



THE PIYA

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

ISBN 978-1-906168-16-2

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The Piya

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Settlement area and demography.....	2
Interethnic relations.....	4
History	6
Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period	6
Relations with the Fulani emirates	10
Colonial encounters.....	11
Social structure.....	16
Clans	16
Kinship terminology.....	26
Family	28
Marriage	29
Granaries	33
Birth	33
Burial	33
Village	34
Age groups	37
Political organisation.....	38
Village Head.....	38
Economic activities	39
Division of labour.....	40
Agriculture	41
Animal husbandry	45
Other activities	45
Material culture.....	47
Scarification/cicatrization, bodily ornamentation.....	49
Rituals and religion	50
Spirits and associated rituals	50
Ritual calendar.....	55
Healing	58
Miscellanea	58
Taboos	59
Glossary.....	60
Literature	66
Unpublished Sources.....	69

Appendix	70
Facsimile of Ira McBride's notes on the Piya (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4)).....	70
Facsimile of C. K. Meek's ethnographic notes on the Piya (NAK SNP 17 – 21577)	72
Photos	
Photo 1: View of a Piya village.....	3
Photo 2: Interior of a Piya homestead	28
Photo 3: Piya woman grinding corn	29
Photo 4: Newly married bride moving into her husband's home	30
Photo 5: A <i>cengaje</i> (photo taken among the Kwonci).....	30
Photo 6: Piya granary (<i>bùndù mùndá</i>).....	33
Photo 7: Ritual pot put up after a twin birth	33
Photo 8: Building a roof for a new house.....	37
Photo 9: Piya hunter with bow and arrow	46
Photo 10: Piya warrior with his weapons	46
Photo 11: Wooden trowel <i>param</i>	47
Photo 12: <i>kéndùm</i> pots for serving beer	47
Photo 13: <i>kwándàl</i> (left) for storing beer or water, <i>dige munda</i> (right) for cooking porridge.....	47
Photo 14: <i>gàalé</i> clay pot for storing beer or water	47
Photo 15: Set of victory drums.....	47
Photo 16: Set of victory drums.....	47
Photo 17: Piya <i>kundul</i>	52
Photo 18: <i>kundul</i> in situ, with <i>bale</i> sticks and pots for offerings.....	52
Photo 19: Piya <i>kundul</i> , left in a deserted house.....	52
Photo 20: A <i>dambang</i> priest with his headdress.....	53
Photo 21: <i>dambang</i> statues.....	54
Photo 22: A <i>mam gabra</i> site with typical enclosure.....	55
Photo 23: <i>Peebe</i> festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990: dance of wrestlers	57
Photo 24: Wrestling at <i>peebe</i> festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990.....	57
Photo 25: Dance of old women at <i>peebe</i> festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990	57
Photo 26: Drummers and jester at <i>peebe</i> festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990	58
Photo 27: Pots of former patients near the compound of a traditional healer.....	58
Illustrations	
Illustration 1: Layout of a homestead at Anguwa Roogo	28
Illustration 2: Layout of a homestead at Ameshe	28
Illustration 3: Clan affiliations of marriage partners (case study)	29
Illustration 4: Genealogical relationships between the compounds of Piribi-Tasha hamlet.....	35
Illustration 5: Sketch map of Piribi-Tasha hamlet. The numbers refer to illustration no. 4 above.....	36
Illustration 6: Sketch of <i>jiribe</i> masquerade.....	51
Tables	
Table 1: Piya names for neighbouring ethnic groups	6
Table 2: Piya clans	16

Table 3: Gender specific division of labour among the Piya..... 40
Table 4: Domestic animals and their uses 45
Table 5: Religious concepts and their material expression..... 54

Figures

Figure 1: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Mutum Daya..... 34
Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Mutum Daya 35

Maps

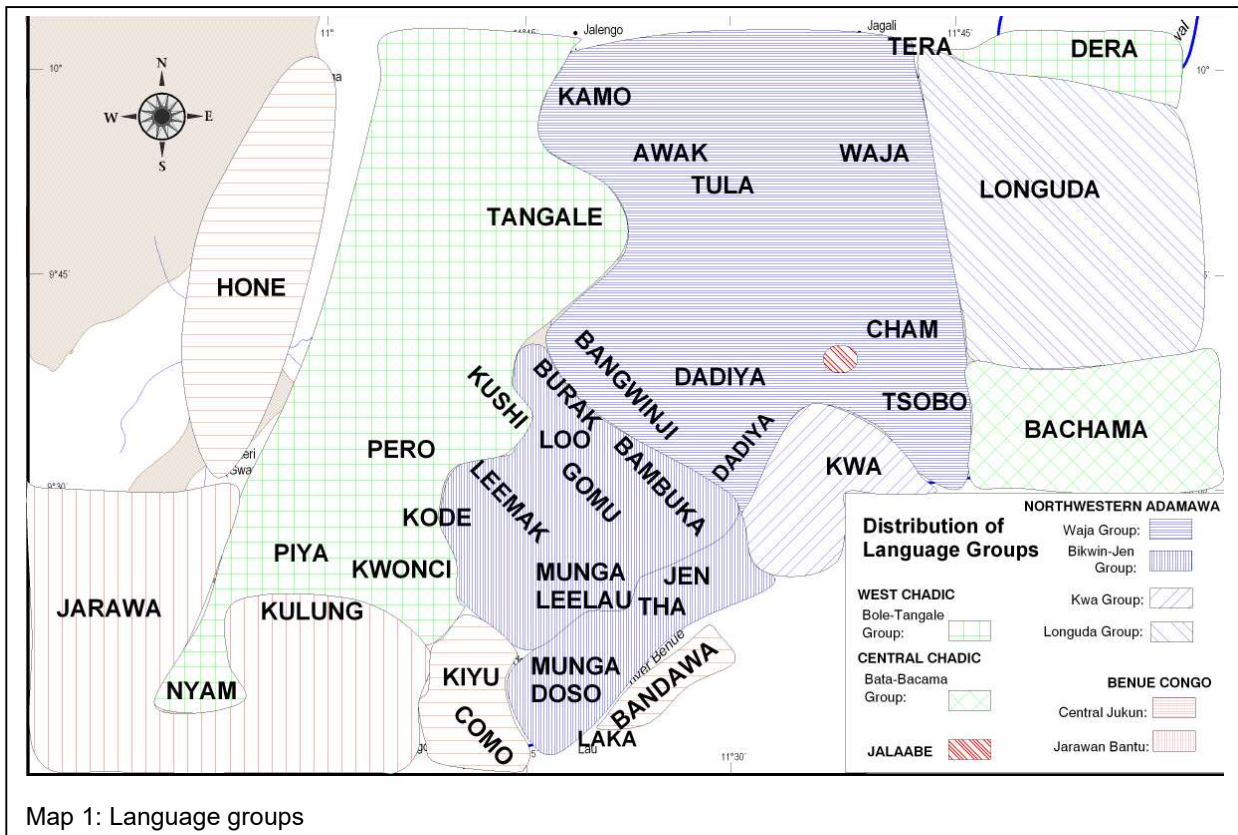
Map 1: Language groups 1
Map 2: Western Muri Mountains 2
Map 3: Piya dialect groups 2
Map 4: Ethnic map 3
Map 5: Historical concentrations of Piya clans 9

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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 Piya are a large ethnic group consisting of several sub-divisions or sections, each with their own dialect. The language of the Piya [piy] is classified as a member of the southern Bole-Tangale group of the West Chadic languages. The Piya dialect groups are the **Piraago** (also Pireego, they are called Pitiko by the Hausa and Fulani), the **Wallo**, the **Kulu** and the **Peelang/Gaaruma** (also called Kunshenu by the Hausa) living mainly in Muri District of Karim Lam-

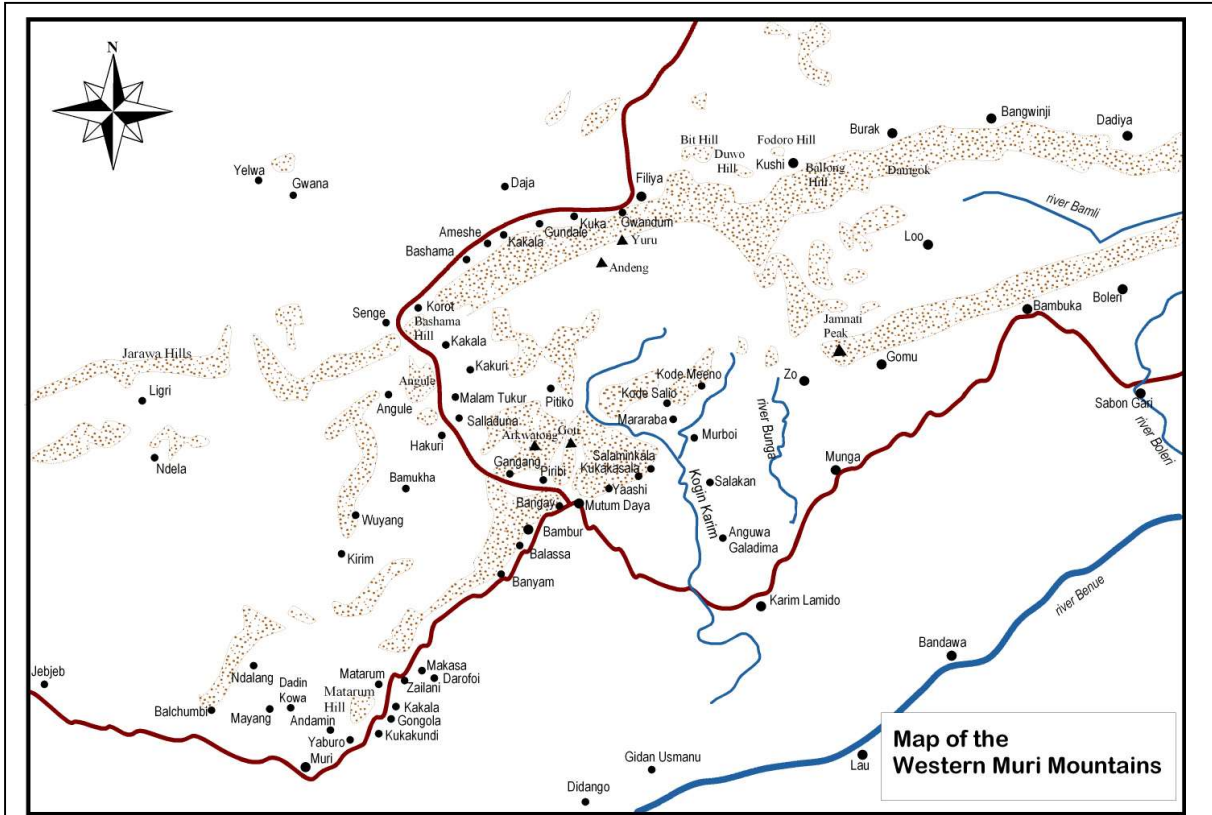


ido LGA).² According to informants, the Peelang/Gaaruma dialect differs the most from the other dialects.

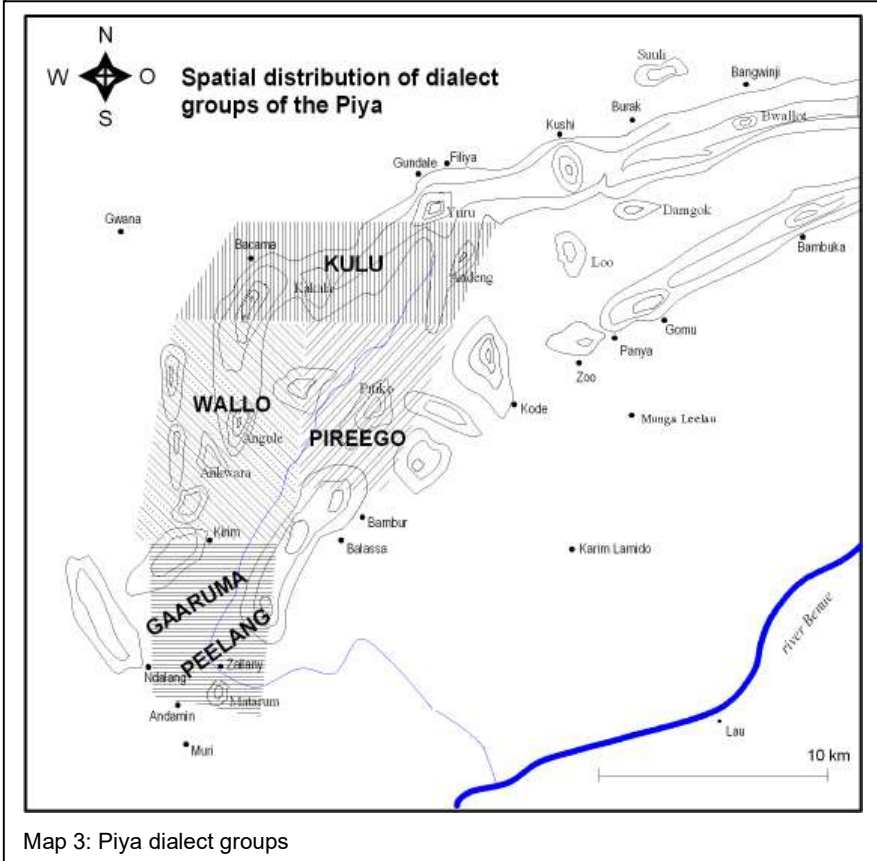
¹ I am grateful to Adamu, Ali Masui, Amadu Ben, Ambollo Buro, Babba Mahmud, Baba Dina, Bala Gyaba, Bappa, Boi, Bulus, Cephas Z. Siddi, Dan Daazo, Dan Jos, Dan Juma, Dan Juma Maaji, Dan Ladi, Hari, Jawro Ali, John Auta, Kande Dada, Lawan Dan Jos, Rev. Maisule Yangani, Malam Tukur, Maliya Mambo, Martha Mai Doki, Mohammed Inuwa Berguma, Mohammadu Salla Wandara, Naweela Maina, Sanda K. Nyadong, Shadrach Ahmadu, Sylvester Abdul Karim, Tsofo Ajuji, Umaru, Yaaki, Yakubu and Yaya for their co-operation during my research. My special thanks go to Andrew Haruna and Bitrus Dan Jos for their untiring and invaluable assistance, and to Else Mamman of the Women's Training Centre at Bangai for her hospitality. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² In the ethnographic survey by CAPRO (1992: 402), Piya and Pelang/Kunshenu are treated as separate units under the umbrella term Wurkun. The Kulu sub-division of the Piya should not be confused with the neighbouring Kulung ethnic group, who speak a Jarawan-Bantu language. See also Leger 2004 for some linguistic aspects of the Piya dialect groups. Meek (NAK SNP 17 – 21577; 1931: 33) uses the designation Walo when treating the Piya, but does not indicate whether or not this comprises the other sub-divisions as well.

Settlement area and demography



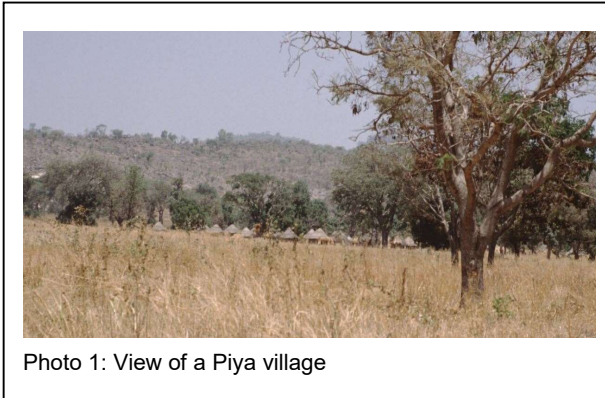
Map 2: Western Muri Mountains



Map 3: Piya dialect groups

The Piya are settled in the western part of the Muri Mountains. The geographical centres of the sections are in particular the area of Angule Mountain for the Wallo, the Bacama area (not to be confused with the Bacama around Numan on the Benue) with the mountains Kakala and Tondolo for the Kulu, the Pitiko area for the Pireego and the area northwest of Zailany

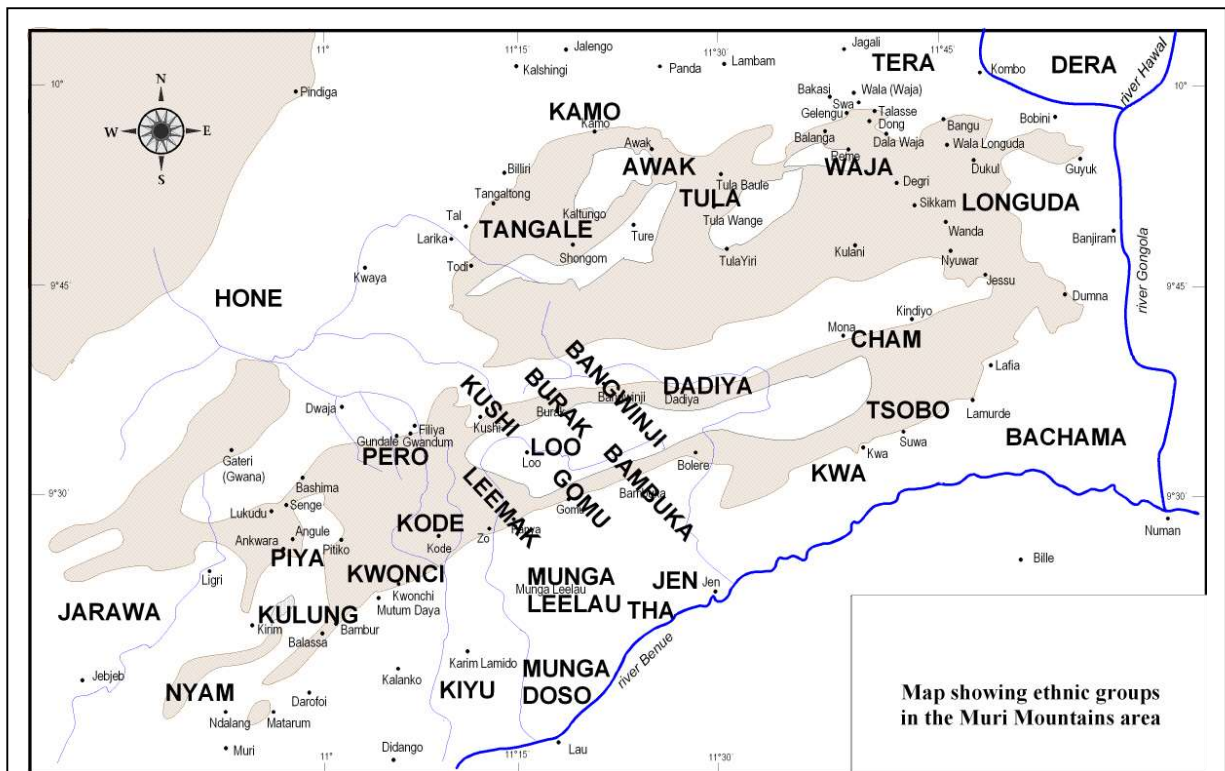
for the Peelang/Gaaruma. The main settlements of the Gaaruma are Zailany and Kukakundi, and the main villages of the Peelang are Kukakundi, Yaaburo, Andamin, Kunshenu, Dammare, Alebu and Kwata. In the northern Muri Mountains, the Piya extend up to the territory of the Pero in Billiri-Kaltungo LGA: the Ampoxoram, Anarxbandi, Beci, Caxaram, Cengera, Dangara, Peejo, Pijilang, Pugula and Windali clans are to be found around Gundale and Daja,.



At the time of research, the following numbers of taxpayers (TP) were recorded in the main settlements: Mutum Daya 824 , Angule 246 , Pitiko Barguma 120, Saladuna 95, Pitiko Buro 35, Bacama 913 , Pitiko Hakuri 172, adding up to a total of 2,405 TP. That may be extrapolated to a population figure of about 15,000 people. That number, however, does not include the

Peelang and Gaaruma sections, thus, the total may be around 20,000+.

Mutum Daya is a major settlement of the Piya; Bacama is their cultural headquarters. There are also Piya settling outside of Karim Lamido LGA, for example at Mutum Biyu, Jalingo, Numan or around Futuk. 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 are the Pero [pip], to the east the Kwonci [piy] and Kode [gmd/ktc], to the southwest the Kulung [bbu] and to the west various Jarawa groups (the Jarawa-Ligri, Jarawa-Gombondeela, Jarawa-Deela and Jarawa-Goorra).

The Piya acknowledge being part of the supra-ethnic Wurkun cluster, consisting of the Kwonci, Kode, Piya and Kulung, and probably the Pero in the past.³ More often than not, individuals identify themselves as being Wurkun, and only when pressed specify that they are Piya.

Wurkun is derived from the Jukun language meaning “rock dwellers”. At the same time, the Piya are part of the array of ethnic groups who speak closely related languages, calling themselves *ambandi* or *ampandi* (meaning “owner of mountain”), including the Kode, Kwonci, Piya and Pero. Informants maintain that *ambandi* was their original autonym, and Piya the name given to them by the Kulung. According to local etymology, Piya is derived from the word for tiger nut (*piya*), because they successfully farmed and sold this crop.

There were frictions between the Piya and the Tangale, as well as the Kode, the Kulung, the Loo and the Gwana-Jukun. There were amicable relations with the Kwonci and the Kushi, and the Kushi are even thought to have been part of the Piya in the past, before the Kushi split off and moved to their present location.

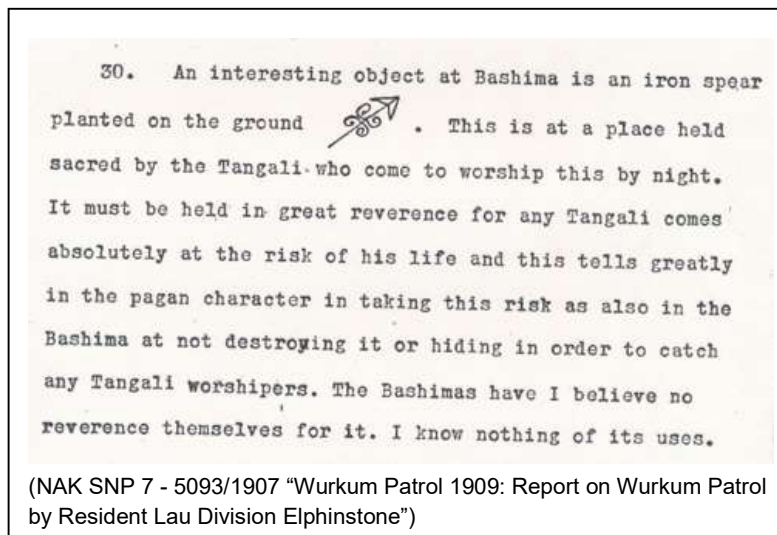
After intertribal clashes, captives of war had to work as slaves for the Piya. If the ethnic group from which they came wanted to buy them back, they had to pay 300 pieces of iron (*bólò*, the pre-colonial form of money) for each person. The slaves lived in the homesteads of the Piya warriors who had captured them and had to work for the descent group. The slaves' children were also slaves, but were considered community members and integrated if they behaved well. If the slaves were freed, they were allowed to move away with their children. In times of war, both men and women would be taken as slaves; if a slave woman was married by a Piya man, she would become a free woman. It was also possible for a Piya woman to marry a male slave. There are sub-groups of clans that originated from such captives, for instance the Peyina-Nyam or the Anyaxara-Nyam. It is said that captives were mostly taken from the Bandawa, Jenjo, Fulani or Karimjo, or in general from peoples from the banks of the Benue River, but not from the mountain dwellers.

In the early 19th century, there was a conflict with the Tangale that was triggered when a warrior called Kwàllá from the Pinabooro clan killed a Tangale leader named Karbal. This resulted in fighting in which Bakka (meaning “bow and arrow”) led the Piya warriors, and put an end to the formerly friendly relations between the Piya and the Tangale.

In this context it is worth mentioning a spear-like object that is located at Bacama and revered by the Tangale, originally referred to in a colonial report (NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907) which I quote here. I could elicit the following information on this and similar objects: at Korot there is a

³ For the term Wurkun and the Wurkun groups see Adelberger 1992.

spear called *pokac*, standing at the *pokac* site, and which is revered by the Billiri-Tangale. Even during the conflict between the Piya and the Tangale, the Tangale went there to worship it. The



Piya of Korot and the Tangale have a close relationship. On Tondolo Mountain there was also a spear where a peace treaty was made between the Tangale and the Piya of Tondolo; this spear is called *ɛbɛ*. The Village Head, by name of Kwani,⁴ later took it away. A spear looking like the depicted one can be found on *pandi* Pindele (Pin-

dele Mountain); the site is sacred and revered by the people of Pindele, i.e. the Piya clans Pindele and Peeco. The spear, called *kajewuurin*, was already there when they first settled at that location. No sacrifices are made to it, but the local people feel responsible for it. The spear, made entirely of iron, is stuck in a rock.

The Piya claim to have taught the Kode, as well as the Kwonci, the worshipping of idols. On the other hand, the Piya learned basket weaving with *tofua* grass (*tofofa* H., spear grass) from the Kode.

The Piya have especially close ties with the Kulung-Balasa 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 Balasa Mountain⁵ 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. While the priest operating at this site is a man from the 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 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 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,

⁴ According to McBride (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): p. 22) Kwani died of smallpox in 1928.

⁵ Balasa Mountain is called Pandi Palang ("sunshine mountain") by the Piya and Tali Misa by the Kulung (MS Andrew Haruna).

but they do not come out any more. The Piya founded a settlement, called Gereng, on the foothill of Balasa Mountain. It is said that the *dodo* cult was brought to the Piya, Kode, Kwonci and Pero by the Jukun of Gwana, but this view is not shared by all Piya.

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*; 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 *core eku*: it is first performed by the Piya, second by the Kulung and third by the Kwonci. Yet another celebration is *naka* which is started by the Pero, then by the Piya, then the Kwonci and at last by the Kode. The chronological order of the celebrations is determined by the historical order of settlement of these areas: since most of the Piya groups came from the north-east, the celebrations of crucial annual festivities also must start there.

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.

Table 1: Piya names for neighbouring ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Piya
Burak	Bùùrák
Gomu	Paw
Jarawa	ǎàyàrí
Jukun	Kwana
Karimjo	Bíbínà
Kode	Tárá
Kulung	Kulung
Kushi	Góji
Kwonci	Púlán
Leemak	Paw
Loo	Cóngò
Munga Leelau	Dúlùm
Nyam	Nyam
Pero	Gwándùm
Tangale	Tùngálè

History

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

In general, the Piya claim to have come from the Lake Chad region together with the Bolewa, Tangale and Kulung-Balasa, having first settled on Andeng Mountain, before moving from there

to other mountains, such as Kakala, Angule, Kunshenu or Tondolo, from where again they further spread to the surrounding areas at a later point in time. The town of Mutum Daya is said to have been founded by a Piya hunter from Kakala; on his arrival, he found the Kwonci already settled at Mount Arkwatong and the Kulung at Bambur. The Piya migrated from their mountain abodes into the surrounding plains since the colonial era. This down-hill migration was stimulated by several factors: it was easier to cultivate land in the plains and larger fields could be laid out, access to drinking water was better and the transport of goods to the trading places at Lau, Usmanu and Gorowa (near Didango), where companies such as the United African Company and John Holt were located, was less demanding.

As an example of this mobility, the information provided by a Piya informant aged about 80 years from the Kendimo clan is recounted here:

the Kendimo clan lived at Mt. Andeng, together with the Cengera, Caxaram, Maana and Dangara clans. Before he was born, a part of the Kendimo migrated to Tangge, a mountain near Kakala, another part moved elsewhere. They left Tangge for Kakala Dutse when he was a child because of an outbreak of smallpox. At Tangge they had met the Anarxbandi and Pijilang clans, the latter went north with them to Kakala. At Kakala, they met the Pigulum-Xoolo, Pindele, Pinabooro and Puxaxo-Beci clans. He married four wives at Kakala. There are still Kendimo people to be found at Tangge today, but no one lives on Mt. Andeng any more. From Kakala they moved to Pitiko Barguma, because the farms became exhausted. At Pitiko they met the Cengera, Pigulum-Bàlcókò, Congu and Dangara clans. From Pitiko, a part of his clan went west to Gangang, another part to Daaja, and still another part to Mutum Daya. At Andeng, the chief *dodo* was from the Caxaram clan, but at Tangge, the Kendimo's was the chief *dodo*. At Kakala they had to accept the *dodo* of the Puxaxo, and at Pitiko they had to accept the *dodo* of the Congu. At Mutum Daya, the chief *dodo* is in the possession of the Banyeri clan of the Kwonci.

And another example is provided by an informant aged about 40 years from the Windali clan:

originally, the Windali lived on Kakala Mountain near Gundale. From here they moved to Pìtìkò Gèró, which is named after Gero, the chief of that place. The informant's parents were living on Mt. Kakala, where there was also their principal ritual site. The informant himself was born at Pitiko Gero, where the current ritual site of his clan is located. There are still some Windali living at Pitiko Gero now, but most of them moved to Wuro Lacca, on the road to Didango. Further, there are Windali living at Ruwan Fulani and at Bangai. The informant himself moved from Pitiko Gero to Ruwan Fulani, then on to Mutum Daya. Other clans that were living at Pitiko were the Junjum, Dangara, Puger, Peribi and the Congu; these also spread out from here.

Most of the Piya clans consider Mount Andeng, close to Mount Yuru, near Filiya, where the Pero settled, as their centre of origin from where they dispersed, mainly in a south-westerly direction, and settled on the hills along the western chain of the Muri Mountains. The Gaaruma are said to originate from Lokuma Mountain.

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."⁶

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).

Andrew Haruna in his MS relates the following information on the major centres of settlement of the Piya:

Mt. Andeng: here lived the clans Ampoxoram, Caxaram, Cengera, Cengera-Andeng, Cengera-Dullum, Cengera-Batomo, Dangara, Kendimo, Maana, Peribi, Peribi-Tara, Peribi-Andeng, Peyina, Pigulum, Pijilang, Piwini, Windali, Windali-Anpokara, Windali-Ambogboxoje, Windali-Pigdigo, Windali-Piyanggang and Junjum. There was a locust plague called *kucamcobo* causing famine. The people of Andeng traded salt with the Pero and received guinea corn in exchange. In the colonial era people moved from Mt. Andeng to the settlements of Dwaja, Gbere, Amkhergu, Pitiko, Pokburu, Gwaten, Ture Chankha, Gundali (Windali in Piya), Damchikri and Donron/Toro.

Mt. Tondolo (also called Bacama today, located to the west of Mt. Andeng) was inhabited by the clans Anarxbandi, Bangla, Beci, Caxaram, Canga, Cengera, Congu, Kendimo, Korot, Kuluma, Maana, Peeco, Pigulum-Koolo, Pijilang, Pijilang-Kulung, Pilikai, Pimana, Pinabooro, Piwini, Piyari, Pugeru, Pugeru-Pokpandi, Pugtu, Pugula and Puxaaxo. The area includes Mt. Korot and extends up to Senge Mountain. The Piya living here are called Kulu. Close by were the Jukun, living on Pandi Kwana.

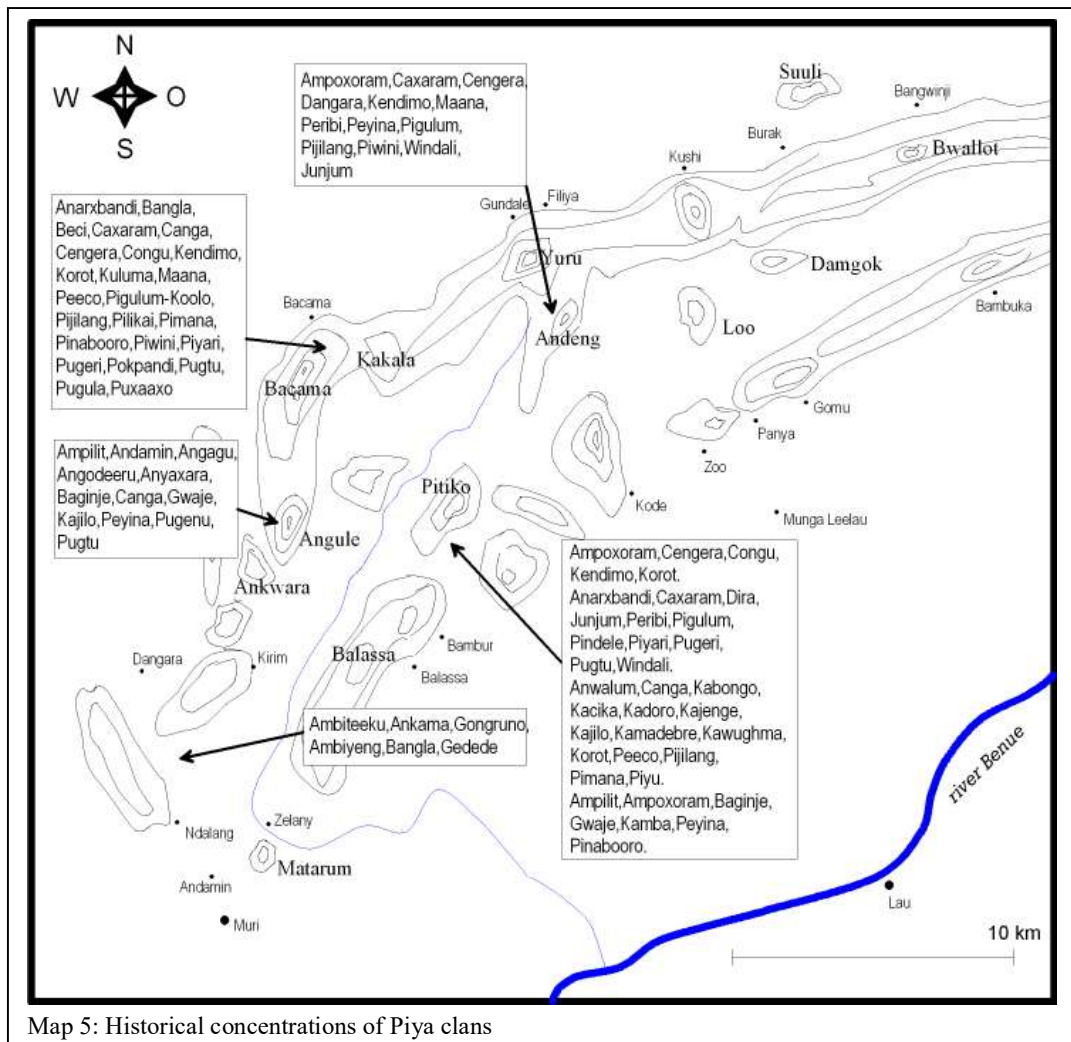
Mt. Angule⁷ (the name means "people on the high mountain") was inhabited by the clans Ampilit, Andamin, Andamin-Yaule, Angagu, Angodeeru, Anyaxara, Baginje, Canga, Gwaje, Gwaje-Anyamso, Kajilo, Peyina, Peyina-Nyam, Pugenu and Pugtu. A hill nearby is **Ankwara** where the following clans lived: the Ampoxsoso, Angagu, Kuluma-Lele and Pijilang. Another small hill is **Anpadingo**, here the Gwaje and Pugeru clans were settled.

The Anyaxara were the first clan to settle at Mt. Angule, and they provide the chief priests; the Pugenu are the rainmakers, they announce the occasion when the preparation of the farms for the new season can start (*podopok*) and pray for rain should the precipitation not be sufficient during the agricultural season. The Piya living in that area are called Wallo.

⁶ NAK Ministry for Local Government – 4377/1912, Muri Province: Wurkum Pagan District, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton. See also Fremantle 1972: 27.

⁷ See also McBride's notes on Angule and Ankwara, the latter he calls Angbara (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): p. 12-13).

On Angule Mountain there is a place for swearing oaths, as well as a haunted place with salt called Kangshiri (MS Bitrus Dan Jos 1990-92).



Map 5: Historical concentrations of Piya clans

Pirego/Pirago (Pitiko in Hausa) is a hilly plateau about 15 miles south of Mt. Tondolo, subdivided into the divisions Pitiko Buro, Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Duna and Pitiko Hakuri, according to the first chiefs who ruled the localities. The area was settled by clans coming from Andeng or Tondolo.

Pitiko Buro: here lived the clans Ampoxoram, Cengera, Congu, Kendimo and Korot.

Pitiko Barguma: here lived the clans Anarxbandi, Caxaram, Cengera, Congu, Dira, Junjum, Kendimo, Peribi, Pigulum, Pigulum-Bakila, Pindele, Piyari, Puger, Pugtu and Windali.

Pitiko Duna: here lived the clans Anwalum, Canga, Kabongo, Kacika, Kadoro, Kajenge, Kajilo, Kamadebre, Kawughma, Korot, Peeco, Pijilang, Pimana, Piyu, Puger and Pugtu.

Pitiko Hakuri: here lived the clans Ampilit, Ampoxoram, Baginje, Gwaje, Kamba, Peeco, Peyina, Pijilang, Pijilang-Kawule, Pinabooro and Puger.

The Peelang, coming from Mt. Peelang in the Pero area, were the first to have settled on **Mt. Kunshenu** (about 10 km SW of Kirim). They are said to have moved invisibly underground to Kunshenu where the earth opened and they went out; the hole where they emerged is still

there. The Nyambulo, speaking a different language, arrived later and were allowed to settle at Andamin. Clans living at Mt. Kunshenu were the Anpitemku, Ankama, Gongruno and Ambiyeng (from the Jarawa). The Bangla, Gedede, Ambiteeku-Anpolpol, Ambiteeku-Anluka and Ambiteeku-Ambiwele clans were living on the nearby hill **Pandi Bangla**. The Bangla hill dwellers are called Gaaruma; they have the same language and customs with the Peelang. The Bangla governed the saltings at Gwalak. The Ambiyeng are the rainmakers in that area: when there is no rain, they go on the mountain and pray for rain.

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

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

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.

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 Wurkun Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone;

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

- Report by Col. Sergeant C. Bailey 15th June 1909,
- Report on Wurkun 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, Wurkun Patrol 1909.

NAK Yola Prof Acc. 15, Misc. Papers re Wurkun and Muri 1912: Gwomu District Wurkun 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 Kwonchi 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 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 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 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 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.

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 Wurkum 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 Wurkum 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

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).

Social structure

The Piya comprise several regional sections, the Kulu, the Wallo, the Piraago and the Pee-lang/Gaaruma, each having their own dialect of the Piya language. The sections again consist of a number of named, patrilineal descent units or clans (*pidimínà* or *pidibéré*). Many of these clans are found in two or more sections, suggesting a dynamic history of dispersal. Sections and clans operate at different levels: while a section is a sub-division based on territoriality, clans are social units based on descent.

Clans

Historically, one or several clans lived together, usually on a mountain, from where their members spread into other areas. This process was accelerated by the down-hill migration occurring since the colonial era and had the effect that clans are distributed over several sections. A clan was also a ritual unit with its own idols (*kindima*, or *dodo* in Hausa), ritual experts and its own ritual sites. Co-residential clans could share ritual practices. There were/are marriage preferences between clans, based on historical ties between them, for instance between the Korot and Pindele clans.

The clans or major lineages are often subdivided into smaller units or lineages, (sometimes qualified by the word *yamina* meaning “in the house”). The lineages are strictly exogamous units.

If there are variants of clan names, these are due to variations given by informants.

Table 2: Piya clans

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Ambiteeku/ Anpiteku		Peelang, Gaaruma		
Ambiteeku/ Anpiteku	-Ambiwele	Peelang, Gaaruma		
Ambiteeku/ Anpiteku	-Anluka	Peelang, Gaaruma		
Ambiteeku/ Anpiteku	-Anpolpol	Peelang, Gaaruma		
Ambiyeng		Peelang	Jarawa	are the rain-priests at Mt. Kunshenu. Did not know death. Related to the Nyirgang clan of the Nyam people.
Amburi		Peelang		
Amduget/ Anduget		Peelang		
Ampilit		Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Angule	Have joking relationship with Pijilang
Ampoxoram		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Buro & Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Ya Gallen Bette near Filiya	their <i>kindima</i> is called Middo. They announce <i>kewu</i> festival for the Pireego.
Ampoxososo		Wallo	Mt. Angule	can also be found on Mt. Ankwara
Anarxbandi		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Andeng	their <i>kindima</i> is called Gbanja. Have close relation with Puxaaxo. Tree <i>jinin kafiri</i> (H.) is taboo for them.
Anbadingo		Kulu		

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Andamin		Wallo	Mt. Angule	
Andamin	-(yamena) Yaule	Wallo		
Andugari/ Andugeegu		Gaaruma		
Andugir		Peelang/ Kunshenu		Kunshenu are from Gwandum, went to Tondolo and Angule. Have idols Teba and Kodo
Andugir	-(yamena) Adi	Peelang/ Kunshenu		
Andugir	-(yamena) Duka	Peelang/ Kunshenu		
Andugir	-(yamena) Kyau/ Cau	Peelang/ Kunshenu		
Angoshenu		Peelang/ Kunshenu		
Angagu / Angegu		Kulu, Wallo	Mt. Angule	live also at Mt. Ankwara. Have joking relationship with Anyaxara
Angodeeru		Wallo		have joking relationship with Kamadebre
Angosono/ Gongruno		Peelang		
Ankama		Peelang		
Anwalu/ Anwalum		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Anyali		Gaaruma		
Anyaxara		Wallo	Mt. Angule	were the first clan on Mt. Angule, are chief priests there, their <i>kindima</i> is called Khaakhaa, is very powerful. Have joking relationship with Piyari and Angegu.
Anyaxara	-(yamena) Nyam	Wallo		were captives of war from intertribal fightings with the Nyam
Anyaxara	-(yamena) Gude	Wallo		
Baginje		Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Angule	have joking relationship with Kadoro
Baginje	-Anpolpol	Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)		
Baginje	-Munding	Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)		
Bakela/Bakila		Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)		
Banggala		Wallo, Kulu		
Bangla		Gaaruma, Kulu		Bangla were rulers of the saltings at Gwalak
Beci		Kulu	Mt. Goti east of Pitiko Barguma	clan did not know death Their <i>kindima</i> is called Dakka. Taboo for them is the animal <i>safale</i> (H.).
Canga		Wallo, Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)		water monitor lizard (<i>guza</i> H.) is taboo for the clan
Caxaram		Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)		are the chiefs of <i>peebe</i> annual festival. Have joking relationship with Cengera. Caxaram and Pindele, were chiefs of <i>kindima</i> called Ambuka on Mt. Tondolo. Announce <i>koro</i> festival for the Kulu
Caxaram	-Langweene	Kulu		

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Caxaram	-Yangoono	Kulu	Mt. Tondolo	
Cengera		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Buro)		have <i>kindima</i> called Gang. <i>Wunan</i> (spitting cobra) and tree <i>bele</i> are taboo for them. Have joking relationship with the Caxaram. Were blacksmiths at Mt. Andeng
Cengera	-Andeng	Pireego	Mt. Andeng	
Cengera	-Anyaburo	Pireego		name means "they went into the bush" (buro=tree)
Cengera	-Anyagawo	Pireego		
Cengera	-Batomo	Pireego	Kode	
Cengera	-Dirum	Pireego (Pitiko Buro)		
Cengera	-Dullum	Pireego (Pitiko Buro), Adeng	Mt. Andeng	
Cengera	-Maxabi	Pireego		live at Bacama
Congu		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Buro)	Mt. Andeng	are especially close with the Piribi. The Congu may not wear a red cap for they worship rain and are responsible for rain cult and control thunder (<i>nâni</i>) that protects the clan. Taboo for them are the snakes <i>wunan</i> (cobra) and <i>kureeru</i> (cobra), the bird <i>nankaka</i> (H.) and the shea tree. Announce <i>koro</i> festival for the Pireego
Congu	-Ampure	Kulu, Pireego		
Congu	-Angedede	Kulu, Pireego	Mt. Pirago	
Congu	-Kalagaxu/ Ankalagagu	Pireego		<i>kala gaxu</i> =groundnut
Congu	-Welle	Pireego	Mt. Woye, west of Pitiko-Dukoli	
Dangara		Kulu	Mt. Andeng	
Dira		Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Pitiko	
Gedede/ Jedede/ Amgedede		Gaaruma	Mt. Korot	
Gwaje/ Kwaage		Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Angule	also at Mt. Anpadingo
Gwaje/ Kwaage	-Anyamso/ Anyaniso	Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)		
Junjum		Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Pitiko-Dukoli	
Kabongo		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Kacika		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Kadoro		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	have joking relationship with Baginje
Kajenge		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Kajilo		Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Kamadebre		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	have joking relationship with Angodeeru

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Kamba/ Xamba		Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Kwaku Ya Gallen Bette in the eastern part of Pitiko Duna, Mt. Pitiko	their <i>kindima</i> is called Gaffara. Announce <i>core eku</i> celebration for the Pireego
Kawughma		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Kendimo		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Buro)	Mt. Panji, then Mt. Andeng	on Mt. Andeng they dwelled with the Cengera, Caxaram, Maana & Dangara. Did not know death
Kendimo	-Jengeli	Pireego		do not exist anymore
Korot		Pireego (Pitiko Buro, Pitiko Duna), Kulu	Mt. Korot	Mt. Korot is near Senge, here is their ritual site which they share with Pindele and Pijilang-Pimaaro. Have the idols <i>yétiyéti</i> and <i>yóxóri</i> . Special relation and intermarriage with Pijilang and Pigulum. Baboons are taboo for them.
Kuluma		Wallo, Kulu	Mt. Angule	<i>dingum</i> (small rat-like animal) is taboo for them
Kuluma	-Andamin	Wallo, Kulu		
Kuluma	-Angoderu	Wallo, Kulu		
Kuluma	-Gatu	Wallo, Kulu	Mt. Ankwara	
Kuluma	-Jemba	Wallo, Kulu		
Kuluma	-Lele	Wallo		also at Mt. Ankwara
Kyanga		Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Leele		Kulu		
Maana		Kulu	Mt. Andeng	
Peeco		Wallo, Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Duna, Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Kakala	their <i>kindima</i> are called Anbokko (male) and Arum (female). There are also Peeco among the Kulung-Balasa.
Peribi/ Piribi	-Andeng	Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Andeng	founder came from Kushi originally. Have joking relationship with Windali
Peribi/ Piribi	-Tara	Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	some are from Kode	are a mix of Piya from Andeng and Kode
Peyina		Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)		
Peyina	-Nyam	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		were captives of war from intertribal fighting with the Nyam
Pigaanu/ Pugeenu		Kulu, Wallo	Mt. Andeng	lived with Piribi, Maana, Anarxbandi and Congu. <i>kindima</i> is called Dugga. Are close to Piribi
Pigulum		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Kakala/Mt. Ya Kwendi	
Pigulum	-Andeng	Kulu, Pireego		
Pigulum	-Bakila	Kulu, Pireego		
Pigulum	-Coko/ Balcoko	Kulu, Pireego		
Pigulum	-Koolo/Xoolo	Kulu, Pireego	Mt. Tondolo	

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Pigulum	-Kulung /Kulum	Kulu, Pireego		
Pigulum	-Langrang	Kulu, Pireego		
Pijilang		Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Wallo-Kalei, Mt. Angule or Kode	live also at Mt. Ankwara. Their <i>kindima</i> is called Gettum. Taboo for them is <i>mece</i> (locust tree). Have joking relationship with Ampilit
Pijilang	-Andeng	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Anyali	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Balsuma	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Pijilang	-Gugna	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Jedede	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Pijilang	-Kallabe	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		they went to the Kulung
Pijilang	-Kategnum	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Kawole/ Kawule	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna, Pitiko Hakuri)	Mt. Pitiko	
Pijilang	-Kayamsai	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Pijilang	-Koxoro/ Korkro	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Kulung/ Kulum	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)		
Pijilang	-Pila	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Pimaaro	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Tebgallang	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pijilang	-Yapililu	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pilikai		Kulu	Mt. Tondolo	
Pimana		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Tondolo, Duna hill	are chief <i>kindima</i> priests of Pitiko Duna, their <i>kindima</i> is called Kalpatta
Pimana	-Anbalogwam	Kulu, Pireego		
Pimana	-Cexe	Kulu, Pireego		
Pinabooro		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Hakuri)	Jibu/Zebu on river Benue (=Kona)	Jibu are the Jukun of Kona
Pindele		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Kakala, Mt. Pirago, Mt. Ya Kwbendi near Kakala	lived with Kendimo, Cengera, Anarxpandi, Maana and Pigulum; according to another source they lived with Congu and Piribi at Mt. Pirago. <i>kindima</i> is called Boda-Bacama. Caxaram and Pindele were chief priests of <i>kindima</i> cult on Tondolo
Pindele	-Dimbira	Kulu		now live at Filiya

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Pindele	-Kalaguli	Kulu		
Pindele	-Pina/Peyina	Kulu		
Pirimbo		?		
Piwini, Piweeni		Kulu, Andeng	Mt. Andeng	
Piyari		Kulu, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Tondolo	have joking relationship with Anyaxara. With the Puxaaxo they announce <i>naka</i> and <i>kewu</i> celebrations for the Kulu
Piyu		Pireego (Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Pitiko	
Pugenu, Pekenu		Kulu, Wallo	Mt. Andeng	are close with the Piribi. Taboo for them are the trees false locust, tamarind, mahogany and <i>jinin kafiri</i> (H., ? wild plum tree?). Are the rainmakers at Mt. Angule, their <i>kindima</i> is called Dugga and very powerful, killing anyone swearing falsely with a thunderstorm
Pugeri		Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Duna, Pitiko Hakuri)		also at Mt. Anpadingo where they are chief priests. A leaf called <i>alan belle</i> is taboo for them
Pugeri	-Ballaasum	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pugeri	-Gakili	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pugeri	-Pokpandi	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego	Mt. Tondolo	
Pugeri	-Zugudu	Kulu, Wallo, Pireego		
Pugtu, Puktu		Kulu, Wallo, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma, Pitiko Duna)	Mt. Gwandum	their <i>kindima</i> is called Dossol, which they share with the Ampoxoram and Peeco, with the latter they have a close relationship. Taboo for them are the trees <i>debe</i> (black plum), <i>paxa</i> (?) and <i>pajal</i> (?)
Pugtu	-Ballasum	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Filiyang	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Gakli	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Kangadero	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Kimakwalli	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Kwalla Anyau	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugtu	-Pugundu	Kulu, Pireego		
Pugula		Kulu	Mt. Tondolo	
Puxaaxo/ Pughagho		Kulu	Mt. Gwandum, or Mt. Kakala near Tondolo	did not know death. Some went to the Loo, some to the Tangale at Kashere. Lived together with the Kendimo. Have tutelary spirit Kuppan. With the Piyari they announce <i>naka</i> & <i>kewu</i> celebrations for the Kulu
Windali		Kulu, Andeng, Pireego (Pitiko Barguma)	Mt. Kakala	Amaruwa and Gaki were their ancestors, their <i>kindima</i> is called Khakha. Some Windali went to the Kode and established a clan there. Their protective spirit is <i>wâaminâ</i> , embodied in a wooden stool. Have joking relationship with Peribi

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Windali	-Andeng	Kulu		
Windali	-Benzum	Kulu		
Windali	-Bogboxoje/ Ambogboxoje	Kulu		
Windali	-Peyina	Kulu		from Mt. Kakala near Gundale
Windali	-Pigdigo	Kulu		
Windali	-Piyangang	Kulu		
Windali	-Pokara/ Anpokara/ Anfukara	Kulu		

In the following paragraphs, I present further information on various clans culled from the collection of clan histories by Bitrus Dan Jos (MS 1990-92).

The **Ampoxoram** are from the mountain Ya Gallan Bell located at Filiya near the house of the Mission. Here they lived together with the Pindele, Pugtu and the Pilami, a Pero clan. They first moved to Gyeren Ballasa, then later to Pitiko Duna. From here some went to a place called Kwaku Ya Gallan Bette between Pitiko Duna and Pitiko Hakuri. They have their own *kindima* called Middo, which may be the name of the man who had brought the idol to the clan. Their *kindima* is located at Gyeren; the priests were 1. Middo, 2. Bobegodo, 3. Zonge and 4. another Middo. The clan is known as mediators: they can settle any conflict between other clans, as well as with other ethnic groups. There was a fight with the Pero of Gwandum because these had stolen their drums used for the *kewu* festival. At Yayeyemba, near Andeng, there is a water source where only the Ampoxoram can fetch water; nobody else is able to see the water. Later the clan scattered to various places such as Dwaja, Mutum Biyu, Majidadi, Yaboro, Zailani and Mutum Daya.

The **Anarxbandi** are from Mt. Andeng where they lived with the Caxaram, Cengera, Congu, Dangara, Maana, Pigulum, Pijilang, Peribi and Puganu and intermarried with them. Their *kindima* is called Gbanja; the priests were Ombo, Dobo and others; the present one is Auta Malya. The Anarxbandi worship together with the Puxaaxo, although each clan has its own idol. They do not offer dogs as sacrifice to their *dodo*, and they do not use the tree *jinin kafiri* (H.) because the idols *kundul* are carved from its wood. The clan may be found at Tudu, Gundale, Dutsen Gwana, Ameshe, Maguzawa, Berum and Gwaten.

The **Beci** are from the mountain Goti east of Pitiko Barguma, where they lived with the Conge, Kendimo and Pigulum and they intermarried. The Beci did not know death and were not dying; but because they were eager also to celebrate funerary rites with beer drinking, they killed a dog and buried it. Their *kindima* is called Dakka, and when the idol saw that they were celebrating the funeral of a dead dog, he promised that from now on they would know death and they started dying. This led to their dispersal to Dwaja, Pitiko, Yako, Tudu, Karim Lamido, Mutum Daya, etc. Their *kindima* priests were 1. Lumbo, 2. Baru, 3. Manu and, presently, 4. Bunu.

The **Cengera** come from Mt. Andeng where they lived with the Kendimo, Dangara, Peribi and Anarxbandi. Their *kindima* idol is called Gang; it is invisible and only its voice can be heard.

They were exogamous. The tree *bele* is taboo for them, whoever uses it will suffer from a lack of food. Their totem is the cobra (*kureeru*, in Hausa *zakar ruwa*); that snake may not be killed because it protects the Cengera. The clan will mourn the death of that snake as if it was a clan brother. The Cengera used to perform their annual *kindima*-related celebrations such as *naka*, *core eku* or *kewu* at Mt Andeng. An offshoot of the Cengera are the Batomo of the Kode.

The founder of the **Congu** (the name means "sorghum grain still attached to its stalk" (*zambar dawa* H.)), was Mukhanh from the east who dwelled at Mt. Andeng and was a traditional healer. He married a girl from the Baguli clan, who was given to him by her father for a successful treatment. The Congu moved from Andeng to Pitiko Waye and Pitiko Barguma. They lived with the Puganu, Piribi, Pimaaro, Cengera, Junjum, Windali, Maana and Dangara clans, but they are especially close to the Piribi. Their totems are the tree *namijin* (shea tree), the snakes *wunan* (cobra sp.) and *kureeru* (cobra sp.) and the bird *nankaka* (H.). Their *kindima* is considered to be very powerful.

The **Kamba** are from the mountain Kwaku Ya Gallen Bette, in the eastern part of Pitiko Duna, where they dwelled with the Ampoxoram, Beci, Congu, Peeco and Pijilang and intermarried. Their *dodo* was procured by a man named Gaffara; he found two *dodos* inside a heap of clay in the bush where they were making sounds and he named them Gaffara. Their priests were 1. Agbon, 2. Ardo, 3. Maigandi, 4. Wakili and 5. Malle Dogon Yali. The clan can be found at Kasher, Digare, Dogon Yali, Garba Shede, Dela, Galle and Hakuri.

The **Kendimo** are from Panji hill, and when they were living there, members of the clan did not die, but old people went into a cave in the mountain where they turned into a new being and came out as a young person. They lived together with the Beci, Gwaje and Puxaaxo clans. Because they also wanted to drink beer during funeral rites, they killed an animal, dressed it like a human being and buried it, celebrating a funeral; after this incident they started dying. That is the reason why they left Panji hill and went to Mt. Andeng. The elders Amai, Middam, Dakko and Jarumai went to Mt. Kokro, while Dakka, Gemba and Tanje went to Mt. Andeng. The Kendimo's *dodo* is simply called *kindima*, it is invisible and only its voice can be heard. The Kendimo preferably intermarry with those clans they stayed with at Panji, i.e. the Gwaje, Beci and Puxaaxo. The clan further dispersed to the settlements of Pokburu, Gangang, Mutum Daya, Toro, Kwanbura Mutum and Maguzawa.

The **Peeco** are from Mt. Kakala where they lived with the Ampoxoram, Congu and Pugtu clans and intermarried. They left this location due to an outbreak of the disease *agana* (H., smallpox). Some of them went to Kirim, Filiya, Bwallang and Dongoro. Their *kindima* are called Anbokko (male) and Arum (his wife), they are worshipped four times a year. Their priests were 1. Nonge, 2. Yaute, 3. Jatau and 4. Auta. Because it was too dangerous for the scattered lineages to come back to Mt. Kakala to perform their worshipping due to attacks by highway robbers, the

elders gave some lineages their own idol which is at Dongoro. The Peeco can be found at Karim Lamido LGA, Jalingo LGA and Tangale-Waja LGA.

The **Peribi** were founded by a man from Goshi [Kushi] who went through Gwandum to a mountain called Yayemba, near Mt. Andeng, where he was met by people from Andeng, i.e. the Caxaram, Cengera, Congu, Dangara, Kendimo and Windali clans. Due to constant attacks, they dispersed from Mt. Andeng; some descendants then moved to Kode hill, some to Pitiko and Garko.

The **Pigulum** are from a mountain called Ya Kwbandi, (meaning “mountain with a lot of baobab trees”), where they stayed with the Beci, Cengera, Congu and Pinaaboro clans. The Pigulum are subdivided into the Coko, Koolo, Bakila and Kulum; the divisions were made in order to be able to marry in compliance with the rule of exogamy – allowing intermarriage between the lineage groups. Their *kindima* was looked after by a priest named Kuffuna. The clan later dispersed to Mutum Daya, Dwaja, etc.

The **Pijilang** are from Mt. Wallo-Kalei alongside Saladuna, some went to Mt. Kokro. They are subdivided into several lineages; the subdivisions developed because of the transfer of settlements and in order to be able to marry in compliance with the rule of exogamy. The Pijilang lived together with the Ampoxoram, Kamba, Korot and Pugeru clans and intermarried with them. Their *kindima* is called Gettum and the person who had introduced it was a man called Pijilang. The priests were 1. Kwakila, 2. Zagga, 3. Jatau and 4. Mele. The Pijilang once had an argument with the Banginje clan about which of them was braver; a Pijilang man called Kwakila won the argument by bringing salt out of a stream and he placed it near Saladuna, where it is still found today, and used as soon as one is allowed after the *kewu* celebration has taken place. This Kwakila went into a cave at Kwaku and a baobab germinated there, that is still alive today, and it is believed that Kwakila lives inside the tree. The Pijilang do not tamper with the locust tree (*doorawa* in H.) for they carve their *kundul* from its wood. The clan is found at Saladuna, Dogon Yali and Mutum Daya.

The ancestor of the **Pinabooro** was a man called Pinabooro from Zebu/Jibu (=Kona) on the banks of the Benue. He first went to Piraago and later moved to Kakala Mountain, where the clan lived with the Cengera-Anyagawo, Caxaram-Langweene and Maana clans and intermarried with them. They have their own *dodo*, of which the priests were 1. Awai, 2. Gewele, 3. Bakka, 4. Maina, 5. Mallam and 6. Adama. Once, the prominent warrior, Karbal of the Tangale, killed a man from Pinabooro, but his fellow clansman, named Bakka, was able to overwhelm and kill Karbal. The Pinabooro left Mt. Kakkala due to diseases that plagued them and most of them went to Bacama, Mutum Daya and Jalingo.

The **Pindele** are from the mountain Ya Kwbandi, (“mountain with a lot of baobab trees”), near Mt. Kakala, where they lived with the Anarxbandi, Cengera, Kendimo, Maana and Pigulum clans and they intermarried. Their *kindima* is called Boda-Bacama, after an ancestor who died many years ago. The priests were 1. Ambol, 2. Buuno, 3. Kuushe, 4. Maigari, 5. Jauro, 6. Gere,

7. Boi who is presently the priest. In the course of time, they spread over the area of Kakala and Bacama. The Pindele are found at Ameshe, Majidadi, Mutum Daya, etc.

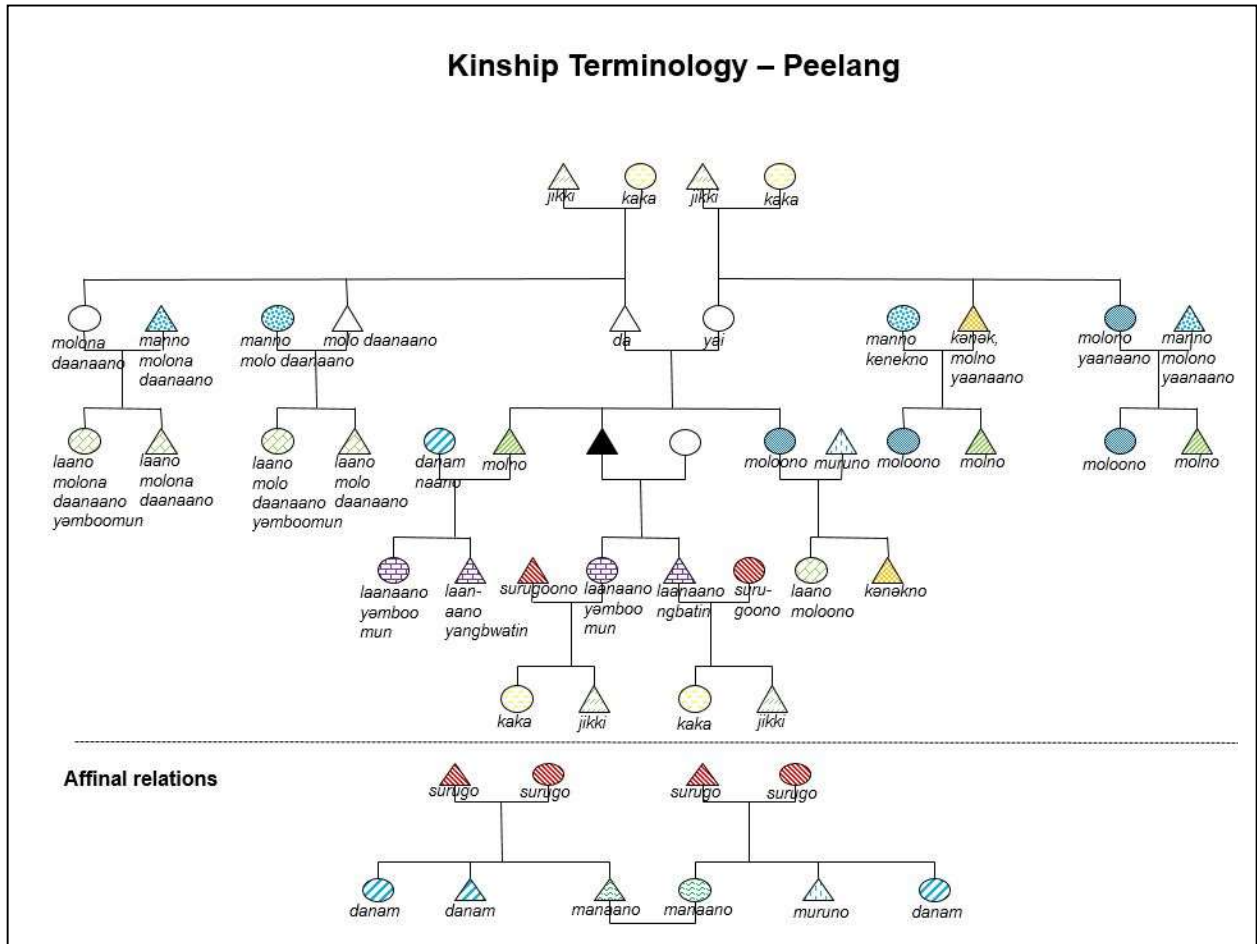
The **Pugenu** are from Mt. Andeng near Kakala where they lived with the Anarxbandi, Congu, Maana and Peribi clans and intermarried. Their *kindima* is called Dugga and they worship together with the Peribi, with whom they are very close. The Peribi clan also invites the Pugenu when they perform their worship. The *kindima* priests were Lombe, Kuppuna and Dogari among others; presently there is no priest. They do not use the trees false locust, tamarind, mahogany and *jinin kafiri* (H.) because they carve their *kundul* (*gunki*, H.) from their wood. The Pugenu are to be found at Mutum Daya, Dogon Yali, Tudu and Bekle Yamma.

The **Pugtu** are from Mt. Gwandum, where they lived together with the Pero clans Degam and Gware clans and they intermarried. Their *kindima*, which ensures a rich harvest, is called Dossol ("satisfaction"). The *kindima* is worshipped on specific occasions during the year and whenever an *amora* plant (H., Polynesian arrowroot) is removed. The *kindima* priests were Zwalla, Padde, Galadima and others. The Pugtu do not use the trees *debe* (*dinyaa* H., black plum tree), *paxa* (?) and *pajal* (?) for they carve their *kundul* from their wood. If someone still uses these trees for other purposes, he will fall ill or his crop will be poor. The Pugtu can be found at Tudu, Dogon Yali, Dongoro, Mutum Daya, Gassol, Dinya, Shagarda, Sunkani and Zailani.

The **Windali** are now divided into the Anfukara, Ambogboxoje, Peyina, Pigdigo and Piyangang. Their *kindima* is called Khakha. Some clan members felt the regulations coming from Khakha too strict to adhere to, so they separated into sub-divisions. These regulations were: 1. new harvest may not be consumed before it is first taken to *kindima* in November, 2. a farm may not be prepared/weeded (*lamba*) before it is allowed by *kindima*, 3. if weeding is done without consent, one may not eat from the food before it has been offered to *kindima*, 4. they may not erect a sign (*deng*) on their farms to prevent people from taking away farm produce. Their *kindima* protects clan members from illness and plagues and guards their property. On their mountain are two magic spears *barang* and *lope*.

The **Puxaaxo** are from Kakala near Tondolo. They did not know death, and, because they envied the others for celebrating funerary rites with drinking beer, they killed a dog and buried it like a human, and from that time they started to die. The clan has a tutelary spirit (*waamina*) called Kuppan, that will punish any wrong-doings against the clan members. There exist joking relationships (*ankolo*) between clans, meaning that members of these clans may abuse and mock each other without incurring anger. For instance, the Peribi and the Windali were *ankolo*, as were the Cengera and the Caxaram, the Piyari and the Anyaxara, the Anyaxara and the Angegu, the Kadoro and the Baginje, the Angodeeru and the Kamadebre, the Ampilit and the Pijilang. (MS Andrew Haruna).

The kinship terminology discussed above was recorded from informants from Mutum Daya, i.e. speakers of the Pireego or Wallo dialects. Below I present the kinship terminology of the Peelang section which not only shows terminological differences, but also some structural ones (for instance the terms for affinal relatives), providing further evidence of considerable cultural variation between the regional sections of the Piya. In the first ascending generation it fits a bifurcate collateral system.

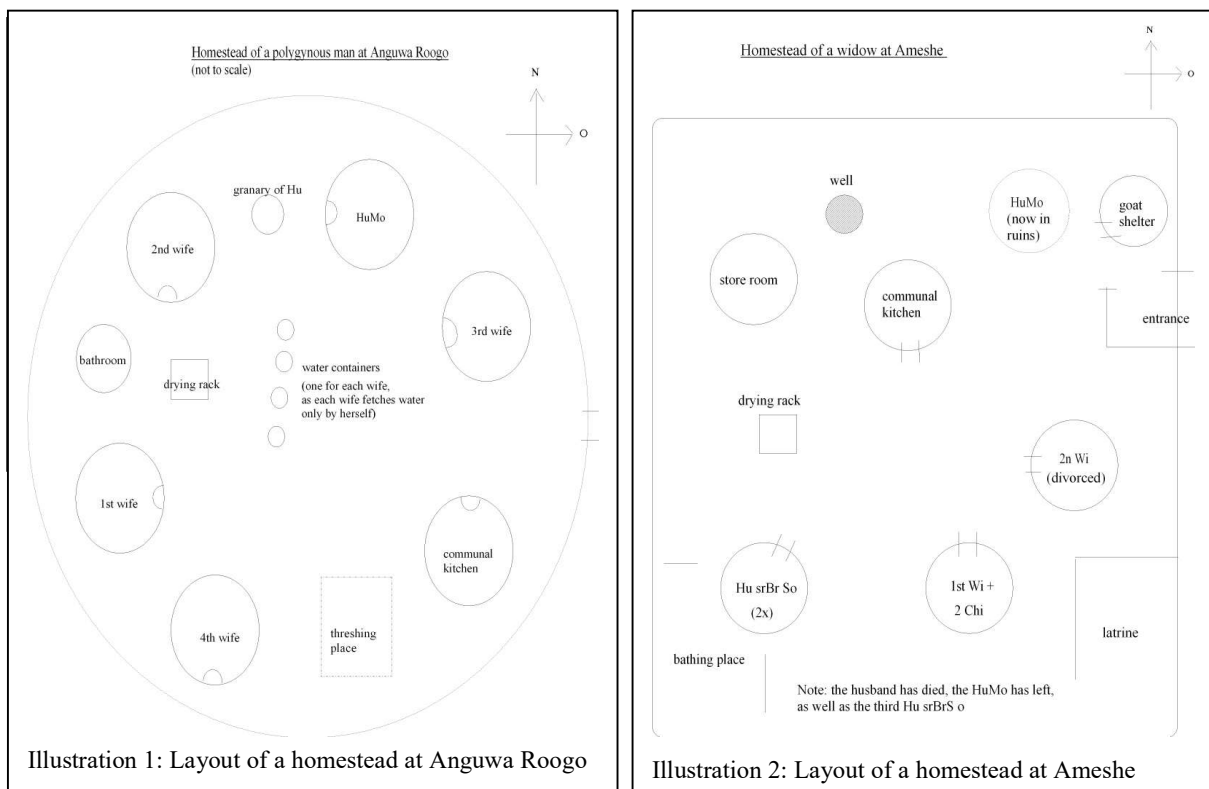


Family

A core family consists of a man with his wives and children. In Piya language, family is *ànyà mínà* (corresponding with *iyali* in Hausa), *lèenyá mínànò* are relatives residing in a homestead, *cígbà* are descendants. In a polygynous household, each wife will cook in turn for all members of the household, i.e. the task is rotating among the wives.

In the compound, there is one communal kitchen that is used jointly. 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. That period may last from 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 will allocate farm plots to his wives. The harvest is brought back from the farms of the family by the women and put into the granary by the husband.

Usually, the first wife collects the provisions for the family meal from the granary of the



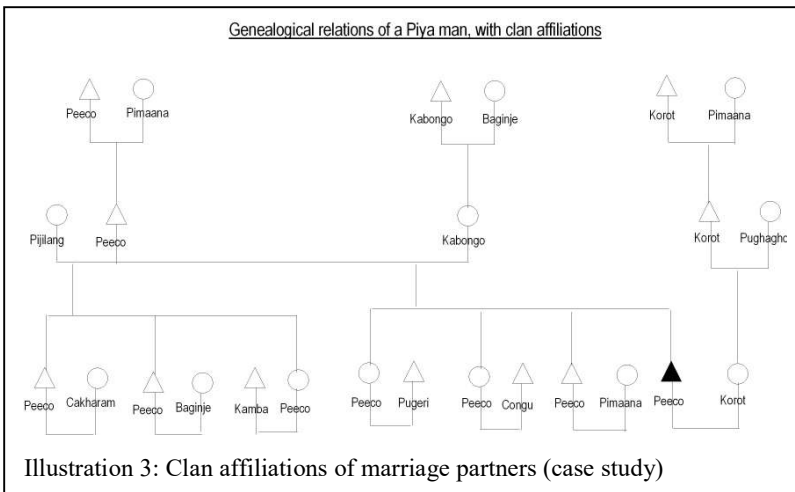
husband. If she is ill, the second wife takes over this task. The staple foods such as guinea corn, millet, rice or maize are provided from the granary of the husband, but sauce ingredients and salt are provided by the wives. An exception is sauce ingredients used for ritual offerings: these are provided by the husband. Therefore, the women usually cultivate cowpeas, sesame, peanuts and vegetables, as well as guinea corn (for beer) on plots close to or within the homestead. For the production of millet beer, which a woman sells at the market, she takes the grain from her own supplies. The husband is responsible for procuring clothes and shoes for his children, but not for his wives. Thus, they used to sell beer in order to get money they need. If the husband wants to sell grain because he needs money, he tells his first wife, who, together

with the others, takes the grain out of the granary, they thresh it and bring it to the market. The first wife is responsible for this. She gets nothing from the proceeds, but if he gives her something, then he must give each of the wives the same amount.

In the situation where both parents die, a paternal relative will take care of the orphans.

Marriage

In principle, the clans are exogamous units, but in practice, the exogamy rule is mainly observed at the sub-clan or lineage level. A man may not marry from the clan of his mother. In case he insists on marrying a girl from his matri-clan, an exception can be made after having



obtained the consent of the clan elders and having performed a ritual involving the sacrifice of a goat to the clan idol (*kindima*). Further, a divorced woman will not be married again to a member of the same clan as her ex-husband. In a polygynous marriage, each wife should come from a different sub-

clan or lineage, i.e. a second wife may not be taken from the same descent unit as the first wife. There are said to be marriage preferences between clans based on historical relationships between the clans. The following preferences were mentioned by informants: the Peribi prefer marriages with the Kendimo, Congu, Cengera, Junjum and Windali; the Congu like to marry from the Cengera, Dangara, Maana, Pigaanu, Pimaaro, Puger and Windali. These statements, however, could not be confirmed by a small census conducted: three men from the Congu clan had married wives from the Anarxbandi, Anyaxara, Baginje, Beci, Kendimo, Peribi, Pigulum, Pijilang, Pugenu, Pughtu clans.



Photo 3: Piya woman grinding corn

When a boy wants to marry a girl and approaches her, her father will ask the boy to perform bride-service by assisting him in his farmwork. The boy will organise a workparty consisting of friends and relatives, and will help the father of the girl three times, each time for a full day, but with a time gap in between, for example once per month. He must show great respect to his future parents-in-law, bowing when they meet, and

he is not allowed to eat in their presence and may even have to hide his food. As a

manifestation of his wish to marry her, the bridegroom-to-be will present seven large calabashes full of guinea corn, *guna* (melon seeds) and sesame seeds to the girl. In the following dry season he will then pay the agreed bride-price to the girl's father, consisting of a goat and an amount of money, (at that time 100 Naira); in the past, it was pieces of iron (*bolo*). If he wishes, he can also give something to the girl's relatives, but this is not obligatory. The bride-price will be paid by the prospective husband to the parents of the wife-to-be; brothers and sisters of her parents have to consent to the marriage and may get a share. Further, the idol (*kindima*) of the girl's clan has to be appeased by offerings of millet beer which are presented to the chief priest of the clan.



Photo 4: Newly married bride moving into her husband's home, with her household utensils carried by friends and relatives

The bridegroom then prepares for the marriage by having quantities of local beer prepared. He pays the most senior elder of his clan a visit and borrows the *cèngàjé* object from him. With the *cengaje* hanging over his right shoulder, he visits his relatives, starting with his MoBr, then his FaBr, and asking them for contributions in kind – food items, especially chicken – for the marriage feast (*kánjàng*). After the marriage, the *cengaje* is returned to the

clan elder who has responsibility for its safekeeping. Usually each clan has one *cengaje*.



Photo 5: A *cengaje* (photo taken among the Kwonci)

The bride is taken to the bridegroom's compound by her friends and the elder women of her clan. Starting from that day, she is not allowed to eat or drink and will stay inside his house for seven days, where she is repeatedly bathed by her bridesmaids. On the 7th day, a red ointment prepared from hematite and peanut oil is rubbed all over the bride's body. She puts necklaces on her neck and strings of beads on her hips, ties a bell around her waist, and is dressed in an apron. Then she goes back to her parents' homestead and eats and drinks there. During these seven days, the bridegroom may visit her but not have intercourse with her; both his and her friends are present. The couple is now married. For one year she will still stay at her parents' homestead, during that time she sleeps in the house of her mother. However, it is common that her

husband takes her to his house in the night. During that year she is not allowed to cook. Before the girl can move into the homestead of her husband, she has to accrue certain items: cooking pots, various calabash containers, calabash spoons (*zèerú*), a wooden stick for stirring porridge, a sleeping mat, two water pots for storing and pots for fetching water, two bundles of

guinea corn, one calabash full of guinea corn flour, and, if possible, a nanny-goat. Her close relatives will assist the girl in procuring these items. Her husband, assisted by his father and other kin, will build a house for her in his compound. After that year, after the harvest has been brought in, the husband has to sacrifice a billy goat to the clan idol, then her pots, calabashes, baskets, etc. are packed and she moves into her husband's homestead. Post-marital residence is virilocal. The bride will have no kitchen for herself, but she will help the husband's mother with cooking. After about one or two years, the husband's father will give the couple a full granary and with this they are considered to be independent. That traditional way of marriage described above has become rare.

As the Piya are a conglomeration of various regional and descent-based groups, there are variations in their social institutions. To illustrate this, I add this summary account of traditional marriage among the clans at Mt. Andeng from the MS by Andrew Haruna:

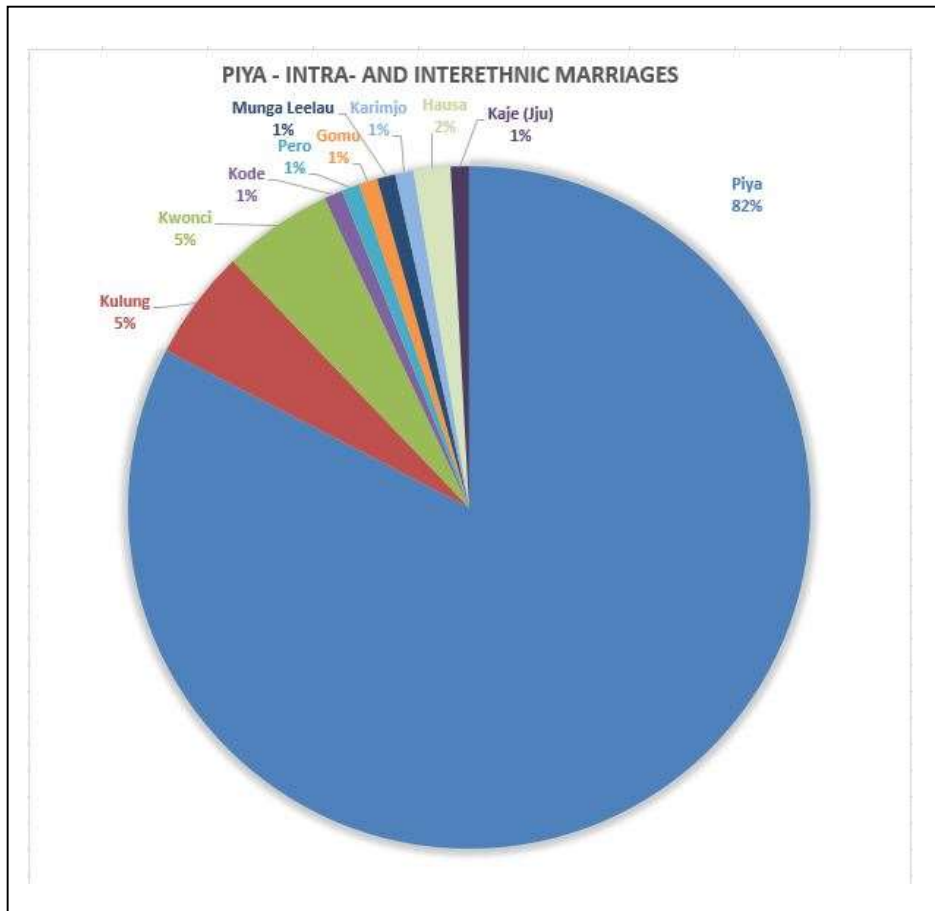
a girl will choose from her suitors the one whom she likes best and gives him a bracelet (*ancudi*) as a sign of her commitment. The bridegroom-to-be and his peers will take the girl from her home to his compound early in the morning, and some elders of his clan will visit the girl's home with a chicken. If the chicken is accepted by the girl's parents, the marriage is agreed upon, and they will ask for the bride-price including goats, chickens, tobacco and traditional money in form of small iron bars (*bolo*). After the bride-price has been paid, the girl will go to her husband's house and stay there for five to seven days without eating. During that time, the girl's friends will stay with her and bathe her. After that period, the marriage celebration takes place with dances, singing and bugle playing. The bride will then be painted with a solution of red ochre. When this is over, the bride returns to the compound of her parents for about a year and gathers household utensils which she needs for her own, new household: various pots, calabashes, a sleeping mat and bedstead. With these items she moves to her husband on a defined day.

A widow will opt to marry one of the brothers of her deceased husband, or one of his clan brothers; this may be from his patri- or matri-clan. This kind of marriage is called *manna kolö*. If a married woman has to pay a fine, it is her husband who has to take over the payment. Should he refuse to do so, then the wife's father has the right to fetch her and her children back to his home. In order to get his children back, the husband must make a payment to the father-in-law, the amount of which is a matter of negotiation. The wife's father, having paid the original fine, will only give his daughter back to her husband if the latter has compensated this payment. In the case of a divorce, the wife will move out because the homestead belongs to her husband; their children will remain with the husband.

Marriage by sister-exchange was prevalent in the pre-colonial era, but it became uncommon in more recent times. Levirate is practised: the widow of a deceased man will be married by one of his younger brothers, no bride-price is paid in such a case.

Some statistics

In a sample of 35 married Piya men, there were a total of 115 wives, of which 95 were from the Piya, and 20 were from other ethnic groups.



The overall polygamy rate was 3.3, the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 2.2.

Marriages with partners from the same section are prevalent.

Granaries

Granaries are usually standing outside the homestead. Commonly, only men possess granaries;

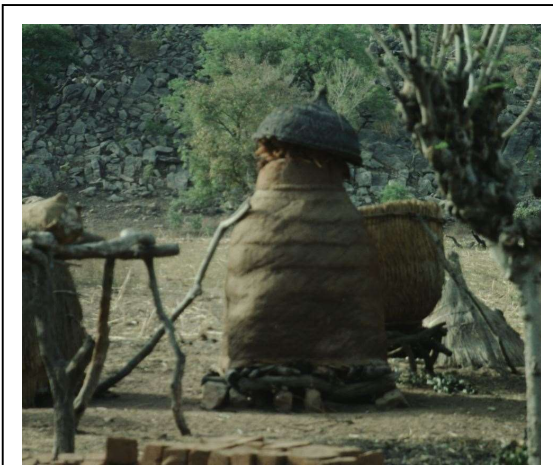


Photo 6: Piya granary (*búndù m̀ndá*)

the few women who have fields of their own also have their own granaries, which they access freely. Several granaries are needed in the case of polygyny, and each wife takes over the distribution of foodstuff from the husband's granary for the period of one year. The provisions for the children are always taken from the husband's granary. All granaries are built by men, irrespective whether they are a man's or a woman's granary.

Birth

The birth of a first child takes place in the compound of the wife's parents, where she will stay for about a month until she returns to the homestead of her husband. For this occasion, her husband provides her with a traditional dress made of goat skin. After having given birth, the



Photo 7: Ritual pot put up after a twin birth

umbilical cord is measured and cut to the child's knee, then a mixture of cobweb, salt and peanut oil is applied to it. The cut umbilical is wound on a stick and attached to the ceiling of the house until it is consumed by insects. The placenta is buried in the bathroom of the mother. Where twins have been born, or when the birth has been a breech-birth, a *tunjo* is put up in order to avoid the children or the mother from becoming ill or even dying. A *tunjo* is a

pot, half-buried in the ground, beside the entrance of the house, decorated with a twig from the locust bean tree. Offerings of local beer are made to it.

A child is named by his grandparents (Andrew Haruna MS).

Burial

If a married man dies, some hair of his first wife is shorn off and mixed with some hair of his brother, this is buried with the corpse as a sign that they mourn him. At the death of a person, irrespective if it was male or female, offerings are made to the *kindima* of the clan, consisting of millet beer and porridge with a special sauce called *miyang dargazaa* (H., a sauce containing *Grewia mollis*) seven days after the death occurred. When a male older than 15 years of age

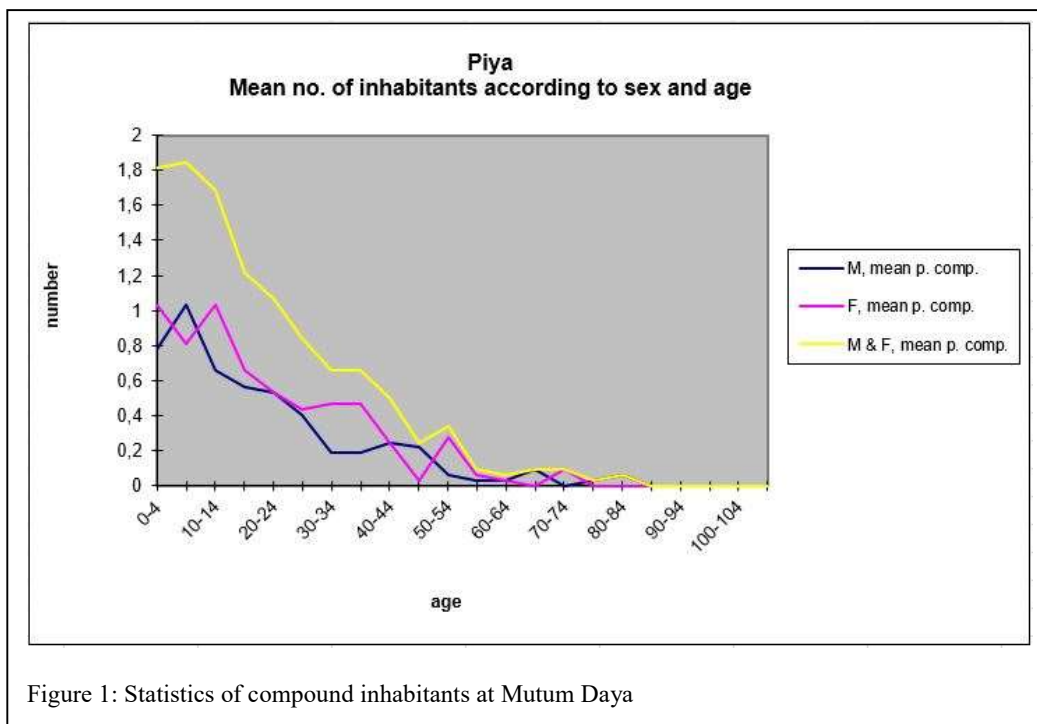
dies, the sound from a tube being blown will be heard early next morning, indicating that his soul has gone to *jugey*, the *kindima* of all males. If a married woman dies, *eku* (the *kindima* caring for females) makes a special sound (but no tube is blown) which shows that her soul went to *eku*.

The chameleon is believed to be a messenger of the gods, bringing them news of someone's death.

It is said of the Pughagho clan that they did not know death. Because they envied others for being able to celebrate and drink beer at funerals, the Pughagho killed a dog and buried it like a human being in order to enjoy the beer, subsequently they started dying.

Village

Different clans live together in the villages: for instance, the Puxaxo, Pindele, Caxaram, Piyari, Canga, Congu, Pugtu, Kuluma, Pijilang, Anarxbandi, Pugeru, Kendimo, Peeco and Piwini clans



have settled at Ameshe. The Piya settlements in the plains are usually scattered, with fields between the hamlets. The hamlets are commonly structured by patrilineal relations of the inhabitants, but there are also affinal relatives or just friends residing there. The following useful trees are associated with settlements: baobab (*kwéñdi*), tamarind (*wóriyàn*) and date palm. The first settlers have the power of disposal over the land and allocate plots for housebuilding and farming to people who wish to settle with them. New settlers are questioned about their origin and they are under observation for a certain time.

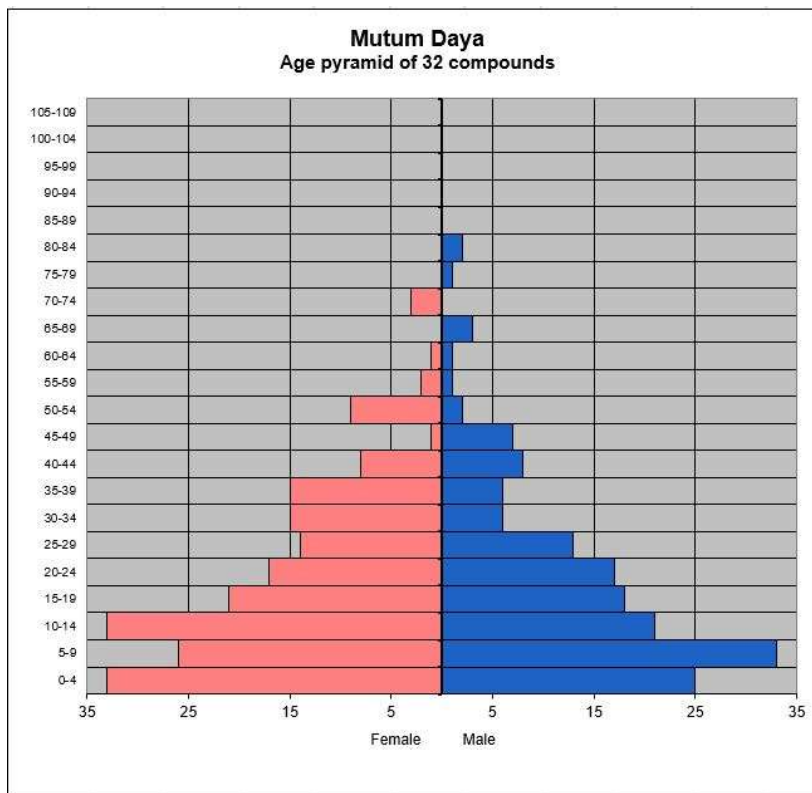


Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Mutum Daya

In a census conducted among 32 compounds at Mutum Daya, 362 inhabitants in total were counted, of which 164 were males, 198 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 11.3, with slightly more females (6.2) than males (5.1).

The hamlet of Piribi-Tasha was founded by Jatau Audu from the Maana clan in the 1950s; the settlement

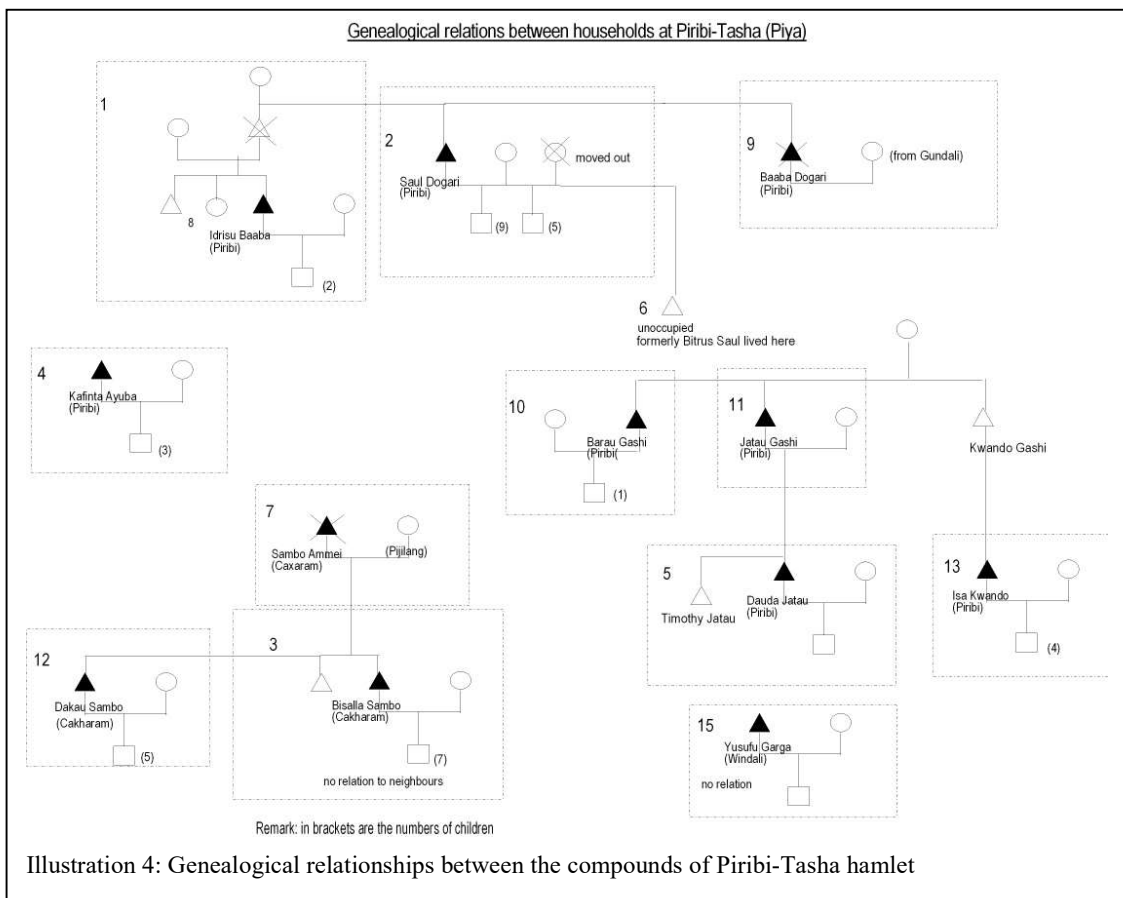
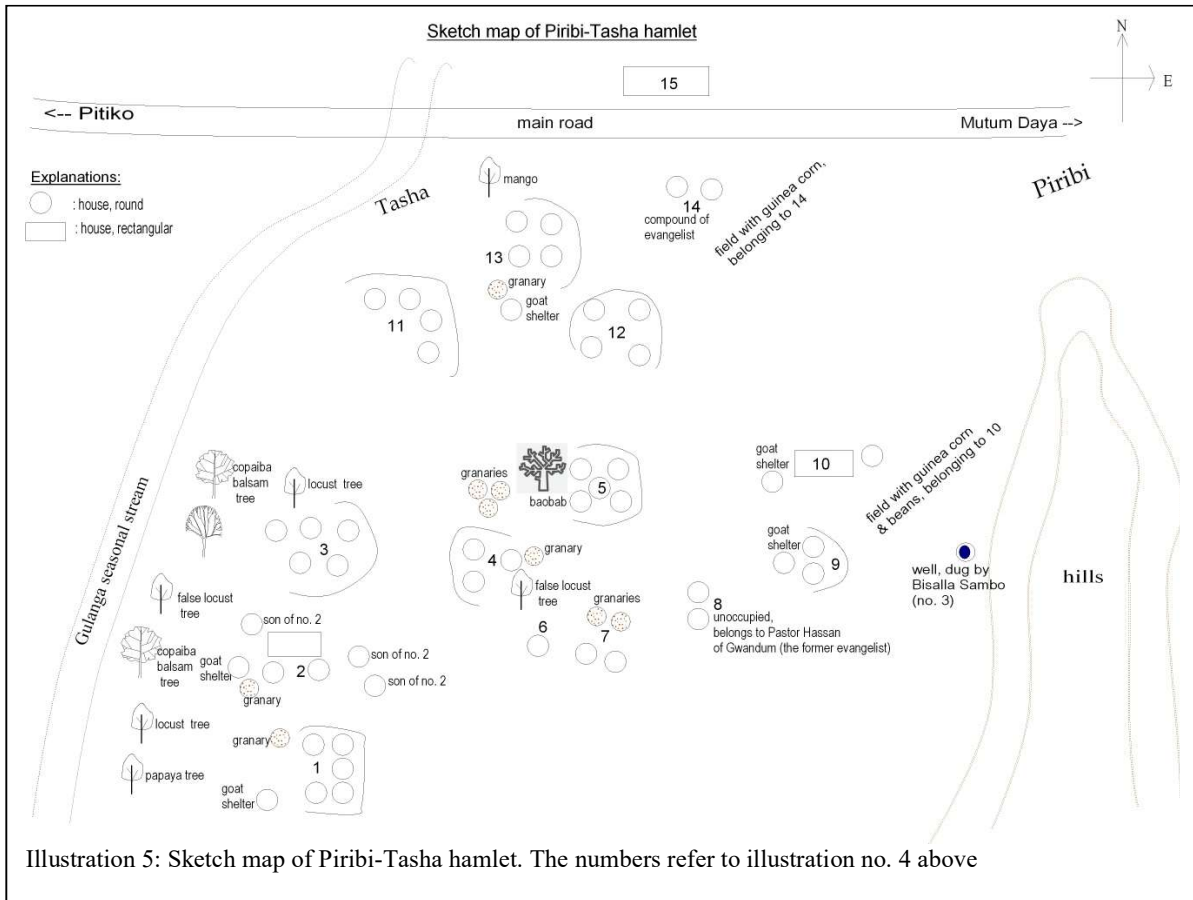


Illustration 4: Genealogical relationships between the compounds of Piribi-Tasha hamlet

with the name Piribi was founded by Dandazu Dogari of the Piribi clan, after Tasha had already been founded.



Age groups

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

- *sígbà*: boys up to 15 years
- *yèrè sígbà*: males from 15-30 years (*yèrè* means 'young boyfriend to a girl')
- *mùnggbúdinà*: males 25 years and older
- *mànjiná*: old persons requiring a stick for walking.

Age-based co-operation is also based on co-residence, i.e. peers from the same village used to work together. However, nowadays this co-operation is disappearing and is being replaced by wage labour. Co-operation on family basis predominates.

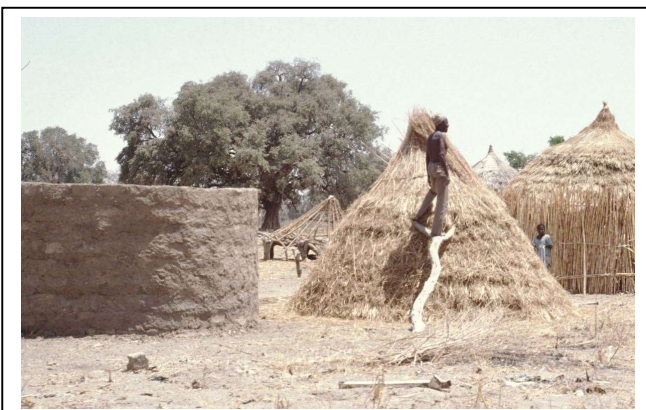


Photo 8: Building a roof for a new house

Political organisation

Village Head

The title of Village Head (VH) was introduced by the British colonial administration. Each larger settlement has a Village Head, smaller villages or the quarters of a town are administered by a *jawro* (or *kub minna* in Piya language). At Mutum Daya, there is one Village Head and five *jawros*. Tasks of a VH are the collection of taxes and solving of conflicts. All male adults pay 10 Naira tax plus 15 Naira development levy annually (in early 1990s).

In pre-colonial times, the *kub kindima* (*kindima* priest) were the authorities in matters ritual as well as political. The British tried to install traditional chiefs as Village Heads. The following list was given to me denoting chiefs in the Bacama area around Mt. Tondolo:

1. Kwáni (from the Kulluma clan, installed by the British)
2. Gwádi (SiSo of Kwani)
3. Bolo (Br of Kwani)
4. Dogari (Br of Bolo)
5. NN (a son of Bolo and VH at the time of research (1992)).

With regard to the area of the Wallo around Mt. Angule, Andrew Haruna in his MS relates that Midom was the chief *kindima* priest at the time when the British came, and they wanted to make him chief of the area, but he refused, so they took him away and it was thought that he was killed. Gomna Koddong of the Anyaxara clan then became *kindima* priest, and a man called Babu from the Anguderu clan was made first VH of Angule area by the British. He was followed by 2. Giwa (from the Andamin clan), 3. Iddo (from the Andamin clan), 4. Hassan (from the Angodeeru clan), 5. Dakdi (from the Angodeeru clan), 6. Melli (from the Andamin clan), 7. Sabo (from the Andamin clan), 8. Gagare (from the Andamin clan - he is the present chief (1992)). And for the Pireego area: the first chief of Pireego Liuna /Pitiko Duna was a man called Liuna (from the Pijilang clan) appointed by the British, followed by 2. Maina (from the Pijilang clan), 3. Yusufu Maina (So of Maina, 1980 to date (1992)) (MS Andrew Haruna).

Economic activities

Market days are rotating in the settlements in and around Piya 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. From a radius of up to 15km people come on foot to attend the market. The market's speciality is skins, both from wild and from domesticated animals.

The pre-colonial money was in the form of small iron rods called *bólò*, they were used for paying the bride-price, (this could consist of 20-30 or even 100 or more pieces, depending on the wealth of the groom), and payment of fines or ransom to release captives of war. Such captives had to perform forced labour for the Piya and could be bought out for 300 *bolo* per person. Informants state that *bolo* was not used for buying goods.

Crafts exercised by the Piya: there are potters, (mainly females, only a few males), blacksmiths (male), calabash cutters (male) and calabash decorators (female), weavers of mats and baskets (male and female) as well as wood carvers (male). In the pre-colonial era, clothing was made from skins, there were no weavers. The Cengera clan has a reputation for iron production during their stay at Mount Andeng.

Ropes are traditionally made from the branches of the *kaa fi ramaa* bush (H., Congo jute, *Urena lobata*), which stands on river banks. The branches are soaked in water, then the bark is stripped. Ropes are woven from strips of the bark.

Division of labour

Table 3: Gender specific division of labour among the Piya (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	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	f
weave mats	m
weave baskets	m
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	f
weaving cotton	m
spinning	f
tailoring	m
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

The Bangwinji were the suppliers of tobacco to the Piya, Kulung and others groups in Wurkun district.

Agriculture

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

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

Harmattan season (December - March): *gòxóm*.

For clearing a farm, shrubs and small trees are cut down and grasses are burnt. However, the following trees are left standing and are not cut down: locust tree (*mècé*), shea tree (*niisó* (in Pirago dialect) or *nijó* (in Kulu dialect)), tamarind tree (*wóríyàng*), fan palm (*gánjà*), velvet tamarind (*bòkhó*), snuff-box tree (*únggà*) and false locust (*kálà*). 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. The fertility of a field is maintained by crop rotation and intercropping: during the first two years, maize and guinea corn are intercropped, in the third year the farmer changes to groundnut and cowpeas which are cultivated for one or two years, then he returns to maize and guinea corn for another two years. The farms are prepared for guinea corn (*kyáú*) and millet (*bóròng*) in January to February, millet in particular is sown immediately with the first rains. Melons (*guna* in Hausa) are often intercropped with guinea corn. Vegetables and ingredients for sauces (such as *alayyafoo* (H., *Amaranthus caudatus*), *yaakuuwaa* (H., *Hibiscus sabdariffa*), *ramaa* (H., *Hibiscus cannabinus*), or *karkashii* (H., *Ceratotheca sesamoides*)) are cultivated on plots near the homesteads.

I could not observe the use of terraces on sloping fields, but was told that the Piya did practise terracing on their hillside farms.

The *kúb cítettàu* (*sarkin noma* in Hausa) is the chief of farmers, his tasks are to settle disputes between farmers, monitor the success of farming, report plant diseases and allocate government aid (like fertiliser, co-ordination of pesticide application by extension workers). Every constituency (political-administrative unit) has a *kub citta*. The title is not connected with a particular clan. When there is need of rain or in the case of a drought, it is the responsibility of a ritual expert from the Congu clan to ask for rain. The Congu have an association with thunder, and they can direct thunder upon their enemies, even in the dry season.

More demanding agricultural activities such as sowing, weeding and harvesting are usually accomplished by communal labour. There are two kinds: *gééré* (*gayya* H.) is a large work-party with 35-40 participants whose performance may last up to 12 hours, and *bàllé* (*kara min gayya* H.), a small work-party with up to 10 participants working for about 6 hours. While a *bàllé* is based on reciprocity and only millet beer is provided for the workers, at a *gééré* food and drinks are provided; preferably *bóxórà gághù* (millet porridge with a special sauce containing *dogin basu* (a local spice), salt from Pitiko Mountain, ground and roasted peanuts, fish, and *pùgé* (*miyan dargazaa* in Hausa, a sauce prepared from the *dargazaa* shrub (*Grewia mollis*)), as well as many pots of *burkutu* (H., millet beer). Participants are relatives and friends, also from outside the clan or the ethnic group. If a rich man initiates the work party and people from outside attend, even a goat may be slaughtered. There are three titles associated with a work-

group: *kúb cìttàu* (chief of farmers, *sarkin noma* in Hausa), *àngò càmí* (*barde* in Hausa) and *alkali* (H.). This *sarkin noma* is different from the *sarkin noma* mentioned earlier, which is an official title bestowed by the Local Government. The *barde* assigns the work and co-ordinates it, the *alkali* is the guardian of peace and order and will ensure that the *barde*'s instructions are obeyed.

Apart from these temporary work-groups, there are permanent co-operative groups (*báwùlè*), consisting of members who have united in order to work together on assigned farm plots.

Virgin land may be cleared by an interested farmer, but if the plot has been cultivated in the past, the farmer must approach the landowner before he is allowed to use it. The claim to a field expires if it has been left fallow for five years or longer. A wife is allocated a farm by her husband. Field disputes which cannot be solved by the *sarkin noma* are brought before the Village Head, if he fails, the case is taken to the court.

Ethnic Group: **Piya**

1

Table: **Annual Agricultural Cycle**

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
g/corn (white) <i>kwácám</i>					—	1. —	2. —						all soils, sown at 2nd rainfall
g/corn (reddish) <i>wápin</i>					—	1. —		2. —	3. —				all soils, sown at 2nd rainfall
g/corn (white) <i>bóróng, kyau jinpe</i>					—	1. —		2. —	3. —				all soils, intercropped with <i>wápin</i>
millet <i>módó</i>					—	1. —	2. —						all soils, sown at 1st rain
beans (<i>waakee</i> H.) <i>dúm</i>					—	1. —		2. —					sandy soils, with g/corn, groundnut & sesame
beans (<i>kanannado</i> H.) <i>kángzi</i>					—	1. —		2. —					sandy soils, with g/corn, groundnut & sesame
rice <i>gáppá</i>					—	1. —	2. —						on fadama
maize <i>cékúú</i>					—	1. —	2. —						clay & loamy soils, sown after 3rd rainfall
cotton <i>léeláú</i>							1. —		2. —	3. —			sandy soils, partly inter- cropped with beans
groundnuts <i>gáxù</i>					—	1. —	2. —						sandy & loamy soils, with g/corn & okra
bambara nut <i>gwám</i>													sandy soils, with g/corn
tiger nut <i>piyá</i>													sandy soil
sesame <i>ádáú</i> (white, brown), <i>níirò</i> (black)								1. —	2. —				loamy & sandy soil
tobacco <i>táábá</i>								nursing	transplanting				loamy & sandy soil
finger millet <i>cárkí</i>													loamy & sandy soil
sweet potatoes <i>kúndúkú</i>													clay & loamy soil
yam <i>sándé</i>													loamy soil
cassava <i>mbólá</i>								1. — (1 year later)		2. —			sandy soil, grown as insurance against locusts
tumuku <i>pú</i>													sandy soil
pepper (hot) <i>anzíta</i>						nursing	transplanting						all soils
garden egg <i>déngá</i>					nursing	transplanting							loamy soil

planting: —————
weeding: - - - - -
harvesting: ·······

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
pumpkin <i>sonji</i>						_____			_____				manured soils, with g/corn & maize, weeding same time
melon <i>súlò</i>					_____			_____					sandy soil, with g/corn, millet & maize
okra <i>kòmbòròm</i>						_____ 1. _____ 2. _____							loamy soil, with maize
tomato <i>tomatir</i>					_____	transplanting							all soils
onion <i>érùm</i>	_____	_____		_____				_____				_____	rainfed: loamy & sandy soil irrigated: loamy & sandy soil
rizga <i>ésimá</i>						_____			_____				sandy soil, with g/corn & groundnut
roselle <i>dibít</i>					_____	leaves				seeds			sandy & loamy soil, with g/corn, millet, maize, groundnut
<i>karkashii</i> (H.) <i>dúgò</i>					_____			_____					sandy soil, with g/corn, millet, maize, groundnut
mango								_____					(at least 5 years after planting)
lemon <i>léemú</i>								_____					(at least 3 years after planting)
papaya <i>kábúshé</i>								_____					sandy soil

planting: _____
 weeding: _____
 harvesting: _____

Animal husbandry

The Piya traditionally keep goats, sheep, donkeys, chickens and dogs as domestic animals. If a Piya has more than three cows, he usually gives them to the Fulani to look after. In return, the Fulani can, for example, keep one calf a year, and in any case the milk. It is also possible to send a person to the Fulani camp to ask for milk or butter from one's own cows. When a Fulani needs labour, for example because his own children are too young, he asks a settled man to give him one or two children to help him, and after a year he gives back a cow as compensation. These children sometimes stay with the Fulani for years, becoming acculturated nomads.

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

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, milk, leather	both sexes may milk, but mostly men do the milking
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	riding	used by title holders. Horse gets a burial like human
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m & f	riding, beast of burden, leather used for drums, meat	in the past, the meat was not consumed by women
goat	m & f	meat, leather	In the past, goats were only kept by men
sheep	m & f	meat, leather, wool used by dancers for decoration	
pig	m & f	meat	mostly women keep pigs
dog	m & f	meat, guardian, assisting in hunting	only men consume the meat; women kept no dogs in the past
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs, feathers used in rituals (<i>dambang</i>)	in the past, children ate no eggs
duck	m & f	eggs, meat	
guinea fowl	m & f	eggs, meat, feathers decoration of idols (<i>kindima</i>)	no guinea fowl in the past
pigeon	m	meat	-
cat	m & f	meat, protection against rats	women did not eat cats in the past for it would affect their children negatively

Other activities

Hunting (*para*) is done either individually (duration of one day), in small groups (duration of two days) or in large groups (duration of three days which are spent in the bush); on collective hunts there is a hunting leader (*kub para*). Weapons used are arrows (*tau*) and bow (*zang*), knife (*wáji*, H. *wuka*), axe (*gità*, H. *gatarì*), spear (*kásh*, H. *machi*), cudgel/club (*gbamba* or *kulang*, H. *kulki*) and shield (*kotong*, H. *garkuuwaa*) made of buffalo hide as protection against predators. Bows are made of *gora* wood (H., *Oxytenanthera abyssinica*, a bamboo species), arrows are made of *kyaure* (?) wood. The quiver is covered with goatskin. Various kinds of traps are used for individual hunting. Hyena or leopard are the most highly regarded quarry. If someone is killed by mistake during a hunt, the exercise is terminated and the person buried in the bush (MS Andrew Haruna).



Photo 9: Piya hunter with bow and arrow



Photo 10: Piya warrior with his weapons

Salt is extracted from the soil along the banks of various streams, especially at Bamukha/ Kucuwang along the Buru Kwala stream at Pitiko Mountain, which is a major site for the production of salt. Andrew Haruna in his MS lists the following saltings in Piya land:

- *cuwang* Kwala near Pitiko Hakuri, Pitiko Buro and Pitiko Duna, belonging to the Ampoxoram and Pijilang clans
- *cuwang* Ginding near Kirim and Angule, belonging to the Peeco clan
- *cuwang* Cweklek near Angule and Pitiko Saladuna, belonging to the Baginje clan
- *cuwang* Gwani near Hakuri and Lunga, belonging to the Peyina clan
- *cuwang* Bunga, belonging to the Kwonci and the Bambur-Kulung
- *cuwang* Lippa, belonging to a certain Lechi from Tondolo
- *cuwang* Bakka from Pandi Kwana near Pareje, that is a different kind of salt like that from Bornu (called *kanwa*).

Many products of wild plants/trees are utilised:

jinin kaferi (H., wild plum tree, ?): leaves are used for sauces, the sour fruits are eaten,

giginya (H., doleb palm, *Borassus aethiopum*): the fruits are eaten,

baobab (*Adansonia digitata*): the leaves are used for sauces, the seeds for making *kunnu* (H., a non-alcoholic beverage),

kanya (H., ebony, *Diospyros mespiliformis*): the fruits are eaten,

kadanya (H., shea tree, *Butyrospermum Parkii*): the fruits are eaten,

dùdú (P.,?): the fruits are eaten,

dorawa (H., locust bean tree, *Parkia filicoidea*): the fruits are eaten, the seeds used as a spice,

maaje (H., Copaiba balsam tree, *Daniellia oliveri*): the seeds are used as a spice,

kiriya (H., *Prosopis oblonga*): the seeds are used as a spice,

dinya (H., black plum tree, *Vitex Cienkowskii*): the fruits are eaten, the leaves used for sauces.

Material culture

Param: wooden trowel used for tapping clay plaster smooth, often decorated with geometric patterns.



Photo 11: Wooden trowel *param*



Photo 12: *këndùm* pots for serving beer



Photo 13: *kwándàl* (left) for storing beer or water, *dige munda* (right) for cooking porridge



Photo 14: *gàalé* clay pot for storing beer or water



Photo 15: Set of victory drums

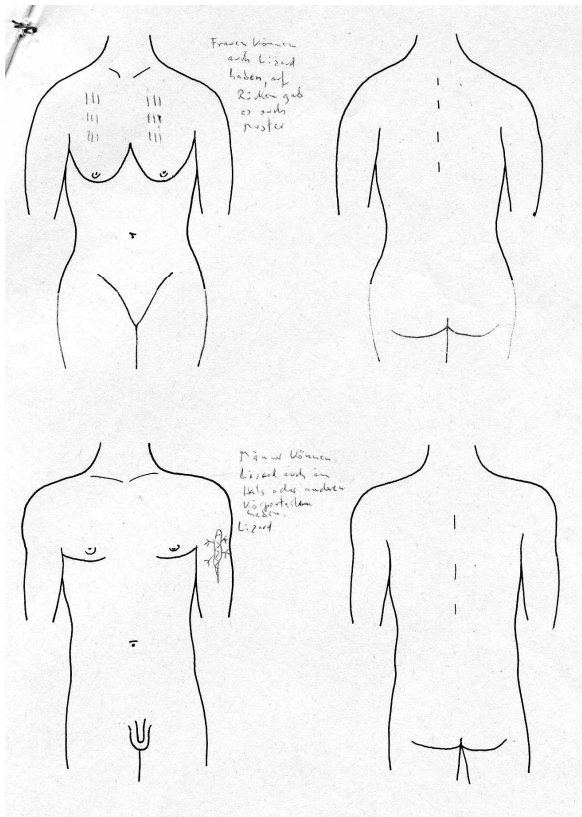
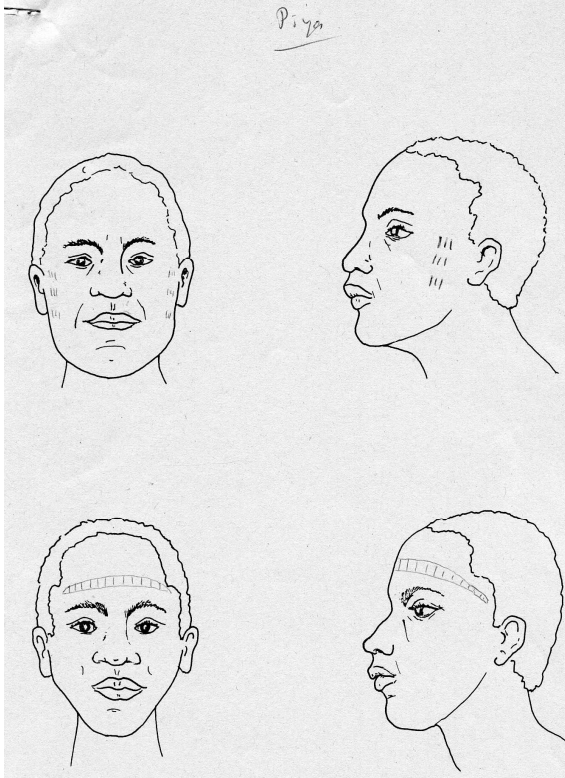


Photo 16: Set of victory drums

Like other ethnic groups belonging to the Wurkun cluster, the Piya have "victory drums";²¹ these come in sets, usually consisting of three or more drums: the one standing on legs is called *píjji*, the drums without legs are called *wóllò*. 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 small drum is considered to be the senior of the two. The small one is not beaten, only the others. They are only beaten on special occasions like success in big game hunting, victory in war or in some ritual contexts. The drums are decorated with carved geometrical patterns, characteristic of different clans or sections. I was told that the ornamentation once followed the traditional cicatrization of the human body. I found no evidence to support this, but the remark implies a homology between the body of the drum and the human torso, as is further suggested by the protrusion in the middle of several drums resembling an umbilicus. A particular "victory drum", which stands on Balasa Hill, 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.

²¹ For victory drums see also Adelberger 2011: 435.

Scarification/cicatrization, bodily ornamentation



The lizard may also be depicted on other parts of the body, such as the neck. Some women also have a lizard tatoed.

Rituals and religion

Spirits and associated rituals²²

While in the traditional religious belief *yàmbá* is the creator god, *yàmbá* is too far removed from the sphere of humans, and other deities or spirits have a more active role.

Kindima (*dodo* H.): represents the collective spirits of the ancestors, and is considered to be at the apex of the spirits/gods. *Kindima* appears during the night, making terrifying whistling noises, and sanctions unruly women. On the summit of Angule Mountain is a sacred site where a priest performed ordeals. The *kindima* are incarnated in three entities: *jùgéy/zùgéy* (male, most powerful), *bónǵè* (female, *jugey's* first wife) and *ékù* (female, *jugey's* second wife). Three horns are kept inside their shrine houses which are blown on certain occasions, for example, when someone has died. When a married woman dies, her soul goes to *bonge*; the souls of unmarried women or children (age 0-15 years) go to *eku*. The souls of men go to *jugey*. These three *kindima* are the original deities of the Piya, and it is said that the Kulung took over the cult of *eku* from the Piya. The cult of these spirits may be taken over by other ethnic groups but they must give a billy goat, a rooster and pots of beer in return. If such an acquired *dodo* is unable to solve a problem posed to it, one has to go back to the original *dodo* for consultation. It is related by a Kwonci informant that *bonge* was originally a cult of the Kwonci.

There is considerable regional variation in the *kindima* cult. *Kindima* in general is described by informants from the northern sections Pireego or Kulu, as being invisible and that it may only be heard by the spooky sounds produced by them, there are other statements describing it as kinds of masquerades: *jugey* does not wear a costume and he is always surrounded by his followers in such a way that he cannot be seen, he blows into a decorated, hollowed bamboo tube about 1-1.5 m long producing eerie sounds. The same is said about *eku* and *bonge*, but they make different sounds. There is a *dodo* called *kwodo*, which may also be found among the Kode, wearing a costume made of grasses.

The Peelang have the following *dodo*: *kwodo*: he makes his appearance in the village in June, dressed in a costume made of grass and leaves and greeting old people; *jiribe*: he appears in January-February, wearing a grass costume, he dances around and punishes unruly women at night, probably he had been taken over from neighbouring Jarawa groups; *bónǵè*: comes in August-September, wearing a wooden mask and a braided costume, he is considered to be the messenger of *kwodo* and *jiribe*; *zugey*: he comes in May-July, is long like a pole and has a loud voice, is wearing old blankets and handles a knife, during the time *zugey* is around, a lot of beer is drunk, and no woman is allowed to see him. The Gaaruma have *bónǵè* and *jiribe*. Among the Peelang, *dodo* in general is called *kébnà*. Peelang and Gaaruma also have *kundul*.

²² See also CAPRO 1992: 403-408 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.

Each co-resident clan or sub-clan has its *kindima*. While the souls of women also join the

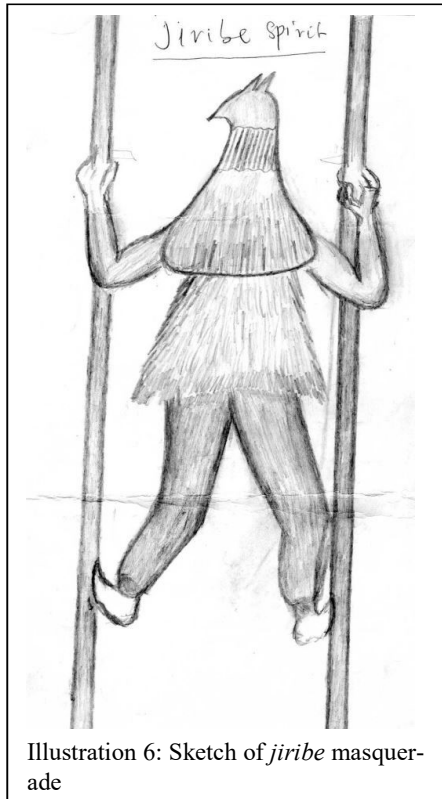


Illustration 6: Sketch of *jiribe* masquerade

kindima after death, its veneration rests with men only.

Women, as well as non-initiates, may not touch or even see *kindima*, otherwise they have to pay a fine that may consist of millet beer, a goat, chicken(s) and groundnut pies, or they may even be killed in extreme cases. A most serious offence is to talk about *kindima* in public or in the presence of women; the punishment for this may be cutting off the offender's head in the shrine house. No one is allowed to complain about such acts, otherwise his head will also be cut off. If a non-initiated person happens to pass by during the ceremony of *core eku* in August, he may be killed as a non-member of the cult and buried standing upright.

The Korot clan has the following *dodo*: *yètiyèti* (brings rainfall) and *yóxóri* (brings rain and prosperity).

The priests of *kindima* are called *gúdè kindímà* (chief priest) or *kwángli kindímà* (deputy priest). The titles are passed on through the patriline: the previous priest appoints his successor from among his brothers or sons,

only an elder person who has wisdom and ritual knowledge may become a priest.

Having said this, it should be noted that *kindima* is a rather flexible category, in its broadest sense it entails ethereal entities related with the ancestors, in a more specific sense it addresses the spirits *jùgéy*, *eku* and *borge*, the cult of which is shared by the whole ethnic group, and it also encompasses more clan-specific spirits, which may also be called *waamina* due to their protective functions.

Wàamínà: tutelary spirit of a clan or lineage, fends off any attacks on the descent group and protects their farms and property from theft by punishing any thief. Those of the Anyaxara and Windali clans are considered to be the most powerful. The *waamina* of the Windali is in the form of a wooden stool; the *waamina* of the Congu is called *nààní* (thunder) and has no manifestation in an object; the *waamina* of the Kendimo is called *wáari* and is manifested in three stones standing at a granary. The usual manifestations are in the form of a stone, stick or stool. The *waamina* are clan-specific and are connected with the ancestors of the descent group in question.²³ They are also addressed when seeking help or in case of illness, and are worshipped annually. Further, *waamina* serve as an ordeal on which oaths are sworn to uncover the truth. In the case of a dispute, the opponents use to go to one of the most powerful *waamina*, each one holding a chicken in his hand. Whoever is wrong, his chicken will have

²³ The conceptual ideas behind *waamina* and *kindima* would need further clarification, as both are instances of the collective ancestors of a clan.

already died on the way. One can also swear on the *waamina* of one's own clan, whoever is wrong will become sick or loses his possessions.

The priesthood is passed on patrilineally. If a successor has to be chosen, goat meat is cooked, the candidates gather around the cooking pot and spike the meat with a *kaari puge* (a stick of *dargaza* wood), whoever gets two pieces on his stick at once, he will become the successor, as he is considered to have been chosen by the *waamina*.

Tunjo: an idol for women, is sometimes described as a small humanoid carved statue with a small clay pot that is used to feed the idol, sometimes as a pot standing on three stones under a granary. In other instances it is a pot half-buried in the ground near the entrance of the house where a twig from the locust bean tree is also fixed. Generally, the *tunjo* acts as a guardian of the family and ensures the fertility of a woman, and it is erected in the case of a breech birth or the birth of twins. If this is not done, the mother may become ill or the baby dies. Should the child or the mother become ill, millet beer and a cock are offered to the *tunjo*.

Flour made from newly-harvested grains (maize or guinea corn) diluted in water is offered to the *tunjo* annually. The owner of a *tunjo* also has to sacrifice one of the chickens that is presented as bride-price for the marriage of a daughter (MS Bitrus Dan Jos 1990).

Kundul: carved wooden columnar statues, usually occurring in male/female pairs. 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



Photo 17: Piya *kundul*



Photo 18: *kundul* in situ, with *bale* sticks and pots for offerings



Photo 19: Piya *kundul*, left in a deserted house

pair of these figures as a remedy; in this case, offerings of beer and the sacrifice of a chicken are made to the *kundul* and should be repeated after each annual harvest. The figures may further serve as a protective device when, after having killed certain animals, a hunter is haunted by the spirit of the animal. The statues usually come with a wooden stick (*bale kundul*), regarded to be the object's walking stick, and a pot used for offerings. *Kundul* objects may be inherited, but it is the *kundul* itself that expresses its wish to be passed on after the death of its owner: a man (he was the eldest of brothers) whom I interviewed had two pairs: one pair had formerly belonged to his father, another pair he had procured after having killed a baboon, and the baboon had made an appearance in his dreams. One pair was called *gáddè*, the other pair *téngèm*. He and his wife together worshipped the *kundul* regularly; before the harvest of corn around November they prepare millet beer, the *kundul* are brought out of the house and washed with a solution made by dissolving a light brown clay (*gwelen*) in water. Then the *kundul* are rubbed and polished with oil that has been processed from *guna* seeds (H., Piya: *cúlò*; *Citrullus lanatus*). Finally, beer and millet porridge are given to each *kundul* as offerings.

Dàmbáng: the cult of *dambang* is generally concerned with well-being, strength and fertility.

The *dambang* statues look very similar to *kundul* but are larger than the latter and they are re-

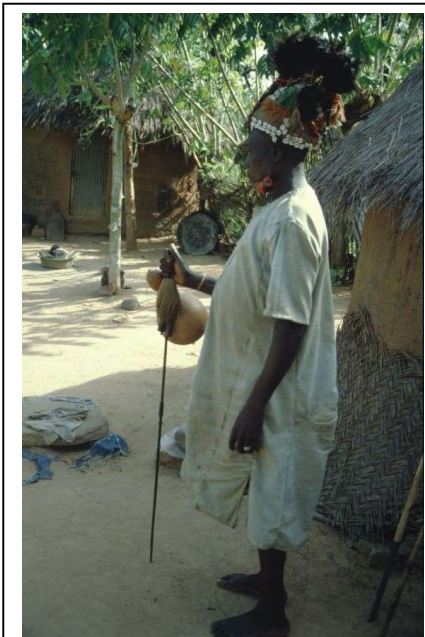


Photo 20: A *dambang* priest with his headdress

garded to be superior and more powerful than the *kundul*. They are decorated with grass or raffia fibres and/or feathers. These *dambang* statues always come in pairs of male and female, because the *dambang* spirits are also male and female. Like the *kundul*, the male figurines are distinguished from the female ones by a crest on the head. They will be consulted to find out the reason for a certain ailment which then will be cured with the help of the statues. The *dambang* spirits are living in water, be this a lake, river or spring, and when they want a person to worship them, they send out the *dambang* figurines visiting the house of that person at night and standing in front of the door. As soon as the person sees them, he has to cover them with a mat or something similar so that no one else may see them. Then the person goes to an adherent of the traditional religion in the neighbourhood to seek advice about what to sacrifice, e.g. millet beer

and a cock. Then a shrine hut is built where the statues will be kept and this will also serve as a house where the cult members can meet. The *dambang* statues only come to those persons who will become a priest (*andambang*) of the cult. The *dambang* informs the priest who else should become a cult member. The members celebrate the *dambang* festival with their priest, but it is only the priest who is in the possession of the wooden statues. The *dambang* community has only one *dambang* house.

Photo 21: *dambang* statues

Every year the *dambang* have to be worshipped at the time when they first appeared. For this ritual they are taken out from their shrine hut, washed and first rubbed with *guna* (H., Piya: *cúlò*, *Citrullus lanatus*) oil, then rubbed with red powder (*gbélèng*, H.: *koya*) before beer is poured over them, a cock is slain and the blood poured over them. Existing decorations such as raffia fibres are renewed. The priest will offer millet beer in a small calabash to the mouth of the statues, these grab it and the priest quickly lets go. The statues drink and then drop the calabash. Afterwards they are put back in the shrine hut. As well as that annual ceremony, there is a big celebration (*jòrè dábáng*) with dancing that takes place every three years. *Dambang* communities may be found in many villages.

Table 5: Religious concepts and their material expression

Piya		
Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>yamba</i>	creator
ancestors	<i>kindima</i>	
water spirit	<i>limbi, kureeru</i>	<i>limbi</i> lives in trees and caves; <i>kureeru</i> is a snake providing the water in a spring
bush spirit	<i>limbi</i>	
protecting spirit	<i>kindima, waamina</i>	
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>kundul, dambang</i>	
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>kindima: jugey, eku, bonge, jiribe</i>	

Ritual calendar

Mam gábrà (*boori* in Hausa): also known as arm-slashing cult²⁴; it is a possession cult and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character. It is widespread in the area; during the colonial era



Photo 22: A *mam gabra* site with typical enclosure

it was banned by the authorities.²⁵ The Piya took over the cult from the Karimjo (Kyu) or the Kulung. The *wurbo* variant was imported by a man called Hananika from the Angodeeru clan about 70 years ago from the river Benue. Women may join the dances during the celebrations, but may not be present during the rituals performed within the shrine enclosure. A person who wants to join the cult has to undergo an initiation including being

sprayed with a concoction: the chief priest chews the seeds of alligator pepper (*Aframomum melegueta*)²⁶, the novice kneels down in front of him and the priest blows the concoction on him. *Mam gabra* is celebrated at the same time as *core eku*.

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.

Nàká – takes place in April, before clearing of the farms, and marks the start of the farming season. Beans, guinea corn and ground peanuts are offered to the *kindima*. The festivity was taken over from the Pero of Gwandum, who call it Podopok. The Pireego section of the Piya also call this festival Podopok. It is called *malapiu* by the Kulung. *Nàká* is performed in different localities in a successive order: *naka* is started at Filiya, then it is celebrated at Gundali, then Daja, Ameshe and Senge, before it is performed among the Pireego-Piya, here first at Hakuri (Baaku), then at Pitiko, then at Mutum Daya. After the Piya have performed *naka*, the Kwonci and then the Kode continue with it.

Core Eku - takes place in July-August, and is a celebration addressing not only the *eku* spirit, but also the other *kindima* entities. Chickens, billy goats, millet beer and porridge with a special sauce (*miyang dargaza*) are sacrificed. Women, children or un-initiated persons are not allowed to take part or even watch the celebrations, because the *kindima* masquerades make an appearance; on the same day other *kindima* idols such as *jugey* and *vonge* are also celebrated. The ceremonies last for three days. Participants ask for forgiveness for all the bad things they have done, the ancestors are worshipped, and in their chants they praise

²⁴ Cf. Meek 1934: 263.

²⁵ NAK YolaProf 5640 – Report on Wurkum District by A.D.O Brierly, p. 7-8.

²⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Katharina Neuman for identifying that plant. According to Meek (1934: 263), seeds of the *azakami* (?) plant are used among the Kulung.

the most outstanding persons who have died and whose souls have joined the *kindima*.

Each clan is performing this ceremony, the clan members are moving around to the various towns where the clan resides. At the same time the celebrations for *mam gabra* are taking place.

Kórò - takes place around August to September, before the harvest of yam and wild yam. Millet beer is sacrificed to *kindima/dodo*.

Kewu – takes place in October and addresses the clan idols (*kindima*) with offerings of millet beer and porridge with a special sauce made from *dargazaa* (H., *Grewia mollis*) and new groundnuts. These idols consist of *jùgè/zugey* (male and most powerful), *ékù* (female) and *vóngè/bonge* (their children), and they have a joint shrine house. They are not making a visual appearance at this occasion but their sounds can be heard. The festivity marks the end of the traditional year and is a kind of thanksgiving, celebrating the new harvest and at the same time the end of time of scarcity. Broken calabashes, baskets, etc. are thrown away and new ones are taken, because now everything starts anew. According to information gathered, *kewu* allows for the consumption of newly harvested guinea corn, millet and beans. However, the same is said about the *peebe* festivity following in time, and more research is necessary to clarify the relationship of these rituals. *Kewu* 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 (in the sequence 1. Kulu – 2. Pireego – 3. Wallo), and at the new moon the Kulung perform their festival (which they call *zolo*), about two weeks later the Kwonci celebrate *kewu*, then the Kode, Leemak, Gomu, Bambuka and Karimjo (Kyu) follow (MS Andrew Haruna).

Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>core eku</i>							—					
<i>koro</i>									—			
<i>keewu</i>										—		
<i>peebe</i>											—	
<i>cuwang</i>												—

Peebe – is an important celebration taking place in November after the harvest of the staple



Photo 23: *Peebe* festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990: dance of wrestlers



Photo 24: Wrestling at *peebe* festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990



Photo 25: Dance of old women at *peebe* festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990

crops guinea corn and beans; the consumption of the new crops is only allowed after *peebe* has been celebrated, otherwise one risks becoming deranged, ill or even die (but see *kewu*). It is said that the *peebe* ritual belongs to the Caxaram clan, and all households of that clan, as well as related groups, are obliged to give two measures from their new corn for the preparation of beer which is then offered to the *kindima* (idol) Ambuka by the clan priest. Other clans either attend the *peebe* of the Caxaram or conduct their own offerings of millet beer to their clan *kindima*. After *burkutu* (millet beer) has been offered to the *kindima*, the following activities are part of the celebrations: *nibít*, a combat show in which armed warriors stage mock battles; *kùng*, a dance of the men wearing iron foot rattles (*kémè*), dancing in a circle; *kánjàng*, dance of the women; *gúrgúró*, dance of the wrestlers; *gbàttá*, a dance whereby the dancers roll their shoulders; *pónóxjímò*, a question and answer chant.



Photo 26: Drummers and jester at *peebe* festivity, Ameshe, Nov. 10, 1990

Cúwáng – about a week after *peebe*, millet beer is offered to the *kindima*, marking the beginning of the salt season, i.e. people may commence to extract salt from appropriate sites on the mountains or along river banks. The salt season lasts until the time of *core eku*; after *core eku* it is not permitted to collect salt until *cuwang* has taken place again.

Healing

Like other Wurkun groups, the Piya have healers that treat their patients with a procedure



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

involving the use of a clay pot. If a person is sick, the patient visits the herbalist with a clay pot, a chicken and guinea corn. He prepares gruel from the grain and sacrifices this and the chicken to a spirit who will give him the power to heal the patient. Some of the millet porridge and the chicken blood stays on the pot. Then he collects herbs, roots, etc. and prepares a concoction in the pot. The patient drinks the concoction and washes himself with it. Cured patients leave their pots with the healer.

Miscellanea

Smallpox is regarded as the result of having committed something evil, for example, as the consequence of having had contact with evil spirits. If someone dies from smallpox, his death is not mourned. A person having contracted smallpox is isolated, and only those who have had smallpox in the past will take care of him. A disease is considered to be a punishment by *kindima*, who cares for the welfare of his people and punishes wrong-doers.

Pεεε is a magical power that allows a person to do extraordinary things, the power can be used for good or bad purposes, for instance to cure illness, ensure a good harvest, or divine the future. It is an individual talent given by God (*yamba*) and is not inherited. If a person has *pεεε* and meets the devil (*limbi*) that persuades him to use the power for evil purposes, then *pεεε* turns into *sóxò*, meaning witchcraft or evil power. The person becomes a witch (*ansoxo*), stealing souls at night and hiding them in the bush.

Gilo are evil water spirits that are able to kill humans.

Kureeru is a big snake providing the flow of water in a spring, it ensures the water always being cool, no matter how hot the weather is.

Taboos

Lion (*turum*) and *safale* (H.,?, a canine animal) are taboo (*wejile*) for the Piya and may not be killed or eaten, because they are considered as friends, and, in turn, these animals would not harm or kill a Piya person. One day a lion had a bone stuck in his throat and would not have survived if an *ampandi* man had not removed it. They made an agreement that neither will kill the other. The Piya regard the relationship with the lion as *ankolo*, i.e. a joking relationship. The Piya may even ask a lion to give them a share of his prey, and they are obliged to help should a lion be in trouble. When meeting a lion, a Piya person will bow down and salute it, saying "*anko anko ankolo, maka bi*"-"go back your way" (MS Andrew Haruna).

If a dead lion is found, a ritual will be performed at the *kindima* shrine of the descent group that found the carcass first, whereby millet beer (*burkutu* H.) is sacrificed.

The tamarind and the false locust (*Prosopis africana*) trees may not be cut down by a Piya person. An exception are blacksmiths who produce hoe handles from the wood. Smoke from a fire made with tamarind wood is used as a treatment against smallpox.

While the above mentioned taboos concern the Piya as a whole, there are also clan specific taboos. For instance, the Cengera clan may not kill cobras, and the Korot clan may not kill baboons. It is believed that farms of the Korot clan will not be destroyed by baboons, and if a person of the Korot clan dies, baboons will come to condole. More clan-specific taboos are listed in the clan table above.

The chameleon is considered to be a messenger of the gods, bringing to them the news if a Piya has died. Therefore, a chameleon must be treated kindly and is not to be killed. Further, it brings luck and no one will chase it out of one's house or farm. It is even indecent to watch chameleons having intercourse.

Women should not eat the meat of *birim* (*yanyawa* H., Fennec fox), *kaya* (Senegal Galago, *Galago senegalensis*), *jiiruk* (?), dog, baboon or monkey.

Women, particularly from the clans at Mt. Tondolo, were not allowed to eat the meat of monkeys or dogs, lest their child will be born with a tail (MS Andrew Haruna).

Glossary²⁷

Piya	gloss	comment
<i>ambandi</i>	owner of mountain	self-designation of the Piya
<i>ambire</i>	jester, clown	
<i>ancudi</i>	bracelet	
<i>andambang</i>	<i>dambang</i> priest	
<i>àngò cà mí</i>	a title at a co-operative work group	<i>barde</i> H.
<i>ansoxo</i>	witch	
<i>ànyà mínà</i>	family	<i>iyali</i> H.
<i>báámòbáámò</i>	cerebrospinal meningitis	
<i>bakka</i>	bow and arrow	
<i>bale kundul</i>	wooden stick attached to a <i>kundul</i>	
<i>bállé</i>	small work-party	<i>karamin gayya</i> H.
<i>báwùlè</i>	co-operative work group	
<i>birim</i>	Fennec fox	<i>yanyawa</i> H.
<i>bòóká</i>	soothsayer	
<i>bólò</i>	piece of iron money	
<i>bóngè</i>	manifestation of <i>kindima</i>	
<i>bóxórà gághù</i>	special sauce	<i>miyan dargaza</i> H.
<i>bude kindima</i>	<i>dodo</i> priest, priest of <i>kindima</i>	
<i>búndù mùndá</i>	granary	made of clay
<i>cáára</i>	trad. spoon made from a flat bone	
<i>cèngàjé</i>	special ritual sickle	
<i>cígbà</i>	descendants, children	
<i>conguli</i>	belief	
<i>core eku / jòrè eku</i>	festival in July-August to celebrate the <i>kindima</i> , with dances and beer, no women are allowed to take part	
<i>cúwáng</i>	festival taking place 9 days after <i>peebe</i> , opens the salt season	
<i>dámbáng</i>	male and female spirits connected with water, manifested in big <i>kundul</i> -like statues	
<i>digì ánjò</i>	pot with three legs	
<i>dogin basu</i>	trad. spice	
<i>dùngdùng</i>	smallpox	<i>agaana</i> H.
<i>ékù / əku</i>	manifestation of <i>kindima</i>	
<i>gbamba</i>	club, cudgel	see also <i>kulang</i>
<i>gbàttá</i>	dance with rolling shoulders	
<i>gbélèng</i>	powdered red earth, hematite (?)	<i>koya</i> H.
<i>génè</i>	dry season	

²⁷ H. = Hausa term.

Piya	gloss	comment
<i>gééré</i>	communal labour, large work group	<i>gayya</i> H.
<i>gilo</i>	evil spirits living in water	
<i>gítà</i>	axe, hatchet	
<i>gítà bálándà</i>	battle axe	
<i>gòxóm</i>	time of harmattan	
<i>gúdé kíndímà</i>	chief priest of <i>kindima/dodo</i>	
<i>gúrgúrò</i>	dance of the wrestlers	
<i>gurmi</i>	lute	
<i>gúúrù</i>	sickle	
<i>gwelen</i> <i>jiribe</i>	light brown clay, used for washing of <i>kundul dodo</i> of the Peelang, appears in Januar-February, wearing a grass costume, punishes insubordinate women in the night	
<i>jiiruk</i>	sp. animal	
<i>jítà</i>	razor blade	
<i>jórè dábáng</i>	celebration of <i>dambang</i> spirits, takes place every three years	
<i>jùgáy/zùgáy</i>	male and most powerful <i>kindima</i> , husband of <i>ékù</i>	
<i>kaya</i>	Senegal Galago	Galago senegalensis
<i>kánjàng</i>	dance of old women	
<i>kaari</i>	wooden stick	
<i>kásh</i>	spear	
<i>kásh wúrin</i>	spear with a broad spearhead	
<i>kebene</i>	buffalo	Piya and Kwonci; <i>bawuna</i> H.
<i>kébnà</i>	<i>kindima, dodo</i> (H.)	Peelang dialect
<i>kéndùm</i> <i>kewu</i>	pot used for offerings to <i>kundul</i> festival taking place in October, millet beer and a sauce made from groundnuts are offered to <i>kindima</i>	
<i>kíndímà</i>	collective spirits of ancestors	<i>dodo</i> H.
<i>kindima Ambuka</i> <i>kórò</i>	<i>kindima</i> of the <i>peebe</i> festival festival taking place in August-September before the harvest of yam and wild yam, beer is sacrificed to the <i>dodo</i>	
<i>kotong</i>	shield	<i>garkuuwaa</i> H.
<i>kúb</i>	chief (in general)	
<i>kúb cíttàu</i>	chief of farmers	<i>sarkin noma</i> H.
<i>kúb minna</i>	head of a quarter in a settlement	
<i>kúb para</i>	leader of a hunt	
<i>kulang</i>	club, cudgel	see also gbamba
<i>kùndúl</i> <i>kùng</i>	wooden idol, can heal illness dance of men with iron rattles around their ankles	<i>gunki</i> H.

Piya	gloss	comment
<i>kùnyó</i>	"girlfriend to a boy"	
<i>kureeru</i>	snake, providing water in a spring	
<i>kwali kindima</i>	food offerings for the <i>dodo</i> , made from the first harvest of the year	
<i>kwánglì kíndímà</i>	deputy priest of <i>kindima</i>	
<i>kwele</i>	snail-shell	<i>kodi</i> H.
<i>kwodo</i>	<i>dodo</i> of the Peelang section	
<i>lèbé</i>	sp. spear	
<i>lèenyá'</i>	age group	
<i>lèenyá mínànò</i>	relatives residing in a homestead	
<i>limbi</i>	devil	
<i>nààní</i>	tutelary spirit of the Congu clan	literally: thunder
<i>máájì</i>	lute player	
<i>mànjìná'</i>	age category, includes all elders who need a stick to walk	
<i>mùnggbúdinà</i>	age category for those who are 25 years or older	
<i>nàká</i>	festivity taking place during planting	
<i>nibít</i>	a show of mock fights	
<i>para</i>	a hunt	
<i>param</i>	decorated wooden trowel	
<i>peebe</i>	festivity taking place in November after the harvest of guinea corn and beans	
<i>pérè'</i>	extraordinary spiritual power	
<i>pidibéré</i>	clan (Hausa <i>zuriya</i>)	
<i>pidimínà</i>	clan (Hausa <i>zuriya</i>)	
<i>píjì</i>	'victory' drum standing on three legs	
<i>pónóxjímò</i>	question and answer songs	
<i>pújò</i>	rainy season	
<i>sígbà</i>	age category of children from 0-15 years old	
<i>sóxò</i>	witchcraft power	
<i>tau</i>	arrow	
<i>turum</i>	lion	
<i>wàamínà</i>	tutelary spirit of a clan	
<i>wájì</i>	knife	
<i>wejile</i>	taboo	
<i>wóllò</i>	cylindrical drum as part of a set of 'victory' drums	
<i>yàmbá</i>	creator god	
<i>yèrè</i>	"young boyfriend to a girl"	
<i>yèrè sígbà</i>	age category of persons from 15-30 years old	
<i>zang</i>	bow	

Piya	gloss	comment
zèerú	calabash spoon	

Plants:

Piya	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
ádàù	riidii	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	white-brown variety
alehu	alayafofo	waterleaf	<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>	
anzita	barkoonoo	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>	
àyó	ramaa	kenaf	<i>Hibiscus cannabinus</i>	Piya & Kwonci
bimo	kaba	dum palm	<i>Hyphaene thebaica</i>	
bisin	makasha	witchweed	<i>Striga hermontheca</i>	
bòkhó	tsaamiyar birii	velvet tamarind	<i>Dialium guineense</i>	
bóròng	maiwaa	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	
bòxó	tsaamiyar biri	velvet tamarind	<i>Dialium guineense</i>	
buro bele	?	sp. tree	?	
càrkí	tamba	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>	
cékùrù	masaraa	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>	
cúlò, súlò	guna	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	
curusho	gautan kaajii	nightshade	<i>Solanum americanum</i>	
cwasit	yaakuuwar daajii	bush roselle	<i>Hibiscus asper</i>	
debe	dīnyaa	black plum tree	<i>Vitex doniana</i>	
deerum	tukurwaa	raffia palm	<i>Raphia sudanica</i>	
dférà	gautaa	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>	
dibit	yaakuuwaa	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	general term
dibit cinpɛ	yaakuuwaa	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	white variety
dibit cintúwi	yaakuuwaa	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	red variety
dùgó	karkashii	false sesame leaves	<i>Ceratotheca sesamoides</i>	
dfúm	waakee	beans		straight variety
érùm	albasaa	onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>	
ésimá	rizgaa	rizga	<i>Plectranthus esculentus</i>	
gánjà	giginya	fan palm	<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>	
gáppà	shinkaafar	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	
gàxú	gyadaa	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	
grigo	laalo	jute	<i>Corchorus sp.</i>	
gwàm	gujiiyaa	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
junde	ceediiyaa	fig tree	<i>Ficus thonningii</i>	
káari jìntónòn	rakee	sugar-cane	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>	
kàbúshè	gwanda	pawpaw	<i>Carica papaya</i>	

Piya	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
<i>kálà</i>	<i>kiriya</i>	false locust	<i>Prosopis africana</i>	
<i>kánzi</i>	<i>kananade</i>	beans		curved variety
<i>kòmbòróóm</i>	<i>kubewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	
<i>kùndúkù</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	
<i>kwéñdi</i>	<i>kuuka</i>	baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>	
<i>kyáu</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	guinea corn general
<i>kyáu fujo / kwácàm</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	red variety
<i>kyáu jinpe</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	white variety
<i>kyaure</i>	?	?	?	tree or shrub
<i>lèeláu</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>	cultivated variety is taller than the recently introduced one
	<i>babban</i>			
<i>lèemú</i>	<i>leemuu</i>	lime, lemon	<i>Citrus aurantium</i>	
<i>lukluk</i>	<i>riimi</i>	silk-cotton tree	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	
<i>mbólà</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	
<i>mècé / meke</i>	<i>doorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>	
<i>módò, mado</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	bulrush millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	
<i>namijin</i>	<i>kadanya</i>	shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>	
<i>nbakka</i>	<i>bakar kayaa</i>	black thorn	<i>Acacia hebecladoides</i>	
<i>níirò</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	black variety
<i>nìisó (Pirago) / nìijó (Kulu)</i>	<i>kadanya</i>	shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>	
<i>pajal</i>	?	sp. tree	?	
<i>paxa</i>	?	sp. tree	?	
<i>piyá</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>	
<i>pú</i>	<i>tumuku</i>	tumuku	<i>Solenostemon rotundifolius</i>	
<i>pùgé</i>	<i>dargazaa</i>	sp. shrub	<i>Grewia mollis</i>	
<i>puro</i>	<i>kansuuwaa</i>	sp. grass	<i>Pennisetum polystachion</i>	
<i>raba</i>	<i>gamba</i>	gamba grass	<i>Andropogon gayanus</i>	
<i>sàndé</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>	
<i>sónji</i>	<i>kabewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	
<i>tàabá</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	
<i>tarat</i>	<i>farin ganyee</i>		<i>Dioscorea sp.</i>	
<i>tofua</i>	<i>toofaa</i>	spear grass	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	
<i>tomatir</i>	<i>tumaatur</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>	
<i>tsoro</i>	<i>taro</i>	sp. shrub	<i>Combretum sericeum</i>	

Piya	Hausa	English	scientific name	comment
<i>úrǵà</i>	<i>kookon biri</i>	snuff-box tree	<i>Oncoba spinosa</i>	
<i>wàpín</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	red-white variety
<i>wóríyàŋ</i>	<i>tzaamiiyaa</i>	tamarind	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	

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Appendix

The following sources, containing information collected more than 60 years before my own research, are appended for the benefit of the reader.

Facsimile of Ira McBride's notes on the Piya (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4))

The missionary Ira McBride was stationed among the Kulung for many years and also collected information on neighbouring ethnic groups.²⁸

PIA- HISTORY

Ba Kpara (or Angbara)

From Chief Ba Kpara, September 14, 1927.

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

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

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

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

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

Angbara (Laba)

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

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

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

²⁸ See Adelberger and Kleinwillinghöfer 2016 for a biography and the publications of McBride.

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

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

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

Angbara

From Dauhd (Alkali), September 17, 1927.

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

Angule

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KULUNG BELIEFS

Yogha Ngun (The Boaconstrictor Snake)

From Sarkin Bambur, February 5, 1928.

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

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

Facsimile of C. K. Meek's ethnographic notes on the Piya (NAK SNP 17 - 21577)

These notes were collected by Meek in 1929 during a short sojourn in Wurkun District. With the exception of the chapter on Kulung,²⁹ they remained unpublished. It is very likely that Meek received a considerable amount of information from Ira McBride (see Adelberger and Kleinwillinghöfer 2016: 9-10).

23

32. (contd.) used among the Gwari to simulate the voices of ancestral ghosts. Bows are usually of bamboo, the leather bow-string being fixed by a loop to a raised knob at the thick end of the bow, and kept in position at the pointed end by the increasing thickness of the wood, i.e. the bow has no eyelet.
33. The Walq. The next group to be considered ^{are} the Walo, a totally different linguistic group, about whom a few notes only were obtained. As already stated the Walq are a branch of the Pero or Fiberno tribe. They are called Pia by the Ba-Kulû, but call themselves Walq, a name which probably means "The Men", as walo = man in a number of languages (e.g. among the Namshi of the Cameroons). There is a tribe known as Walo in French Senegal. One of the Malabu tribal groups calls itself Ngwallo, and one of the Jirai and Hiji groups is called Nwallo.
34. The Walq deny that they were ever subservient to the Jukun or Fulani. They say that their relations with the Jukun were usually friendly, and that the Walq of Bashama gave asylum to the Jukun of Yangkiri (now Gwana) when they were attacked and defeated by Yakubu of Banchi. But on at least one occasion the people of Bashama fought with the Jukun of Gwana, and they fought also among themselves. In former times they were a cannibal tribe.
35. They are organised in small patrilineal exogamous clans. Thus at Angule there are the following clans or kindreds: (a) Anyeragha. (b) Angudelu. (c) Baginje. (d) Andami. (e) Pigenue. (f) Pugaeri. (g) Kpaye. These clans are not nowadays wholly localised, for there are groups of, e.g. Anyeragha at Kirim, Nyam, Dongoro and Dari. Even in the olden days clan organization was doubtless in a constant state of flux, but the safety brought by the British Administration has automatically led to wholesale disruption of clan unity. At the present time the different units of a clan are only brought together at the annual celebration of the rites of Eku or for

²⁹ See Meek 1934.

24

35. the burial rites of some important member of the clan.
(contd.)
36. The Walq claim that the Aku or Eku (the initial vowel is neutral) cult of the Ba-Kulû was derived from them. As already noted this cult is similar to the Aku cult of the Jukun, and they have another cult, their principal cult, known as Kindu Ma, which is possibly of Jukun origin, as Kindo is the Jukun name for the abode of the dead, presided over by Ma or Ama the earth deity. Kindu Ma corresponds to the Basali cult of the Ba-Kulû. It is mainly a cult of ancestors, and rites are carried out ~~in~~ before sowing and harvesting. On the other hand the Walq have, apparently, no earth-deity (like the Jukun). But they have a minor cult known as Dambang, which is possibly the same as the Jukun (and Karim) Dampong, a tutelary genius. They have the usual belief in spirits, and at Angule a monolith can be seen which is supposed to be tenanted by a spirit or spirits and is the object therefore of frequent offerings by passers-by. The Walq have no sun-rites (like the Kona Jukun) but swear by the Sun. When a person dies they say that he goes East (i.e. to the rising sun). The Yungur tribe uses a similar expression and among them the Supreme Being is known as "he of the East." Among the Ba-Kulû, the supreme Deity is Yamba.
37. Like the Ba-Kulû the Walq formerly practised marriage by exchange, with the usual rule that the husband with the fewer children could claim one or more of his exchange sister's children. One of the many advantages of the exchange system was that in a childless marriage the husband would have someone to look after him in his old age, viz. the son of his married sister (or female cousin). On the other hand it frequently happened that a wife ran away without bearing any children. Her husband would then claim the return of his sister and some of her children. The other husband in revenge would sell his sister into slavery. Nevertheless the Walq claim that the old system ensured greater stability in marriage