chief.

⁸ IAI cons 2 box 2(4): 27.

⁹ NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton; NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909; Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909. According to McBride (n.d.:18) this took place about 1850.

¹⁰ 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.

the German traveller Eduard Vogel noted in 1855 that the road from Muri to Yola was blocked by the Bachama, who had already defeated the troops of the Emir of Adamawa. It seems that they were supported by troops of the Shehu of Borno (Vogel 1858:32). Oral traditions of the Munga Leelau relate that eventually they were subjugated by the Fulani and made to fight for them (Akila Apollos MS).

The military strategy of the Fulani emirates was largely based on their cavalry, with noble horsemen leading the attacks (Marjomaa 1998:218–19, 232–34, 254–56; Smaldone 1977:29–32). Mounted warriors could employ their military tactics to great effect on the undulating plains of the Northern Nigerian savannah, but could not exploit their superiority in the craggy and hilly landscape of the Muri Mountains area nor in other mountainous regions. The inhabitants of the plains surrounding the hills, especially in the Tula area, built defensive stone walls and thorn hedges, which were successfully used to check attacks by horsemen. As a protective measure, the villages were strategically well-placed in the steep and rocky hills. Usually, they were protected by stone walls and could only be reached through narrow, winding paths, partly obstructed by gateways. These could be well defended against emirate raiders, even if they approached armed with rifles.

Firearms were part of the weaponry of the emirate forces, especially since the middle of the 19th century, but since they were of the front-loader musket type and, compared with contemporaneous European standards, few in numbers, their effect was mostly psychological inducing fear through their loud discharge. The arms of the mountaineers consisted of spears with varying, 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 encounters¹¹

A combined patrol of forces from Gombe and Muri, with officers from both provinces, toured the Muri Mountains proper in May and June 1909.¹² They went along the northern edge, then crossed

¹¹ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

¹² NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi: Extract from report on Wurkum Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone;

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.¹³ The proclaimed intention of the patrol was to bring the area under control and stop offences committed on traders disturbing the important trading center 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.

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. 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 Gomu and 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 dispute, 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.

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.

¹³ 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.

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, Balassa, Ankwara and Batingo. The inhabitants of these settlements were considered to be friendly with the exception of those of Angule. 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 1915, there was a patrol in Wurkun country again, leaving five Kwonchi dead and their compounds burnt.¹⁴

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 Kwonchi 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 Kwonchi country. Certain quarters of the 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 Kwonchi 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 the 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 Zo 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 to fight before they learnt about the patrol's dealing with the Kwonchi, 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.

¹⁴ 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.

Social Structure

The Munga Leelau comprise four named, patrilineal and co-residential units or clans: Tanyam, Munthiga, Brem and Goopi. These major clans are each consisting of a number of sub-units or lineages. The sub-units are not in any case genealogically related to the major clan. The ties between a major clan and its sub-units may also be of a political or historical nature.

Clans

Table 1: Munga Leelau clans

Clan	Sub-unit, lineage	Origin	Comments
Tanyam		from heaven	ancestor descended with wife, horse, dog and jar of wine on Mt. Panya
Tanyam	Singi	ancestor is a son of Tanyam	have <i>gegek</i> oracle
Tanyam	Baguna	ancestor is a son of Tanyam	take care of <i>gimalou</i> (harvest spirit)
Tanyam	Vok	ancestor is a son of Tanyam	take care of <i>bangzin</i> . The Vok contain a group of Bambuka origin (ancestor was Yaknun).
Munthiga	Agoi	Bandawa	(according to a Gomu tradition, the Munthiga were founded by the Bogok clan from Gomu)
Munthiga	Pikom	Bandawa	
Munthiga	Molge		are an offshoot of the Pikom
Brem	Ya Bongkari	from a cave in Mt. Panya	have <i>zuu</i> cult (rain cult), and <i>dai</i> cult for fighting
Brem	Ya Nungfu		live in western part of village, hence their name ('where the sun sets')
Brem	Ya Mwaakömzu		have <i>zuu</i> cult (rain cult)
Goopi	Ya Wuso	from Mumuye, or from Gomu	
Goopi	Ya Sää	from Bambuka	did not know death and killed a squirrel to celebrate funerary rites
Goopi	Ya Wop	from Zoo, or from Gomu	brought fire to the Tanyam and taught them to cook food. Have <i>Ma'akun</i> cult which is now headed by Munga Doso.
Goopi	Ya Dinga-Pipyangli	from west/from Panya	brought <i>biyang</i> protecting spirit
Goopi	Ya Dinga-Atheni	from Zoo	practise <i>min biyang</i> to prevent diseases
Goopi	Ya Zok	from Gomu	

The founder of the **Tanyam** (also called Tanyam) stepped down from heaven onto Mount Panya on his horse, with his wife, a jar of local beer/wine, and a dog. His imprints can still be seen on the rock. Tanyam had three sons and two daughters: the first son was **Singi**, the second **Baguna**, the third was **Vok**. Each became the founder of a lineage.

Singi inherited the most senior and powerful idol *gegek* (which also serves as an oracle, finding solutions to any problem in Munga), it has no physical representation.

The **Baguna** take care of the idol *gimalou*, the god of harvest in Tanyam land. Its priests are chosen after consultations with elders of the senior Singi clan.

The **Vok** take care of the cult of *bangzin*, which is celebrated April to August; both men and women participate. The Vok are considered as the spokesmen of the idols, the ones telling the people of Munga the solution that the oracle *gegek* found to a problem posed to it. The *bangzin* idol has to avoid the idol *gimalou*, therefore the idol itself is kept by the Munthiga-Pikom clan.

The **Munthiga-Agoi** clan came in a canoe from Bandawa via Gomu and met the clans Tanyam, Brem and Zida (of Leemak) at Panya. They had left because their idol *gemal* was so cruel that about half of their children being initiated into its cult did not survive. The Tanyam took care of that idol and buried it.

Munthiga-Pikom: a woman from Gomu, who had been taken as wife by a Fulani man called Wadeshi of Muri, absconded to Bandawa where she married a man, but then ran away to Munga. Her husband followed her and eventually they both stayed at Munga founding the Pikom clan.

The **Brem** emerged from a cave at Mount Panya when Tanyam came from heaven. The

Bongkari were found in the cave by Tanyam's dog. They have a function at the shrine of *gimalou* by opening and closing the entrance; the **Wuson** are their deputies in this function. The Bongkari had the rain-cult of *zuu*, which is the worship of a stone that had fallen out of a woman after she had given birth. This special stone is called *bady* and is kept in a shrine hut. The celebration of *zuu* takes place in the rainy season after *min bangzin* and it marks the end of the *bangzin* celebrations. *Dai* is another cult owned by the Bongkari, the spirit is represented in both male and female form and helps the Bongkari in fightings. The Tanyam and the Bongkari do not generally use the tree *kap boo* because their idols are carved from its wood. The **Nwakemzo** are the ones taking care of the *zuu* idol and they live close to the place of its celebration. The **Nungfu** reside in the western part of Munga, their name meaning 'where the sun sets'.

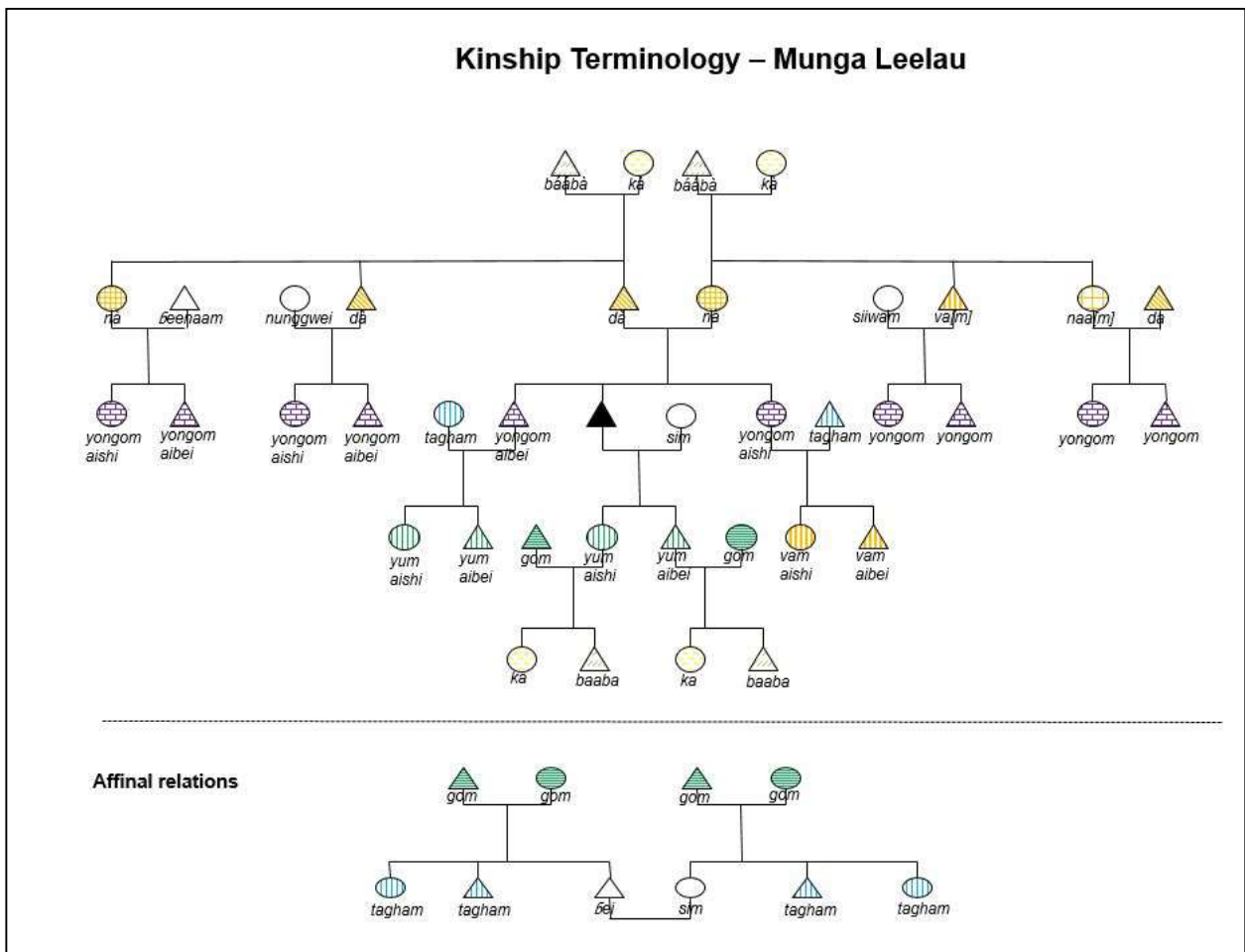
The **Goopi** are subdivided into six minor clans: the **Wuso** came from Gomu along Panya Mountain and met Tanyam at Panya. The Wuso first had the task to close the door of the shrine hut of *gimalou*, but this was later assigned to the Bongkari after a Wuso man was killed in the shrine hut of *gimalou*. The **Saa** came from Bambuka, they did not know death, but because they also wanted to celebrate funerary rites, they killed a squirrel, dressed it and announced it as a dead person. From this moment they started to die and scattered, some of them came to the Munga Leelau.

The **Wop** came from Gomu like the Wuso, they brought fire with them and taught the Tanyam to cook food (*wabbie* = spirit of fire). Before, the Tanyam had heated their food with the rays of the sun. The Wop worship the idol *Ma'akun*, its guardianship has now passed over into the hands of the Munga Doso. The place of worship at Panya where the shrine is located is called *dang wung*. The Goopi, Tanyam and Munga Doso do not kill lions or use the tree *kap boo* because the Tanyam carve their idols from its wood. The **Dinga-Pipyangli** came from the west from Mumuye land

and met the Tanyam, they brought with them the powerful spirit *biyang* that can act against evil spirits. The **Dinga** drove out all evil spirits before the Munga Leelau moved down from Panya to Munga. They also live in the western part of Munga. From October to December, the Dinga do not talk loudly, sing aloud or play drums in order not to attract evil spirits which are rampant during that time. The **Zok** came from Gomu, they have a relationship with the Zida clan of Leemak (Akila Apollos MS).

Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology of the Munga Leelau may be classified as a Hawaii system, where in ego's generation all cousins are equated with siblings, only differentiated by gender. In the first ascending generation, however, the terminology defies easy classification, for on the matrilineal side it may be considered as bifurcate merging (Mo=MoSi≠MoBr) and on the patrilineal side generational (Fa=FaBr≠FaSi).



Family

If both parents die, the paternal uncle (FaBr) will take care of the children.

Property is only inherited patrilineally. The last-born son will take over the compound of his deceased father and take care of his mother. The first-born son becomes the trustee of the inheritance, with the exception of the compound, and distributes it as he sees fit.

The maternal uncle (MoBr) has certain rights over the children of his sister and may order them to do as he wants. And he may even sell them, either as slaves or in exchange for food: "The sons of his sisters are considered his slaves" as Akila Apollos phrases it in his MS.

In a polygynous household, each wife is responsible for cooking meals. A husband should eat from the meals cooked by each of his wives.

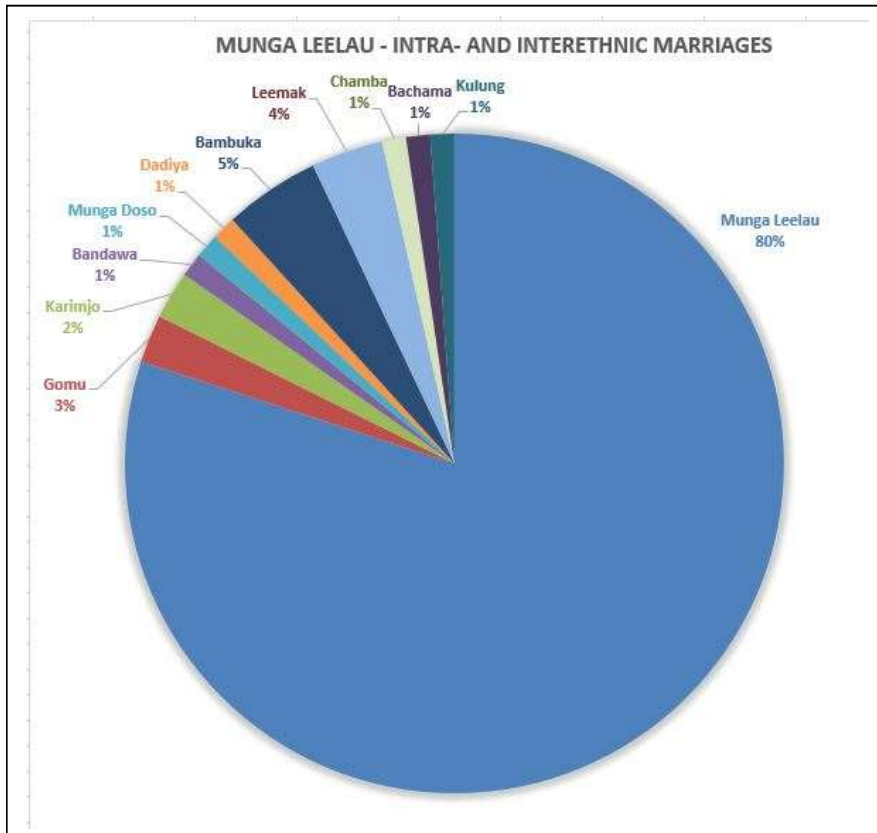
Marriage

Clan exogamy is practised, however, the relevant unit in this respect is the minor clan or lineage, not the major clan (Tanyam, Munthiga, Brem or Goopi). If a wife is being divorced, no man of the clan of her ex-husband will marry her. Postmarital residence is patri-virilocal.

Traditionally, marriage by sister exchange was common. In addition, the bridegroom-to-be performs bride service for the parents of the girl by building a house or doing farmwork. In more recent times, the type of marriage by paying brideprice became prevalent, in this case the boy and the girl will spend three days together in his house without eating or drinking. After that period, the girl will receive food in the compound of a fellow woman of her clan who had married into this village. The prospective husband will pay five pieces of iron to the parents of his wife-to-be before she returns to her parents' home where she will spend at least six months. After that period, she moves to the homestead of her husband and he has to pay another five pieces of iron before his wife may start cooking and eating food in the compound of her husband (Akila Apollos MS).

Some statistics

In a sample of 48 married Munga Leelau men, there were a total of 85 wives, of which 68 were from Munga Leelau, and 17 were from other ethnic groups.

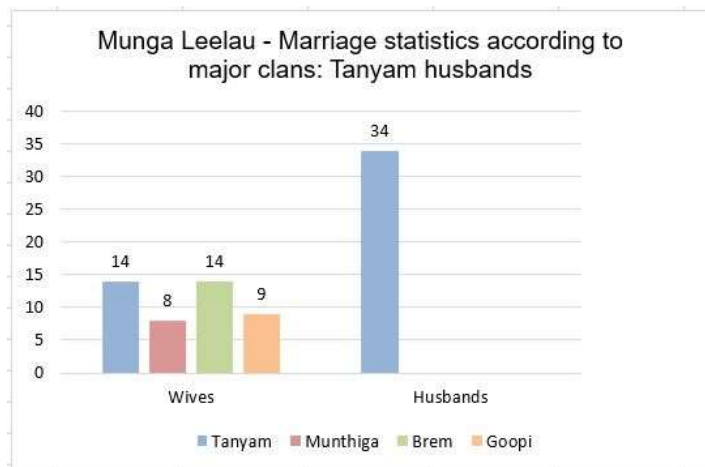


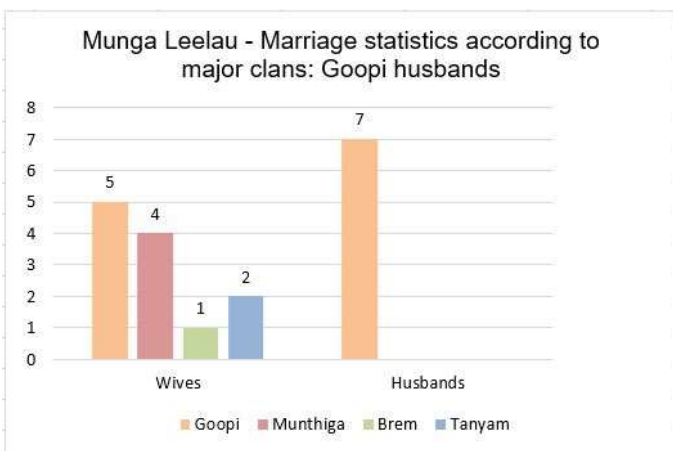
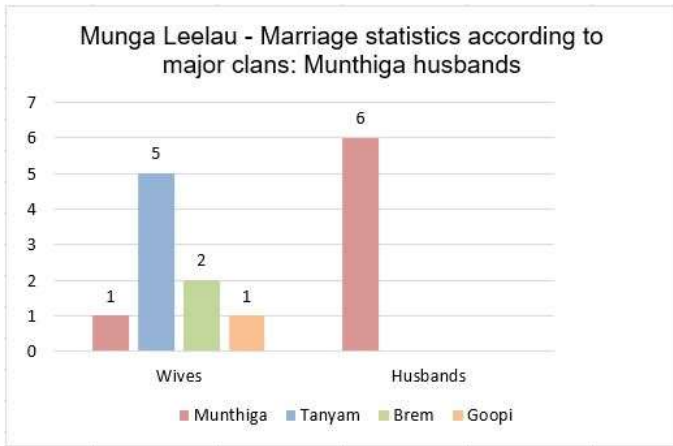
The overall polygamy rate was 1.8; the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 1.5.

Marriages with partners from a different major clan (Tanyam, Munthiga, Brem or Goopi) are prevalent.

Marriages with a wife from a different major clan: 70.1%

Marriages within the same major clan: 29.9 %





Granaries

Men and women each have their own granaries. Both types have a similar form, but women's



Photo 1: A man's granary

granaries are smaller. The granary of a woman (*biithal*) rests on legs made of clay, and is used to store groundnuts, sesame, beans and other produce necessary for preparing sauces. They are built jointly by men and women. The granaries of men (*biikab*), usually containing sorghum or millet, are standing on six wooden legs. Men build their granaries and they also fill them with supplies.

Besides corn, crops like ground nut,



Photo 2: Granary for women

Bambara nut, rice and beans are also stored in granaries. Vegetables like roselle, pumpkin, okra and garden eggs are not stored in granaries.

Building granaries is a dry season activity. A granary may last for 3-4 years. A man's granary is built outside the house, a woman's granary often is located inside the homestead, but may also be found outside. There are no decorations on granaries and no rituals are performed in connection with sealing or opening of granaries. If a sealed granary is opened for the first time, it is the husband who takes out the first batch of contents.

There is no ritual or sacrifice accompanying this act, but the man has to ask his father before breaking the seal, irrespective of his age. Afterwards, it is always the first wife who fetches provisions from the granary, and, in a polygynous household, she distributes them to her co-wives. This applies especially to the staple crops of sorghum and millet.

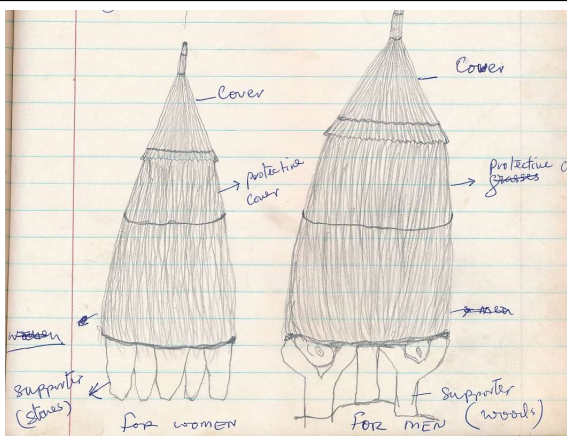


Illustration 1: Sketch of granaries by Akila Apollon

Birth

After a woman has given birth, the cut umbilical cord is rolled onto a small stick and stuck into the ceiling of the mother's room. This is done to preserve her ability to give birth again. The placenta is put inside a broken pot and buried in the bathing room of the mother. The frequent application of hot water on the bathroom floor will prevent ants or other insects from destroying the tissue, and thus prevent the baby from developing rashes. The mother stays with the baby for three days inside the room where she gave birth. She may leave the room earlier if she has some work to do, but not with the baby. After three days she comes out and hands the baby over to the father who holds it up to the morning sun (*fú* = high god, *fù* = sun). Millet beer is consumed and prayers addressing *dangbang* and *limi* are said to protect the baby. *Limi* is a spirit caring for human beings in Munga land. The mother will call a girl of about 5-6 years old and the father calls a boy of the same age. The mother straps the baby on the back of the girl with animal skin and then a calabash and a hoe are put on the girl's head. The father will give the boy a hoe and bow and arrow. The two children pretend to go to the farms, but then are called back by the elders with the explanation that it is about to rain. They return to the house and the baby, as well as the implements, are taken from the two children. The father will give the baby a little millet beer with his hands, and the mother's room is sprinkled with some millet beer. On the next day, the baby will be named, often the name of a deceased relative is taken. From now on the father may commence to sleep with his wife again (Akila Apollos MS).

Burial

The Munga Leelau believe in re-incarnation. If an elder person dies, the corpse is dressed and taken out of the house, not through the door, but by a hole made into the wall. The corpse is placed on its bedstead outside of the house at the gate under a shade and a calabash is put on the stomach. The calabash will be removed when the corpse is taken to the grave. Women will gather there and wail. After the burial, a special millet beer (*pululu*), (that has only fermented for 3 days instead of the normal 7 days), is consumed. Relatives gather at the deceased's house and shave their heads bald as a sign of their sadness. The calabash is placed on a forked pole with three branches cut from the tree *kap nyamu* and millet beer and porridge are put into it. Also, a stone may have been put on the corpse and removed the next day, then the stone is placed under a locust bean tree standing in the farm of the deceased. Sacrifices of millet beer are made annually on that stone with the intent to have a good harvest. Only after the burial ceremony has been completed, the calabash mentioned above may be taken away and broken.

If a young adult dies, after the burial people will try to find out the reason why the person died. If it is discovered that someone caused the death, this person was sold as a slave to the Fulani or to a neighbouring tribe.

If a baby dies, the body is buried close to the door of the mother's house so that it can return and be born again. It is believed that a mother who has touched a feather or even killed a bird called *tentam* or a pregnant animal can cause the death of her new-born baby (Akila Apollos MS).

Village

In a census conducted among 30 compounds at Munga Leelau, a total of 209 inhabitants were counted, of which 113 were males, 96 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 6.9, with slightly more males (3.8) than females (3.2).

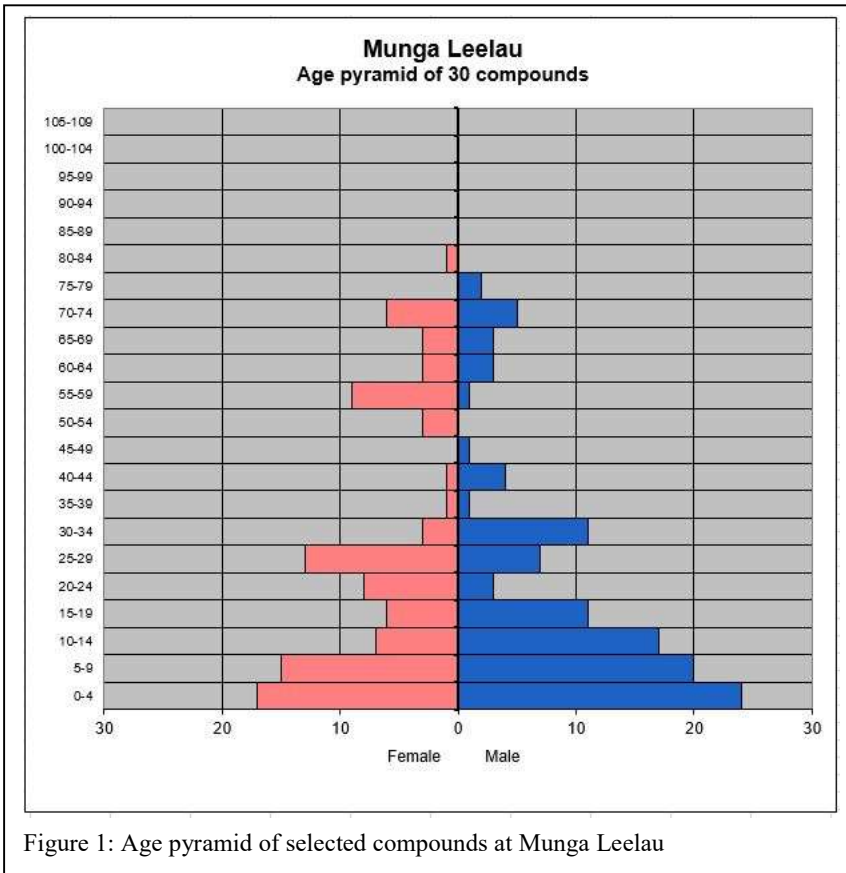


Figure 1: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Munga Leelau

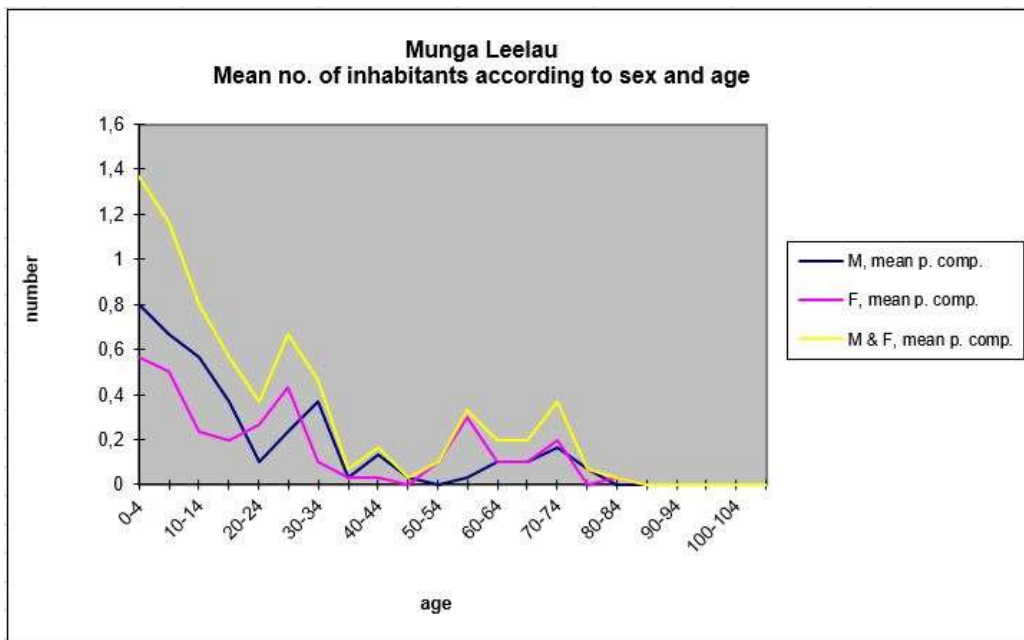


Figure 2: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Munga Leelau

Age groups

The Munga Leelau have formal age groups (*kal bya nungbwi*), comprising all young men having been initiated into the cult of *gimalou* or *nungbwi* in the same year. Such an initiation takes place every six years and involves the wooden *nungbwi* idols. The initiation period lasts about six months during which the young male novices live outside their settlements under a tree and are instructed in the lore of the cult; they learn to endure hardships as well as the knowledge needed to become mature adults. During this time, they may not speak but only use gestures to communicate. At the end of the initiation phase, they may return to their parents' homesteads after the ritual *min taafi* accompanying the harvest of guinea corn has taken place.

There may be three categories within an age group: ideally, young men of the same age are initiated into the *kal* - these are called *thea bwamkwongdai*. There are two more categories: *yakuu* when an initiate is older than the others for various reasons, and *baidau* when a boy younger than the others is initiated.

Besides the formal age groups there are also informal age categories comprising persons who were born on the same day or within a span of three days (Akila Apollos MS).

Political Organisation

Village Head

The title of Village Head was introduced by the British colonial administration. A chief in the Munga language is called *yiigwo*, the *yiigwo* of the Munga is the head chief, he administers the land and the people living there and announces tax collection, further he appoints the titleholders *galadima* of the Munga and *kaigamma* of the Munga Doso. The *yiigwo loo kab* or *yiigwo nwa kab* is the priest responsible for the fertility of the land, and he addresses the spirit *dangbang* in his rituals; the title rests with the Vok clan of the Tanyam, and he is also the head of the priests of diverse cults: *yiigwo bangzin* is the priest of *bangzin* ritual, *yiigwo nungbwi* or *daishi nungbwi* is the priest of the *nungbwi* cult, *yiigwo mam gabra* is the priest of the *mam gabra* cult, and *daishi zuu* is priest of the *zuu* cult (Akila Apollos MS).

In his manuscript, Akila Apollos gives a list of 13 chiefs of the Munga:

- 1) Byang (from the clan Dinga-Pipyangli. He was made chief by the Fulani at the time when these made the Munga fight for them; he was disliked by the people in the area and eventually killed by a man of the Munthiga clan due to a conflict during harvest time)
- 2) Daura (from the clan Brem, he died of sickness)
- 3) Nwabwa (from Brem, he died of sickness)
- 4) Fai (from Brem, he died of sickness)
- 5) Zwa (from Munthiga, he died of sickness)
- 6) Donbai (from Munthiga, he died of sickness)
- 7) Ginadau (from Brem, he died of sickness)
- 8) Nwabwa (from Munthiga, he died of sickness)

9) Zikai (from Brem, he died of sickness)

10) Harshe (from Brem, he ruled for 19 years (1930-1949), then resigned because of old age)

11) Abbai (from Brem, ruled 1949-58, died of sickness)

12) Baba Sarki (from Munthiga, ruled 1958-78)

13) Wakili Musa (from Munthiga, rules since 1978).



Photo 3: Remnants of a canoe at Munga Leelau

Economic Activities

Division of labour

Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Munga Leelau (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	f
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	f
weave mats	m
weave baskets	f
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	f
weaving cotton	-
spinning	f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

Agriculture

The traditional crops of the Munga Leelau are sorghum (*min*), millet (*muri, vaa*), beans (*nun a'a*), finger millet (*kiŋ kyen*), *buni* (?), *tal* (?)¹⁵, groundnut (*nungyeu*) and sesame (*nuk waa*). Yam (*than yagwoo*) they got from the Mumuye, maize (*min kuna*) from the Jukun (*kuna*) and cassava (*than suaa*) from the Fulani. They also cultivate tiger nuts (*nun anau*), garden eggs (*kutuk*, only cultivated by men), sweet potatoes (*katagau*), okra (*kumburam*) and cocoyam (*gwen*).

Before people are allowed to eat from the new crops that are regarded as traditional crops (especially corn and beans), the agricultural ritual *taafii* has to be performed. While harvesting tiger nuts, women may not drink water because it would diminish the quality of the crop.

Formerly, virgin land that was cleared by a farmer belonged to him as long as he did not give it up. Three years is the generally acknowledged period for leaving land fallow, after that it may be regarded as unused land and the owner may face problems reclaiming it. Farms are demarcated by planting trees or long grass. Places of worship where shrines are standing, are marked by stones under a tree and these places are considered as land owned by a clan. No one is allowed to farm or settle there (Akila Apollos MS).

Animal husbandry

The Munga Leelau traditionally kept dwarf goats, chicken, donkeys, horses and dogs (for hunting) as domestic animals.

Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, milk, leather	
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	riding. Horsehair used for dance utensils and bird traps	kept by title holders.
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	beast of burden	
goat	m & f	meat, leather	in the past, women and children did not eat their meat
sheep	m	meat, leather, wool used for decoration of dancers	Tanyam clan do not keep sheep because they avoid all things white.
pig	m&f	meat	
dog	m&f	guardian, assisting in hunting	Munga do not eat dog meat
chicken	m&f	meat, eggs, feathers	women ate no chicken in the past
duck	m&f	eggs, meat	
guinea fowl	m&f	eggs, meat	no guinea fowls in the past
pigeon	-	-	-
cat	m&f	meat, protection against rats	both sexes eat the meat

¹⁵ *Buni* is a plant that produces small black grains which are used as an ingredient for sauces; *tal* is planted in guinea corn farms under the tree *kap baa* which it climbs while growing, it produces seeds.

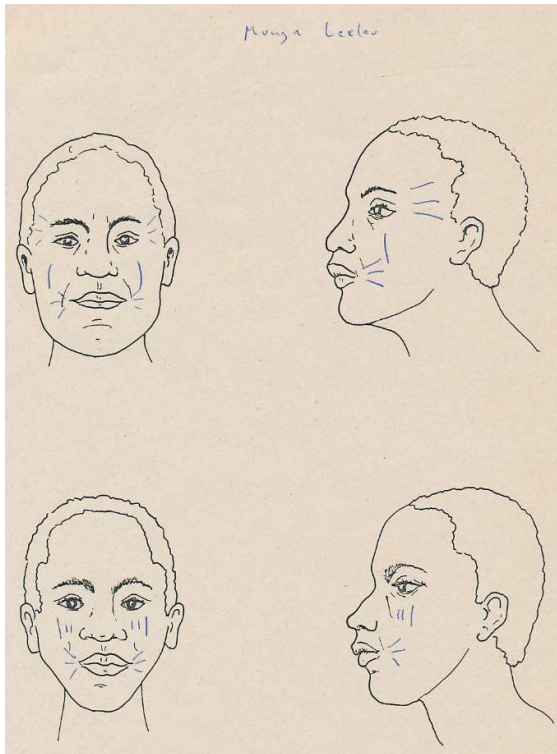
In a census of 25 households, the following numbers of domestic animals were determined:

Table 4: Munga Leelau - Domestic animals kept by 25 households

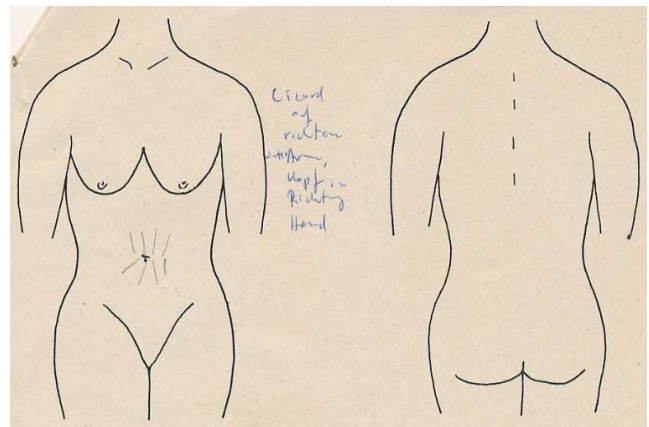
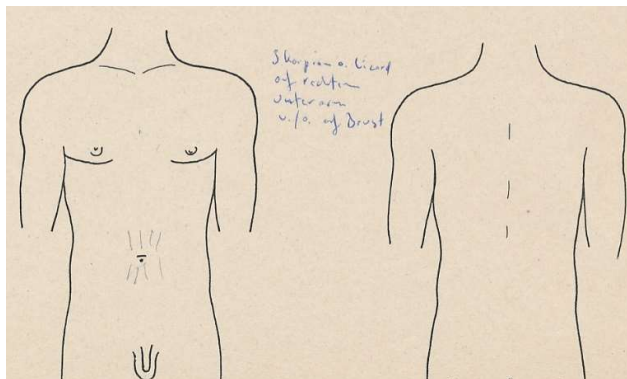
	Cattle	Donkey	Goat	Sheep	Pig	Dog	Chicken	Duck	Guinea fowl	Cat
total	34	2	105	6	42	21	288	114	2	1
mean no.	1.4	0.1	4.2	0.2	1.7	0.8	11.5	4.6	0.1	0.0
median no.	2	1	5	3	3	1	15	11	2	1

Scarification/cicatrisation, bodily ornamentation

See illustrations.



Men often have a tattooed scorpion or a lizard on their right forearm or chest; women a tattooed lizard on their right forearm, the lizard's head pointing towards the hand. Presumably, the lizard represents the protecting spirit *mamgwoi*.



Rituals and Religion

Spirits and associated rituals¹⁶

The high god/creator god is called *fúú* (the sun is called *fùù*).

The land where the Munga Leelau are settled is considered to belong to *limi*, a spirit that also assists the Munga Leelau in times of war. And if there are disputes over land, *limi* is involved in settling them; oaths are sworn on *limi*.

The present chief of all priests (*yiigwo loo kab*) is Yangei of the Tanyam clan. In precolonial times, the *yiigwo loo kab* also had political powers. If there is need of rain, he will pray to the gods, and if it starts raining, the rain will not touch him.

Nungbwi (*dodo* in Hausa) are spirits manifested in wooden idols in the form of a yoke or vertical mask with a human face and worn in masquerades.¹⁷ The spirits embodied in the *nungbwi* idols are capricious and may cause harm if not handled properly.

Gimalou or *gimul* is a *nungbwi* idol representing the spirit of harvest in Tanyam land; there are annual celebrations involving *gimalou*. The priesthood rests with the Baguna (sub-)clan of Tanyam; its priests are chosen after consultations with elders of the senior Singi clan. Problems between husband and wife are brought before *gimalou* as well. During the months November to December *gimalou* is in the farms and shoos away women coming too close by making eerie sounds. Young males are initiated into the cult every 6-7 years and those having undergone the initiation together form an age-group. *Min taafii* is the final ritual after which the neophytes are considered as being initiated, it takes place at the end of the year in December.

Doa is a spirit to which sacrifices have to be made at the phase of the new moon before new corn may be eaten.

Biyanyu are ancestral spirits kept by specific persons to help them gain better yields, or frighten other persons during the night.

Spring water is brought out of the ground by the *laga* spirit. That spirit usually lives in the mountains and can decide to open a spring. The spirit can be dangerous for humans (Akila Apollos MS).

Water sources

In the area of the Munga Leelau there are no perennial springs, but the people have to dig wells to get water. A pregnant woman must wear a bracelet or an anklet made of iron for protection if she goes to a well to fetch water, especially at dusk or dawn. Otherwise, spirits residing there may make her unborn child develop a deformity.

A menstruating woman is not allowed to fetch water, and she may only commence fetching water three days after her menstruation stopped. A woman who has given birth has to wait about 1½ months before she may go to fetch water. If these regulations are not observed, it is believed that the well will dry up.

¹⁶ See also CAPRO 1992: 56-63 for some information on rituals and traditional beliefs.

¹⁷ On vertical masks in the region see Berns 2011, also Adelberger 2011.

Table 5: Religious concepts and their material expression

Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>fúú</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>biyaŋyu</i>	a hidden pot in the house where sacrifices are made
water spirit	<i>nurŋmu</i>	of ambiguous nature, can harm or even possess or kill people; but is also helpful by providing water and fish
bush spirit	<i>limi</i>	Munga land belongs to <i>limi</i> , cares for the people living there.
protecting spirit	<i>biyaŋyu</i>	also live in sacred groves
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>kabdilo</i>	kept in the house of the priest <i>yiigwo nurŋbi</i>
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>nurŋbwi</i> (in general), <i>gimalou</i> (Tanyam), <i>wapei</i> (Yaa Wop)	vertical or yoke mask. <i>Nurŋbwi</i> is the general term, the idol of the Tanyam clan is called <i>gimalou</i> , the idol of the Yaa Wop clan <i>wapei</i> . Among the Munga Doso it is called <i>yici</i> .

Ritual calendar

Munga Leelau Annual festivities												
Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>min mam gabra</i>			—									
<i>min nungbwi</i>					—							
<i>min biyang</i>						—				—		
<i>min bangzin</i>								—				
<i>min them zuu</i>									—			
<i>taafi</i>												—

Agricultural rituals performed annually to secure a good harvest are:

Min mam gabra (*boori* in Hausa): the celebration takes place around March. It is a possession cult and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character. The cult was imported from the Bandawa, who got it from the Wurbo. It is led by a man from the Munthiga clan. Only those initiated into the *nungbwi* cult can become a member of *mam gabra*. While only men take part in the rituals proper, women are allowed to join the dances and festivities.

Min nungbwi – takes place May – June, but not necessarily each year: it is the first cult brought by Tanyam from heaven, and is for men only. After young men have been initiated into the cult, they are considered matured and become the member of an age group. Wooden idols in the form of yoke/vertical masks play an important part in the ritual. *Nungbwi* are huge vertical masks worn on the head. The ritual lasts for three days: on the first day the idol stays at Munga, on the second day it moves to Ngoroore (a village nearby), on the third day back to Munga and then on to Murboi, another village where the Munga Leelau are living. Afterwards the idol returns to the Munga and is placed into its shrine. After the rituals, the idols are said to leave the place and return to the farms in October. New corn has to be sacrificed to them before humans are allowed to consume it.

Min biyang – takes place in July and again in October, only practised by the clan Yaa Dinga and addresses the collective ancestors of the clan, asking for well-being and protection from evil spirits and diseases. During the ritual in July, people are advised to keep their land clean, thus preventing evil spirits from finding an abode. The ritual in October is intended to stop evil spirits from entering Munga land, spreading diseases and spoiling the harvest. For the *biyang* ritual, participants paint their faces with red soil. The place of worship (*guu biyang*) is in a sacred grove. *Min biyang* is also performed to curb a locust infestation.

Min banzin – takes place annually in August – September, after the majority of rain-fed crops have been planted. *Banzin* is an agricultural ritual designed to provide sufficient rain, a good farming season and a bumper harvest; the rituals are addressing *dangbang*, the bringer of rain. An elder from the Vok clan of Tanyam is the priest. For the festivities, the idol is fetched from the Munthiga area by people of Tanyam, special drums are played, beer is prepared and participants dance with locust bean twigs tied to their heads with a string that is also used for binding corn bundles. After the celebration at the Tanyam area, the idol is moved to the Munthiga area where celebrations are also taking place. Afterwards, the *banzin* idol is brought back to its shrine. The period of *banzin* is also the period when new marriages take place. The ritual was given to the Munga Leelau by the Zida clan of the Leemak who celebrate it before the Munga Leela around July. The Munga Leelau had assisted the Leemak when the latter were attacked by the Gomu, and out of gratitude they gave them the ritual. The ritual *min them zuu* marks the end of the period of *min banzin*.

If there is not enough rain or if there is too much rain and the crops are destroyed, the priest of *banzin* will be blamed and he will be replaced. In times of famine, the plant *ba'nwaa* (?) growing wild in the bush is a last resort of food. Around 1941, there was a famine through locust infestation.

Taafi – takes place when the beans are ripe and the new moon becomes visible. Only after the ritual has taken place, crops regarded as traditional such as beans, guinea corn, millet, sesame and finger millet may be harvested and consumed. The idol *ma'a kunye* plays a role during the ritual and is asked to ensure a bumper harvest.

Them zuu is another rain ritual, it belongs to the Brem clan. *Them zuu* takes place at the end of the *banzin* festivities and is also intended to provide the necessary rain for the season, involving the shrine of *zuu* to be refurbished if need be.

Min them yagwoo has to be performed before the harvest of yam. (Akila Apollos MS)

Miscellanea

If a witch kills somebody and the person's blood touches the witch, leprosy will develop.

During her menstruation a wife will not cook food for her husband and he will not sleep in her room because such a woman is considered to be unclean. Members of the *mam gabra* cult especially shun menstruating women. She may also not fetch water from the well because otherwise the well will dry up; and she may not touch fruit bearing trees, which may stop developing fruits. A ring of iron on the finger or an iron wristlet protects a pregnant woman from being attacked by evil spirits and harming the unborn child, especially at dusk or dawn. Any piece of iron is a protection against evil spirits.

Mamgwoi are spirits taking care of and protecting the persons living in a homestead. *Mamgwoi* are represented by lizards which are considered to guard the house and its inhabitants. Dogs (*dwa*) are also considered as guardians and protectors of the inhabitants of a house and may even prevent evil spirits from entering.

Dreams are meaningful and may contain messages from the spirit *dangbang*. One should not tell one's dream during night-time, only during daytime, doing otherwise may attract bad luck.

Rainbows are coming out of anthills and are stopping rainfall.

Red earth, used to decorate pots, is also used to decorate women's rooms and to treat swollen legs by rubbing it on them.

Trees are believed to have a soul (*nunkap*), the souls of the trees *kap pee* (mahogany) and *kap kau* are considered as being especially strong.

The animals *masunkur* (?) and *zok* (elephant) have a soul. If a *masunkur* is killed, the hunter has to provide a pot in which he puts millet beer every year, otherwise the soul of *masunkur* may harm or even kill the hunter. The soul of *zok* is addressed in the rituals of the *mam gabra* cult. If not handled properly, it may cause discolouration of the skin.

The Munga Leelau believe in reincarnation. When someone is reborn, there is a physical resemblance with that ancestor. If there is evidence of reincarnation, there must be no mention of it, as this could lead to the person's death. Some persons are able to turn into animals (such a person is called *zuatoo*) and catch domestic animals like goats to consume its meat.

Smallpox (*makutuk*) is caused by evil spirits. (Akila Apollos MS).

Taboos

Lion (*zwa*) may not be killed by the Munga Leelau, and accordingly its meat is not eaten. It is believed that the lion is a friend of the Munga Leelau people, leaving remains of animals killed for human consumption. Eating lion's meat will cause skin diseases.

Women should not eat the meat of chicken, monkey, baboon or leopard, and, in general, not from any animal with five fingers. They may eat animals with two fingers.

Dogs are not eaten by the Munga Leelau because Tanyam, ancestor of the first clan to arrive, came together with a dog.

Further, *baudali* (a small snail which has a foul smell) is not eaten.

In the past (but not nowadays) pigs and goats (*mbaya*) were not consumed because their meat causes leprosy, especially in women and children.

Trees that are not cut, for instance as firewood, are:

- *kap nyamu* and *kap boo/ba'a* (idols are carved from its wood), *kap nyamu* may only be cut by men who have killed a human in a fight or successfully hunted the animal *masankur*. These men cut only a tree with three branches and place it at the entrance of the compound and put a small pot in it. Sacrifices of millet beer are put in the pot and celebrated annually.
- *kap thau* (if used as firewood it causes muscle pain in women),
- *kap song* (nettle tree) (if used as firewood it causes pain in the abdomen and extremities of women, or their pots break),
- *kap lui* (only used for dead persons; the corpse is carried on the leaves to the grave, holding its leaves in the hand is forbidden because it is only for the dead). (Akila Apollos MS).

Glossary¹⁸

Munga Leelau	gloss	comment
<i>bady</i>	sp. stone worshipped in <i>zuu</i> cult	
<i>baidau</i>	category in an age group of members younger than the others	
<i>banzing</i>	annual agricultural ritual, taken over from the Leemak	
<i>ba'nwaa</i>	sp. wild plant	only eaten in times of hunger
<i>baudali</i>	sp. snail	
<i>biikab</i>	granary of men	
<i>biithal</i>	granary of women	
<i>buni</i>	?, useful plant, has small black grains which are used as an ingredient for sauces	
<i>biyang</i>	protecting spirit of the Dinga clan	
<i>dai</i>	sp. cult of the Bongkari clan	
<i>daishi</i>	cult priest	
<i>dangbang</i>	spirit of agriculture	
<i>danndonk</i>	rainy season	
<i>doa</i>	sp. spirit associated with the harvest	
<i>dwa</i>	dog	
<i>fúú</i>	high god, creator god	
<i>fùù</i>	sun	
<i>gegek</i>	oracle owned by the Singi clan	
<i>gimalou</i>	idol of the Tanyam clan	
<i>kabdilo</i>	wooden idol	<i>gunki</i> (H.)
<i>kal</i>	age group	
<i>kuna</i>	Jukun	
<i>laga</i>	water bringing spirit	
<i>limi</i>	a spirit of Munga land	
<i>Ma'akun</i>	idol of the Wop clan	
<i>makutuk</i>	smallpox	
<i>mam gabra</i>	possession cult	<i>bori</i> (H.), widespread in the area
<i>mamgwoi</i>	protecting spirit represented by lizards	
<i>masunkur</i>	sp. animal	
<i>mbaya</i>	goat	
<i>nungbwi</i>	idol in form of a vertical or yoke mask	
<i>nungmu</i>	water spirit	
<i>nunkap</i>	'soul' of a tree	
<i>pululu</i>	millet beer that has only fermented for 3 days	
<i>taafi</i>	festivity taking place before the harvest of the	

¹⁸ H. = Hausa term.

Munga Leelau	gloss	comment
	major crops	
<i>tal</i>	?, useful plant, planted in farms under the tree <i>kap baa</i> which it climbs while growing	
<i>tentam</i>	sp. bird	
<i>thea bwamkwongdai</i>	category in an age group of peers within the same age range	
<i>wapei</i>	idol of the Wop clan	
<i>yakuu</i>	category in an age group of members older than the others	
<i>yiigwo</i>	chief	
<i>yiigwo loo kab</i>	trad. chief of the Munga Leelau	<i>sarkin tsafi</i> (H.)
<i>zok</i>	elephant	
<i>zuu</i>	sp. rain ritual	
<i>zuatoo</i>	person able to transmogrify into an animal	
<i>zwa</i>	lion	

Colours:

<i>beleng</i>	black
<i>varam</i>	white
<i>thanni</i>	red
<i>mung panksua</i>	brown
<i>mung yankap</i>	green
<i>bak-bak</i>	yellow
<i>mung karma</i>	blue

Plants:

Munga Leelau	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>alewu</i>	<i>alayyafoo</i>	waterleaf	<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>
<i>badak</i>	<i>jegari (sheka'?)</i>	? (guinea-corn)	<i>(Sorghum bicolor)</i>
<i>buni</i>	?	?	
<i>gwen</i>	<i>gwaazaa</i>	cocoyam	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>
<i>kap boo</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>kap kau</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>kap lui</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>kap nyamu</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>kap pee</i>	<i>madaaci</i>	mahogany	<i>Khaya senegalensis</i>
<i>kap song</i>	<i>zu</i>	nettle tree	<i>Celtis integrifolia</i>
<i>kap thau</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>katagau</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>
<i>kiŋ kyerŋ</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>
<i>kumburam</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>
<i>kutukd</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>

Munga Leelau	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>kwal</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
<i>min</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>min kuna</i>	<i>masaraa</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>
<i>mul landa</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>
<i>muri</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>nuk kyengkyang</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>
<i>nuk oweyu</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>
<i>nuk waa</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
<i>nun a'a</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans	
<i>nun anau</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
<i>nungyeu</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>
<i>tal</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>?</i>	
<i>thal</i>	<i>guna</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>
<i>than suaa</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>
<i>than yagwoo</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>
<i>timatir</i>	<i>tumaatur</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>
<i>vaa</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>waklep</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>
<i>yang thani</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>

Literature

Abraham, R. C. 1968

Dictionary of the Hausa Language. London.

Adelberger, Jörg; Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer 1992

The Muri Mountains of North-Eastern Nigeria - An Outline of the Ethnographic and Linguistic Situation

in: *The Nigerian Field* 57/1-2: 35-48

- 2016

A Kulung Vocabulary compiled by the missionary Ira McBride.

Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz (Working Papers of the Department of Anthropology and African Studies of the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz) 167. URL: <https://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/files/2019/07/AP167.pdf>

Adelberger, Jörg; Karsten Brunk 1997

Naturraumpotential und Landnutzung in Nordost-Nigeria. Beispiele aus der Tangale-Waja-Region

in: A. Reikat (Hrsg.) *Landnutzung in der westafrikanischen Savanne*, Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268 "Kulturentwicklung und Sprachgeschichte im Naturraum Westafrikanische Savanne", Bd. 9: 11-34, Frankfurt a.M.

Adelberger, Jörg 1994

Bevölkerungsbewegungen und interethnische Beziehungen im Gebiet der Muri-Berge: Eine vorläufige Darstellung

in: H. Jungraithmayr, G. Miehe (Eds.) *Mitteilungen des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268 (Burkina Faso und Nordostnigeria)*, Westafrikanische Studien Bd. 1: 11-29, Köln (Rüdiger Köppe)

- 1997

The Snake in the Spring: Spiritual Dimensions of Water in the Muri Mountains.

in: H. Jungraithmayr, D. Barreteau, U. Seibert (Eds.) *L'homme et l'eau dans le bassin du lac Tchad - Man and Water in the Lake Chad Basin*: 241-253. Collection Colloques et Séminaires, Éditions de l'ORSTOM, Paris

- 2000

Eduard Vogel and Eduard Robert Flegel: the experiences of two 19th century German explorers in Africa. In: *History in Africa* 27: 1-29

- 2009

Maxims and Mountaineers - The colonial subjugation of the peoples of the Muri Mountains and the adjacent regions in Northern Nigeria

in: *Afrikanistik Aegyptologie online* 6 (Cologne) (e-publication, URL: <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2009/1910>)

- 2011

Embodiments Large and Small: Sacred Wood Sculpture of the Wurkun and Bikwin

in: Marla C. Berns, Richard Fardon, Sidney Littlefield Kasfir (Eds.) *Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley*, Los Angeles (Fowler Museum): 417-435

- 2018

Loo, Gomu and the British – an episode from early colonial Nigeria

in: *Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online*, Vol. 2017. (urn:nbn:de:0009-10-47135)

Berns, Marla C. 2011

Enigmatic Embodiments: Vertical Masks in Cross-Cultural Perspective

in: Marla C. Berns, Richard Fardon, Sidney Littlefield Kasfir (Eds.) *Central Nigeria Unmasked: Arts of the Benue River Valley*: 436-461, Los Angeles: Fowler Museum.

- Blench, Roger M. 1995.
A History of Domestic Animals in Northeastern Nigeria. In: *Cahiers de Science Humaine*, 31/1:181-238. Paris: ORSTOM.
- 1997
A History of Agriculture in Northeastern Nigeria. In: *L'Homme et le milieu végétal dans le Bassin du Lac Tchad*. D. Barreteau, R. Dognin and C. von Graffenried (Eds.): 69-112. Paris: ORSTOM.
 - 1998a
The diffusion of New World Cultigens in Nigeria. In: M. Chastenet (Ed.) *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique* : 165-210. Paris: Karthala.
 - 1998b
The status of the languages of Central Nigeria. In: Brenzinger, M. (Ed.) *Endangered languages in Africa*. 187-206. Köln: Köppe.
 - 2022a
Hausa Names for Plants and Trees. 2nd edition, MS.
 - 2022b
An Atlas of Nigerian Languages. 3rd edition, MS.
- CAPRO Research Office (= Patience Ahmed; Leo Bawa, George Dauda; Yemi Ojo). 1992
The Cross and the Gods. A Look at Adamawa and Taraba States, Nigeria. Jos: CAPRO Media
- Flegel, Eduard Robert 1880a
Der Benue von Gande bis Djen. In: *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 26: 220-228
- 1880b
Der Benue von Djen bis Ribago. *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 26: 146-153
- Fremantle, J. M. 1972
Gazetteer of Muri Province (1920). In: A. H. M. Kirk-Greene (Ed.) *Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Vol. II - The Eastern Kingdoms (Muri, Yola, Bornu)* (2nd edition) London (Frank Cass)
- Hamman, Mahmoud 2007
The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad 1812-1869. The Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri. Arewa House Studies Series. Kaduna: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University
- Hogben, S. J. and Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 1966
The Emirates of Northern Nigeria. A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions. London: Oxford University Press
- Hogben, S. J. 1967
An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria. Ibadan: Oxford University Press
- R. Kiepert, R. 1886-89
Eduard Robert Flegel's Reisen im Gebiete des Benue (1882-84). Nach seinen Tagebüchern und Entwürfen construiert von Richard Kiepert, in: *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* 5: maps 6, 7, 8
- Kleinwillinghöfer, Ulrich. 1995
Don't use the name of my dead father. A reason for lexical change in some Northwestern Adamawa languages (Northeastern Nigeria). In: *Afrika und Übersee* 78: 1-12
- 2001
Jalaa - An almost forgotten language of NE Nigeria: A language isolate ? In: *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 16/17: 239-271

- 2015
Bikwin-Jen Group.
Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz (digital resource: <https://www.blogs.uni-mainz.de/fb07-adamawa/adamawa-languages/bikwin-jen-group/>)
- Low, Victor N. 1972
Three Nigerian Emirates. A Study in Oral History. Evanston (Illinois): Northwestern University Press
- Marjomaa, Risto 1998
War on the Savannah. The Military Collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate under the Invasion of the British Empire 1897–1903. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters
- McBride, Ira E. n.d.
Stories of long ago Kulung history. n.p.
- Meek, C. K. 1931
Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria, vol. 1. London (Kegan Paul)
- Othaniel, Nlabephee Kefas. 2017
A Phonological Comparative Study of the Jen Language Cluster. BA Thesis, Theological College of Northern Nigeria, Bukuru/University of Jos
- Schusky, Ernest L. 1983
Manual for Kinship Analysis (2nd edition). Lanham, London (University of America Press)
- Shimizu, Kyoshi 1979
A Comparative Study of the Mumuye Dialects (Nigeria). Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde Serie A, Bd. 14. Berlin (Reimer)
- Smaldone, Joseph P. 1977
Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate. Historical and Sociological Perspectives. Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stevens, Phillips 1973
The Bachama and their Neighbors: Non-Kin Joking Relationships in Adamawa, Northeastern Nigeria. Ph.D. Thesis, Northwestern University.
- Temple, O.; C. L Temple 1922
Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Second Edition. London: Frank Cass
- Vogel, Eduard 1858
'Notes from the Mission to Central Africa.' in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 2: 30–35
- Wallace, William 1907
Colonial Reports - Annual, No 551 Northern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1906-7.
- Weiss, Holger 1997
Babban Yunwa. Hunger und Gesellschaft in Nord-Nigeria und den Nachbarregionen in der frühen Kolonialzeit. Helsinki
- Zango, Gasmis 2014
An introduction to cultural anthropology and landmark : a study of Bambuka-Bikwin people with an evangelical approach. Nigeria : FEN Printing Press [not consulted]

Unpublished sources

National Archives Kaduna (NAK):

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

- NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909 "Patrol Tangale- Waja, Report on"
NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907 "Wurkum Patrol 1909: Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909"
NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919 "Report on Wurkum District, Muri Province"
NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913 "Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton"
NAK SNP 15 No. Acc.30 "Report on Field Operations 1902": "Muri Province Report No. 5 of April 30th, 1902 by Resident W. P. Hewby"
NAL YolaProf 5640 "Wurkum District, Report on by Mr. T. G. Brierly A.D.O, 1954"
NAK YolaProf Acc. 15 "Misc. Papers re Wurkum and Muri 1912"
NAK Min. Int. Affairs - B II 3 "Lelo and Bambuka Vocabulary"

International African Institute, London (IAI)

IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): "Incidents and Customs of the Kulung of Wurkum District, Adamawa Province, Nigeria", by Ira E. McBride

Local Manuscripts

Akila S. Apollos "Notes on Munga Leelau Culture and History", April - November 1992, unpublished manuscript

Appendix: 19th century map showing Munga

This is an excerpt from a contemporary map that reflects information obtained by Eduard Flegel on a part of the southern Muri Mountains (R. Kiepert 1886-89: map 7).

