

Fulani Movement into the Southern Gongola

Area from 1835 to the Present.

Working Paper 8

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1. Introduction.

1.1 General Considerations.

When examining the map of the distribution of Fulani in the southern Gongola area (RIM, 1983a), it is difficult to gain a sense of the evolution of present-day settlement and movement. Political and administrative changes since Nigerian Independence have made substantial differences to patterns of migration and settlement, as well as altering traditional commercial networks. To understand how the Fulani came to pasture or settle in the areas where they are found today helps to account for the nature of relations between agricultural peoples and their pastoral neighbours. In RIM Working Paper IX, which examines these relationships in more detail, the historical circumstances of the initial contact between groups are shown to be a major factor in determining the present situation.

This paper reviews the historical literature on southern Adamawa, but it is based principally upon extensive interviews conducted by RIM in the southern Gongola area between August and October 1983. An account of the penetration of the area by nomadic pastoralists, and their subsequent sedentarization, enables us to gain a better understanding of the motivations and constraints of this process. It emphasizes the role played by disease and drought in stimulating the colonisation of new areas, as well as external political changes. After a general examination of these processes, the paper collates historical material on three specific areas within southern Gongola, the Samba area around Ganye, the Mambila Plateau and the lowland areas east of the Benue valley.

Two appendices to this paper list all the Fulani subdivisions, *lenyol*, encountered in the southern Gongola area. The first Appendix records the town where they were met, while the second combines all the names into a single alphabetical list and attempts to establish standard orthographies. The stated origin of each subdivision is given where this is known, as well as any other bibliographic references on the group. The paucity of data on

all but the most well-known sections argues the inadequacy of field data available for this area of Nigeria. The third Appendix is an abbreviated translation of a table in Dupire (1970:313) showing the hierarchy of Fulani social organization, and explaining some of the terms used in the text.

1.2 The Significance of Historical Data for Development Studies.

This type of data is valuable in the planning of development projects for several reasons;

a) It illuminates the motivations and constraints on the expansion of the principal cattle-rearers in the survey area, the Fulani, and allows us to predict with more confidence their response to any projected innovation.

b) Since one of the principal obstacles to the development of mixed farming or larger-scale livestock operations is uncertainty over land tenure, it should be recognised that the basis for claims of this nature is essentially historical. In other words, rights in land are conceived both of traditional land tenure (and these are extremely varied), and in terms of the occupation of the land. In view of the serious nature of conflicts over land rights in some areas of the Toungo Block (see RIM Working Paper IX for greater detail on this point), it is essential for any development project that hopes to assist stock-rearers to obtain Certificates of Occupancy, for example, to be aware of the historical basis for inevitable claims and counter-claims.

c) In highlighting the diversity, both social and ecological, of the survey area, and unravelling some of the historical threads responsible for this, it can help to suggest more sensitive approaches to the specific problems stock-rearers must deal with in their own area.

1.3 Two Types of Fulani Expansion.

When attempting to understand the movement of Fulani, an important distinction should be borne in mind. Fulani have spread through West Africa as a result of two very different processes. Nomadic herders seem to have begun the slow drift from Senegambia and the high plateaux of the Futa Jalon in modern-day Guinea more than a thousand years ago. At some point in their history they must have gained access to the zebu, humped longhorn cattle, for most of the cattle in their homeland are presently 'ndama' humpless cattle (ILCA, 1979,I:35). The capacity for drought and famine-resistance typical of these humped cattle meant that the more marginal environments north of the forest zone could be exploited, and this permitted the gradual expansion eastward through the Sahel. The colonisation of particular areas was in response to a calculus that included the factors of disease, water, population density, species of grass and soil erosion.

This drift is in sharp contrast to another movement, the purposive, militaristic expansion that began with the Jihad of Usman dan Fodio in Sokoto in 1807. Although most herders until recently maintained their traditional religion, a core of settled Fulani, with limited stock, converted to Islam, probably in the mid-eighteenth century. They rapidly became scholars and mallams, and soon entered the religious and commercial networks that were by this time beginning to interconnect the whole Sahel region, from the Empire of Bornu in the east to the Mande kingdoms of Segou in the inland Delta of Mali. Settled Fulani, **FulBe siire**, became scholars, traders, musicians and warriors and their early successes in the Sokoto area initiated a process of conquest that was only ended by the take-over of the colonial powers at the end of the nineteenth century. The whole of Adamawa was conquered and divided into Lamidates, modelled on the Emirates of northern Nigeria. The rapidity and efficiency of this expansion forms a dramatic contrast with the gentle drift characteristic of the nomads.

2. Social Organization of Settled and Nomadic Fulani.

2.1 The Fulani in the Towns.

The process of settlement and conversion referred to above allowed for the evolution of a wholly different social system. Islam permitted men to have four wives, and an almost unlimited number of concubines. The concubine regulation was used to allow for extensive in-marriage with local agricultural populations. As cattle came to play a declining role in household economy, cereal cultivation supplied the main needs of the household, and Fulani men found it necessary to import the agricultural skills of women.

Conversion to Islam also allowed for economic specialisation, and Fulani rapidly became expert in a number of professions. Moreover, they became efficient warriors and developed bureaucratic hierarchies to facilitate the transmission of power. The Lamidates of northern Cameroun, such as Ngaundere and Rey Buba, show very clearly the 'borrowed' nature of the trappings of power. The courts adapted their regalia either from the Hausa emirates, or from the old courts of Bornu. These FulBe siire, as they are known, have retained considerable authority and prestige, despite the turbulent political history of the last century.

2.2 Semi-Settled or Transhumant Fulani in Rural Areas.

Both numerically and economically, the most common type of Fulani are the semi-settled groups, who are found almost throughout southern Gongola, particularly in the Ganye and Mambila areas. These were nomads who have found the pasture in one area sufficiently abundant to support their herd for at least part of the year and responded by building permanent houses and in some cases, also farms. The lactating herd stays permanently around the house, with most of the women, and the old people. During the dry season, the young men, or hired herders, take the cattle to pasture near a river.

Although semi-settled, these Fulani continue to partake of the value-system of their nomadic relatives to a considerable extent. They regard stock-rearing as a high-status activity, and farming as low-status, although regrettably necessary at times. They are more willing to put their stock on the market than the nomads, but this may only reflect the greater demand for cash inevitable for settled individuals. In principle they retain the endogamous ideology of the nomads, only marrying Fulani women, but in practice there are many exceptions to this rule, particularly in the Samba area, where the forging of links with the agricultural community is seen as essential.

2.3 Nomadic Fulani.

The most immediate differences between the Nomads and the other two groups are in religion, and marriage preferences. Although most nomads today are nominally Muslim, their conversion is of recent date, and they frequently do not observe Islamic dietary laws, nor the hours of prayer. Groups such as the Kiri were traditionally non-Islamic. Similarly, most nomadic groups maintain strict endogamy, that is they only marry within their own groups. This accounts for the characteristic physical appearance of the nomads, and the degree of separateness they have retained, culturally from the agricultural peoples with whom they live in symbiosis. Not only do they marry within their own people, but the most desired marriage is that between cross-cousins, in other words the marriage of the sons and daughters of full or half-brothers marrying. This practice leads to the frequent (false) accusations made against them by agriculturalists that they practice incest. The function of this marriage rule is to keep agnatic, that is, reckoned through the father, lineage groups together, and thus retain property within a single lineage group. Another related practice, widow inheritance, acts further to concentrate property in the same way.

As with nomads everywhere, flexibility is the key to herding strategies, and the need to adapt to the distribution of resources, means

that no large-scale political structures can be built up. In an exposition of the herding patterns of the WoDaaBe in Niger, Maliki (1981) shows that every major decision about herd movement and access to water must be validated collectively, and that family units disagreeing with camp policy can and do exercise the option of leaving. The leaders of the community throughout the southern Gongola area are the Ardos, who are elected, and may be deposed through the medium of public meetings. The Ardo is designated to mediate for the community of herders with the wider political entities, whether local or state governments, or the Emirates and Lamidates in the pre-colonial era. [1]

3. The Establishment of Political Authority in the Southern Adamawa Area.

3.1 The Eastern Towns.

The initial penetration of Fulani herders into Borno and northern Adamawa is unknown, but the best guesses presently available suggest that it took place at the end of the sixteenth century (Mohammadou, 1981:240). However, the establishment of political control in the area is generally associated with the rise to power of Modibbo Adama (1809-1847) in the wake of the Jihad initiated from Sokoto in 1807. The establishment of Yola in 1829, and its use as a base for raids against the non-Muslim groups, ultimately led to the establishment of the Lamidates of present-day northern Cameroun. Early travellers and geographers, such as Alis (1892), Flegel (1893), Passarge (1895), Mizon (1896) and Bauer (1904), have provided eye-witness descriptions of the Fulani Lamidates, while while modern accounts of this process may be found in Abubakar (1977), Mohammadou (1964,1967,1978,1981) and Kirk-Greene (1958).

[1] An example of the dissension that can arise when an Ardo is not publicly validated, are the current disputes in the Wukari area. Since the return to civilian rule in 1979, Local Government on Mambila and in the Wukari area has taken it upon itself to appoint some of the Ardos. As these tend to be individuals in favour with the local government, this has caused dissatisfaction among the nomads, who are unwilling to accept their authority.

TRADE-ROUTES IN SOUTHERN ADAMAWA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE COLONIAL ERA.



Map I shows the centres of power in Adamawa in the pre-colonial period and the items of trade that were most significant at this period. It will be clear from their location that the immediate dynamic of urban Fulani expansion was not the search for new pasture, but the establishment of new commercial centres and the increased proselytization for Islam. However, there is no doubt that the founding, or take-over of towns in these areas, particularly where there were nearby highlands made the passage easier for incoming herders, since, unlike in Hausaland, the ruling elites spoke Fulfulde, like their pastoralist cousins.

3.2 The Colonial Period.

The conquest of Cameroun and Nigeria radically changed the patterns of both commerce and stock-raising throughout the whole of southern Adamawa. Tibati was conquered by the German troops in 1899 and Maroua and Rey-Bouba in 1901. In the same year, Lugard's forces reached Yola, and the essential boudaries of the modern nation-states were established.

The priorities of the colonial authorities were often at variance with those of the more traditional rulers. The concern of the administration to raise tax meant that Fulani trade-cattle were viewed favourably as a major source of revenue, and the rate of the jangali cattle-tax was the subject of much administrative correspondence. The slave-trade was eradicated, and much of the long-distance caravan trade, depending on horses and camels, disappeared in the face of roads, railways and accelerated river transport. The growth of the cities in this period also expanded the demand for meat quite considerably, thus beginning the gradual re-orientation of the cattle-trade to the markets of Enugu and other towns in the East. Towns such as Bakundi and Suntai, originally important commercial centres declined, and new centres, such as Ganye, Gembu and Baissa grew up. The colonial administration was concerned to settle the nomadic Fulani, in order to assess more effectively their cattle for both tax and veterinary purposes. In doing so, they had the paradoxical effect of opening up new areas to the graziers, by the eradication of tsetse, and

the creation of new foci for agricultural populations.

4. Fulani Movement into the Samba Area.

The Samba are a large cluster of related people, living on both sides of the Shebshi mountains. The Samba Nnakenyare, who now live around Ganye and Kojoli, have had two historical experiences of the Fulani. Samba oral traditions recount their migration into their present area from further east, and the formation of a nexus of chiefdoms northeast of the Shebshi mountains before the nineteenth century. When the Fulani raids in northern Adamawa began in this area in the 1830's, they appear to have moved into the grassy highlands all along the Shebshi range, from Kiri in the south to Tola and Lamja in the north. The establishment of Kontcha put all their lowland farms under a permanent threat, and this stimulated the development of a self-sufficient agriculture on the plateaux. Zintgraff (1895), who travelled through this area passing from Gashaka to Yola in 1889, seems to have met hardly any agricultural populations.

The descent from the mountains began in about 1900, and what may have been ancient chiefdoms were re-established at Danaba, Kiri and Sugu. Nugent (1914:634) observed that many Samba villages were still on the plateaux of the Shebshi in 1912, and those found on the plain had already begun to make some accommodation with the Fulani. The separation in the plateaux may account for the minor dialectal differences between Samba Nnakenyare, Samba of Mapeo, Samba Daka, Dirim, Lamja and Tola. The Dirim and the Samba Daka descended to the east of the Shebshi, and now live over towards Bali. The cessation of slaving after the German conquest of Cameroun stimulated a movement down from the plateaux, as it did across the border in Cameroun (Boutrais, 1975). However, the rich produce of some of the montane areas, such as Jangani Plateau has induced a substantial population to remain there even today. The Germans sent a number of expeditions from Kontcha to collect tax, through to Sugu and Kojoli, and these are still remembered with animosity.

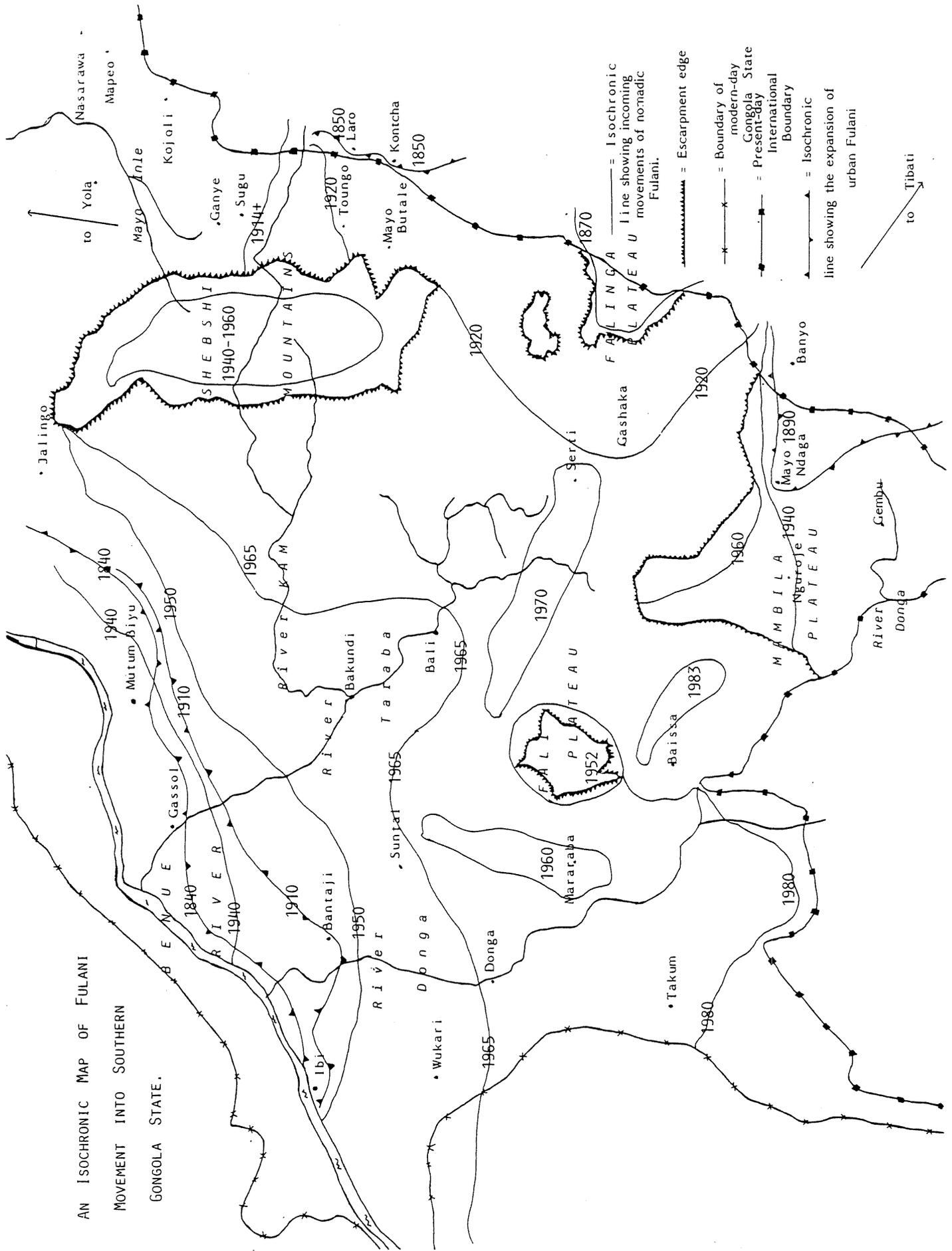
Before the First World War there seem to have been no cattle in the area, except some dwarf shorthorns of the 'muturu' type. After the Germans left, the area was under British mandate from 1919, nomadic Fulani began to arrive in search of pasture and an area that was free of rinderpest. At this time there was a considerably larger agricultural population, for an important trade-route went south from Kontcha and Laro, via Gashaka to Banyo and the grasslands. [2] Migeod (1925) and Detzner (1913, 1923), both of whom travelled this way, encountered peoples as the Potopori and Nyam-nyam, who have since moved east into Cameroun, with the decline of the road to Mayo Selbe and the establishment of game parks.

Fulani herdsmen were initially welcomed by the Samba, as they provided a regular supply of milk and meat, and land was sufficiently plentiful to avoid serious competition for resources. Samba seem to have already begun extensive maize cultivation, and because maize needs fertilization, they were glad to make land available to the Fulani in exchange for manure. The desirable qualities of the area, particularly the free availability of water and low tsetse challenge, seem to have made it sufficiently attractive for most of the newcomers to settle almost immediately, build houses, and begin to practice transhumance. Almost every Samba village is twinned with a Fulani village, and farms of the two groups are often side-by-side.

The Fulani seem to have come from three areas into Samba country; from central Nigeria, Bornu and Cameroun. Map II represents isochronically the movement of nomadic Fulani into the southern Gongola area. The groups from Cameroun, particularly in Kojoli and Sugu, seem to have migrated in recent times. Most of them are the widespread 'Zaafun' who conquered much of north-central Cameroun in the nineteenth century. Most of the settled migrants who arrived between 1920 & 1940 came from Bauchi, Gombe, Wase and

[2] The most important item on this route seems to have been cola nuts, that were grown in the Bamenda area, traded through the Mambila plateau and up to the Muslim towns of Adamawa.

AN ISOCHRONIC MAP OF FULANI
MOVEMENT INTO SOUTHERN
GONGOLA STATE.



the Plateau. Maliki (1982) shows that many of the WoDaaBe in northern Niger also came from central Nigeria in the early part of this century, and the roots of this migration may be traceable to the repopulation of the plains by farmers after the end of the slave-raiding period. Interestingly, the migrations from Bauchi seem to have not been via the obvious route across the Benue, but rather through Yola and northern Adamawa. The reason for this may have been the prevalence of tsetse throughout this area in the early twentieth century, in view of the restricted human population of the area.

Fulani from Bornu seem to have begun to move into the area as a result of the drought in the Sahel in the early Seventies. Although the whole Samba area is now quite heavily populated, there is enough pasture in the dry season to support quite a high nomad population, although paradoxically, many of the local herds are away on transhumance elsewhere. The explanation may be that the nomads, by virtue of their willingness to keep their herds on the move the whole time, can exploit marginal pastures. Sedentarized Fulani, however, seem to prefer dry-season grazing, where they can make use of a permanent encampment, and the pasture in the Ganye area is not sufficient for this type of exploitation.

The high-altitude grasslands were settled by farmers in the nineteenth century or earlier, but their value as pasture to the Fulani only seems to have become apparent in the 1950's. Most of the northern Shebshi grasslands are free from tsetse, and have water throughout the year for at least some animals. As soon as stock-rearers appreciated their value they began to move up, and now all the high altitude grasslands have transhumant Fulani settlements. Groups such as the Daneeji from the Kano area, seem to have been attracted there as late as 1975.

5. The Fulani on Mambila.

Until the coming of the Mambila people, the Plateau seems to have been uninhabited. The Mambila speak a Bantoid language that forms part of the Mambila-Vute group, and their oral traditions record that they split away

from the Vute of Banyo at some time in the past, perhaps as late as the eighteenth century. The social structure of the Mambila has been described in detail by Rehfisch (1974) but this discussion it is important to remark that the Mambila were without hierarchical systems of authority, and were thus unable to organize to combat Fulani incursions. Settlements on Mambila seem to have been along the river valleys, for even today, the Mambila have few compounds north of Nguroje. The shortage of trees on the Plateau for use as firewood also encouraged them to eschew the uplands.

In 1831 the Fulani from Ngaundere conquered Banyo, and it rapidly became one of their most significant outposts in the grasslands. They raided both east and west from Banyo and in particular into the Plateau. This caused the Mambila population to crystallize into small, isolated units, each with refuge areas, and the consequent diversification of Mambila dialects. The opening of the Plateau to the herders, all originally from nomad groups, seems to have occurred in the immediate pre-colonial period. None of the stock-rearers interviewed could trace back the settlement of their family on the Plateau further than eighty years, although there were certainly raiding bases earlier than that.

Fulani on the Mambila Plateau today are, without exception, settled stock-rearers with permanent residences, who practice transhumance. Those with larger herds migrate seasonally either to the Donga valley or down the escarpment to Mayo Selbe and the surrounding area. A map of transhumance routes on the Mambila Plateau accompanies the full wet season ground report (RIM, 1984). Mambila Fulani have two distinct origins - those who came via the Cameroun grasslands, from northern Adamawa, and those who came from central Nigeria, attracted by the lure of extensive pastures and low incidence of disease.

This double entry pattern is reflected in the uneven distribution of cattle breeds on the Plateau. There are three breeds widespread on the Plateau; **rahaji**, with red-brown coats, **daneeji**, white longhorns, and **gudali**, white or flecked shorthorns. From the aerial survey results (RIM, 1983a) it

is possible to show that the **rahaji** are concentrated in the centre, while the two 'white' breeds, **gudali** and **daneeji** are found on the peripheries, especially to the north and west. Although in the lowlands, white, **daneeji**, cattle are preferred by herders because of their alleged greater resistance to trypanosomiasis and drought, favourable conditions on the Plateau have encouraged Fulani to retain the breeds of cattle traditional to their **lenyol**. Most of the groups from Cameroun, who reached Mambila via the Adamawa highlands (Boutrais, 1972) retained red cattle, which, although less disease-resistant, are reported to put on weight more readily. These earlier migrants secured the prime grazing areas in the Donga river valley. More recent settlers arrived directly from central Nigeria, crossing the Benue, and passing through the lowland area along the Taraba river valley. Many of these raise either **daneeji** white longhorns or Sokoto **gudali** shorthorns, but sections with 'red' cattle often converted their herd to 'white' breeds in response to the high tsetse challenge in this area. When they arrived on Mambila, only the less-favoured grassy uplands all around the edges of the escarpment were available, as the river valleys were already occupied by Cameroun Fulani. Fulani living in the northern and western regions of the Plateau usually descend the escarpment in the dry season rather than transhuming to the Donga valley, because of pressure from the already-present 'red' cattle-owners. These recent migrants, the Daneeji, Butanko'en, Dauranko'en and Hwe'en, arrived from the 1940's onwards, expanding the populations of small settlements such as Mai Samari and Mayo Ndaga.

6. The Fulani in the Benue Valley.

The urban Fulani, spreading across the centre of Nigeria in the early nineteenth century, had already crossed the Benue, and begun founding small settlements in the 1800's. After Usman dan Fodio's call to the Jihad in 1804, their campaign expanded. By 1817, Muri was conquered from Gombe, and in the 1820's Jukun country was attacked and made to pay tribute. Gassol and Bantaji were founded in this period, and the centres for the commercial networks found by the first explorers on the Benue were already

established. An account of the struggles between the Fulani and the Samba Leeko of the Donga area is included in Garbosa (1964). However, at this point, there was no massive influx of stock, especially as the whole of the Benue valley must have been a focal point for tsetse at this period.

Aerial survey maps showing distribution of cultivation (RIM, 1983a) indicate that that the eastern Benue area, between the river and the Adamawa highlands is still one of the least populated areas of Nigeria. Even a modern day map gives a slightly false picture, as much of the cultivation along the principal roads has only sprung up in the last ten years as a result of the expansion of Tiv farmers, producing yams on a large scale for the national market. [3] This low population density is difficult to attribute to a specific cause except that this area fell between the Emirates of the north and the old Jukun centres of power in Koroafa. The presence of large quantities of game must have contributed to a high tsetse challenge, and it was therefore unattractive to Fulani herdsmen for this reason. Even today, there are few settled Fulani living in this area. The type of transition from nomadic pastoralist to settled transhumant stock-rearer familiar from the Ganye and Mambila areas seems rarely to have occurred. During the time of RIM's aerial survey, there were considerable numbers of cattle in the area, despite the tsetse challenge, but this was said to be due to herds seeking refuge from the rinderpest epidemic. Under 'normal' conditions, these cattle would be further north for the wet season. The initial penetration of the area, seems to have been in the 1930's and 1940's when the first groups crossed the Benue in search of the high-altitude grasslands. Most of these reached Mambila, and stayed there. As the population pressure on Mambila increased in the 40's and 50's this option became less available. As a result, other alternatives, such as the Fali highlands, were considered, and the first permanent settlement of the Fali Plateau was in 1952. When the grasslands were full, the plains

[3] I am grateful to Fr. T. Casey of the Catholic Mission, Bali, for access to an unpublished map showing the dates of establishment of Tiv communities throughout this part of southern Gongola State.

became increasingly acceptable because of the expansion of farming, and the consequent increased hunting pressure. As hunting causes a decline in the wildlife tsetse vectors, there is reduced contact between livestock and the sylvatic reservoir of trypanosomiasis. In the Wukari area, Fulani only crossed the Benue in the early 1960's, and their concentration around the larger towns of Jukun country suggests they are well aware that this not only provides them with a market for milk and meat, but also reduces risk from trypanosomiasis.

The flexibility of these nomadic groups, such as the Bogoyanko'en, Siwaalbe and WoDaaBe, has meant that they respond rapidly to changing environmental conditions. For example, the bridge at Many, on the road from Donga to Katsina Ala, has been broken since 1980. This has made the area less attractive to commercial cultivators, who are the principal competitors with the Fulani for land and resources throughout this area. As a result there has been a large in-migration of Bogoyanko'en and Daneeji, who have established exchange relations with the Kutep, the traditional inhabitants of the area. None of the sources on the Kutep, such as Pfeffer (1929) and Mgbe (1973), mention this, and it suggests that nomads can evolve new cultural patterns rapidly when the interests of their herds are threatened.

7. Conclusion.

This account demonstrates some of the constraints and stimuli relevant to the expansion of Fulani in the southern Gongola area. Map II summarizes the historical movements of urban and nomadic Fulani with isochronic lines to represent the approximate date of the first regular movement into an area. Although the expansion of the urban FulBe siire is a separate historical process, it is clear that it has acted to 'open the way' for nomad movement in many areas, particularly through the establishment of the Lamidates in northern Cameroun. The principal motives for establishing the Lamidates were not to benefit herds or herders, but to expand commercial networks and secure political and religious authority.

The stock-rearing Fulani population in southern Gongola, with the exception of Bantaji, Gassol and a few towns on the new Wukari-Jalingo road originally entered as nomadic wanderers. The expansion of the herds and herders on the Jos Plateau and Bornu meant that there was pressure to exploit new pastures. Moreover, the rinderpest epidemics, [4] forced herders to seek out remote areas that would allow them to isolate their herds, even at the expense of higher losses from trypanosomiasis and unfamiliar pasture plants.

The pattern of settlement, in the Ganye area, and on the high-altitude grasslands, suggest strongly, that, far from being committed to nomadism, Fulani settle wherever the availability of resources permits this. It is likely that the recent epidemic of rinderpest will permanently effect the pattern of settlement in this area, as it appears to have in the past.

[4] Apparently beginning in West Africa in the 1880's, according to Baier (1980:130).

APPENDIX I.

Fulani Groups Encountered in Southern Gongola.

[The names of Fulani subdivisions given below are exactly as cited by informants in the field. Appendix II sets out the names of these groups alphabetically, and attempts to establish equivalences between some of them. In some interviews informants distinguished between resident and seasonal migrant groups, and this data has been included where available.]

1. The Samba Area.

a) Duksami

Butanko'en, Jo'oDi, WoDaaBe, Zaafun (resident).

Bokoloji (seasonal migrants).

b) Ganye

Ba'el, Butanko'en, Degereeji, Pigaaji, Ve've'be, WoDaaBe Wandu (resident).

c) Jada

Ba'awa, Bo'oDi, Daneeji, Geroogi, Jawolawa, Ningawa, Rahaji, Zaafun (resident).

Bokoloji, Keisu, WoDaaBe (seasonal migrants).

d) Kojoli

Isho'en, Keisu, Kiri, Wuuti'en (resident).

'Mbororo' come from Bornu and Bauchi in the dry season.

e) Sugu

Daneeji, Wiiti (resident).

Butanko'en, Zaafun (seasonal migrants).

f) Toungu

Zaafun (resident).

Daneeji (migrants).

2. The Mambila Plateau.

a) Gembu

Barawanko'en, Butanko'en, Dauranko'en, Gamadanko'en, Rahaji, (resident).

b) Kusuku

Ba'anko, Ba'en, Butanko'en, Kitako'en, Malle, Rahaji, Rogoji (resident).

c) Mai Samari

BoDeeji, Butanko'en, Daneeji, Dauranko'en, Gamanko'en, Majanko'en (resident).

d) Mayo Ndaga

Ba'en, Dauranko'en, Faranko'en, Gamadanko'en, Hwe'en, Naatirbe,

e) Nguroje

Bawanko'en, Daneeji=Akuji, Gudali

f) Zangon Ajiya

Autanko'en, Bornawa, Butanko'en, Dabanko'en, Daneeji, Gamanko'en, Gerooji,
Jaranko'en, Kilba'en, Kiri, Kitako'en, Naatirbe, Wiiti,

3. The Eastern Benue Lowlands.

a) Arufu

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Gorkanko'en, JaawooBe, Manganko'en

b) Bali

Ba'en, Bokoloji, Manshara, Rahaji, Taniraabe, WoDaaBe (all migrants).

c) Bibinu

Daneeji, WoDaaBe (migrants).

d) Chediya

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, BooDi, Daneeji Kano, Daneeji Katsina, Fikaaji, Jaranko'en, Kiri, Konanko'en, Moodanko'en, Naadanko'en, Rahaji, Rimfanko'en, Saadamanko'en, Salanko'en, Tubanko'en, Wageeji, WoDaaBe,

e) Gassol

Badumanko'en, Ba'en, Daneeji, Kiri, Nabaji, Rahaji, Siiwaalbe,

f) Mararaba

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Jalanko'en, Manganko'en, Wageeji, WoDaaBe, (all migrants).

g) Mayo Selbe

Ba'en, Butanko'en, Daneeji, Dauranko'en, Gamanko'en, Rahaji, WoDaaBe,

h) Mutum Biyu

Ba'en, Daneeji, Rahaji, WoDaaBe,

i) Takum

Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji,

j) Wukari

Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Galeeji, Gorkanko'en, Jalanko'en, Rahaji, Siwaalbe, WoDaaBe,

APPENDIX II.

This appendix lists alphabetically all the names of groups cited as present in the southern Gongola area. They are recorded in the form originally given. As some forms are Hausa, and others Fulfulde, I have attempted to normalise them all to a standard Fulfulde spelling. After each name, I have given the place of origin of the group, as far as this is known. In some cases, informants conflicted with published or archival material and I have noted this as far as possible.

Akuji see Daneeji.

Autanko'en. A **suudu** of the Zaafun.

Ba'anko see Bawanko'en.

Ba'awa see Ba'en.

Ba'el see Ba'en.

Ba'en.

One of the most widespread clans in Adamawa, mentioned by Barth, who travelled in this area in the 1850's as one of the original nomadic groups to reach Bornu in the pre-Jihad period.

Barawanko'en. A group from the Barawa area south of Bauchi.

Bawanko'en. Perhaps an elided form of Barawanko'en (q.v.)

Bogoyanko'en. A **lenyol**.

Bokoloji.

BooDi. A **lenyol** that migrated from Kano via Bauchi and Zing.

Bornawa. A Hausa term referring to all migrants from Bornu, in this case probably to WoDaaBe.

Bororo see Mbororo.

Butanko'en. A widespread group from Buta, near Ningi.

Dabanko'en. A **suudu** of the Badumanko'en.

Daneeji.

A large group named for the white long-horns it is specialised in rearing. Their most recent homeland was between Kano and Katsina, and many individuals maintain strong residential ties with this

area. The Daneeji only began to colonise the plateaux of the Shebshi range after 1975, although they have been present on the Mambila plateau since 1950.

Dauranko'en. A group from Daura, a **suudu** of both the Gorkanko'en and the SiwalBe.

Degereeji. A WoDaaBe **lenyol** (Stenning, 1959:196 & Dupire, 1970:325).

Faranko'en. A Zaafun lineage from Ngaundere.

Fikaaji. A group that migrated from Fika town in northeast Central Nigeria.

Galeeji. A **lenyol**.

Gamadanko'en. A lineage of the Jos Fulani.

Gamanko'en. A **lenyol**.

Geroogi see Gerooji.

Gerooji. Also Gerewji. A **lenyol**.

Gorkanko'en. A **lenyol**.

Gudali.

A general name for all groups from the Sokoto area herding the white gudali shorthorn cattle. Often referred to as Uda'en.

Isho'en.

JaawooBe.

Jallanko'en. A **lenyol**.

Jaranko'en. Probably an elided form of Jarawanko'en, a group from the Jarawa area south of Bauchi. A Zaafun **lenyol**.

Jawolawa.

Jo'oDi.

Keisu.

Also Kesu'en. One of the original nomadic groups to enter Adamawa in the pre-Jihad period (Webster, 1917). Originated from Kano, and migrated via Zing.

Kilba'en. A group from the Kilba area, near Hong in northern Gongola State.

Kiri. A sedentary **lenyol** of the Ba'en (Mohammadou, 1981:231).

Kitako'en.

Konanko'en. A **suudu** of the SiwalBe, presumably from Kona in Jukun country.

Majanko'en. A **suudu** of the Zaafun.

Malle. A group from Mali who migrated to the Mambila plateau in the 1960's.

Manganko'en. A group from Manga, near Panyam in Plateau State. A HusooBe lineage.

Manshara. A Hausa name applied to a Fulani section.

Mbororo, also Bororo.

A general name applied by outsiders to all nomadic Fulani. The term is not used by the nomads themselves, who use either FulBe na'i or FulBe ladde.

Moodanko'en. A **suudu** of the SiwalBe.

Naadanko'en. A **suudu** of the SiwalBe.

Naatirbe. A **lenyol**.

Nabaji.

Ningawa. A Hausa term applied to those coming from the Ningi area, a **suudu** of the WeweBBe.

Pigaaji.

Raahaaji.

A term applied to a **lenyol** specialised in the rearing of the 'red' longhorn, known as BoDeeji in the southern Gongola area.

Rimfanko'en. Also Rimpanko'en. A nick-name given a **suudu** of the SiwalBe coming from Kano.

Rogoji.

Saadamanko'en. A **suudu** of the SiwalBe.

Salanko'en.

SiwaalBe.

Also SualBe. A nomadic lineage of the Ba'en, migrating from Zaria, via Bauchi and Zing. A **lenyol** with numerous **suudu** in this area.

TaniraaBe.

Tubanko'en. A **lenyol**.

Uda'en see Gudali.

Ve've'be. also WeweBBe, WeweDBe, -a nomadic lineage of the Ba'en.

Wageeji. Also Waageeji. A **suudu** of the SiwalBe.

Wiiti. A common term applied to settled Fulani in the Samba area. The original FulBe Wiiti claim to have come from Gombe.

Wuuti see Wiiti.

WoDaaBe.

The most widespread group of all, the WoDaaBe are spread from Mali to Sudan. They are divided into numerous lineages (**lenyol**). Most of the WoDaaBe remain nomadic, although they have settled sporadically in areas of southern Gongola.

Zaafun.

Also Djafun, Jafun, Jaafun'en. The Zaafun claim to have come from Bauchi, but most of the groups in southern Gongola have come from northern Cameroun in the recent past. Many of the Lamidates of Adamawa were originally conquered by Zaafun, for example Ngaundere (Pfeffer, 1937).

Appendix III.

The Hierarchy of Nomadic Fulani Social Organization.

(From Dupire, 1970:313).

lenyol Maximal Lineage.

(The largest group claiming a common ancestry, reckoned patrilineally.)

suudu Secondary Lineage.

(The group that the **lenyol** splits into for migrations.)

The **suudu** gathers for the **worso** or annual assembly, usually during the wet season, when it is practical to collect in the same area.

wuro Minimal lineage.

Wuro is also used to refer to 'compound' and is applied to the clusters arriving in the course of a migration.

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