

S.F. NADEL: the field diaries
of
an anthropologist in Nigeria 1935-36

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[Draft Version only: not for quotation without permission]

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Background to the present document

The present document was prepared in the context of a project directed by Dr. Peter Loizos, then lecturer in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics. As part of a broader interest in colonial anthropology, it seemed worthwhile to transcribe the field diaries of Siegfried Nadel, who had taught there for some time and whose diaries formed part of the LSE archive. The original work of transcription was done by George, with funding from the ESRC and the Nuffield Foundation. I was brought into the project at a later stage, when the diaries had been transcribed and typed up. We were able to get the diaries into a word-processor via optical character recognition and from that point I took over basic editorial work on the diaries.

We originally planned to publish the diaries, but although the ms. was submitted to a variety of publishers it was considered too long and not scandalous enough to warrant hard-copy. We tried to sell a shortened version, but this too was shipwrecked. As a consequence, the electronic ms. has lain unused for a long time. The World-Wide-Web seems an obvious way to make available this manuscript which still seems to be of some value and is surely of interest to a growing generation of Nupe scholars. Hence this preliminary posting. Whether this will suggest to a publisher that that this is worth completing and publishing is open to question.

There are some evident defects, reviewing the manuscript after a long time and the writing style now seems a bit antiquated. The bibliography of Nupe studies was kindly updated by Constanze Weise in 2003, but needs further attention. The most important gap are the illustrations. Nadel accompanied much of his fieldwork with sketches and these are ready to scan. It just requires another push to get them scanned and in the manuscript.

Further comments and suggestions are very welcome.

Roger Blench
Cambridge, May 2006

Peter Loizos
LSE

1. Introduction

When Siegfried Nadel and his wife Lisbeth returned to Nigeria, in mid December 1935, he was 32 and had already achieved a great deal in his life. He had enjoyed a brief but largely successful career with music in his native Vienna, which included a doctor of philosophy degree from the university there, and a number of scholarly publications, as well as a tour in Europe as an orchestral conductor. He had become interested in African music and languages, and had moved to London, studied with Malinowski at the London School of Economics, and obtained a prestigious Fellowship to carry out research in Nigeria. He and Meyer Fortes [two of "Malinowski's Mandarins" the most high powered members of a high powered seminar, Kuper, 1984] travelled to West Africa on the same boat. Nadel conducted a year's fieldwork in Bida Emirate in 1934, returned to London and wrote a short rather theoretical doctorate with dispatch during nine months of 1935. Nadel also found the time in that year to write two substantial and richly illustrated articles for publication, one on the evolution of the Nupe state, and the other on the Nupe anti-witch cult.

Yet if Nadel had achieved a good deal, he had also travelled a long distance intellectually and culturally, to do so. He had matured in a Vienna tense with political conflict between socialists, and conservative nationalists. In 1919, while Nadel was a schoolboy the Austrian Social Democrats had defeated two attempts by local communists at a seizure of power. There had been violence between socialists and conservative nationalists in 1927, and anti-Semitism was becoming increasingly public, as the National Socialists in Germany became more prominent. Their success was applauded with by many Austrians yearning for a political union with Germany. Nadel, whose parents were Jewish, cannot have found the atmosphere of Vienna in the late 1920's particularly pleasant. He submitted a thesis to the university of Vienna, in the hope of an academic post, but the committee of appraisal disagreed as to its merits, [it touched on several disciplines without, apparently being central to any] and no post was offered. His biographer, Jana Salat notes that Nadel's change of career, to study anthropology with Malinowski took place, but has found no material to link this major re-orientation to the political circumstances in Vienna. We may speculate that the set-back to his career in academic music, accompanied by a worsening political climate in Vienna, made a period in London and Africa particularly attractive. When news of the Austrian civil war of February 1934 reached Nadel, it cannot have encouraged him to think of returning to Vienna, for from then on his native land was to come increasingly under National Socialist influence.

Nadel's entry into anthropology had, then, aspects of a "late start" in a second career, and this may help us understand the character of the Bida journals. These are five notebooks which run from 15 December 1935, when the Nadels landed in Ibadan, until 19 December 1936, when they have completed a year in Bida, and are in Lagos, preparing to return to Britain. They complement the field notebooks Nadel kept during this second period of Bida research, and are essentially a log, or work-book, noting tasks performed, people encountered, and places visited. There are reflections by Nadel on the progress of his work, including moments of irritation, remarks on the personalities of both African and Europeans and wry comments on the colonial administration. There are also doubts about the adequacy of his knowledge of Nupe society, which actually seem to become stronger rather than weaker towards the end of the second year of field research. Since the journal starts with a return to a known place, and known people, many of whom, and particularly the Africans, Nadel describes as "old friends" there is nothing which looks like the "culture shock" of the newly-arrived fieldworker. The journal does not seem to have been kept with any form of publication in mind, but if we compare it, however inappropriately, with Malinowski's diary, it is notable for the absence of preoccupation with the self. There is almost nothing which we would now call "private" in the journals, although the comments on colonial officials were often scathing enough for to embarrass Nadel had his views become public knowledge. In sum, the

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journals are the record of an ambitious professional, thoroughly immersed in a demanding project, with his eyes sharply if narrowly focussed on the task in hand.

It is a matter of speculation how far the matter-of-fact work-focus of the journals is to be explained by Nadel's personality, including a strong drive towards hard work, which he may have acquired in his Viennese university ethos, and is certainly a feature of German scholarship in the period, and how much the companionship of Lisbeth, herself a student of musicology, with a doctorate to her credit, prevented the kind of loneliness, and self-examination which characterises Malinowski in the Trobriands. They had married in 1926, but as yet had no child [a daughter was born to them later]. Lisbeth, from the evidence of her own all-too-brief journal seems to have enjoyed living in Nigeria, as indeed did Nadel. Neither of them complain in any particulars about the "difficulties" of life there, whether of climate, diet, or personal comfort. This is partly explicable by the fact that they were living the same life style as colonial officials [and were accepted by them socially] - a car, servants, accommodation in government rest houses, and so forth. But these very conditions were often a source of complaint for those less interested in Africa. Most of Nadel's recorded frustrations were to do with the quality of information he thought he was getting [see below] not with the fact of "being there".

Nadel had first gone to Africa on a prestigious Rockefeller Fellowship, part of a new programme set up by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, later the International African Institute. James (1973) has discussed how Malinowski, then one of the [check term] guiding influences in the Institute, was closely involved in promoting applied anthropology and Lackner (1973) has set out the extent to which colonial Nigeria was among the earlier users of "government anthropologists". More recently, Richard Brown [in press?] has argued that Malinowski's involvement was earlier and stronger than James had supposed. I have not been able to discover how Nadel came to choose Bida Emirate for his first major field research, but his major Nupe monograph tell us "I owe special gratitude to Sir Gordon Lethem, Governor of the Leeward Islands, late Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, who first drew my attention to the Nupe tribe." [Nadel,1942:xii]. Why did Lethem refer Nadel to the Nupe? There had been serious political unrest in Bida, immediately prior to Nadel's first fieldwork, and in a later monograph, Nadel gives some mention of this:

"When I first came to Nupe, early in 1934, the topic of witchcraft was one to be avoided. Three years before, the acquittal by the Chief Alkali of three alleged witches, a mother and her two daughters, had led to mob violence and the stoning of the accused in the streets of Bida. Political passion, never quite dormant in the Nupe capital, at once flared up, the town was thrown into violent disorders, and the troops had to be called out to quell the riots. Eventually an uneasy peace was restored, severe punishments having been imposed upon the main culprits; but for some years afterwards the relations between Government and the people remained strained and clouded by mutual distrust..."

[Nadel, 1954:163]

The disturbances in Bida were certainly known to Lethem, and it is reasonable to assume that when a very senior colonial administrator suggests a field research site to a promising young anthropologist, he does not direct him to a place where the authorities have been having law and order problem unless he expects first that the anthropologist will act with discretion and secondly, that the administrators will learn something from the encounter. Nadel's first two publications on completion of his thesis dealt with the theory of the Nupe state, and with the significance of the witch-finding cults. He went out of his way to write about the administrative concerns of the moment, and indeed, by the time he reached Bida for his second research period, copies of the 'Nupe State and Society' had been passed from hand to hand among the administrators, and received most favourably. Many passages in the journal make it clear that Nadel had excellent access to the Bida officials, and was frequently consulted by them.

Nadel's view of how he should conduct himself professionally was a clear and committed one. He felt confident that he could offer insights into the problems faced by administrators which would allow them

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to modify their policies and assumptions. He described this as a principle of "indirect criticism" and "a legitimate scientific device". Nadel used words deliberately, and "indirect criticism" was surely meant as a play upon the policy then current, particularly in Nigeria, whence it had been formulated, of "indirect rule". The implication was, perhaps, that just as the Europeans ruled Africans through small modifications to their existing polities, so scientists would shape policy through minor modifications.

Nadel actively welcomed the opportunity of applied anthropology to be useful "in providing the knowledge of social structure of native groups upon which a sound and harmonious Native Administration, as envisaged in Indirect Rule, should be built." He invited Lord Lugard, who had been responsible for leading the military campaigns of conquest in N. Nigeria, and came later to formulate the idea of Indirect Rule, to write a foreword to *A Black Byzantium*, which Lugard did, with enthusiasm. His second major field research was more explicitly at the request of the administration, when he undertook an examination of the Nuba peoples of Northern Sudan.

Nadel, then, was comfortable enough with the colonial administrations to work closely with them, but this does not make him an uncritical "maintenance engineer" as has been suggested by Faris (1973). He is no supplier of "quick-fix" solutions, and most of his published remarks on policy related matters offer little obvious guidance in matters political. He was more concerned with the long-range directions of social change. However, one of the features of these journals which comes across fairly strongly is the relative disdain Nadel felt for both the policies and their local agents. He is frequently scathing about what he sees as the stupidity and insensitivity of the administrators. He seems to wonder how the ramshackle system survives as well as it does. He writes of how "they" "smash things up", though it is not clear if "they" is more "the British", or "the administrators." There are no unpleasant remarks about the British as such in these pages, although many comments on the alleged lack of intelligence of individuals, and this is more or less the case in his remarks about Africans, although he is prone to make comments about the relatively handsomeness or ugliness as he saw it of whole tribal groups. Much of the time, Nadel seems to judge people on how cogent he finds their accounts of things. He did not suffer fools gladly, whether white fools or black ones. Lisbeth's journal makes numerous references to his being angry, usually with his British colleagues. He was clearly an irritable man.

2. Nadel's Nupe writings in the development of social anthropology

There are several reasons for placing these work journals before a wider public. To start with the most "local": there is now a university in Minna, Niger State, and Nupe scholars are taking an interest in their own recent past, a tendency already well established in the historiography of Nigeria. Nadel's manuscript journals are in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, and that is a long and expensive journey from Minna.

Secondly, there is the more widespread interest shared by scholars of many cultures in the nature of colonial government more generally, and Nigeria particularly. This hardly needs further comment.

Thirdly, the way that earlier anthropologists found their research tasks is of interest to the members of that profession, and its critics. British social anthropology's early development has yet to generate extensive publication about the day-by-day actualities of field research. When anthropologists regarded themselves as social scientists seeking to contribute to an objective understanding of society, accounts of field research might appear to be something of an intellectual luxury, and much in Nadel's later theoretical writing would suggest he would have had little interest in reading such accounts. But more recently, as other views of the epistemological status of the social sciences have gained currency, it has been argued that the manner of inquiry may influence what is learned. The observer's sociological profile is likely to carry its own weight in how the observer is perceived by informants, and what is communicated. To see an anthropologist "at work" may be to see clearly what has been achieved.

In Nadel's case, we are dealing with a figure of importance. While he has not received the kind of attention in textbooks and histories accorded to Malinowski, Firth, Fortes, Gluckman or Leach, his name

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must certainly find a place in the second rank of British scholars of the period. In his brief professional life, he produced five substantial books, numerous articles, and took up a prestigious Chair in the newly-formed Australian National University. He was remembered by his colleagues as an outstanding mind [Raymond Firth, personal communication], and well aware of his pre-eminence.

A case can be made for Nadel's having made a very significant intellectual contribution to the thinking of his contemporaries. This was his analysis of an African state, which was, quite simply the best of its kind, and far ahead of the normal products of functionalist anthropology. I shall argue that Nadel had an understanding of the state as embodiment of class power, and he saw the ritual surrounding monarchy for what it was - an instrument of political mystique, *tout court*. Consider the following passage from Nadel's doctoral thesis:

"Every society creates ideologies which bear upon the purposive contents of operative institutions; these ideologies are entrusted to the educational apparatus, to legal, scientific and religious institutions, and they confer to the various activities in society the conceptual accent of good and bad, of worthy and unworthy, they state ideal types and formulate that central principle of institutionalized activity, 'continuity'. And then society entrusts the regulative influences also to special "psychologically oriented" configurations. Ritual, ceremonial, aesthetic performances, the psychological atmosphere of secrecy or public display, while responding to deeply rooted psychological needs in man, are apt to frame doctrines of control, to become part of regulative institutions..."

(Nadel, 1934:??)

Except for the accent on psychological rather than sociological location, this is not so very far removed from Althusser's view of the relation between the state and ideology.

Consider, too, his account of the importance of warfare in consolidating class rule. First, he notes that local 'right of way' wars had been endemic, but then continues:

"The Nupe state however turned war into an entirely different matter. War became a very one-sided affair in fact. War for conquest, expansion, or slave raiding was decided and carried out by the nobility, by the ruling classes in the capital..."

(Nadel, 1934:??)

Nadel points out that booty and slaves belonged to the fighters only, and "the districts were none the better off for it." When the Fulani conquered the Nupe state, Islam became strongly associated with their domination, acting as a channel of social promotion for some members of the pagan masses, and further acting as a new "mythical charter" for the state itself. Nadel commented sharply "In every babbling little mallam school this propaganda is enacted".

There had been work on the state prior to Nadel, from colonial officers who compiled "king-lists" and collected fragments of relevant custom and "history", and there had been work by political sociologists [Balandier references] such as McIver and Gumplowicz {Ck Sp}. The importance of Nadel's insights were into the nature of the state as a mystifier of its own origins, the clear account of its class structure, the sense of resistance from below breaking out in rebellions. Perhaps not least was to have discerned in Bida Emirate a richness and complexity of social organisation which had clear resonances with the early origins of European civilisations. In borrowing [unacknowledged] Frobenius' term, calling Bida a Black Byzantium, Nadel was surely placing an African polity within the same intellectual space as one of the jewels of Europe, the Christian Empire of the East?

Nadel's desire to make connections did not stop there. In his introduction to Black Byzantium he writes of Fascism, as "the shadow that darkens the face of the world today," and of the politicisation of science, which he felt had been forced on it. "Historical falsifications, racial doctrines, distorted dogmas

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of social necessities, have produced weapons no less deadly than those manufactured in factories and laboratories." The solution was not to see "a spurious detachment", but to find "redemption only in closeness to the problems of our existence as society and civilization" And he continues:

"Wars, suppression, persecution, and the reactions against these forces - -- you will find them all in this book. And you will find them so presented that their relation to the problems of our own social existence is never obscured. I believe that some lessons might be read from these facts: at least, I have tried to write them out as legibly as I could"

[BB:vi]

Both the view of the state, and the role of force, and this attempt to link African to European realities are qualitatively different from the risk-free academicism of Fortes & Evans-Pritchard's preface to *African Political Systems*, written at the same time. But Nadel did not in fact make his lessons as explicit as he intended. The ordinary British citizen, on the way to service in the Second World War, might have been forgiven for not immediately seeing how an understanding of a Nigerian kingdom, and its reactions to British colonial rule could relate to the struggle against the Nazis. The point appears to be that doctrines of racial supremacy were very easily put to the service of the state, and that while states could encourage the flowering of art, craft and elite culture, as had Byzantium, the state could also rapidly and decisively "go bad", because of the lack of checks upon central power. These views were radical and novel, but they appear as minor themes in a vast ethnographic enterprise, and not as the main story.

Had Nadel followed the line of thought upon doctrines of supremacy a little further he would have had to say something fairly radical about the British Empire. His views on the British as imperial rulers, and their views of themselves in relation to African subjects did not find their way into the monograph, except in the guise of applied anthropologists and administrators having differing "principles and necessities" [vii]. But in these journals, as already noted, Nadel appears to view the British without much enthusiasm. His discretion is characteristic of a tendency in European emigre intellectuals of the period, noted by Perry Anderson, ['Socialism and the National Culture']. It was also, perhaps, the prudence of a man who cut his ties with his country of origin, and was dependent for his professional future on employment within an Empire which in 1940 still looked as if it had a long future ahead of it. The reader must judge how far these speculations are justified.

There is one other area of theory in which Nadel can be said to have been ahead of the functionalist "pack" in social anthropology, and that is in his account of the term "tribe". He notes that the people who are willing to use the word "Nupe" of themselves are distributed in seven different emirates, rather than a single political unit; that not all who call themselves "Nupe" speak Nupe, and that "Nupe" is not in a simple sense one language: " 'Dialects', language, language group, or linguistic class - these are all fluid categories, shading into one another, and none of them capable of being identified with tribe or people". [BB: 14] He goes on to argue that those traits which Nupe insist are the defining criteria of Nupeness are not common to all Nupe, nor do they distinguish them from their neighbours. So he is very far from seeing "tribe" as a term which designated a clear cut, bounded cultural group with the apparently coherent identity of a natural species, as Leach has accused Radcliffe-Brown of doing. Instead, Nadel; insists that:

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"The identification of Nupe tribe with a core of Nupe culture represents a concept, a spiritual reality, rather than a critical interpretation of cultural facts. It reflects not the quasi-scientific calculation of more essential against less essential traits, or of a majority of common characteristics as against a minority of dissimilarities, but a phenomenon of a different order, a theory and ideology which ignores divergence *ex definitione*. It represents, in one word, the theory of the Nupe tribe. Our tautological definition of tribe thus reads: a tribe or people is a group the members of which claim unity on the grounds of their conception of a specific common culture."

[BB: 17]

I know of no more sophisticated discussion of "tribe" in any work earlier than 1942, and a number of much later ones which fall short of it. Ironically, this did not necessarily give Nadel a very sophisticated understanding of the actual ethno-linguistic groups in the Bida Emirate. A published view of Nupe and related groups is given in Blench (1989) and Part II of the Introduction discusses and interprets Nadel's understanding of this topic. Viewed from the inside of local ethnography, Nadel's grasp was less sure, in part because of his interest in the Nupe State and absorption by its ideologies.

3. The Manner Of Nadel's Fieldwork

It is now more than seventy years since Nadel's Bida fieldwork, and the political assumptions of Europeans and Nigerians, as well as the training and ethics of social anthropologists have changed a great deal. Many young anthropologists today have tried to live and work "close" to their informants, this spatial metaphor implying living under the same roof, eating the same food, working alongside at common tasks, and an outlook which stresses common humanity, and the right of all persons to be treated with sensitive consideration for their own wishes and preferences. Such doctrines of "closeness" may run into difficulties when informants are powerful, involved in illegal or morally questionable activities, or hold political or metaphysical views the anthropologist finds distasteful. Generally, though, we aspire to get close to those who study, in one way or another. To hear of anthropologists who fast with their informants, sleep with them, marry them, or take their side in a political dispute, sometimes at the cost of their lives, is not uncommon.

Research in the 1930s, particularly in a British colony, was rather different, and although Nadel's journals do not address the issues explicitly, a good deal can be inferred. There is no sign that the Nadel's lived in a Nupe household at any point, and had they tried to do so, they would have certainly come under pressure from local British administrators to refrainⁱ. When they travel out of Bida, they stay in Government 'rest houses' of the kind used by colonial officials when touring, where their food would have been cooked for them and laundry done either by their own servants, or by local resident ones. In Bida, they would have lived in a bungalow, in the Government Residential Area alongside other Europeans. They visited high status Nupe informants in their homes or places of work, participate in weddings and funerals, giving customary gifts.

It is very likely that because Bida was a centre for European officials, the Nadel's lifestyles and research styles were influenced by how the British thought Europeans should behave. In other colonies, at this time, anthropologists could succeed in living more "closely". Rosemary Firth [1972:10] defined fieldwork as "an attempt to understand, by close and direct contact, how a living community works...The close and direct contact between the anthropologist and the society he investigates is a personal and unique experience..."

ⁱ The first Government Anthropologist in Nigeria, N.W. Thomas, was regarded by Government officials as 'altogether a rum person' because of his close involvement with local people. *Roger Blench*

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She goes on to describe the first phase of research as "Separation from one's own culture" and relates how in 1939 she and Raymond Firth found a Malay village with no resident whites, adding "It was unheard-of for Europeans to live without car, refrigerator, or alcohol, to keep open house to the whole village, to eat local food, to walk on the beach, talking to all and sundry and endeavouring to learn not just the language but, worst of all to [learn] Marmat, the strong local dialect of the fishermen..." But she adds "both of us spent uncomfortable periods of depression as the ties with European friends and Western style of living were slowly broken." The Firths had trained with Malinowski, but they were clearly trying to do fieldwork at closer quarters than Nadel.

However, the fact that Rosemary Firth can stress that such a lifestyle was "unheard of" makes it clear that the normal pattern was probably more like the Nadels in Bida. Yet Nadel was perhaps innovating in his own way. The introduction to 'A Black Byzantium' includes a series of acknowledgements:

"Last but not least I owe deep gratitude to all my native friends without whose freely given help my work would not have succeeded: Etsu Ndayako, the Emir of Bida; Mallam Aliyu, the Headmaster of Bida Middle School, who was my teacher in Nupe and my first guide through Bida life; Mallam Ndayako, whom I was proud to call my friend; old Ndakotsu, who is dead now, and who was so close a friend of mine that the Bida people knew me as the *nasara* Ndakotsuⁱⁱ - Ndakotsu's European; and many others, whose words and opinions are quoted in these pages."

(BB:xii)

Nadel mentions Malinowski and Seligman as "teachers and friends" and two Bida missionaries, "most kind friends and helpers." The emphasis we place on the two words "native friends" is discretionary. Should we stress the first term in the phrase, or the second?

Perhaps we should pause longer over the phrase "without whose freely given help...". What is encoded here? Is it about paying or not paying informants? Probably not. Nadel mentions one rare occasions, formal payments for lengthy tasks, as when he asked Mallam XYZ to write out a text on Nupe history. He certainly brought some presents from Britain for some of his informants [p +]. He sometimes purchased objects from craftsmen, which must have eased the process of getting information from them. He often comments on the quality of information received from people, but without any suggestion of good or bad value-for-money.

The question of payment is raised not in order to take a strong ethical view of it. If a researcher takes up time of a person who lives by selling their labour, or is clearly needy, it seems quite reasonable to pay them for their time and efforts. But to buy information by the hour or the dollar seems precarious.

Contemporary fieldworkers, such as Rabinow [19.....] have paid informants, and many anthropologists have found ways of reciprocating by gifts, or assistance. Roger Blench, working in Bida on an exiguous fieldwork grant found that some people, especially in towns, would not give information without payment, and as he could not afford to pay them, he had to do without their help. But the idea of "dashing", i.e. small gifts of cash or kind, is so much a part of Nigerian society that forms of reciprocity-in-advance can hardly be avoided. It is possible that "freely given help" is not meant to suggest the payment issue, but rather is meant to suggest "voluntary co-operation".

What are we to make of this? The journals suggest Nadel had little difficulty getting people to talk to him, but we cannot simply assume that everyone did so on an entirely voluntary basis. The British had conquered Northern Nigeria thirty years before Nadel's Bida research, and were still the undisputed rulers, with the power to depose chiefs and Emirs, to put down rebellions, as they had done in Bida in

ⁱⁱ Taking '*nasara* Ndakotsu' as evidence that Ndakotsu was Nadel's close friend may be evidence more of his capacity for self-delusion. *Roger Blench*

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193 X and to advance the fortunes of those leaders they approved of. These political facts were the framework for the transaction of black-white relations. Nadel was a European on excellent terms both with the senior local Europeans, and with the most senior Nupe rulers and their retainers. This means that most people who met him would see him as a "Big" European whom it was politic to placate. It would not have been necessary for Nadel to have thrown his weight around - he could walk into villages where he had never been before, and rely on co-operation from senior people.

A contemporary anthropologist may have to work harder to get co-operation than Nadel did - indeed, the problems begin with obtaining official research permission. If Nadel really meant to suggest a disinterested voluntarism on the part of his informants, we might suppose him to be insensitive about his own status as a European in a colonial context. But there is reason to suppose that the phrase "freely given help" was formulaic, a form of words to distinguish his research from a governmental inquiry, in which, as with income tax forms, citizens might be legally obliged to co-operate. For at the very end of the journals comes a moment of insight which suggests that at least some of the time, Nadel saw the elements of prostitution which might raise in the course of his inquiries [Grammar?]:

"Go to see Shaba, to ask him about promised Emitwagbada. But he has gone away - to escape me? This really seems the only escape natives have to counteract the white man's demands they are unable to fulfil: to go away, and to lie. (flight and lies). I am angry - but it is really my fault, and they are not to blame."

(fieldnotes 24/10/36)

4. Truth, lies and the quest for certainty

One thing Nadel shares with the Malinowski of the Diary, and N. Chagnon [19XY] is an anxiety about informants telling "lies" as we saw in the passage just quoted. Here is another more explicit passage, dated Kutigi, 29/2/36:

"Try to get clear economic census. But even here, with these great friends of mine, who were overjoyed to see me again, and who last year asked me to intervene in their tax matters, even here I get the data but with great difficulty. And even then some of the facts they tell me are definitely wrong. I have to pin them down sharply to make them confess they are lying. They want me to believe that 2 men work 33 mats each a 10 days per mat, to get the rest of the tax. I ask them, any other trees? They say no - and then I see palm-oil-fruit brought in by the women....They are liars these Nupe "

(fieldnotes 29/2/36)

One problem with a written text is the absence of intonation. Is there heavy sarcasm in "these great friends of mine, who were overjoyed to see me again"? And what did the phrase "pin them down sharply to make them confess they are lying" convey? Was this the "bullying" which Faris thinks he sees in Nadel's Nuba research? [Faris 1973] Or was it something more jocular and humorous? Is the tone of "They are liars, these Nupe" affectionate, or exasperated? All fieldworkers will have experienced frustration and anger with informants who for one reason or another tell them things which are contradictory, implausible, or for some other reason, obviously wrong. But Nadel's numerous references to lies seem to go beyond this.

At earlier periods, whites in Nigeria had developed strong racist stereotypes of blacks as unreliable. Here is Joyce Carey, who was to become a distinguished novelist, writing to his wife in 1917:

"No black man is morally, mentally or physically reliable. Not one you can trust. They're charming fellows, plenty of them...but you cannot trust them"

[quoted in Crowder, M. Revolt in Bussa]

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Carey had only been in Nigeria a very short time when he wrote these thoughts, and one might suppose he was simply repeating the kind of warnings he was getting from "experienced" administrators, on their guard against "greenhorn" naiveté. Carey cannot have held these views for long, since later in life he went on to become a committed propagandist for the release of Africans from colonial rule [Mahood:]

There is nothing in Nadel's journals, written twenty years later than Carey's letter, which suggests such a totally negative view of African "reliability". Can we find other sources for the concern with "lies" other than racial views? Nadel notes many times that Nupe he met in outlying areas were frightened of him and his questioning, and he does not, except in the one passage quoted above about the Shaba, connect fear with evasion. For an intelligent man, this is an odd lapse.

Can it be that the roots of the attitude were deeper, to do with Nadel's whole scientific training and core assumptions? He had trained at the university of Vienna in the 1920s, when the dominant ethos was that of Morris Schlick and other Logical Positivists. [Janik & Toumin, Salat]

The emphasis was on rigorously accurate observation, the dedicated recording of facts, and precision in the formulation of theories to explain the facts collected. Much later in his intellectual career, he wrote *The Foundations*, a book which starts with three epigraphs from philosophers of the [natural] sciences, Hume, Whitehead, and Eddington, and although that book admits the idea of indeterminacy into scientific inquiry, the whole endeavour was to make the social sciences as precise and rigorous as possible on natural science lines. In my view, this was one of the reasons that Nadel's intellectual stock fell after his death - he had simply committed himself to a view which failed to carry most anthropologists with it.

In the journals, however, there is no sign of any indeterminacy in the social world, still less of any relativity of truths from the researcher's point of view. Nadel's task, as he saw it, was to get to the roots of things, to get the facts, in the manner of an investigative journalist, although he would probably have disliked the comparison. While he was well aware of the sense in which informants would emphasise what was politically or economically to their advantage, he did not seem to follow this through. Perhaps had he done so, had he dwelled too much on the technical problems of the process of inquiry, of fieldwork itself, it would have slowed him down too much. The signs are that Nadel was both in career goals and fieldwork style, a man in a hurry, and accordingly he had to persuade himself that his procedures delivered reliable results.

In his more strenuous efforts to get at "the truth" he tried to persuade an informant that he had the power of knowing when any Nupe was telling him the truth simply by looking at the man's face,[pp 369-370] a fine piece of practical psychology, or white man's magic which smacks of prefectorial inquisitions in public schools, or sergeant majors' self presentations to top rookies in basic training [Wow! Grammar!]. But the context of this claim is interesting: he was responding to a Nupe who was trying to persuade Nadel to suppress his knowledge of the Nupe language, conceal himself, and eavesdrop on conversations ! If Nadel was capable of tactical deception in pursuit of his goal, some of his informants were at least as imaginatively devious as he was.

When Nadel thought he was getting close to some kind of conclusion, the journal conveys the pleasure and excitement of the chase. Towards the journal's end, [pp 507-508] he thinks he has learned a new aspect of the myth of the Nupe culture hero Tsoede, supposed founder of the first Nupe state. He comes across the "chains of Tsoede" which were used in royal punishments. He starts to write down "Establish now without any doubt...." and he immediately checks himself, and says "But all these things rather difficult to disentangle..." Then the triumphant tone re-asserts itself "But I can definitely establish 3 important points, and settle once for ever the doubts which arose about them..."

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On another occasion he feels he is getting close to something he has been tracking for weeks. He writes of one informant:

"In great secrecy he confides to me that he had met a man who said he knows somebody who sells the medicine which enables you to see witches. Perhaps he only invented that other man, and makes their medicine himself - ? But now, at last, I hope to find out whether this witchcraft-medicine is reality or just another fiction." [394]

Given that the British had taken such a firm line with people who supported the anti-witchcraft cult, it is hardly surprising that Nadel had trouble getting information about it. He did not resolve the question, is there a Nupe medicine which allegedly helps one see witches?

On another occasion, when Nadel is struggling to understand aspects of Gunnu, the Nupe annual ritual, which he may have thought for some time was the crucial sign of a "core" Nupe cultural belief, he is forced to admit [517] "The information from many sides become more and more contradictory."

In his quest for secure facts, and good quality data, Nadel tended to divide informants into sheep and goats. Good informants were "intelligent", interested in Nupe history, and able to provide new stories or insights, had a good general knowledge of the Nupe world, were self-confident and lively enough to tell Nadel what he wanted to know. Bad informants lacked these qualities. These judgements were applied both to Africans and Europeans, including missionaries and colonial officials, except that, very significantly bad European informants are simply convicted of stupidity, and never of "lying". Perhaps that must be, at the end of the day, the clinching evidence that the attribution of lying was a white-on-black perception.

But in one sense, he reserves his harshest judgements for himself, as can be seen in the following entry:

Extraordinary how one forgets things! now when I ought to have completed everything about Nupe I discover number of questions which I have quite omitted to investigate. Namely: Does one make *Suna* [the child's naming and face-marking ceremony] also with girls?

(2) who eats together in compound, viz who cooks? Is farmwork unit or local unit household unit identical with menage unit?

(3) Details about inheritance and succession of *nusa*, in connection with regulatives which keep extended family within bounds?

(4) What sort of cohabitation practised during the 2 years after birth of child...?

(Fieldnotes, 15/3/36)

A few days later he has answered all four questions but goes on adding more data. Her characteristically expresses the thought that he ought to have completed everything about Nupe by now, and this thought shows very clearly the sense in which he saw fieldwork, under the influence of Vienna Positivism, as a matter of getting the complete, correct answers to a finite number of questions. A few days later, he visits Pici still in pursuit of the four "late" questions

"But quite incidentally two new (though not important) problems of Religion cropped up - again immediately before presumptive completion of investigation! (If that goes on - what shall I miss!?) If these so far unnoticed facts keep on cropping up - where is the guarantee that I have not overlooked or omitted essential facts, which these are not, thanks to God!? Damn, I should like to know if that happens to every anthropologist. But who tells the truth in these matters?

(Fieldnotes, 18/3/36)

White men, it seems, also told lies, when their professional interests were in question. This was another insight which "breaks through" in the journal but was not followed up in the Bida ethnography.

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Modern anthropologists probably have less difficulty over the problem of when to stop, since they have fewer epistemological illusions about the possibility of getting it all or getting it right. For a man who seemed so sure of himself so much of the time, and certainly conveyed an impression of self-satisfaction to his colleagues, these rare moments of real doubt do something to redeem Nadel: from appearing to us as a rather cold-blooded thinking-machine, a kind of anthropological Gradgrind, an element of the man is revealed more like Baudelaire's *hypocrite lecteur*, our fallible brother.

1. Intellectual Background

One of the fascinations of Nadel's field diaries is the divergences between his manuscript writings and his published work. Summarily put, his interests in the period 1934-6 represented a mixture of the ethnological Viennese tradition and the 'new' anthropology he had imbibed at LSE. His complete bibliography, given in Janat's work is an illuminating to the rather straight-laced social anthropologist presented to earnest students.

Thus the diaries recorded not only reflections on social structure, but also include drawings of fish-traps, descriptions of dance and musical instruments, and strange phrases referring to cultural strata. These were almost entirely eliminated by the time he came to produce *Black Byzantium* in 1941. Probably only his article on glass-making in Bida, published in 1940, remains from this era. However, it is useful to not that he was publishing articles on flutes and flute-construction as late as 1934 -something of an obsession with the 'Culture-ethnologists' and which surfaces in the field-diaries.

16/7/36

Yoruba Magic

When I go to see Sarkin Yorubawa of Jebba he shows me in his katamba long thin chains, very much like egban Tsoede, stretched across floor, pressed into mud.

Called eguwa, used to keep of evil spirits. All Yoruba chiefs possess a chain like that. [So - evidently -" chain-as-magic " = a common culture trait both of Nupe and Yoruba]. He also tells me of other (common ?)

19/7/36

The horn-rack definitely culture trait of Kede Gbede

The language of 'culture-traits' would have been very familiar to Nadel from his original training -but would have definitely excluded in the later environment in which he was working.

2. Nadel and the Authorities

Nadel was continuously ambiguous about the British colonial authorities. On the one hand, the field-diaries make quite clear that he was dependent on them in many ways and that he generally socialised with the expatriate community after hours. On the other hand that he was quite critical of the bureaucratic structure of the colonial government. However, nowhere in any of his work is any very profound critique of colonialism; and his later fieldwork in Eritrea and the Nuba hills was more directly linked with the imperial system than the work in Nigeria.

On the one hand he can be quite sarcastic;

27/7 & 28/7 Mokwa

See first of all Mr Sherk, form whom I learn certain interesting and amusing facts.

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As regards the Rani, f.e., he tells me that he had gone down to Raba, and slept in the mausoleum of Mal Dendo, and sacrificed 3 rams as walima and sadaka to the Mallams, in order to win his favour for his fervent wish to be made Shaba! It will not be of much avail, though, for quite apart from personal reasons, Tychmuir was (again) saying that the Government wants to leave the post of Shaba vacant, as long as possible, so that there should be no danger of having a pretender to Etsuship who may turn out to be - ineligible to Administration (What marvellous brand of Indirect Rule, and what broad minded way out of the trouble !!)

On the other, ironical about his own dependence on the system;

26-27/9/36

Arrived in Lokoja we are given an excellent bungalow and recognise in everything the protecting and recommending hand of Kaduna.

3. Language and Linguistics

One of the more ironic features of Nadel's field notes is his self-assurance in matters of language. Nadel was evidently very interested in language -he has a number of separate notebooks of language texts and there are occasional references to his recording activities. He reviewed Abraham's Dictionary of Tiv in 1934 for the Journal Africa (Nadel, 1934), and a number of other linguistic publications.

The Nupe language, like most African languages is extremely difficult to learn, because of its extremely tonal nature. This has been discussed at length elsewhere and the phonemic analysis that is at the basis of modern orthography is given in Appendix 2. The analysis of such languages was in its infancy when Nadel was writing

However, in the case of Nupe, by an extraordinary coincidence, a comprehensive dictionary and grammar was available, far surpassing in accuracy and depth anything that had been published for better-known languages such as Yoruba and Igbo. This was the Banfield dictionary (Banfield, 1914/16) and the Grammar (Banfield and Macintyre, 1915).

It is also perhaps worth noting that despite the interest in language that runs like a thread through his earlier work he published hardly anything on the languages, except his late article (Nadel, 1954) which is distinguished by its inaccuracy. It is hard to understand the reason for this -a possible explanation is that the British social anthropological tradition has long prided itself on its philistine attitude to linguistics [perhaps because of the contrasting enthusiasm for language in the American tradition] and Nadel was swept along by the current of apathy.

Nadel on Gbari

Linguistically: completely different phonetic system. Also: Genitive suffixed!

8/4/36

It is worth noting that Nadel was in some other ways innovative for his period -in particular his use of phonographic recording equipment for texts and music and his interest in photography. Some of Nadel's photographs are published by Janat (1984) but there is no evidence he tried to anything with them in his lifetime.

4. Nadel and history

Siegfried Nadel was relatively unique among his anthropologist contemporaries for his interest in history and the prominent place he awards it in *Black Byzantium*. I have discussed Nadel's use of history in relation to his contemporaries elsewhere (Blench, ms) at greater length. In view of its relevance, these comments are included here in a shortened version.

Nadel (1941:404) includes a short bibliography of some ten references relating to Nupe, some of which, such as Robinson and Lugard, are almost devoid of original material. Oddly enough, the most significant single source, Burdon's 'Notes on Nupe history' (Given by Nadel as 1902, but published 1909) is referred to only in a footnote (BB:76) and omitted from the bibliography. The gazetteer of Nupe Province compiled by Dupigny (1920) must also have been a source of significant historical data -yet it is passed over in silence. To assess the inadequacy of these references they can be compared with the compilation accompanying the essay on Nupe and Yoruba history by Morton-Williams (1968) where more than thirty references that would have been available to Nadel are assembled. Mason (1971/1979) constitutes a comprehensive overview of the archival sources on the Bida kingdom -the great majority of which would have been accessible to Nadel.

This creates something of a puzzle; if Nadel was not interested in history, why devote two chapters of *Black Byzantium* to it? If he was, why should the scholarship of a normally meticulous scholar be so seriously awry? The resolution of this paradox may well be found in Nadel's rationale for dealing with historical material.

Nadel's attitude to history may be gauged from two sources; his notebooks, which throw light on his opposition to 'pseudo-history' and his methodological introduction to Chapter VI of *Black Byzantium* which explains his use of history.

Nadel's view of pseudo-history may well have had rather specific roots. Northern Nigeria was dominated in the decade immediately preceding Nadel's first visit by its governor, H.R. Palmer, who combined his administration with an obsessive and unfocussed interest in both the oral and documented history of the Western Sudan. Many references in the work of Charles Meek, the government anthropologist, to external connections with Egypt, or even further afield, derive less from Meek's conviction than from a desire to please his employer. This had made historical speculation, often with a linguistic element, a respectable occupation for colonial officials. Nadel was still confronting the wake of Palmer's enthusiasms in 1935;

Otherwise chiefly interested in historical and "quasi-historical" subjects: e.g. Kisra legend, origins of Bussa people, Kworarafa migrations, etc. etc. His views rather naive and primitive [sees everywhere concrete migrations, basis always a couple of similar words, or some paraphernalia etc, ... never cultural features of which they know nothing] Shows me files on those subjects, compiled by various D.O.s and A.D.O.s, among others A.B. Matthews. Extraordinary thing! That nobody gets suspicious of the whole thing, one report clearly contradicting another [e.g. "the people do/don't understand each other's language" !!] beats me. Connections [linguistic] based on 32 words [all nouns] and 30 numerals !! Or, of course, on legends - which more probably are misunderstood in 9 cases out of 10]. No wonder that the keynote of the reports is "take any opinion for all it's worth ..." Why then do they write reports at all? No earthly use in them. One only gets confused. But I suppose nobody ever reads them.

(Fieldnotes 18/11/35)

Obviously, Nadel had to be on his guard with respect to the administration. He reviewed books by Meek and Palmer (Nadel, 1933, 1938) and his reviews are remarkably circumspect on the surface. Indeed, given his views, it is probably best to treat them as heavy with irony, odd enough in someone who was generally as humourless as Nadel. In both reviews he is fulsome about the ethnographic data

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and only ventures mild criticisms of the wild speculations that characterise both texts, especially Palmer's (1936) 'Bornu, Sahara and Sudan'.

The further paradox was that despite this attitude Nadel, in the words of a commentator on Herodotos, 'obviously believed some whoppers' -especially when they concerned the Nupe. He enthuses about an improbable conflation of stories evidently made up to suit political realities in the 1930's;

The teacher has come about a good deal, knows many places, and has, from his father good knowledge of Nupe history. I learn most interesting fact about the Nupe having come originally from Kamuku (then at Katsina!!), and being related to Kamuku!! This at once solves mystery of joking-relationship with Katsina (pre-Hausa Katsina!?), also tradition of Egga-people to have come from Katsina originally, and finally the problem of Ndakogboya - this "nordic " and quasi-Hausa cult south of the Niger!! He has himself been at Kusogi Danchi, so he knows all about it. His news about the Kamuku origin of Nupe later confirmed by Sheshi Katsa!!

(Fieldnotes 1/2/36)

In the morning 2 Kakanda-men from Budon visit me.

Take down a few notes. Some surprising facts emerge: a Jukun dynasty in Budon; originally definitely non-Nupe, but largely Nupe-ized as well as (completely) muhammedanized now. Nupe apparently acted as muhammedan missionaries to Kakanda. Relations of tribes, as they see it:

(Fieldnotes 25/9/36)

Needless to say, none of this has been confirmed by later ethnographers nor bears up to examination from the point of view of linguistics. Even Charles Meek, the Government Anthropologist who was Nadel's contemporary, had delivered some sharp words on the implausibility of this type of instant history.

Still, Nadel correctly perceived himself as in opposition to the type of more extravagant speculation promoted by Palmer. Against such a background, he (BB:72-6) opposes 'history' -an entity with two aspects -'ideological' history, linked with Malinowski's concept of a 'mythical charter' and 'objective' or 'real' history, 'which describes and arranges events in accordance with accepted traditions about past happenings and developments.

History functions in Nadel's work essentially to illuminate his theory of the State. His first chapter begins with four pages discussing theories of the origin of the state before any concrete details of Nupe appear. Actual narrative occupies pages 72-84 -the remaining pages to 146 are either descriptions of the synchronic structure of the court or else historical reconstructions, such as when Nadel discusses techniques of warfare (p. 108 ff.). Put shortly, actual history, whether narrative or analysis of societal evolution, only occupies a fragment of the sections apparently devoted to it.

The reason is that Nadel has no interest in history as such. A striking illustration of this is the absence of any reference to the history of the many subgroups who were more or less loosely bound into the Nupe State. Nadel had no interest in weaving together the complex narratives of all the subgroups of Nupe and their neighbours who pass through his account. At one point he says 'From this time, the history of the Nupe kingdom is the history of constant intrigues, fights, wars and rebellions' (BB:80). To turn Malinowski on his head, the narrative section actually serves as a 'mythical charter' for Nadel to illustrate his model of the growth and development of the State. History only exists in 'primitive society' as an illumination of synchronic facts. As Radcliffe-Brown observed elsewhere, to make a synchronic

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structural analysis, the anthropologist is 'abstracting as far as possible from any changes that the structural system may be undergoing' (Radcliffe-Brown & Forde, 1950:3).

An illustration of the results of this strangely equivocal attitude can be seen in his presentation of the history of the Kede (Kyedya) a riverain Nupe group. Nadel's discussion of their political system was published while *Black Byzantium* was still in press. In his field diary for 28/1/36 he says 'Quite good and valuable information about settling history of Kede'. In his published text (Nadel, 1940:170) he says "We are fortunate in possessing data which allow us to trace in detail the history of settlement and population movement in Kede country'. However, without a trace of irony, he proceeds with general remarks that entirely gloss over the detailed evidence this promises. Two pages later he concludes 'Reviewing the history of Kede settlement, we find its dependence on economic factors fully confirmed.' History in this presentation has no autonomous existence but merely functions as a mine to excavate abstractions relevant to the synchronic analysis.

5. Nadel's Research in the context of Nupe Studies

The first bibliography at the end of this study is confined to as complete as possible a list of references to published research materials on Nupe. Broadly speaking, it can be said that there is virtually no new social anthropological material. Published articles and books over the past half-century concentrate on three main areas:

- a) Linguistics. The work of Smith, Madugu and Blench has provided a relatively complete description of the Nupe language
- b) Material culture. The articles of Gobel and Perani have covered Nupe crafts in some detail

6. Conclusion

Nadel's field diaries cannot be compared to the self-revelation provided by Malinowski -they are a very sober record of a hard-working anthropologist with a broad range of interests. Indeed the links with Nadel's published work are sufficiently close for it to be important to underline the interest of publishing them. The main reasons are;

- a) they contain a great deal of unpublished ethnographic material, especially in the area of material culture, and the Gbari and related peoples.
- b) they illuminate the day-to-day practice of anthropological fieldwork in the 1930's and the context of 'colonial anthropology'
- c) a comparison with later published work shows how Nadel used his material selectively to fit in with the prevailing orthodoxies of the British Social Anthropological tradition

Roger Blench

Nadel's arrangement of his text in the notebooks is usually to write continuous entries on the right hand page and reserve the left hand for comments, later notes and sketches. Occasionally long pieces of narrative flow from right to left continuously. This layout is not duplicated in the edition that follows as this would nearly double the published pages. Sketches are placed in the text next to the paragraph to which they apply. Where Nadel has simply appended an additional sentence or comment to his right hand text, this has been silently inserted. Where, however, the exact point of insertion is unclear or the comment is added later to explicate his notes, this is marked in the text.

The general principal has been to try and reproduce the feel of Nadel's notebooks without distracting the flow of reading by an abundance of cross-references and footnotes. Comments are therefore incorporated in the text in square brackets. As far as possible his layout and orthography are followed. Thus his underlining, text alignment, headings and text divisions are reproduced in this edition.

Nadel's English spelling has been silently corrected in trivial cases in order not to distract the reader. Where he uses slightly eccentric vocabulary adapted from German, for example, *technik* instead of technique, this has been retained to give some idea of the flavour of the text.

The same principle has been applied to punctuation; where possible, the original punctuation has been retained. However, where it was necessary to make the text comprehensible, additional marks have been entered. Ungrammatical sentences have been allowed to stand.

Acronyms

The following acronyms are used to signify the languages used by Nadel and translated in square brackets following any given expression.

E.	English
F.	Fulfulde
Fr.	French
G.	German
Gb.	Gbari
H.	Hausa
L.	Latin
N.	Nupe

Typographical Conventions

All words in languages other than English are in Italics, thus; *bara*

Translations of foreign terms are in square brackets following the term. These are rendered in a Helvetica font thus; house-servant. Scientific names for plants etc. are italicised, thus; *Khaya senegalensis*. Direct translations are assumed to be from Nupe unless prefixed with an acronym showing that they are another language, thus H. = Hausa. Occasionally these are mixed in phrases thus; (H./N.) =Hausa & Nupe

All material in brackets in the same font as the text are assumed to be Nadel's parentheses unless they are an editorial note explaining the spatial arrangement of the text thus; [Nadel's note ends p.x]

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All explanatory notes in brackets, other than direct translations, are the editor's interpolations and have been printed in Book Antiqua, thus; [The Esie figures]

Transliteration and translation

The most problematic feature of the editing is the transliteration and translation of the sentences in Nupe and Hausa. Although Nadel was obviously quite proud of his linguistic abilities these seem to have been somewhat limited. The solutions adopted for Nupe and Hausa are given in the following paragraphs. Words in other Nigerian languages are usually left in the form given by Nadel.

NUPE

Nadel's transcriptions of Nupe mark neither tone, nor nasalization consistently, errors which could have been avoided by consultation of Banfield's dictionary. As a result, his versions of the same word often differ in various parts of the notebook, and differ from modern transcription. An accurate transcription of his writing (which he later harmonised in his published work), would therefore multiply the already extensive difficulties in following part of the text. The decision has therefore been to transcribe all Nadel's Nupe according to modern orthographic conventions (Madugu, 1985) as consistently as possible. For example, Nadel sometimes transcribes the pluralisation suffix *zhi* with voiced fricative, *z*, and sometimes with a voiceless fricative, *s*. Voicing is conditioned by the preceding vowel, and is thus not phonemic. All the plurals are thus written in the text *zhi*, in accordance with modern practice. Similarly, nasalization of vowels is marked consistently. However, modern orthography generally marks nasalized vowels in open syllables with a final 'n'. This convention is generally used, since syllables with final consonantal nasals are extremely rare in Nupe. Thus, the Nupe religious ceremony, phonetically Gũnu, with nasalization on the first 'u', is usually written Gunnu.

HAUSA

Hausa poses more difficult problems, as the standard Hausa dictionary (Bargery, 1934), which would have been available to Nadel, proposed an inadequate analysis of Hausa phonology. Abraham's dictionary, first published in 1949, remedied most of these defects in terms of vowel-length and tone-marking. However, modern Nigerian orthography is problematic as it represents neither of these features, nor does it consistently mark implosives (the 'hooked' letters). The orthography used in the Niger Republic is closer to a scholarly transcription.

As Nupe has a number of Hausa loanwords, it is not always clear whether a word is Nupe or Hausa. Sometimes the phonological shape of a word provides a clue -Hausa *Sarki* becomes Nupe *Saraki*, as Nupe does not permit the consonant clusters common in Hausa. As a result, the system used in alphabetising Abraham's dictionary where long vowels and implosives are ignored has been adopted. Tone-marks are omitted.

[This list is confined to writings on Nupe: it omits summaries of material that was later published in full]

This list was updated in 2003 by Constanze Weise, to whom my thanks are due. Dirk Kohnert also kindly helped add some additional references in May 2006.

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NADEL 3/1

15/11/35 - 17/11/35:

Ibadan

Visit of Government College. See special notes on Education. Marvellous Institution, except for one thing: difficulty to see connection with Africa. Completely detached both from land & city. Teachers however maintain that education impossible without segregation. On the other hand, people such as Daniel and Mort [imer] agree with my criticism.

Chief problem: post-school career non-existing (at least that is the impression you gain from the teachers). I.e. every student can be sure of a job. Even the less talented ones, who would not be able to pass the final exam. to go on to Yaba, find jobs of a sort: they have (it is asserted) the moral though not the intellectual gifts necessary for certain jobs (clerks etc).

So far Ibadan does one thing -preparation of students for Yaba, who then will come back as teachers to Ib. or similar school. At the same time Ib[adan] = model school for higher Mission colleges, which have so far not sufficient number of science teachers.

Only one defect of school system is admitted: only worst type of students become teachers in Elementary schools. Explan[ation]: if they could study on they get much higher wages, which are available for clerks etc... "on the top". Remedy? To lower wages "on top" (which is impossible.) or to raise Elem. School teachers' wages -which again looks impossible today. Idea of living for economic success (say Smithies?)

Example for latter: young student of Ib. who showed us round the town -very intelligent boy - had a plan quite worked out how to make money. He wanted 200£ to start with, then he believed to double it in short. Either through lending out bicycles, or buying lorry & introducing new line, or buying up produce from natives & selling it to Europeans. [The latter is chief means of getting rich used by the Ibadan traders who today are very wealthy people].

In the evening, performance of students -Farewell Concert to one of the teachers. Entirely made up themselves, including lime-lights (!) and scenery. Some songs & scenes from American Negro spirituals & one Song in Yoruba. Manner quite excellent. A parody on 'Professors' of various sciences rather too long, but witty in parts (capital of Germany? "Abadie") Stanley and Livingstone were never introduced & therefore never met; Columbus was an Englishman....from quite ? ? of chemical & mathematical formulae). But 3 scenes from the French Revolution nonsensical; just showing how aimless such an education is. [NB At present they are rehearsing The Tempest! They had Julius Caesar last year!]. Some of the boys are definitely born actors. Their talent could more profitably be spent on native plays, i.e.

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plays that had something in common with their lives, their traditions, etc [C.p. Hussey's scheme of 'back to the land' - settlements which nevertheless allow for all the amenities of the town life, e.g. cinema, dances, music. But such a development is since the scheme of education and the examiners on the top [Yaba entrance examination] demand English Literature, Shakespeare!!²

The knowledge of the boys in latin names & terms [biological, zoological etc] stupendous!!

Agricultural experiments on school farm: Rotation of crops: 4 plots, turning round every year; yam, early and late millet, groundnuts and beans. 5th year beans let rot on ground, then buried in the ground as fertilisers & new sowing after that. Practically inexhaustible, going on for 6 years already.

Hist.

Met boy from Benin. Asked him about the Nupe. He knew all about them. Everybody in Benin heard about Nupe. What they know: that the Nupe were very great traders [slave!] and travellers and used to come down as far as Kab[b]a, Onits[h]a, and Benin. He knows nothing whatever of slave-chains, nor has he ever seen any.

Visit to Ibadan Town

Huge place. Quite nice and clear roads. 500,000 population! Surprising number of native motorcars. Beautiful shop windows, for ex[ample], of Ford's.

Also some surprising double storey houses of native traders. Very imposing city hall, up on the hill, overlooking the town, [a Nupe soldier as guard there!!]. Beautiful and expensive mosque. Number of Muhammedans bigger than all other denominations. {On the other hand: we visited in the town the former sacred shrine of Shango. Idols carved in wood, still there. But pan roof houses, a shop in the ? - "Curios", and bicycle spares! - The old headman sitting inside with all his family around, gaping at us. In a moment, a huge crowd has gathered watching us look at the "idols".

The Alake's house (CMG!) has electric light! Quite an imposing building, though quite european style. Fits well into this town of corrugated iron & mud.

1 Some of the boys are teaching themselves piano by correspondence course [also typing!].

2 Hussey managed to get the Yaba final examination recognised by London Univ. as matriculation equivalent to B.A. New commercial course opened at Yaba this year!

The Alkali himself very rich man indeed. Makes thousands of pounds. Chief income: whatever trade is enacted in I[badan] he gets his customary percentage. This is still done by everybody, although the whole thing has not a shadow of legality!! On the other hand, should they refuse it, his influence would be sufficient to make this particular person impossible in the town, and to cut his throat economically.

NB Ibadan only Division of Oyo Prov[ince],
but Resid[ent] half the time at I[badan].

The Government station and the Reservation are miles outside, (N[orth] of Ibadan), the Government Col[lege] 5 miles south - this is characteristic. One does not see any white man in Ibadan town. Administrators and Educators seem to live a life of their own, no connection to native life at all!!

18/11/35 - 19/11/35

Ilorin

Ilorin town much more original native than Ibadan. The official buildings at any rate much more in keeping with native [muhammedan!] character of town, e.g. Emir's court, Mosque and Court house. Market has electric light, very hygienic!

Dinner with Resident - tells me about his great interest in my Nupe article. Turns out very important for province. Shortness of copies - one keen officer copied the whole thing out on the typewriter!! Orders 2 more office copies. [Payne kept his own copy for private use!]

Otherwise chiefly interested in historical and "quasi-historical" subjects: e.g. Kisra legend, origins of Bussa people, Kworarafa [[The name for a group of raiders mentioned in the Kano chronicle, commonly identified with the Jukun. A favourite subject for the pseudo-historical speculations of H.R. Palmer, previously governor of Northern Nigeria.]] migrations, etc. etc. His views rather naive and primitive (sees everywhere concrete migrations, basis always a couple of similar words, or some paraphernalia etc, ... never cultural features of which they know nothing) Shows me files on those subjects, compiled by various D[istrict] O[fficer]s and A.D[istrict] O[fficer]s, among others A.B. Matthews. Extraordinary thing! That nobody gets suspicious of the whole thing, one report clearly contradicting another (e.g. "the people do/don't understand each other's language" !!) beats me. Connections (linguistic) based on 32 words (all nouns) and 30 numerals !! Or, of course, on legends - which more probably are misunderstood in 9 cases out of 10). No wonder that the keynote of the reports is "take any opinion for all it's worth ..." Why then do they write reports at all? No earthly use in them. One only gets confused. But I suppose nobody ever reads them.

Interesting example of how red tape in Nig[eria] works. Daniel wrote something on the Stone Figures which they found near Ilorin [The Esie stone sculptures] He wanted to publish the article so had to ask permission [1] from the G.C. of the N.P., [2] from the Chief Secretary of the Govt. What with letters to and fro it took more than a year to get the final permission [and he is Resident!] He sent his article to Kaduna in May 1933. Then more copies were asked for, etc ... Eventually he got the information from Kaduna that Lagos had granted permission in March 1934!! How long could it take to it had been a more controversial subject !?

Daniel takes me to see the Emir. He is under forty, seems very intelligent and nice.

The day before, I had asked *dogari* [traditional palace-guards] in the market where the *ungwa nufawa* [H. Nupe quarter] were. They said *bayan gidan Sarki so sai* [H. behind the house of the chief]. The Emir however, and his councillors, know nothing at all about a separate Nupe quarter. The Nupe live distributed all over town (I found this correct). But nevertheless, everybody knows their houses. He promises me a messenger of his to take me around the town and show me the Nupe places.

I do this in the afternoon. The Nupe houses are in appearance hardly different from Yoruba house, they are all square huts, only the arrangement is still typically Nupe, i.e.. they have the *Katamba* [entrance-house], and the huts inside the compound, dotted about in Nupe fashion, not the single rectangular compound system of the Yorubas. The huts are not decorated like real Nupe huts, much more primitive & also less well-kept than in Nupe proper.

Quite a number of Nupe houses in Ilorin. I visited 5, and there are more of them. Their profession varies. Of the 5 that I visited there were:

- 2 tailors and embroiderers
- 1 blacksmith (who also repaired sewing machines)
- 1 Mallam (with a mallam school, and also working as Tax mallam)
- 1 Farmer in a small way (*nya'si* [?], otherwise trader)

They live in typical family fashion: a younger brother or son in the compound next door. But no proper "*Efu* [quarter]"! The *emitso* [householder] well-known and recognised, but they have no official head of their own. Under Yoruba ward heads. Seems to work all right though.

History: Most of them have no real recollection. Their grandfathers, once their father, have already settled in Ilorin. Most of them are apparently craftsmen (very few are farmers) who came to Ilorin under or with Etsu Masaba (some recollect the name of Majiya!) They came from various places: I ascertain Bida, Raba, and Shonga, and Patigi (this is recent). No sub-tribal name ascertained! (Except Bida=Beni! and Patigi= Ebagi!!)

NB!! The Nupe of one district of Il[lorin] know very little about each other. Some people tell me there are no Nupe/farmers at Il[lorin]. Others point their houses to me!! Lack of integration!!!

Language: They are all [at least] bilingual. Some of the younger members (e.g. the blacksmith's house they do not understand Nupe too well !!). The Emir's messenger, e.g., is of Nupe extraction, but speaks Nupe only with me privately, almost never in front of the others. Originally I did not realise, because of that, that he knew Nupe at all!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Religion: They are all Muhammedans, and very keen ones at that! They go regularly to the mosque, keep their ablutions, etc. No *kuti* [ceremonies, masquerades] anywhere at I[lorin].

Symbiosis with Yoruba: None - except occasional contact politically, and through trade. Also friendship between the two possible. But intermarriage under no circumstances possible. Nupe men marry Nupe women. No common *egbe* [communal labour] work either. This seems the only hold left. They have no *ena gbarafuzhi* [young men's associations] at all. And no title or ranks of the elders.

Different from these Nupe who are settled at Ilorin are the regular Nupe visitors who come to Ilorin with kola, straw hats, cloth, pots, (*buta*) [H. water-pots], rice, dried fish etc. You can see them on the market every day. They live with friends, in town, not necessarily Nupe, also with Hausa and Yoruba. They don't pay for the stay, but they give their host a present [in kind or kola] when they leave, and buy their food locally [from or through their host!]

NB Physical types:.....very misleading. Once or twice I could have sworn to have before me a Nupe man - and the turned out to be a Yoruba or a Hausa. Dress does so much, and besides, there certainly does exist a mixed type in this area here with all the intermarriage, and a certain assimilation of physical types.

2-21/11/35

Shari (See appendix p. 53)

On the way to Shari, kind of accident: in the narrow bend down to Shari, down hill too, and the road lined with ant-heaps, car gets too fast, and I try to pull brakes to escape 2 antheaps on each side at the same time - and pull car into the ditch. Nothing happened to us or the car, but the trailer nearly overturned, the side boards with all the luggage stuffed in (much too much luggage of course, and all fastened onto the sideboards only, instead of the base) comes off and lies in a heap on the ground. We unload, see that nothing vital is actually damaged, and I go the 2 odd miles to the Rest House and fetch the stuff home. Later, in the day, I fix the trailer provisions with small brackets, nails and hinges, (hinges are really good for everything!). In Jebba I shall have the thing repaired properly.

Shari (Nupe name: Tsarigi) is a charming place. Fairly high, on the last range of hills before the country slides down to the Niger valley. R.H., lovely situated, much too far from the villages, of course, but very nice for a stay.

Up on the edge a sort of platform, very airy, and overlooking the village, with a lovely view. You can see for miles and miles into the country.

Most interesting the quite apparent distinction between Yoruba part and Nupe part of Shari. Like drawn with a line the large square houses suddenly finish and the curved round huts begin immediately. Object lesson of Culture Provinces.

Shari is a double village, half Yoruba and half Nupe, (says Miss Hollenbeck).

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

I should be inclined to question this. Or it may apply to the Emirate as a whole. S[hari] looks as big as Kalifi, 2,000 people altogether.

Until shortly both parts were under a Nupe chief. This worked out badly (information from the Res.), continuous rivalries, petty feuds, quarrels, the Yoruba did not like to be under a Nupe chief. So now there are 2 small independent village chiefs. (The nearest Emir is the Fulani Emir of Shonga)

Visit to the town, talk to the chief, his elders, *alkali*, and others (see Pol. Org. of Shari - file).

There is now a new chief, the old one having been deposed some time ago on account of bribery.

Short description of Shari

Material culture....Quite Nupe style in everything. Very clean kept houses, ornamented mud houses, also arrangements of houses quite Nupe (see household plan of S. chief). New feature: wooden, carved supports for roof of *Katamba*. The same at Shonga. Woodcarvers famous here and Shonga!!

No pottery or weaving in the whole division. Pots came from Yoruba or Jebba.

History, Origins

No proper information to be had. They maintain that they are of no special sub-tribe. *Sai Nupe* [Just Nupe]. And only know one origin: Attagala. They know nothing else.

Question: are they not Ebagi. No, the Patigi people are Ebagi, not they.

Pol. Org., Soc. Org.

Chief, hereditary in family, with previous title 'Shaba'. Title of chief 'Nda Kpwatwo'. 4 chief ranks and 4 (+1= *uban dawaki*, new?) secondary rank. Head ranks have own *efus*, secondary ranks live in chiefs' etc. (*uban dawaki* Agai exception, having *efu* of his own). Besides chief, *efus* of ?? and blacksmiths. 7 altogether, 74 *katambas*, that makes an average of 10 *katamba* in each *efu*. Population of 3000(?).... roughly 40 people per *katamba*.

When I enquired about the number of *katamba* they don't know. Chief then dispatches messenger to tax mallam, who knows and comes back with the information.

Symbiosis with Yoruba

Only as regards personal intercourse. Often feasting together. Also friendship possible. Otherwise nothing. Intermarriage forbidden. None of the men in the chief's house have Yoruba women; if a girl has an affair with a Yoruba it would be seduction, and then of course she will be married off to him, if possible. But parents would never allow ordinary, proper marriage. (In the beginning, they say bluntly,: no, that never occurs. Questioned further, they admit that parents forbid and abhor this marriage, but that it happens from time to time, exactly as seduction or adultery happens.) Curious that Nupe girls marry Yoruba men, though in this roundabout way, and not vice versa! Nupe girls more attractive? Or Yorubas not so strict. I believe the latter. It is interesting to see that everyone knows at once that this or that man is a Yoruba.

NB. No common young men societies. Separate. (Yoruba bigger population pagan!!)

Religion

Strong Muhammedansim in town. *Kuti* in *tungas*. E.g. at Ndala they have *Ndakogb[oya]* and Gunnu. They themselves know nothing about it. But when the Ndala people come to my house to perform Ndakogboya (against my wish!!) the whole village arrived in no time, to watch it. Besides they all explain at once that Gunnu and Ndak. are one and the same thing!

N.B. I walked with some Nupe boys through the village and people came from the farms and greeted me, I answering in Nupe, they laughed and said: they are Yoruba, don't you know.

No muhammedan festival in this area!! Northern Islam!! 2 Islamic strata? Old northern one and younger, linked with jihad, that stretched south beyond the Niger.

Visit to court. Seduction case. (cp law file)

Having learned that Ndala people practise Ndak. I sent word they should come. (Ndala is a small hamlet 3 miles East. of S.)

They arrive in the late afternoon. They again know nothing of their origin, except that they came from Attagala and are Nupe. (See Ndakogb., separate file).

Talk with alkali who is extremely keen on learning all there is to learn about Edegi and the history of the Etsu Nupe. I tell the king a few things and promise to send him the Translation Bureau publication on Tribal History, with the story of Edegi in it. He is grateful to the extent of giving me a cock and promising 'never to forget my name until he dies'. As he is a Fulani proper, of the Gwandu branch of Maliki, this is very characteristic and bears me out in what I said in my NS&C about the Fulani viewing themselves as part and parcel of the Nupe.

22/11/35

Jebba

Visit at Jebba island. Give my friends the photographs. Amusing to watch how they admire photographs and at the same time don't quite believe their eyes. Throw them on the ground and pick them up again, hold them sideways and upside down, look at them actually from every possible angle. But recognise the people on them at once! Very, very grateful.

Also recognised us at once, with all signs of good and pleasant excitement. Address me at once as Shaba.

Talk about news that happened. Had no *kuti* this year. But corn excellent, same with fish, and generally '*sei lafiya*' [all well]. I ask them if the *kutis* of last year had proved useful (rather a leading question I'm afraid). But their reply quite spontaneous: enormously useful! There was no sickness in the village! Not one single person was ill! They ascribe this at once to the *kuti* of last year.

When we arrived there was drumming and singing in the village on the usual feasting place. Young men and women were dancing, the young men had long wooden poles in their hands which they moved rhythmically up and down. Women dancing with them, close together, clapping hands. Later a young man, carrying a fishing net in his hands, joins and playfully threaten to throw fish after dancers. Pause when we come.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Explanation given by Wangwa and others. Funeral 2 months ago one of the people in the village died (the *soasu nya Ndace* -the older brother of the *Ndace*) I know. Now they make his *jin raha* for 2 days. It will be finished tomorrow. No *kuti*, they maintain, linked with it. Just *jin raha*, as they always do whenever big man dies. It ends the same night (i.e. in the 2nd night). Ndace himself, whose elder brother died, is quite cheerful and sits and talks with me as if nothing had happened. The man died was about 40 or 50 years of age he says, or older. No illness -otherwise all the people I know are there and quite well.

In the village itself one only notices that new huts are made everywhere, huts repaired etc.

Soc. organ. NB Ndace ranks identical with Ledu Ndace ranks? Most probably. The young man who was called *Nda nya gbarafuzhi* when I was in Jebba last time now insists on being addressed Tsowa by the other elders, who, half in fun, keep on addressing him Nda.

Tsowa is his new *nusa* title;

Young men's societies....no new societies since. But there will be new ones, which will begin this year, after the harvest.

Political Organization

The Wangwa told me at once that nothing had happened as regards his claim to the chieftainship. The Sufara still the recognised chief, although without proper Geba title. Asks me to do something for him and put things right. He has heard of new Etsu coming to Mokwa tomorrow. Could I intervene then and there? I promise to do what I can.

Story continues in Mokwa the following day

In Mokwa, I met the new D.O., Mr. Tychmuir, who tours the country with the new Etsu. I take the opportunity when I hear that he intends to visit Jebba to inform him about the affair of the Geba and Wangwa. Tell him I informed Capt. Maund of it last year. He shows me the file of Maund in which nothing is said about it. Besides Maund compiled short genealogy of present chief, which demonstrates that present chief, Sufara married daughter of late Geba. This, of course, only proves my case of Sufara having lived as *bara* in Geba's house. But how they didn't get suspicious of Sufara's claim to chieftainship, since he is son-in-law of former chief, beats me. One should expect at least that much knowledge of native institutions of inheritance.

Inform D.O. also on types of inheritance system of ranks of Jebba. He is quite surprised to learn that succession is not simply and straightforwardly hereditary everywhere. (Typical -this wanting one rule for everything. Yet the D.O. seems quite intelligent.) Also asking the slightly naive question what the job of every rank-holder is. Ought to be taught the concept of status.

Try to impress on him necessity of having proper chief, although personally I don't defend sticking to old customs for their own sake. Mention Wangwa as candidate agreeable to elders themselves. One difficulty is of course that the Sufara has carried on this job undisputed for 5-6 years. And another difficulty arises out of the fact that his son has been to school and is now properly educated. Would Wangwa have same advantages, asks D.O. Typical situation: Education as barrier instead as unitary

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

factor. Add the fact that Sufara is Muhammedan, who keeps away from the native traditions (see below) and it is exactly as I described in NS&C . Yet D.O. promises to look into the affair.

Interesting corroboration of my statement in the evening through Mr. Sherk. He shows me letter, which he is to present to D.O. later, from Miss Lance at Jebba. She has been suspecting some poisoning cases lately among the patients and is sure the same thing had happened before. It had to do with old women who were ill, had sores on their feet, and were unable to carry on work, got to market and so forth. They were staying with distant relatives and the relatives tried to get rid of these burdensome guest by the simple and efficient means of poisoning them, On the back of all that is -as Miss Lance put it - the fact that the 'Jebba islanders are making a law unto themselves'. There is no proper authority on the island, and it is high time to put the fear of God into them.

Mr. Sherk at once agreed that the real reason for this is the fact that they have no proper chief. He himself knows examples enough for the isolation of the Sufara, and the real popularity and traditional authority of the Wangwa. He observed for example the same thing I observed: when the Sufara came to greet him he came with 2 men, as followers. When the Wangwa came, he had half the village. Mr Sherk independently informed the D[istrict] O[fficer], thus informed and morally strengthened went off to Jebba.

Result: (after talk to D[istrict] O[fficer] who had returned in the meantime, at Bida, **27/11/35**)

The difficulty was that the Sonfara had carried on so long. Nevertheless it was quite clear that the people supported Wangwa. There was another competitor though [of whom Mr Sherk already told me]: the *Ndace Ndagba* [note important position of *Ndace* in Ledu village!!] This *ndace* who by everybody was regarded as a very dangerous person had threatened to kill everybody who would be made Geba. Still, neither his threats, nor his own claim, were taken seriously by the elders. Eventually it was decided to try a compromise. The Sufara was made Geba, but he was instructed to work always in cooperation with elders. Wangwa was made a sort of head-elder, he was given a "*rauni* [H. turban]" by the Etsu and thus singled out from the rest. This solution was suggested to the people and they were asked to discuss it & think it over. In the end they showed themselves reasonable and agree. Friendship between Wangwa and Sonfara was established & everything seems to go smoothly now. Besides, provision was made that after Sonfara's death the office of the new chief should be granted in the old way, i.e. after consultation with the elders, and not become hereditary (of which the danger was quite evident).

The Emir made quite an interesting observation (although the truth of it is hard to ascertain) strong increase in the numbger of Muhammedans on Jebba Island. And real Muhammedanism too, i.e. regular prayers, and so forth!!

23/11/35

Mokwa

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

In Mokwa I met Mr Tychmuir the new D[istrict] O[fficer] Talk with him as described above. He has not heard of, nor seen, my article. Believes I am out after language only. Put him right as to that.

[Later, in Bida, I learn that Wilkie had had my article circulated on the station at present it is in the hands of canteen-man, Mr Park!!]

Also met the new Etsu, who is greatly pleased meeting me again. He travels in great state, with all his nobility, he himself in a lovely Ford. Seems keen on his job, and intelligent. He really obviously is liked by all the people of the places he goes to, and grandly and friendly received everywhere.

Pol[itical] Org[anization]: the Nagya, the former D.H. of Mokwa, who is of the Etsu's family, was "promoted", i.e. called to Bida, and joined the Etsu's personal staff. The Nagya is very proud of that, tells me over and over again about it, and finally asks me to "*da albarka* [give a blessing]", which I do by saying: "*u ci woro, u ge saranyi, u gaga nya panyi* [it is new, it is very good, it is even better than in times before]." This pleased him very much. His successor at Mokwa is the Rani.

The people in Mokwa of course recognise me at once, and show their pleasure quite openly. I visit Samaza first, then Ndagoro and Lile. Photographs are enjoyed immensely. I had 3 prints of the same picture on which the 3 men are together. The Samaza however did not realise till the last moment that they were the same: he only saw himself on his, and kept very careful watch that his picture should not be mixed up with the rest.

All are very satisfied with crops this year. Excellent crops, so everybody says - no locusts! (This is later confirmed by Holmes in Bida - it is besides clearly proved by the early and easy tax returns)

Rel[igion]: The *Elo* [a masquerade] had been performed 14 days ago. I ask them to send one mask up to the Mission house where we are staying, to get a better photograph of it. They agree at once, but it is impossible to get them only to send me the masks alone; they must get *jin shire* [get ready], i.e. a man fully dressed, with the traditional company of bell players & farmers turns up. I get a good picture of the *Eloko* [The larger of the two *Elo* masks]. But *Elogi* mask not in Mokwa at present - lent out (exactly as last year!). Mr. Sherk tells me that the *Elo* this year attracted strangers and guests from very far!!

The migratory season has begun. Everywhere on the road one meets people, in fact one continuous flow of men and women walking, with their loads on their heads, traders from everywhere, going south and north along the main roads. Also a great number of cattle caravans. It is interesting to note the difference in the state of the cattle in various parts of the country: the cattle between Ibadan, Ilorin and Jebba looked pretty lean and poor - evidently due to the long march through dried up, sandy country. Between Mokwa and Bida much better looking - not so long on the way, and besides grass in the river area.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Many strangers (traders etc) stopping in Mokwa for the night. They live, indiscriminately, in houses of natives. They don't pay for it, they buy their food locally, and leave the host a present of 10 to 15 kola-nuts (worth about 1/6 to 2/=). They do not share their profit with them, because Mokwa is for most of them only a stopping, not a trading, place.

Mr Daniel had already told me that I shall meet the deposed Emir of Bussa in Mokwa. He is already living in the Samara's *efu*, and I met him in Samaza's house, where he was sitting and chatting with the other people. He was given 3 months by the Government to build a house of his own. But he seems to enjoy staying on like this, as more or less illustrious guest. He does not seem to realise his position at all. He tries to shake hands with Europeans (Mr Sherk told me that) and on the whole bears himself in rather arrogant fashion. Unsympathetic fellow. Begging for presents and "*albarka* [blessing]". He had been deposed once already, and then re-installed, so he may hope that this will happen again. I ask him, and he says: "*da ikon Allah* [H. it is the will of God]".

24/11/35

Wuya

We see number of Kede canoes on the west bank of the Kaduna. The Kyadya who attend to the ferry, asked about the people in the canoes say: "Strangers and then explain: they are Kede from Muregi. NB: To Kede from Wuya, Kede from Muregi are Strangers!!

26/11/35

Bida

Bida is not much changed. Except for the political changes. The new Etsu up in the Emir's compound. And then Na'ibi in jail (for 9 months). (But his father still Alkali & Liman).

Etsu's name: Muhammadu Ndayako, of the family of Umaru (the Shaba's family, i.e. proper cycle!!). He is comparatively young and has skipped a number of relatives, above all Shaba, who was really hoping for the throne himself, with his 80 years!!

Shaba and new Etsu - same grandfather: Umaru son of Majiya

New Etsu seems liked by everybody. He has made a full brother (same father and mother) D[istrict] H[ead] of Jima, and Nagenu. Held no previous title.

Etsu of course pestered by lots of people to get them jobs, having such a big family this is not quite easy.

Little Ibrahim of (Mal Ndayako's foster child) came with two white ducks as present of welcome. Old Nupe customⁱⁱⁱ.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ducks (a S. American domesticate) can only recently have been introduced from Yorubaland

The little boy quite proudly shows me scar of operation of *kpatsungi* [sleeping sickness], performed on him some months ago. I doubt if it was ever was sleeping sickness. [Dr Ellis examining him in school, finds no swelling, believes it to be mere swelling from lice] operation performed by old man in *lati* [bush].

Questionable for he maintains to have had pains & is said to have had bad swellings on the arms as well.

27/11/35

Mal[lam] Aliyu visits me. No news in Bida except what I know already. He has been to Doko & says that people from hills move more and more down into the valley (?)

He had complimentary letter from Lib, about the notes on Nupe he compiled 2 years ago.

Shillingford and Dr Ellis tell me about new scheme to authoritatively enforce new burial ground. One new burial ground for whole town - of course without any preliminary sounding the ground or trying to find the proper channels through which to work.

The same applies to plan of new town-site which still exists tonight! These people really are a marvel!

New Dr. very keen (perhaps a little too keen?), always arranges children's clinics etc - Unfortunately he has all the women almost driven into the school where he has his clinic. But good for infant mortality statistics. Seems to be very high so far. (No mother who did not lose one infant at least).

28/11/35

I visit Mallam Ndayako in his house. Some friends of his sitting about. He seems greatly pleased with presents I bought him.

His daughter, who is married to Mal[lam] Usman (& at whose wedding I was 2 years ago comes to greet us with her sturdy little boy!).

Market - I found much more sewing machines this year than last time. Explanation: price dropped. Two years ago a sewing machine was £7. It is now £3.

Curious - because food prices went up. Chicken 7d instead 3d. Fulani butter 3½d instead 2d.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Buy mats (Kutigi made, and from other places, e.g. Abuja). Nupe middle-man sells them, makes 1d profit on 1/= 'for food'.

Mats also sold by wives of makers (plain white straw mats).

A Hausa money changer: 1d off a shilling his charge.

Beautiful red coloured saddles of horse-bits. Ask them if they are Hausa. No, Nupe, but their fathers were Hausa, thus they learned this art. Second generation considers itself as Nupe!!

29/11/35

Friday

I go to make my first official visit at the Etsu's house. Since it is Ramadan there is no official *Nko*. The Etsu is at home with friends and *bara* [retainers], but no official visitors.

He receives me gracefully. Long private talk in the new "Audience hall". He expresses his thanks to all the white people through whose favour he got his post. But complains of the Nupe.

"*Nupencishi dede. A ewa za na de aziki na a, a fe u nyi.*" ["The Nupe are bad. They don't want a man to have wealth, they spoil (?) it"]. It is not quite clear with regard to whom? Most probably it is said mainly with regard to his own relatives, i.e. Fulani. He tells me this only as '*injali* [H.?]', and asks me to tell nobody about it, above all not the Mallam Ndayako. (Aha!)

He promises to get me horses.

Afterwards I take some photographs of him, in various positions, with his men elaborately grouped round him. He is extraordinarily vain, changing his costume, and arranging and re-arranging the carpets and curtains of his sofa ...

The new big cannons which stand in front of Etsu's new house are the property of his family, given to his ancestor (Etsu Mohammed?) by the Royal Niger C[ompan]y. He is very proud of them.

At about 3 o'clock he goes to the mosque, & at 4 o'clock he returns, with his great suite, all the notables on horseback, he under the state umbrella, the drummers beating and *kakaki* [royal trumpet] blowing. Really beautiful sight with all the bright colours, the marvellous gowns and dresses, the lovely [[1.shined; 2.shived???]] horses. Curious his (obviously quite new) bodyguard, with broad red bandoliers & swords & grey Stetson felt-hats!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Again a couple of photographs. He gets off his horse especially to group his (dumb) bodyguard properly. He always arranges his cape, pulls his veil over mouth and nose - and then he indicates his preparedness of being photographed. Vain rascal. The old men look at each other and quite visibly restrain their amusement.

30/11/35

Early drive through town, at 8 o'clock & 8.30. Whole town still dead. Just a few women who are coming to their booth. Otherwise everything as though still asleep.

Mallam Ndayako comes in the morning. Talk on witchcraft. He promises to bring along Tsado, the husband of Wusa, the witch who was killed in the Bida affair! Very interesting to see how firmly he believes in w[itchcraft].

Yerima sends mat as present of greeting me. Shall be going to see him tomorrow.

Mal[lam] Aliyu in the afternoon. We play the records which I made. They sound excellent on Mr Parks' gramophone which we use now while ours is out of order. I give him the records for distribution among the eager people of Bida.

NB Park says that there would certainly be a sale for Nupe music records in Hausa country. The Hausa appreciate Nupe music. Next time I shall smuggle in some Nupe music among Hausa records. That will work with U[nited] A[frica] C[ompany] and H.M.V.

1/12/35

In the evening Mal Aliyu sends me chit saying that Yerima just died. His funeral will be tomorrow morning. Lamentations begin tonight.

Shillingford and Doctor for Dinner. Tell me about new publication of Advisory Committee on 'Community Education'. Mentions indispensability of trained anthropologist for the present problems of changing society. Refers to work of Institute. (Hans Vischer's first!?) As it bears upon the scheme for re-orientating education, discussed as by Hussey and me, we shall consider it in detail. Fix fuller discussion for tomorrow.

2/12/35

Funeral of Shaba

At 7.30 am I go the Shaba's official house.(see below)

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Great number of people already assembled. Ndayako among them, to whom I attach myself. Alkali in house. They are waiting for Etsu to hold Salla. All notables present. Shaba's sons still in Shaba's living house - mourning. '*Nyagba nya'a ta* [their heart aches]. 4 men bring the corpse: a longish tight and rigid parcel, white cloth in a mat. Put it inside *katamba* [entrance-house]. [Who carries corpse? Who washes and clothes it?]

Etsu appears with "small suite". Big greeting follows, he comes straight to me, telling me that his brother died. Short polite talk - very polite greeting between himself and Ndayako. Etsu goes inside house. People group themselves, face to wall, rosary in hand. Murmur their prayers led by Alkali. Where exactly buried - under sleeping hut?

Shortly before that 4 sons of Shaba arrive and go to greet Etsu.

After prayer, one gets up and sits down more comfortably, in wide circle. Alkali intoning sort of free 'praise' with blessing formulas after every bar - 3 altogether, repeated by crowd. Alkali himself speaks with very subdued voice, and *gogan* [A blend of interpreter and town-crier], in traditional fashion, repeats it aloud. Corpse is brought back to house and buried at once (hole was dug early in morning). Now pause and polite talk - Etsu gets up and leaves. Finds time to tell me that he found horse for me. We say *au revoir*. Meeting disperses, one goes now to house of Shaba, where his sons repaired to in the meantime, to 'greet' and give '*sadaka* [H. alms]'. We do the same.

In the house I am greeted as old friend. Express my sorrow over death, wanted to see Shaba and thank him for present, but - *Soko a kan* [God will show a light]. People grouped in definite fashion. In entrance *Katamba*, all his friends, senior *bara*, mallams and sons. In the other *katamba* and outside the huts: junior *bara*, sons of *bara* and friends, strangers. In the women's quarters women. In one group the old women: the Shaba's sister, wives and daughters. //Also Sagi. The present Sagi is a sister of the house of the late Etsu Maliki, i.e. a sister of Etsu Bello. The late elder sister of Shaba was Sagi before then.//

In a little distance, his grand-daughters, nieces, and daughters in law. Finally, wives and daughters of friends, *bara* etc ...

//Are the visitors fed? And by whom?//

The women all wear only the simple blue cloth over the head. Some younger women have taken their babies with them. They all affect a serious sad countenance. Some (old women especially) inhale the air which sounds like heavy sighing, & looks like crying. The group of old women is lamenting; i.e. wailing in a long-drawn sing-song. But when Ndayako brings me along & explains that I came to greet them all, (they all know me of course) they stop their wailing and their evident mourning at once - and easily! - and listen to what he says & reply to my greetings. Some of the younger ones even chuckle audibly. As soon as I go, they start wailing and mourning again.

The men have all their best dress. They also keep up the appearance of earnest, dignified mourning, speak in subdued tone etc.

This coming and going for '*emisa* [greetings]' goes on for the whole day. In the morning, after a while, the people return to their houses, and return at *azofuni* [= *lazhin funyi*, **early morning**]. Etc etc for 8 days. One gives *sadaka* to eldest son, once only (a multiple of 4d, i.e. 4d, 8d, 1/= etc.

Shaba's House [cp Pol Org]

The Shaba had formerly a house of his own. When he returned from his District Headship he started living in the official house of his family, i.e. the Etsu's house of his clan. (The house where I visited him). When the new Etsu - who was of his family - was appointed, he had to leave the house, because it was now the new 'clan-head's' official house. Although the new Etsu did not live there, and the house remained empty, and derelict, the Shaba could not stay there. He was eventually buried in his own private house where he lived in the end. The big house was not used for the *salla* because there was more space. See pp. 75 & 76 [i.e. **6/12/35**]

See Shillingford to discuss my 3 points with him:

- 1) co-operative societies for post-school life
- 2) school as [[centre]] for adults [village centre]
- 3) school as recreational centre (introducing plays, concerts, etc.)

He gives me interesting data on the high percentage of unemployed 'intelligentsia' from King's College, - figures appeared in Gazette, and strikingly prove wrong assertions to this point made in Ibadan! //Cp L.G.'s new idea of building 'village halls' in villages!//

Pol org

Appendix to p13 [i.e. **20,21/11/35**] Shari - meeting with Resident

Daniel whom I met at Shari raises interesting point: He found chief of Shonga suspicious of me. Rumours had come to the chief's ear that my investigation had to do with new scheme of Government to take away districts from present (Fulani!) chiefs and hand them back to Nupe proper (sic!) He was afraid of my friendship being used against him. D[aniel] much less constrained. Daniel puts him right to that stressing my sort is only research, with no political or administrative consequences. He should help me in everything.

3/12/35

Early morning (8 o'clock) I visit the mourning house. Number of people already assembled more coming. In *katamba* Shaba's brothers and friends on one side, sons on the other. Eldest son with his own friends outside under sun[?!] roof.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

I am greeted as old friend. Sit down, talk. People less constraint and solemn. But still 'dignified mourning appearance'. I ask them if they sit here and 'baza'[chat] Oh no! They only sit for *emisa* [greeting] and *sadaka* [almsgiving]. No *baza* or such like.

Women segregated as always. Number of women-friends arrive, walk through *Katamba* (without greeting) to join women inside house. I go to greet them. They are really charming. Much less constrained. Still the same simple dress however. But they even joke and laugh, give me their babies to hold. My guide explains: here are all the daughters, and one among them, a lively young person, corrects at once: she is a grand-daughter! The same girl when I ask: where are the old women, imitates very cleverly their sitting or cowering on the floor and wailing.. (Under appreciating laughter of the audience).

The old women sit in the huts (it is a cold morning), but do not 'ti gi' [weep] just then. They make pauses now and again. I greet them as well, they thank in a very dignified manner, particularly the Shaba's eldest sister who presides over her company in own hut.

Customary greeting in such case: '*oku be hankuri*!' [Greetings at your forbearance]

The women of the house may not leave the compound for 8 days. Friends bring them food and cook for them.

I return to men and give my *sadaka* (1/-). Gracefully accepted. Visitors can come any day, at any time, Etsu himself came yesterday!

Mal Ndayako just arrives when I go. he left his horse on the road.

//Hats and sticks are left lying outside the *katamba*. Some minor visitors sit outside neighbouring *katambas*./

Later: Mal Ndayako comes to me, together with Tsado, husband of the witch Wusa. Obtain full life story of witch, together with more information about witchcraft (Ntbk 1, 17 seq)

Interesting to note differences in Tsado's own (authoritative) story, and the stories made up by even such people as Ndayako. 'The birth of myth'... Specially important as regards the question: are girls also witches? Mallam Ndayako in his version stated that Wusa was a witch even when a girl &15 years old. Her own husband gives a completely different version. Tsado is quite willing to tell the story, and quite frank in everything! [[Nadel's note on his page no. 58:-]] Also interesting as regards marriage and bride-price (17)

Mohamadu Goran comes to greet me. He proudly says: he has got new medicine he must tell me about. I say: I also have new medicines. We shall meet at Mallam Amadu's *suna* [naming-ceremony] next Saturday. He himself will perform the *suna*.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Evening: visit at Ndakotsu's house. Meet all his neighbours. (Take a few notes on household systems etc).

Interesting: old Nupe word *legunci* = neighbour [Not recorded by Banfield] not at once understood by everybody. They say *makoci* ['neighbour'; usual term] instead. After prolonged discussion the elders decide: *legunci* = *emi nupe nya'asali* [lit. mouth Nupe origin, i.e. it is the original Nupe word]. But *makoci*, although *keni* [Hausa] originally, now used more generally!

Amusing fight between Ndakotsu and a Mallam Ndashigi, who wants to know certain historical details better than Ndakotsu: he says that Tafie was always the head of the 12 Beni towns. Ndakotsu insists that Etsu Umaru made Bida the head. As proof he quotes the fact that he told me all this during 10 days, one day after another, that I wrote it all up. This, then, must be inappellable truth. Mallam Ndashigi says: although he is only a *dzakangi* [child], he also has seen and heard some things in his time.... And so it goes on. Ndakotsu not to be appeased. Insists upon his knowing better. Small wonder the people think him a "sorcerer". (cp Ntbk 1 - 20)

He gives me a sack of rice from his "*bata*" [flood-plain farm] as a parting present.

Incidentally - gain information on blacksmiths of *ba nin* [Inside town]. They are the original Beni blacksmiths. Their head, Maji *tswaci*, is the head of all the Beni blacksmiths. He is at present on the farm, but I meet the Shaba in Ndakotsu's house. I shall go and see these blacksmiths some day next week. They work every day now, except Friday. The other blacksmiths group in Bida, the Dokodsa people have come originally from Lavunkpa and lately settled in Bida. [[Nadel's note on his page no.60:]] Blacksmiths ! [[Note ends]].

Former chauffeur of late Etsu comes to the house of Ndakotsu. *U de gbigan* [he has a question]: I have given everybody photographs, where is the one I took of him and the motor car ? Explain that they are spoiled. He has no work now. The new Etsu has bought the larger of the 2 cars of the late E[tsu], the smaller went to Lapai.

4/12/35

Morning ride to three *tungas* [former slave-villages] west of Bida, near the hills. Charming people. Get all I want, household plans etc.

The harvest is progressing, guinea-corn harvest has begun sometime ago. The people of this *tunga* have even finished to harvest *eyi* [guinea-corn]. Other are still working on the farms. One man weaving mats [*kpembo*] of corn stalk-type.

//State of farms. [[(b) in ink:]] They greet me very pleasantly. The women repeat over and over again: *barka* [pron[ounced] *barika*]. Not at all shy. The same with children. Everybody uses greeting formula: "*mi de'ga*" "*wo de 'ga*" i.e. I have a guest", (or by a newcomer) "You have a guest". //

Visit to hospital to please Dr. (Have taken some photographs the other day, specially of woman with hugely enlarged breasts. Hope snap is all right. She is operated on today).

Surprising large number of hernia. Not so much venereal disease - but then not everybody comes to Hospital. Hausa, Yoruba, Bornu - all kinds of people. Blind boy (Yoruba) - cp. Organisation of Blind. //Doc wanted some blind men he met on the street to come to Hosp[ital] for treatment. They refused till the Sarki Makafi does not give his approval!! [NB. Quite a number of strangers among the Bida blinds. Attraction of big city?!] //

5/12/35

Visit to Wuya boatmen

We go there by car, very early in the morning. It is nicely cool, almost cold, on the water till about 10 a.m. And except for sandflies the river is extremely pleasant.

Customary sight of throngs of people all along the road traders who head for Wuya ferry. (Native ferry service by means of a canoe, that is - the big motor ferry wasn't in operation at all while we were there.

At Wuya big Kyedya camp. About 5 to 6 Kyedya boats, and 2 or 3 stationary Wuya boats on the "Kpata" [wharf].

People still in their warmest cloths, rugs etc - on account of cold. Busy in various departments of life: repairing nets and seines [?]; women cooking or washing dishes; traders buying or arranging trade: goods; onlookers as always sitting about. Quite a lively ferry service.

Two big fishtraps of reed already erected in river. Not finished [Nadel's p. 66 includes a diagram of a fishtrap; compare his p. 142, where another is found.] though, i.e. not ready for use yet. Trap-door not yet fixed. Not all the Kyedya go in for this kind of fishing, e.g. our paddler does not, he is only canoe man, and fishes by means of net (*ce'sa*). The man who just makes another reed seine for a trap (fishtrap=*eshe*) tells us that next week the traps will be working. water not yet sufficiently low.

Trap consists of circular reed-fence with gateway facing downriver; lines drawn across with bits of corn on it as bait. Two big posts flank gateway. Here trap-door will be fixed on rope the other end of which will be fixed on far side of fence, and comes all along, so that when many fish come in and catch bait, door drops down and locks by itself (*nwi atsu be fi u nyi* [it locks and springs the trap]). They leave the trap there for some time. Fish usually come during night chiefly.

Later on we see *ce'sa*: net-fishing. Slightly different from kind we saw at Jebba. Long rectangular net, with two strong sticks at both ends. One end held fast by people who wade along shore, rest [Diagram p. 68 of net in boat.] Boat paddles fairly close to mid-river and then drifts downstream,

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

paying out the line as it goes. Upper end of net kept floating by means of hollow calabashes tied into net = *lire*. Boat-group describes fair semi-circle, when near the shore, the men get out of canoe and pull net ashore with catch. We saw 5 men engaged in this, but poor catch: [morning - although they say they do it any time during the day] 1 fish. The people who work together not of one family. Distribution of catch: proprietor of net gets lion's share.

E.g. 1 fish to proprietor
 2 fish " (may give one away)
 3 " : 2 to proprietor, 1 to others
 10 fish: 5 " " , 5 to rest

Interviewing of Kyedya canoemen. Very interesting. Shy in the beginning (so many questions bearing upon finances!) But afterwards very good. Don't know much about their ancestors. Knowledge of family ends with the grandparents at the best! [Nomads!!] They are both independent traders and boatmen in one, or transport agents for traders, and carry the trader-supercargo on board. They use for them the term "passenjah"... a term which is understood by everybody. These "passengers" are both men and women. All kinds of goods carried along: palm oil, salt (Canteen salt), pots, mats, rice (now is the rice season! It will end shortly. Rice carried down river!) They also buy mats (*meme*-type) locally to repair their canoe-hoods. Picturesque temporary shelters made of mats (*meme*) [[Nadel's sketch opposite on p.70]] branches and 2 paddles stuck in the sand.

There are also boats (both Wuya and Muregi-boats) waiting for cargo - some are more lucky than others. They may stop for a week or even 10 days, till they find fares and cargo. On crossing river back to Bida-side notice drumming on canoe. Explanation: every drummer crossing any river (Niger or Kaduna) would drum all the way in honour of *Etsu nuwan* [Ruler of the water]. Blacksmiths would likewise make their sort of greeting, i.e. bang their tools, *kakaki* [trumpet] blowers would blow their horns. Only ordinary foot-passengers do nothing. *Etsu nuwan* = *Ndaduma*, Father of the Depth (not only of Niger but also of Lavun!) Stop in Fancita, 7 miles from Bida - *tunga* (formerly slave settlement) of 7 *katamba* - formerly 10. Nevertheless not exiles, nor any *tici nusashi* [old people with ranks] (only *gbarufushi* [young men]). Founded by Etsu Masaba - Ebe originally from Egbia (Kontagora) who settled them as slaves here. Therefore never titles?. Important criterion then !!

6/12/35

In the morning visit of Shaba's house. Found only family there. Men (i.e. guests) only come for 4 days. Then stop their visits. Only women come all the time for 8 days, and help the women of the house cooking. The men of the house still stay at home. [I.e. the eldest son of the Shaba, who is now head of family, did not originally live in the Shaba's house, but only came here, and stopped here, for the mourning].

On Sunday (the 8th day) everybody, men and women, will come again,

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

The women will cook a great quantity of *eje* [porridge] (with the *sadaka* [alms] money). The youngsters will dance. Some food will be taken out of the house to the Malams. This then is the end of the "*efo gutota* [lit. 'eight days']", i.e. the mourning seclusion.

The Shaba had a son born on the day he died !! In fact the old boy (81 years) had 4 young children! The *sunu* of this young boy will be celebrated on Monday!

What will all these youngsters do without a father? They will go to live with their elder brother. A general change of house will take place, but it will not be the proper change of (as e.g. it used to be with the Etsu Abubakari - Etsu Bello - Etsu Saido) because a younger member of the family, instead of being promoted on to Shaba or Kpotu etc and taking care of everybody in the late Shaba's house, has been made Etsu straightaway.

The members of Shaba's house (the eldest son in fact) will write to the Etsu, begging him to take them all on. They are sure he must do it.

NB. The house in which the old man died belonged originally to his father, and then to a younger brother of Shaba Yisa Bori. He died a long time ago, also his sons, and the house was practically vacant, except for some of his wives and small grandchildren. Still - the shame remains that the Shaba had to go to live in a younger brother's house! All his people, *bara* etc, came with him.

// cp. case of Etsu Bello:

When Etsu Bello became Etsu, moved in big house, when he died, Kusoda (his younger brother) moved in, his younger brother (or son) moved in Kusoda's house. It should have been like this: Shaba, when his relative was Etsu, lived in separate house; when his relative died, he moved into big house (as Shaba). His younger brother moved into his former house. One of his married sons took on own house. Now younger brother should move into big house, and again younger brother of Shaba's son into vacant house. General moving from house to house (*wuruwuru* [all over the place]). But Etsu has taken big house, so this is not possible, nor is proper promotion possible.

On account of this customary arrangement new houses were almost never built. Only for the *talaka* [H. poor people]!!!

Later I visit Alkali, and tell him that I shall come to the court. Tomorrow 10.30 there will be a case. Mal[lam] Ndayako and his friends come to hear my records. Not a great success, because needles are bad, and Mal Aliyu has probably scratched his records by playing them on bad gramophone. Still they enjoy it very much. Specially Hausa record which I put on last, and which finishes off the show nicely. They give me again (in their usual way) hints about native "*kuti* [Non-Muslim religious practices]" in various places, and tell me of tribal origins here and there - but mostly unreliable and inaccurate. E.g. that whole country round Wuya is inhabited by settled slaves (settlements of Masaba). Tell me of village "proper Beni-" only 4 miles from Bida, Tawagi - formerly town as large as Bida, now *tunga*, where they make Gunnu, and all *kuti nya benishi* [ceremonies of the Beni]. Shall go on Tuesday to see it (probably).

Evening:

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Ride around town. Visit of Esozhi (with very beautifully ornamented old huts) near Mission. Check my knowledge of Esozhi. All correct.

7/12/35

See Tychmuir to cash money.

He asks me various things about the province. Chiefly for his annual report, e.g. better feeling now with new Etsu?

Tells me of L.G.'s new campaign against "cruelty to animals" (horse-bits etc). Tych is going to try his luck with Etsu.

Talk about town council which, as T. realises, has no real influence. Tell him about original 3 division of town, quote Shaba's house as example. We both agree that P.G. Harris is a good deal to blame - T. having had the "inside view" at Kaduna, i.e. seen it from the Lieutenant's viewpoint, ought to know.

Visit of Alkali's court. Talk to messengers first, then long extended greeting of Alkali. Finally a few cases. (See Ntbk). Interesting how little Alkali himself takes part. Reads in his Arabic books, yawns, but occasionally (at important points) butts in.

Afternoon Suna [naming-ceremony] of Mal Amadu's boy. //About 4.30 we arrive. In the morning the mallams were in the house to say the prayers. // Not very exciting, since Mal Amadu (a school teacher, whose family comes from Agaie) has not a great many friends in Bida. Chiefly women - friends of his wife. Besides, there is the fast, so there is not much doing. Greet, and am greeted by, my friends the barbers. They sit there, the head (father) and his 4 sons (?) & assistants. Scans every coin that is paid to him, and argues whenever anyone tries to shirk, or gives too little. Three small heaps of money: 1 to old grandmother, who patiently holds the baby; 1 belongs to barbers themselves (they also get meat, raw meat that is, and other foodstuffs); 1 finally to contribute to meal that was prepared for guests. In another part of house - where men sit with father, i.e. Mal Amadu himself, drummer sits and drums and shouts rather lame praises of few guests that arrived. He also gets money. Finally beggars begin to arrive and beg coins as well.

Ceremony very protracted because one waits for chief guests, namely Mal Aliyu and other school mallams. But in the end, they don't come. *A de sukuniya a -ebo a fun* [They are not fidgety, they are annoyed].

Hair shaved in 3 instalments by 3 of the sons. Everyone, after doing it, washes himself with water out of big cattu, standing ready. The hair is carefully placed in calabash full of oil (which is used as "shaving soap") and will be buried in open space inside house.

At the same time the tribal marks should be cut: *ka'ba* or (better Nupe) zun kun. But they wait until the guests of honour arrive -which never happens. So the ceremony is postponed until tomorrow morning. //Then again it does not take place. The barbers told us 9 o'cl. as the time for it. At 9.30 the whole place is still deserted, men half asleep, and still in their huts. Nor in the afternoon. The father was

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

waiting the whole day long. But this not being a very profitable case, the barbers are in no hurry to get it done. Postpone it till Thursday finally.//

Two bowls of rice and palm-oil-dishes are prepared. The women being eating at about 6 o'clock. The men have to wait till it gets dark. But all rather dull, no festivity - nothing. We just talk to the girls, who are all very joyous and good-tempered. One makes jibes (about money, for instance etc etc..)

8/12/35

Early morning - visit to Shaba's house. Expect *Suna* and *Sadaka* ceremony today. So do in fact quite a number of people. The late Shaba's younger brother arrives, also Mal Ndayako and others. But women have prepared nothing. We have, in fact, counted wrongly. It will be tomorrow. and not today. We spend the time with no less illuminating talks about the change in the present title-holdings which are anticipated. thing about linguistic origin of Nupe titles. Most fantastic interpretations crop up. Mal Ndayako maintains that Ndeji and Ejiko come from *Nda ezhi* [father of the people] and *ezhiko*. The z had changed to j because of the great influence of Hausa: Hausa pronounced it j, and people forgot original words. Another example he gives: *yeko* [road] originally *zeko*.(?)

The Court. Dull, long case of Hausa who could not get his dowry back, after he divorced his wife. Case of appeal - Alkali of Badeggi also summoned.

Meet Tychmuir on road. He inquires again after Na'ibi, and his career, which seems to intrigue him greatly.

Interesting that Etsu expects N[ative] A[uthority] to repair Shaba's house for him. Amusing and illuminating -considering the administration's ideas about the new compound they built him!!

9/12/35

Morning ride to small *tunga* about 5 miles west of Bida. Not very illuminating data. The *emitso* [compound-head] is frightened, and besides knows nothing, his wife does most of the talking.

//State of farms:

Corn is just harvested. Almost finished. Crop brought to town, stalks left to dry on farms, for about a fortnight. Then taken home for mat weaving.

Late millet has been reaped some time ago. Left lying in fields to dry thoroughly. Will be taken in. next few months.

Rogo [H. cassava] growing. Will be harvested in a month's time.

Beans partly harvested already.

Yams: new furrows made after second yam-harvest. Now *Rogo* in them (some of them). Yam will be sown when first rains come.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Grass: cutting main labour now. Men and boys everywhere in the fields (very far from Bida, for ex.) cutting grass in waste-land. Everywhere grass-collected, for roofing, mats etc.//

Visit at Shaba's house - for "short greetings", *sa a mi degi* [greet me a little]. The "main" visit will take place this afternoon. The women have assembled already. Crowds of them. Everywhere pots on fire, rice is cooked, a goat is slaughtered. Continuous coming and going. Women wear flowered head cloth already on top of plain blue ones!! Very cheerful. Chaff me because I gave too little *sadaka*. *Sagi* there and Nimwaya.

Men will begin to come in afternoon. Information (incomplete) on different presents of money which the various people give.

[[Nadel's (extensive) note on his page no.s 56 & 80:-]]

9/12/35

Ad.:*Sadaka* - Apparently they have expected much more. When I was there today, the women asked for special *sadaka* (although as a rule only one is given, to the man - who later hands it to women). This was done very politely and with jokes, so I gave another 6d. At once they said: that is less than I gave the men. I: Do you know how much I gave? They, laughing: Of course. Everyone knows! Also the Etsu knows you gave 1 shilling. I: well, may I then know how much the Etsu gave? They: Is he not Etsu? He gave £1/10/=! I: well, *Etsu da o na* [He is the Etsu]. They laugh approvingly at my jest. [[Nadel's note ends]]

A man from Gaba will be in Bida tomorrow and come to see me, and tell me all about Gaba.

Dispatch messenger to Doko, he should tell Ndako Gana (the man with the laugh) and the younger brother of Etsu Dashi to meet me at Kuci on Wednesday. Messenger says that they have not yet celebrated *Gunnu* this year.

On day market I met grand-daughter of Shaba (the cheerful girl from last week), and she demands I should buy tobacco for the women to chew this afternoon!!

Buy four very nice *buta* (H.) = *mangege* (N.) [water-pots]. Brown and black. The brown is called *dzuru* = red!

//Coloured like this:

Black: *nunguru* [an extract of the pods of the locust-tree] (?) put on while it is hot.

Brown: left to cool (*a fe yeko*), then *nunguru* weakly put on, as polish.

NB:men themselves know nothing about process, i.e. very disjointed and contradictory knowledge. Have to ask women !//

Afternoon: Suna in house of Shaba.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Very interesting because *suna* and '*fo gutota* come together. Because of the mourning there is no dancing and drumming. In the ordinary behaviour nothing of funeral-sentiment to be noticed.

The child is very small and not very strong. So the cutting of tribal marks is postponed for a few days. *Suna* ceremony as usual. But barbers are here by far not the important personalities as in Mal Amadu's house. They sit in the *katamba*, together with minor guests. No joking, no arguing about money. And after they have done their job, they go.

The *sadaka* consists in enormous quantities of food that had been brought for the *sadaka* money and now been prepared and given away again as presents. 9 mutton had been killed, ox meat bought, fowl and vegetables area cooked. The Etsu had sent, apart from money, two huge joints of beef. One joint is offered to me (as a guest of honour). But I make a return gift of it (half joking) to Mal Ndayako. And he keeps it true enough.

[[Nadel's note on his page no.92:-]] NB Wherever Mal Ndayako goes now, his boy carries the clock after him which we brought him from London!!

They figure that they cook for about 200 people. The food will then be taken outside into the various houses. Only the narrow family came to house of Shaba, they will eat here. Visitors who came did not stay, but went off again. NB Visits will still be made by relatives from far, throughout whole '*fo shiba*. But only on small scale. Whole thing goes on till evening - after the fast (Ramadan!) they will send out the food.

10/12/35

Ride in bush, visit of *tungas* near the hills of Pici.

Then Court. One case, in which a woman of Mal Ndayako's house is involved a marriage-promise, that has then been broken off, between Kaduna and Bida: the money (£2) had been paid in trust of Alkali Kaduna, but only half of it came forth. Who lies?

Interesting case is a inheritance case on land (first case of this kind I witness!!) Two mallams quarrel about piece of land. Neither of them actually works the land, only their "friends", "pupils", and *bara*. But they quarrel!! Typical for this changed concept of property in land. (NB I ask Mal Ndayako why they don't take new land? [*cikan* [uncultivated bush]]) Answers first: there is no new land round Bida! But later admits that they don't want wasteland, they want farmed land!) Case adjourned, i.e. referred to Alkali Jima, for insufficient reason, as far as I can see!

11/12/35

Visit of Kuci, where I meet my friends from Doko. Quite worthwhile for 3 reasons: (1) important information about *gunnu* and *ndaso* [a masquerade]. (2) 2 rankholders have died during last year and have been replaced by successors. (3) Genealogy and marriage statistics of family of Etsu Dashi.

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// Informants who came: Younger brother of Etsu Dazhi (Gana). Younger brother of Zhigi (who makes *Zhiba* ritual)) And couple of followers of each. [NB Man with hairlip whom I photograph]//

One puzzle: the *ena gbarafushi* of *tungas* round Kuci are formed by a number of *tungas* together. But in Doko, each *efu* [quarter] has own *ena gb.*!! Contradicts function of *ena gb.* as "horizontal bond of integration". Only explanation: *efu* as such conceived as plurality of *katambas*, which need unification among themselves (would correspond to tells of elders, several in each *efu*). To be investigated further.

//Urgent problems at present:

Distribution of presents at '*fo gutota-sadaka*.'

Brideprice of notables and commoners, farmers and professionals (strangers and "*dengi* [kin]")

How to become muhammedan ?

Divorce. Morals of divorce (brideprice).

Ena gbaruf. in villages...

List of *bara* of Shaba //

Afternoon: the cutting of tribal marks in house of Mal Amadu takes place today. No visitors or onlookers.

//Operation performed in the open. Not even own father present. No payment - it was paid for in advance the other day when they had the *sunu*.

[a large chunk missing] Nadel'spp97-115

19/12/35

Morning: visit at blacksmith's quarters of Dokodsa. Take family statistics, economic distribution etc. No trace of Cross-Cousin marriage. As matter of fact, when I ask directly for evidence of it, they laugh! Amusing: they claim that Dokodsa is head over all the blacksmiths in Nupe, including *Ba nin*. //And Edukpa (Shari etc) and Jebba, Mokwa etc.// But *Maji tswaci* in *Ba nin* claims independence, says Dokodsa came from Lavunkpa, but Beni *tswata* were always here. In fact Dokodsa claims to have come originally from Raba, over Lade, and Zhigi, to Bida. I.e. "State" guilds - the others are local guilds.

Mal Ndayako... List of *baras* of Shaba. Very instructive. Shows more and more clearly how "*bara*"-ship amounts to essential possibility of social career in aristocratic-feudal system of a centralised state. [[Nadel's note on his page no. 116: -]] Cp. with this the strict denying that any "*bara*" even existed in the old Beni-country! [[Nadel's note ends]]

Evening: Made curious by the music and the singing (and screeching) which we were hearing the last two nights, I enquire. It was in the house where Ndaba's younger sister lives, who is going to be married. The wedding ceremony takes place today. We went there at 4.30, - that was the time of the

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"*aduwa* [H./N. prayer]". The bride who is (like Ndaba) an orphan, lives in the house of her mother's elder sister [*nna wanciko*]. But Ndaba first says *macina*! And so I have to correct him.]. But since a wedding cannot be performed in "mother's" house (the elder sister = mother), she goes over to the house of mother's younger sister who is married there.

//It can be performed in house of father, paternal uncles (elder and younger) and *macina*. Father's wife, who, being a widow, would leave the place at once, is not allowed to "send off" her girl. The same applies here to elder sister of mother who is, in the classificatory sense, = mother.//

The bride is veiled (since 5 months!), and her friends, and the husband's female relatives attend to her in house. In front of house young man and old man - neighbours and mallams, and the bridegroom's elder brother (never father!). Bridegroom himself does not appear. When "big" mallam appears, they all sit down under shade of tree, *emitso* comes out, is saluted and salutes mallam, who is grandly seated on mat. The "*aduwa*" Mallam recites the formulae and blessings in hausa-arabic, his assistant repeats it aloud in Nupe. // Amusing when Head mallam pauses because he has forgotten name of bride-groom, and is told it by assistant. // Name of bridegroom and bride mentioned, fact that *sadaka* (£2) has been paid also underlined, and then various blessings and good wishes; besides they pray 3 times each time, whole congregation first "*Fatiya*", then "*Bissalatu*". Finally the usual incantation of Allah (always translated *Soko* in Nupe!) During all this time girls and women sit inside *katamba* and listen. This is called "*pa yawo*" and with this the official part of the marriage ends. They all go home, after salutations, and private "*albarkas* [blessings]".

Continuation at night: At about 9 pm friends and relatives assemble in same house. Women sing and screech, and, under great noise and much ado, distribute pans and calabashes to beat upon with their hands, which they soon do very effectively. // Characteristic shriek which I often heard, on top of voice, is sung only in houses of young brides. In fact, before we went over to house where *aduwa* was performed, the aunt of bride voices it, & later they do the same in house of ceremony. Young girls are specially proficient in this// But also one drummer. Women sing and dance (on spot, but very excitedly). Young girls wave their hands and interrupt song continuously with their shrieks. It is pitch dark, one wonders how they can see. Only under a cooking-pot in which rice is cooked. There is fire, and besides one or two small oil lamps. Outside of house, friends are waiting with white horse. Inside house big ado. Bride is being dressed in one hat, she is sobbing and crying loud. Eventually, after the dance and song has reached its height, she comes out heavily veiled, with white *alkeba* // Arab "*burnus*"// on top of veils and vast amounts of cloths (she looks quite round and fat), the girl-relatives precede with lamp, and "mother" accompanies her outside. Everybody follows. Outside she mounts with some difficulty the horse, or rather she is helped on the horse by bridegroom's elder brother. Girls sing and shriek her in the ear (it is still pitch dark), "mother" gives final advice, she sobs and cries. // Songs which girls sing: *u la daza....*"she goes on the journey" //. Then she makes off, led by bride-groom "delegate" to bridegroom's house, accompanied by friends and women with their drumming calabashes. Arrived in the groom's house she goes straight into the hut which has been prepared for her, and stays inside (for 5 days) seeing nobody, and of course least of all the bridegroom. She is received by bridegroom's relatives. If father alive by father and mother. Bridegroom sits in his hut with his friends. Women who accompany her drum and sing. But no fixed rule as to that. Bridegroom's married female relatives (*nna u zhi*) who came with her from her house, stay and sleep with her in the hut, //NB Not quite correct: in bridegroom's house only girls sing and drum

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(*dzodzo* [play]), in the evenings, married women allowed to play only in bride's, but married relatives of bridegroom only stay with her. Bridegroom has separate party for his own friends (e.g. dance I witnessed last year at Mal Aliyu's place.// girls from one house, or friends - only voluntary. "*nna emi 'ba zhi* [the senior women at the compound]"- obligatory), and cook for her and for the girl visitors, for 5 days. On fifth day she herself cooks for the first time for husband, and then her company is dismissed.

20/12/35

Ride to Towa, formerly an important Beni-place, today a dilapidated, small spot. Still worth while. Information about old Beni tax and political system valuable. Find there the "*sanyi* [iron bell-stick]" *kuti* which I saw at Shebe (and which Mal Aliyu attributes [of course wrongly] to Sogba). Besides *Bakomba* = twin = *kuti* which I saw at Doko. Finally *kuti* "*shele*" (sprinkling of rain) which is new to me. But man who did it is dead, and they know very little about it.

Interesting their firmness in contending that all land in Beni country belongs to *Goyishi* [The Fulani ruling class] now. Not a spot can be farmed - so they say - without obtaining permission of one or the other *Goy*-landlord! Not the same, they maintain, in Lavunkpa and other parts. Only here in Beni country. But on other hand I saw Towagi-farms in quite a distance from Towagi, on the way. Men working there declared: it belongs to Towagi.

//NB....Interesting how the word "*Kasa* [H. land, country]" creeps in and is used more and more, even in such villages, instead of *kin* [N. land, country]. Specially to denote "province", e.g. *Kasa* Wuya, or *Kasa* Doko. But *Kin Beni*. //

Counterpart: my Bida "guide" says the whole country here belongs to the Etsu Bello family, i.e. at present the Kusodu. Only from him could one obtain farm land here. But then we learn that this land belonged to Towagi, and that some *tungas* on the way belonged to Etsu Masaba, and others, viz. their *saraki* [H./N. rulers] and *bara*.

NB: Theories that everybody has in mind often more important than facts which are known only to a few!!

21/12/35 [Divorce]

Visit to Court in morning. Not very interesting. Now, shortly before the Sallah not many cases.

I ask Alkali why the matrimonial cases all come from *talaka* [H. poor people], and none from richer people. He says, because if there is money in the house, and the women get what they want, food and nice dresses, there are no quarrels. He seems to be right. The only *saraki*-case, so far, has been a debt case, of the Nafere. Also there are no land-cases. Last year they say, there were much more land cases. But now, according to new regulations they are mostly dealt with by the local courts, and then come up straight to Etsu's and D[istrict] O[fficer]'s court. Besides, most of the land cases come in

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before the sowing season. The records of the last years cases are in the Central Office, and I am going to consult the records.

Then short visit to Baby-clinic. Test my tact and cleverness in comforting the badly frightened mother of a wretched little baby that looks like a skeleton, and has to be treated in hospital.

Mal Nday. comes to salute me in the morning, but as I was not at home then, I go to see him in the afternoon. As usual he has great number of visitors. We discuss a few questions that arose out of my visit to Towa, chiefly on land. He confirms the information I received, that all the land in Beni (and only in Beni) is in fixed hands. But adds that the old population kept their old farms in so far as they were worked, and under cultivation (by themselves or others). Only wasteland and abandoned land was appropriated by Ful [ani].

I mention my doubts about the farms where Ndakotsu's brothers work now. They turn out to have been given away as "*aro* [on loan]" farms, and were then taken back by Ndakotsu's relations, in order not to leave them as "abandoned" land. Also he confirms that originally, under Beni, no *tungas* existed (= *bara* settlements), only *ezhi*=villages.

// Later the list of *baras* of Ndayako confirms the existence of unappropriated private peasant land.

Tunga has now apparently 2 meanings:

(1) dependent settlement, by slaves or *bara*. [Meaning referred to by Towa people]

(2) small settlement, only as a family or two [developing from temporary settlement = "*Kangi*", and most probably also recent]//

We talk about fact that nowadays no *tungas* or new places are built anymore. Nd. explains this with bad commercial situation some years ago. Many people emigrated to Ilorin where it was much better. No money here. No trade, and farming did not pay- Decidedly better since last year. If it goes on like this, soon new farms will be taken under cultivation, and new places will be built. Also he explains change in condition to pawn business. Pawning had become so widespread and extensive that nobody worked any more with own hands. The pawns on other hand were often lazy, everything was spoiled. And when pawning was abolished, people lost money and farm hands. Big set back. Only now recovering. The pawning of a horse, a gown or a sword is good, he says: *swafa yegboro* [straightforward pawn], as in the Kuran. But of "*zawangi* [human beings]" very bad.

22/12/35

Sunday

Morning in court. Very quiet. Only one interesting case (in which a *bara* of M. Nd. is involved) of complicated inheritance quarrel.

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Holmes for dinner. // Only one thing worth mentioning. Holmes says Bourdillon has quashed all anthropological commissions. And McBryde and the others had to go back to ordinary admin. work. Funny bit of news. Whether that has anything to do with G.S.B[ourdillon]'s attitude to me? //

23/12/35

Visit of prison with Holmes. Two or three interesting cases. One man (arson) is called Ndagumu, and his father said to have been a Ndaso. One "professional thief", and one case of adultery, the woman having died (!) in the hut! On the whole sentences on petty thieving seem pretty stiff. Shall start more detailed investigation this week.

High percentage of Hausa!

//Prison.

Cases which look interesting:

Maliki -	thief - 10 years
Yusufu -	thieving at europeans - 6 years
Sarefu -	professional thief
Mama Gana -	thief, for 2nd time
Ndagudu -	petty thief (mats etc) (2 years)
Ndagumu -	arson
Aliyu -	corn thief (1 year)
Mama Saba -	petty " (6 months)
Muhaina Gana -	adultery
Muhamadu Lanlegi -	food thief (6 months) //

Mal Ndayako - we discuss some points left over from last time, also pawns, and finally Islam in Nupe. I think I have pretty much completed my work with him.

Afternoon visit to Alvarez. One interesting news he tells me is that Alkali came to see him lately (rather surprisingly) and frequently, complaining about Mal Audu; Alkali seems really afraid of Mal Audu! Alvares asks me to drop a hint to Tych[muir], which I could do more easily than he. Now I am afraid I am dropping hints to Tych continuously. I hope he won't get too much of it soon!

24/12/35

Morning visit to Tychmuir who wants to see me. What he wants are 2 things

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(1) I should interview the prisoners not in the prison but in my house. Otherwise they may think it has something to do with raising complaints etc.

(2) He asks me more about Mal Ndayako. Etsu has warned Tych that Mal N. is telling me lies. Etsu seems very suspicious and afraid. I promise to allay all suspicion by now turning more to Etsu visiting more frequently etc.

We begin to talk about other local topics. I drop hint about Alkali's court and Mal Audu. He has also heard these news. He will look into job. On the whole, here as in many other points, he can not quite understand the Bida system which seems to have estranged natives and D[istrict] O[fficer]

I push point of reorganising the council.

//My suggestion for new town council: 3 parts of town, each delegates 2 members. One from *gitsuzhi* [ruling-classes], one from *nusazhi* [old men] of *efu*.

1 representative for Yoruba

1 " " Hausa

1 representative of Etsu (as it is at present) None of the offices hereditary.//

He seemed to have told Wilk. about this, who gave him more or less free hand, yet warned of corruption of, and quarrels among, wardheads. I show T. what I wrote on this point (not very much I am afraid). He asks for more proof. Difficult to give concrete proofs in such a case, where everything depends on attitudes, status, confidence etc. Still negative proof in failure of present town council. He can't understand why and how they arrived at 4 *ungwas* [H. wards of town] when threefold organisation was so obvious. Nor can I. I suggest he consults, informally, Etsu & hears attitude first of all.

Visit at "Lantana" i.e. bead makers. Extraordinary how individualistic the handicrafts can become! Reason?

(1) natural drift caused by share of personal aptitude and cleverness.

(2) - their own point - business failing, no great or special orders given to beadmen, levelling of status and standard. Everybody works for own pocket (or "mouth"- as they put it). //They always repeat, in order to explain the changed position of their *nusa "u de yiko gbani a* [the old man, he doesn't have authority now]! Decidedly, the Nupe are realists!//

Evening visit to night market. Great activity, fowl, sheep, and goats brought down in enormous quantities. Mats from everywhere have turned up in vast amounts. The same applies to pots, calabashes, baskets etc. You can see that Sallah is near.

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Incidentally everything is more expensive than last year and 2 years ago. Mats e.g. are sold for 2/= which were 1/2 then. Business and trade looking up -----the natives [and Europeans] are right in that.

25/12/35

On morning ride into town I notice that the house of the late Shaba is repaired. On enquiry I learn that the Etsu's men live there now, the house will be repaired properly, and then serve as a temporary house for the Etsu himself, to receive visits, make Sallah, etc. At present the carpenters (native guilds) and the people of the Sarki Gini are busy working. Etsu's daughter brings food down.

I also see many *masallachis* [mosques] being erected in town. Upon inquiry: they are built by the peoples of the adjoining houses - mallams, a former Alkali, etc. The people themselves work. Only the roof will be put on by "professionals". That costs around 10/= all together. Paid for, sometimes by dividing it up among the neighbours, sometimes by family-head of one house.

At about 12 noon Emir goes by in procession to town. He does this every day now, since yesterday, till Sallah. He just rides through the town giving the people an opportunity to salute him.

Quite generally this is the season to "salute" ones friends and relatives. E.g. the Nagya was in the morning to see the Kusodu (Etsu Bello's younger brother), now the head of this royal branch in town.

Afternoon I visit Etsu to allay all suspicions (cp my interview with Tych). After some general talk Etsu actually brings up matter of Mal Nd., calling him quite openly a "*za na nyi na* [the man that corrupts]" ! I tell him my reasons for working with him. He replies that he could give me much better information about everything, specially about late Shaba - for was he not his father? But he sees my point and we part reconciled.

He will send round a messenger whenever he has a court-session. He now enacts "*sheriya* [Islamic law]" in all land, matrim[onial], etc cases. I ask him about new titles. He is reticent, but tells me as much as that Kpotun will not get Shaba title. Not clear about his attitude to other traditional rotation. He will confer with D[istrict] O[fficer] first, he says, and then inform his council. He plays for safety, it seems, but hardly according to letter and spirit of Indirect Rule. Does he think of working toward permanent establishment of one ruling house (a la Wilkinson)?

27/12/35

Last night there was no moon to be seen. So Salla is not celebrated today, But tomorrow.

In the morning drive to Wuya. See traps properly fitted. See sketch [[Nadel's]] p142. The traps are always left for 2 or 3 days and then looked in to.

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Very few Kede now at Wuya. In fact only one camp, Kyedya from Wushishi who came down only to "*emisa* [greet]" a relative in Wuya whose husband died. They came to the '*fo shiba* [forty days' mourning]. Relative very distant. A maternal uncle & nephew came in one boat with their two wives and 2 children (babies). The younger sister of the elder man's wife was married at Wuya, and her husband died.

They came 10 days ago and are staying over the Salla. It seems nothing out of the ordinary to them to stay away so long. "If a man can take his work with him this is quite alright" they declare. Their "work" is one fishing net with which they catch fish - but only for themselves and relatives. They do no trading here now. They stay over Salla - i.e. the Salla that will be celebrated in Wuya. Only the "big" people, they say, go to Bida but they all stay at home (in Wuya e.g.) and have their own Salla here. The Kuta of Muregi e.g. went to Bida. And then also some others, not necessarily "big men" in every case.

Kede traders went home over Salla. After Salla they will come up to Wuya again, for rice-trading season not yet finished (for one thing).

NB Kyedya: the Kyedya from Wushishi say that their head is a "*Toadu*" [Title]. Not a Hakimi from Muregi, but a local man from *asali* [i.e. originally]! (?) Altogether 20 *katamba* of Kyedya at Wuhishi. May refer to modern administration only?! I.e. Wushishi being under Kontagora.

//Watch boat repairs: 2 brothers work (elder brother=owner, other paddles for him) together, advised and occasionally helped by crowd of friends and onlookers. They fix new planks into holes of canoe. The planks are made of *wuci* [African mahogany] tree, and they paid for a big block, about half length of canoe (they cut it into smaller planks) 6d - The *egba* woodcutter cut the tree just on other side of river. Tree belonged to nobody, was on *gonta* [wasteland]!//

Meet many cattle herds on the way. Bornu cattle drivers, coming from Yer[u]wa, going to Ilorin.

Beside road full of Nupe walking to and from Bida. Biggest traffic about 6 miles from Bida, place called Zanchita; here they stop & sell (some of them) their goods to women coming from Wuya. At any rate between mile 4 and 6 from Bida the market spheres Bida and Wuya overlap. Two other "meeting" stations are "Lumanla", 4 miles from Bida; (chiefly for firewood which is carried from farms to this place and then taken over, i.e. bought, by Bida women; and *dzuko* [market] Wuya (on east side of river); here women from further west (Batati etc) sell cotton to Bida traders.

28/12/35

Salla performed today. That means that 10th month (muhammedan, = Salagi), viz 11th month (old Nupe) begins today.

At about 10 a.m. Etsu goes to Mosque, accompanied by comparatively small procession. In the meantime guests and onlookers arrive one after the other to a place in front of Etsu's house. At about

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12 noon we go up. Whole place crowded, half the town there. Shortly afterwards procession comes back from mosque, in groups, with big intervals in between, the Etsu being the last. Really gorgeous display - all the horsemen in marvellous gowns, on beautifully dressed up horses, swords and lances in their hands, or waving hats or silken cloths like flags. Etsu meets Europeans under *rumfa* [H. thatch roof] and exchange of kola nuts takes place. The D[istrict] O[fficer]'s kolas are small not Laboshi ones, the Etsu's (of which everybody of us gets one) are huge Laboshi kola. Drumming, shouting and music goes on all the time. Nobody pays attention. Some *sorogi* [acrobatic] dancers have arrived, and one *Nyu* dancer with a marvellous brass-made horn-cap. But they won't dance today. Not till tomorrow morning in Etsu's house.

At about 1.30 ceremony ends, we go home, and so does everybody to rest. Also Etsu. There will be nothing today, till evening, then people will meet on night market - the *ena gbaraf.*, for inst[ance], and enjoy oneself. Besides: visiting each other is the main thing today. "*A fe za salla* [they begin to go about for Sallah]".

29/12/35

This is the day of the big Nko Salla. At about 10 a.m. the notables and people from all over the town begin to throng into Etsu's house, to salute him. Everybody comes, or sends "*tuci* [messengers]". //NB Mal Ndayako did neither come nor send a messenger with his greetings! //. When I arrive in front of Etsu's house, all unbelievably full, outside and inside. Have actually to break my way through (i.e. '*Yan doka*') driving people aside with sticks and whips!). The *Sorogi* dancers are there, musicians and drummers, singing and shouting all the time. Etsu is inside *katamba*, receives his close friends and favourites. Whole system of social gradation becomes apparent in the distinction drawn here: people who (or whose messengers) are admitted into minor *katamba*, those who have to wait outside till Etsu appears, those who sit to his right, or left, those that are allowed to sit permanently on sun-roof outside, i.e. under same roof with Etsu and me, those that are allowed inside just for a swift "saluting" prostration, and finally those who have to stay outside, and are pushed away ruthlessly by '*Yan doka*' when they dare coming to near the royal presence. But everybody presses and tries to get a look, or to be near the reserved space, everybody shouts and sings and cries the Etsu's name or praises, hoping to attract his attention, or to snatch up some kola nuts. This is the second essential symbol of distinction: kola, i.e. amount and kind of nuts one is given. //The Etsu has 2 pots (teapots!!) in front of him, one with big Laboshi [type of kola-nut] and one with small kola! Extra big ones are brought out from his hut now and again by his beautifully silk-clad "pages" "*Bologi*" and "*Abubakari*". //10 to most important ones [handed over from private servant to private servant], 5 to less important personalities; apart from that: one from hand to hand to special friends and favourites; e.g. to Maiyaki, Ndeji,... and to me; and one thrown into one's lap to those close confidential but not very important favourites or servants. e.g. to Ndaturaki, but also to Etsu Tafie (a second kola nut, after first, official one!). Finally there are the small kola given in 5's or tens to smaller people: craftsmen, dancers, messengers, etc.

In private *katamba* Etsu received: his 4 chief councillors Maiyaki, Ndeji, Nagya, Etsu Tafie, Mal Ndazhigi. His most private envoy, the Gabi Seidi (the Gabi had been at D[istrict] O[fficer's], saluting him in Etsu's name. When he told his message, everybody was dismissed, except myself and Ndaturaki - although message was nothing but usual: *u sawo mi saranyi, u de lafiya, madallah* [he feels very much

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like me, he is well, fine] - etc etc [but secrecy in "political affairs is a wise thing !!)]; here were all the time his "*bara* " Ndatwaraki, Mijindadi, and "pages ". Received were also messenger of Alkali, of house of Etsu Abubakari, Sontali of Shaba //Santali was badly received. Etsu hardly saw him, and said "*ki ye wo na o* [Greetings]" only once, in an absorbed and insolent way; one could smell the "disgrace "...// and of the Hakimi only Kpotun [being at the same time representative of Etsu Bello's house]. Besides there was one man who held no title but was admitted, and even quite importantly introduced to me: a certain Babau Aliya, a very wealthy trader from Lalen, who is the new Etsu's great friend. He is phantastically well dressed, but sits quietly and more than a little shy, smiling foolishly all the time, obviously feeling an embarrassed outsider. Nobody in fact is talking to him, or making jokes etc, as they do in a friendly and easy way among themselves.

Presents and salutes are arriving continuously from everywhere, the Etsu's servants and envoys announcing it to Etsu, who says delightedly "*Madalla*" after "*Madalla* " and has kola (*ebi Nko* [Large kola]!!) brought out as return gift. Eventually he orders his ceremonial bed outside to be put out and rigged up; he has a beautiful indian silk-shawl fetched out to this purpose; and we move out, shoved and pushed against by curious and enormous crowd.// I ask Etsu about presents of guild heads. Some still send presents: kola or their own products (e.g. brass-smith a brass bowl with lid). Formerly however it was obligatory for whole country: they had to send money, or *nangi* [goat] "and not all skin-and-bones one, trust me " the Etsu adds! But also gifts in products, I should imagine.//

When Etsu comes out people cheer and shout to make one deaf, fall over on their faces; some self-appointed "heralds ", the Etsu *dogari*, the drummers and dancers, they all shout or sing the Etsu's praise in automatically repeated, meaningless formulae. He likes it, and how! Always saying delightedly "*Madallah* " //E.g. one repeats 100 times, shouting /: *Etsu Nya*:/ Another: /:*2u de bici doko* [he has the leg of a horse] ":/ etc etc...//

Finally under sun-roof. Just to his right, one chair. He sits on his carpet, 2 ostrich feather-fans lie to his right and left, 2 '*Yan doka* fan him with straw fans.

//Rani of Mokwa is ill. And Kuta of Muregi declined an invitation of Etsu to spend Salla with him!! On second inquiry: Kuta applied to Etsu if he would agree (*u jin yerda*) that he (Kuta) should celebrate *Salagi* [Id-el-Fitri] in Muregi. He would come for Salako [Id-el-Kebir] High. //

It takes some time to drive people who do not belong to the group of the privileged, out of the *rumfa* [H. thatch roof]. They simply don't budge, or, when pushed out, come in by another door. The Etsu, almost powerless for some time, till '*yan doka* make earnest, rules: only "*rawani* are allowed inside. Everybody else must stay outside. Even the not quite successful, because '*Yan doka* keep on pushing people back, quite violently too!!, whom the Etsu (or somebody else) then declares to be *rawani*. Some of the *rawani* do look ragged and poor, and fit badly into this illustrious company.//Nice contrast: old principle (title) and new principle (money) *ad oculos* [L. visual] demonstration of the Baban Aliyu. Ndaba says that he will most probably get a little now. He is on of the acquisitions of the new Etsu.// Still title holds. Only 2 exceptions: 1) Ndaba who sits behind my chair, and 2) This Babau Aliyu, who sits next to Etsu and Babi on his right [where I also sit = his *personal* friends!]

Final arrangement: to Etsu's left: the 4 head councillors, an old Mallam. In front of Etsu on floor: his house-*bara*, whom he calls the Hakimi nya Banin Ndatwaraki, Ndatwaki, Ubandoma, andalso Sarkin Yorubawa, Sarkin Zongu, and Sarkin Hausani. To his right: Gabi, Babau Aliyu, all other *Sarakishi* and guild heads. [[Nadel's note on his page no.158:-]] Present were:

Masaga [glassworkers]
Mukun (Head of blacksmiths)
Dokodza [brassworkers]
Lugbo (of Konu[?] dyers)
Maji 'gba
Sarkin gini
Sukyau of guzanshi
Etsu 'dza [chief of the drummers]
Also messengers come to salute Etsu

Missing only Schoolmallams!! They invited Etsu to their Salla tomorrow in school compound! [[note ends]] Later come to salute him.: Alkali with his mallams, some other guild heads who were late, various learned mallams [the oldest is shaking hands with Etsu!], and eventually the *gukunzhi*, formerly the King's armed bodyguard, who guarded him when on journeys. Now they live as farmers. But once a year, they turn up, in old job, with bow and arrow, salute him with *sorogi* [dancers], warlike cries, and dance [accompanied by 4 drummers and flute-players] a short war dance in his presence. Some musicians stand about, beating small pieces of wood, broken off petrol boxes, with crooked drumsticks, also drummers, flute players, and the *sorogi*-men, who eventually manage to be noticed by Etsu, and get 5 kola thrown to them! After the saluters have sat there for some time, they get up and leave, and so do I. Only the "crowds" still remain in the open courtyard, shouting, singing, and drumming, and enjoying the noise and incredible dust. No real dancing or singing - everything submerges in this noisy, pressing, overflowing crowd. I guess at least 2000 people - in the small *rumfa* [H. thatch roof] must have been more than 100! [[Nadel's note on his page no.158:-]] Later I discuss popularity of new Etsu with Ndaba, and also reason of his feud with Ndayako. Everybody knows of it, he says, but one does not know the reason. And of Etsu people in Bida say: "*u ma gaga be nasara nyi* [he knows what to say to white men]"

In afternoon people "rest ". Evening we go to market. Market incredibly full. People from everywhere, many country people. E.g. we were suddenly surrounded by huge, dense crowd, and I ask them, jokingly, "haven't you seen a white man before? ". And one young man actually says: no. The others laugh "*u yi da lati* [he has been in the bush]! ". But I am sure this applies to quite a number of youngsters assembled today. Only younger people - the *nusa* [old people] stay at home. Girls sing and clap hands (*kogwa*), drummers drum, young men walk everywhere, and besides them is a big market in small things: food, pots, clothing, ornaments, blind men and women, moneychangers etc etc...

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After dark people go home again. Then young men societies and girls meet in a certain house which they fix beforehand, all over the town and *dzodzo*: i.e. girls sing and dance, young men watch them and drink beer, and throw them kolanuts.

30/12/35

Muhamadu of Patigi comes to salute me. Quite illuminating talk on kinship terms, playmate-relationship and *ena gbarafuzhi* [young men's age-associations]. He came to Bida for Salla, stays here 5 days and then returns to Patigi. Told me that Etsu of Patigi had all Ndakgboya people ready for my proposed visit last year! Promise him perhaps this year. He has just married his 3rd wife!! [[Nadel's note on his page no.162:-]] Interesting news from Patigi: 3 Notables lost their job: Kpotun, Tsonda, and Ma'ajimi. The first had introduced an "*edugi* [small tax]" for his own pocket; the other took money from the treasury, the Ma'aji £20! Besides the Sheshi died (Ndeshu) and the [blank space in text] succeeded him in the title. [[Note ends]]

This day should have been still real Sallah. But there being no Shaba in Town, whom the Etsu could go to see, this is not much of a show. Etsu goes in after.noon to see school-*was*a [H. games] on sportsgrounds. [[Nadel's note on his page no.162 :]] To which we were not invited! [[Note ends]] Evening as before -market first, then dancing and singing in houses.

31/12/35

Visit at Nupe weavers. Interesting information specially about liberty in changing one's profession, and disappearance of *Efako* [collective work]. They did not work today, they are still to tired from Salla, they say. They will have 2 more days rest, then Salla ends for them properly. They had such a long fast, they are not yet quite strong...

Court: chiefly cases of *salacizhi*, i.e. people who disturbed the peace on Sallah night. Nothing exciting. Yet these order-fines are here and everywhere rather hard. For riding a bicycle without bell, a man is fined 5/=!!

Another case: a rather mysterious case: a small girl went out to change money, and asked a man, Idirisy, to give her change (?) "*be albarkeyi* [with blessings]". She gave him 11/6d, she says, he then changed her the money with the help of his wife who had the cash, and the girl went to the market, discovering that she had only 11/=. She went back, remonstrated with the man, who denied all knowledge; so does his wife. Eventually they call *dogari*. *Dogari* takes money in charge: 11/=. Before *alkali* small girl (with one witness) maintains they gave 11/6. Idirisu and wife maintain they only got 11/=. But Idirisu, under examination, admits he has "not counted" the money. Alkali says: "Aha, *leifi da na* [there is the fault]!" so finally, they take 6d off the money, and keep it for Etsu, i.e. Batt el Mal, because: *babu uban gijinsa* [H. no head of household]. (*Sarkin dogari*, being a man with common sense suggests 6d should be given to girl! But the learned judges, after some deliberation, have to stick to the letter of the law: "masterless " money goes to Etsu!)

Afternoon: visit of town, Efu Bu Umaru, especially sewing machines! Also house of Mal Ndazhigi. Mal Ndayako who must have learned of my being in the neighbourhood, comes out to " salute " me on the way back to the car.

Etsu passes by in his car, to "*ci zhile* [lie down to pass the night]. His "equerry " throws kolanuts out of the window, into the cheering crowd of boys and young men who run after the car.

1/1/36

Morning visit of brass-smiths' quarter. Talk about economic arrangements. Watch the smelting of silver in small clay-cups, which are put into charcoal. Then the twisting of small silver-bars into bangles of the typical spiral-pattern.

Kpotun passes by, on horse, he goes to join the Etsu [today is the official visit of the D[istrict] O[fficer]]. Blacksmith Mama Gana, my friend, looks after him, shakes his head, and says: (" poor chap ") "*a la pa nwi rawani a* [they will not put a turban on him]! "

2/1/35 [[sic]]

Drive to Lemu.

Very illuminating. Surprised to hear that Lemu itself is originally of Gwari stock - Gwari *lako*, they call themselves - and so are a number of villages around. Gbayba on the other hand in Nupe, it was originally a small *tunga* [outlying village] of Bida (Etsu Masaba) and under Etsu Saidu became a town. The Gwari here are nupe-ised since centuries and will not suffer being called *zazhi kati* [foreign people]. Yet they are of Gwari stock. Nice proof for my State theory: the same origin, even the same culture (Gwari are said to celebrate Gunnu!), but different " nationality ".

Lemu itself is very pleasant place, and nice background of hills (one among them the famous *pati gunu* [Gunnu hill] with the grave of the Wali). But landscape suffers from scattered, untidy look of Lemu whose compounds are in rather dilapidated state. Surprisingly big market with mud-booths all round, very roomy and well-kept. They have market roughly 2 times a week, i.e. everyday 4th day (including both days of the end of counted period: e.g. Thursday - Sunday -.Wednesday -Saturday, etc.)

Meet, quite accidentally, a Sogba woman from Nuwan Kota, the place where Sogba is practised, on the road. She is on the way to a place where the final ceremony of mourning, marking the end of mourning period, is celebrated. She goes there to dance and make merry. She has all her paraphernalia with her: the iron spear (*sanyi*) with the bells, the cowrie shell bell, the iron bell with chain, and the gourd rattle. She dances and sings us a bit of the Sogba song. She is quite frank, and not at all shy. She obviously likes to act her part and impress us with her power. Has great sense of humour. But it goes beyond this when she points to Fenz, saying what a nice dog he is; I say: *wangi* [good], and she: she

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likes such dogs, they taste nicely. She loves eating dogs. They all do in the village. I should present the dog to her, for *nyagici* [food]!!

[[Nadel's note on his page no. 170:-]] They perform dog-sacrifice at Gunnu and Sogba !? [[Note ends]]

I get valuable information about plantations, and fishing. But only very confused facts about Gunnu-mythology, and religion in general. As it appears Lemu has lost all pagan religious rites, as the only one of the 7 or 8 Gwari villages around here. Influence of road: They are at any rate all Muhamedan today. [[Nadel's note on his page no. 172:-]] One man however (the Ndeji) still speaks a little Gwari, and knows more about their *asali* [H. traditions] than the others. [[Note ends]] I arrange with them to send a messenger to Nuwa Kota, and to get me 4 or 5 men who know all about ancient history and especially religion. This arrangement suits them very well, they are, I believe, quite proud to do this for me. With all the *shiri jin* [preparations] etc, they suggest Tuesday morning as the suitable day.

We come home about 2 o'cl.

3/1/36

In the morning two prisoners, a certain Ndagunu, and a woman thief (classified as "professional thief " in Index), Setu. The young man Ndagunu - almost a boy - is very shy at the beginning, but gradually gains confidence. Very interesting life story, with his jealousy, and the crime he commits - a perfect senseless and useless crime: putting fire to hut of his rival while the man was away; he explains it himself, with being a " *dzakangi* [child]" and having nobody to advise him. And for this he got 18 months!! He was then only 19 or 20 years old! The woman is quite a different case, self-conscious, full of humour and quite unperturbed by her " bad luck " which landed her in prison for 3 times already.

Asked about the reason for her thieving, she only says: "*Soko u ka* [God permits it]". On the whole very successful line of inquiry.

[[Nadel's note on his page no. 174:-]] Quite by the by I get information about ancient purification and atonement rite for adultery, practised at Jebba! [[Note ends]]

Evening: studying sewing-machines in trader's-street (Lemu=gate). Complete in dividuality reigns, and perfect, developed commercialism.

Again appalling the scarcity of children (birth deficiency!) Everybody explains with the same sad formula: "*Soko la ya yi a* [God doesn't release them to us]!", or " *Soko la la be a* [God doesn't bring them]!"

Interview some girls who sell things at roadside: they get their money from their mothers, buy and sell, and keep half of what they earn. Girls or women also thus sit together not necessarily from adjacent house, or not neighbourhood at all. They just sit there to sell " *Yi eshi shi* [we stay to sell]...."

4/1/36

Go to see Brass-smith Mama Gana, study his household, and watch him casting his brass figures which are his speciality. Extraordinary how completely he and some of his colleagues have adapted themselves and their work to the requirements of Europeans, curio-hunting and otherwise. P.G. Harris, Mooring and others are definitely also to blame for having encouraged this enterprise which had no real original foundation, and to try to improve a technic and trade for which no need among natives exists and for which an European market cannot be found (as for mats or curtains !) Today they still produce this type of thing, but find to their disappointment that they cannot sell it: the Europeans here have too much of it already, and the Hausa everywhere imitate Bida technic, sometimes improving on it because they use heavier material.

[[Nadel's note on his page no. 176:-]] E.g. Moor's told them to put their trademark BIDA on every work they do !! [[note ends]]

I try to induce Mama Gana, who really is a very clever fellow, although very conceited, to use his figures as tops of the long Nupe staffs, or as handles and hilts of the beautiful Nupe swords. A younger brother of his has actually forged a sword-hilt in shape of a bird's head himself of silver, but this is not cast work; but beaten silver sheet. Besides, I try to teach him *cire-perdue* with a dried clay and horse-dung mixture for the core, and dried straw to fix core and mould. The rest of the process remains of course unaltered. He understands at once the importance of the technic: " *Nuwan wacin, ama u la kpe a* [Plenty of water, but it doesn't cover it]". We will try it out tomorrow and see how it succeeds.

Enquiry about what the Nupe brass-smiths produced before the Europeans came, I learn that all the everyday metal and tin dishes, bought today in the Canteen, were formerly made by brass-smiths: water-cups and pans, bowls for "*cigbe* [medicine]", covered bowls for keeping fowl, *cigbe* and kola in them, small metal receptacles for " *tozali* [H. antimony] ", etc etc... Also of course chains, bangles, amulets, swords etc, made from " *asali* [H. origins]". In house of Muku, and later in Mama Gana's own house I even discover some really old Nupe brass things, of quite wonderful design, which I buy. They are as follows (1) A water bowl - there is still water in it when I buy it from old Mukun. (Another such water bowl which he offers to give me as present, is too poor - just plain dirty brass - and I return it with thanks; the poor old chap is rather glad about that, I feel. (2) Another brass bowl, very heavy, of quite different style; also used for eating. (3) A covered bowl, originally used for keeping " medicine " in it which the children get. Mama Gana drank from it when a child. It was made by his own grandfather when he married, and he made a present of it to his then bride. It was kept till today in the mother's house. (It must be, approximately, 50-60 years old). Shows clearly oriental (arabic-persian) influence.

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(1) and (2) much plainer and much older in style. They are from the Muku's grandfather, i.e. perhaps 100 years old. [[Nadel's note on his page no. 180:]] NB: Most of these old things have either disappeared, or were sold long ago (swords etc, whose value they knew), or they were kept in their houses because they did not know anybody (a white man!) could prefer them to the new style of flower-vases, and flower-bowls, with 3 nice feet to stand on. As soon as they realised I actually gave money for them 3 or 4 (bad ones too!) turned up at once ! (See also here [[Nadel's]] p190!

Evening: Park tells me that ground-nut slump happened 3 years ago, and that the red pepper is also a commercial crop. But just at present its price goes down, and soon the natives will leave the red pepper rot on the plants, because they can't get rid of it!? Park was trying to get a halfway possible price agreed on from London - very doubtful issue! [[Nadel's note ends]]

5/1/36

ECONOM -CONTACT

Visit of Mallam school

Continuation and finish of the study of the brass-casting process. See a very nice old *tozali* [H. antimony]-bottle, made by the former Mukun (perhaps 40 years ago), and property of Mama Gana's mother. She does not want to part with it, though.

Work through school files with L[isbeth].

6/1/36

Visit of Brass-smiths - he tells me interesting news: the D[istrict] O[fficer] and Etsu have ordered from him copies of european bits for the horses [in pursuing the Anti-Cruelty Campaign of G.S.B.]. Characteristic how they smash up native institutions, and 2 at the same time: (1) approaching Mama Gana directly, without following traditional course over Muku, they help to break up guild-system, enhancing purest form of individualism. [Theoretically it proves that (a) under social pressure with new means of promotion given, and (b) with new aims introduced which break away suddenly from tradition (achievable only for younger generation for ex.), - individuality must thrive] (11) destroying native craft; a combination of european bit and native ornaments would have been possible if only they would pay attention to such things. [[Nadel's note on his page no. 182 :-]] I did my duty; I told T[ychmuir] what I would suggest, and I suggested to Shillingford that the School may take up this idea. Neither of them however did anything! [[Note ends]].

Visit at Lantana of Masaba-quarter. Proves again theoretical issue that economic failure tends to disrupt and break up factors of unity in communal work structure. Here referring chiefly to last remnant of such factors in Brass-smith's work, communal borrowing of " capital ".

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Later Court. Nice thieving case which, incidentally, shows, how village chiefs "function" as organising power.

Ask Alkali whether Prayer books in Nupe-language but Arabic writing (*Salazhi* [i.e. prayers]) exist. No. But there exist songs (*eniko*) in Nupe, in arabic script, of religious character (*adinini*). He will get me a book to look at it next time.

Arrange with Mal Ndazhigi whom I meet on the road that he comes Sunday to a "chat" in my house.

7/1/36

Go to Lemu in the morning, stay there from 9 till about 1.30 p.m. Find about 10 men from Nuwa Kota there, led by Kutsu and Zhigi. Interesting and conclusive data about Gunnu, the myth of the *pati Gunnu*, and Sogba. They bring me the white sand which is characteristic for the grave of the Wali on the *pati Gunnu* to show. We take a sample of it home.

I go to see the former *Gunnuba* [place of Gunnu] of Lemu. An open place near the water, not very far from village end, today deserted and overgrown. 3 *Wuci* [*Khaya senegalensis*] trees there but otherwise nothing to be seen.

Afterwards we attend dancing, which lasts now for 2 days and will end tonight. It is a dance for *sunu* [naming-ceremony] and wedding combined. The *sunu* was performed when we were here last, i.e. Thursday last (by a local *gosan* [barber]). "*Gosan* lives in own compound, not far from *efu Maku*, rather in between two *Efus*. But he is "pure" Lemu man, i.e. *asali Gbari* [of Gbari origin], like the rest. NB I also saw one Lantana in Lemu. He is obviously a Bida-man. It was the *sunu* of the child of the same couple whose "wedding" is celebrated today. Explanation for this curious coincidence: they did not celebrate the wedding at the proper time because they had no money then. Now, shortly after the tax (tax-first-principle !), and some money still left, they combine the festivities. The bridegroom is the son of the Maku, the bride from a *tunga*. The bride herself is in the same house (having just given birth to his child !), but a great party is assembled: all the young men of the "*enas* [age-association] "both of Lemu and the *tungas*. 9 drummers, headed by the *etsu' dza nya' gbarafushi* [lord of the dance of the young men] of Lemu. Men and women sit round, girls stand round, watch, cry the sharp "wedding-cry" and slap hands, often laughing at clumsy dancer or admiringly crying at clever one. Great number of various onlookers, joining in "*jin raha* [chatting] ". Dance: the two groups of "*ena*" dance alternately in *corpore* [L. in the body], their Etsu in the canteen, bridegroom, a member of the *ena*, dancing among them, to right of Etsu, leading (or, when younger group dances, giving directions). Chain dance, slowly forward, with body bent forward, hands holding gown stretched out; then retracing backward; or turning round and walking back, backside to drummers, slowly moving, almost on spot. But also single dances, or pair dances of dancers of almost acrobatic extremes high jump, *saltis* [L. leap], "wheels", etc etc... New ones jumping in, former dancers leaving, clever ones being admitted, clumsy ones being ridiculed as I know it from other places. Very charming pair dance, two men (only danced by grown-up *ena*, or even "*nusa*")

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facing each other, moving exactly in same rhythm, almost like "*Spiegelbild* [G. mirror-picture]": lifting legs, wide stretched stamping (like in Japanese dances) with both feet, while body swinging from left to right, slowly turn in circle, then jumping suddenly towards each other with that characteristic *Salto* [It. leap] in which the jumping body lies almost parallel to earth, and taking each other's place; new beginning. Another, amusing episode: the Liman joins and dances this pair-dance, imitating, or rather representing a mallam, i.e. with fingers of one hand spread out (like Kuran) and index of the other hand following lines in this supposed "book", and repeatedly pointing to pupils, to his own mouth, he gives a very humorous interpretation of a Mallam leading his Mallam school. The people notice this first, of course, and draw my attention to this, they are greatly amused and obviously enjoy the humorous scene. Besides singing, the characteristic wedding-cry of girls, in usual way.....

On same day also market. Huge attendance, people from everywhere come, and are still arriving, or on road, at 2 o'clock. Pots, food, calabashes, cloth, skins, cotton, practically everything, even from Bida they come.

[[Nadel's notes on his pp no.s 188 and 190:-]]

SOC. ORGAN.

Ad: *Ena gbarafushi* in Lemu 2 grades: Younger boys (between 13 and 17 years)

Elder boys (between 18 - 25 or 30). This one only for Lemu. The *tungas* have their own *ena* and own *Etsu*. But the *Etsu* in Lemu is the highest of all. E.g. at present ceremony some of the members of adjacent *tungas* came, their *Etsu* being under Lemu-*Etsu*. (Not all of the Lemu members however were represented some being on the farms; the *Etsu gbaraf.* of Pari, for inst., did not come either).

Ad: drummers

There are drummers present from almost every *tunga*, the *etsu dza gbaraf.* of Paci, for ex., is pointed out to me. Here the situation is as follows: at all these big festivities they all join, and are under the leadership of the local *Etsu dza* (in this case of Lemu).

[[190:]] Ad: Cost of festivities

Food and beer contributed by bridegroom's friends; the drummers are "dashed" as usual by members of *enas*, and dancers and onlookers. Gifts announced, again in usual fashion, by one of the drummer-people, the *maba* [praise-shouter]!

ECONOM-CONTACT

Ad commercial crops (cp Ntbk 1)

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I enquire into changeover from groundnuts to red-pepper, viz into date of it. Reply: 2 years ago. This proves my surmise that it had to do with slump in groundnuts [but see [[Nadel's]] p180 , and tends to show how quickly and cleverly the natives adjust themselves to changing economic conditions!

NB The field is like this: one plot - cotton and corn; (north of village) one "red pepper (south of village)

Each about ½ mile long !

[[Nadel's notes end]]

8/1/36

Nda *nusa*, my storyteller from last time comes to tell me some new stories. I take down 2 today. At same time get some data about his own life-history, and the farming season.

ad: Farming season:

At Patigi where he lives no cotton or red-pepper. Corn-harvest finished end of last month, about 3 to 4 weeks later than in Bida, for the " *laticizhi tu zo bedso; a ci be ko yi gancin* [country people plant beans first, they will plant guinea-corn afterwards]" whereas in Bida one plants no beans, or leaves beans till after corn.

Red pepper picked (*pi*) just at present

Cotton

Groundnuts only people who are at leisure pick them (begin to pick them ?) " *degi degi* [a little]" now. Some farmers already sow yam. In the marshes of Edozhigi, where they have plenty of water also rice is already sown. [[Nadel's note ends]]

How big is his farm ? Slightly bigger than the area of my house. The Nupe have no means to measure such an object - " *a de enya ndoro a* [They have no such thing at all]".

At night.: Eclipse of the moon. Drumming everywhere in town, on drums, petrol tins or tin pans. Singing - or rather shouting - of Allah il Allah, till Eclipse is finished. Ad: Eclipse NB....children and youngsters make fun of it and crying the shouting and beating. Old men are praying in *masallachi* [mosque]. Different attitude of generations with (outwardly) conformity of behaviour. Typical of all such ritualised activities. Ndaba stressed very much the point of the great fear of everybody, and the ritual drumming, and he was visibly disappointed, [[N's page 194:]] when we went alone to the town, and there were only boys doing it far from seriously [Theory and Praxis].

The Nupe call eclipse of moon: *eyi nwa tswa* [the moon it breaks] [modernised?] They were singing and drumming as follows *alla il alla alla il alla* [[[Note ends]]]

9/1/36

Investigation of 2 mallam-schools in *Efu tsa Maru*. Typical and representative places, each of about 10 to 15 pupils. They are, besides, modernised to a certain extent, having school blackboards and chalk for the teaching of Hausa. The teachers themselves were taught Hausa in the holiday-courses of the Middle School.

Meet Etsu who rides past in grand array and big state. He was to see how the repairs and the rebuilding of his town-house gets on. I visit it myself later, and admire the beautiful wall-ornaments which the ordinary builders laced round the entrance gate of the new "*kata* [room]".

Later court.

One case (not really a case) gives me information on forestry rights and titles. Transfer of ownership to trees and fruit is free. But cutting down of trees demands license. Licensing authority either local D[istrict] H[ead] or Etsu. A special mallam inspects country to trace breaches. This rule refers only to certain number of trees - 53 altogether - which are of commercial value: e.g. as timber for boat-building, planks etc. What usually happens is that *egba* [woodcutters] acquire certain tree to cut it, and apply for permit. Prices vary: a *Dorowa* [H. locust-tree, *Parkia biglobosa*] 5/6, a *Wuci* [H. mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*] (for canoe-building) £1:5:0 (formerly 1:7:0). But forest-mallam [a Hausa !] claims that Kyedya get perhaps £3 or £5 for it. The rest of the trees are free.

NB Nobody would buy or use tree cut down by lightning or fire, if he knew it. Also trees which break down a house, or so. But authority does not bother about this, and demands fees nevertheless !! This would apply, for inst., to the *wuci*-tree which I have seen cut down at Wuya, and then sold planks to Kyedya canoemen.

Case in court was this: old woodcutter, completely destitute and not quite right in the head cut up *dorowa* tree which he bought for 7/6. This tree had previously fallen down on house and broken roof. But he was not aware of this, and cut the tree notwithstanding. Then forestry mallam asked for fee! Brought before Etsu, and Etsu, considering his poor condition physically and financially, only asked him to pay 1/4d, instead of ordinary fee and fine. The paying of this amount, and the receiving of the official permit, I witnessed today.

Another case is pitiful in its ridiculous pettyness: two girls were picked up quarreling and beating each other in market by *Dan Doka* [N.A. police]. Story was this: one girl owed another money (3d) and paid the debt by giving a piece of cloth (called proudly "*edi* [cloth]" which she priced 6d demanding the change; the other girl when she got the cloth realised it was not a "*edi*" (like her own which she proudly produces) but a *yisakun* (a rag); and so she priced it at 3d, and refused to pay anything more. The first girl thought to have been cheated, and then started to quarrel on the market. Note that both girls had, professionally, nothing to do with cloth, they were selling kola and soap. Judge decides laughingly that both cloths look to him like "*yisakun* [rags]", and sends his messenger with girls to

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market to find out real price. It was ½ d for one, and 1½d for the other!! The girls come back laughing at their own foolishness, they take it in splendid mood, and difference in debt is returned willingly. The morale a case of these two girls who were not older than 16 or 18 and which involved a problem of 1d difference, costed them 6½d each i.e. the fee for hearing the case: 1/1d!!

Law No petty case-justice!!

And, at that, no youth-courts!!

10/1/36

Friday. Wait for prisoners - who didn't come. [[illegible]] Holmes has most probably forgotten all about it.

Afternoon visit of my Mallam-schools to check marriage situation. Find my previous findings right: intermarriage with Sarki and even Giba[?] and no brideprice. Also problem of " who is mallam?" ascertained.

One mallam (Koyichi) tells me this sort of things becomes quite familiar to me that he got £5 from somewhere near Lokoja. The money was sent to Alkali 2 months ago. But Mal Ndagana, the Alkali's messenger put the whole of it in his pocket, and refuses to admit that the money has ever arrived. Alkali " knows of nothing". Old Koyichi asked Mal Ndayako to go to Etsu and plead his case now -natural it seems for these people to turn to the Mal Wancinko for help! It was of course of no avail. I advise him how not to have Mal Nday. as go-between any more, but to go to Etsu himself, or to go to D[istrict] O[fficer] directly. He realises the truth, and will do it. Pity that there is no receipt, and only witness that money was sent off from there is again - Mal Ndayako!

11/1/36

Morning *Salachi*. Surprising, more and more, how little people from social groups (in this case guilds-groups) know about groups outside their own, and how false their opinions mostly are. Everybody gave me the wrong name of the guild head of Saluchi!

Theory: the more complicated (complex) a society (and the more stratified), the more it must depend on ready made (readily obtainable) opinions, i.e. ideologies. They very rarely match the truth and are not even expected to perhaps?

Court - nothing interesting. A quarrel and fight between two men over 2 pots of palm wine. Not clear who lies.

Evening: head of Carpenters: *Egbagba*. Very old man. Interesting sidelight on tax: franchise of important " heavy" handicrafts (blacksmith and carpenters) under Etsu Nupe. Old man tries to lay all the

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blame for change in the customs - the loss of all "Yiko [authority]" by *nusa* [old man] of the guild on us: our tax system revived the traditional gift-system, that they kneel down before us is responsible for their not kneeling down anymore before their own *nusas*. In short: the authority of the white man broke down authority existing among themselves. He becomes quite violent. And I try to show that this is not true. factor !] I distinguish between *yiko* [authority] of *nyagban* [heart] and *hali* [H. temperament], and *yiko* of *wo'du* [tax-gathering]; try to show that authority of the old is not necessarily a financial problem.....And I succeeded?! At any rate, when leaving him I tell him not to kneel down, and this seems to please them all tremendously.

Curious with what energy and earnest he describes the lost "golden age" when his guild "subjects" kneeled down before him and rubbed ashes on their heads!! This is his idea of proper " *emisa* [greeting]" every year.

On the other hand, he cannot realise that their more being exempted from money tax, made the peasants suffer more having to pay all the taxes. He says, quite naturally and contentedly: " only *nunucizhi* [farmers lit. hoers] paid tax" Spirit of gradation, and worship of status pervades everything.

12/1/36

Hussey is in Bida, and Shillingford arranged a Conference in his house which is to discuss the new program of the Advisory Committee, advising the building up of Community Education, and the means of carrying it out. Specially should be discussed the beginnings made already in Bida (?). On Hussey's special wish I was present. Besides D[istrict] O[fficer] , Shillingford, M[edical] O[fficer] and S. of A. Exactly as the Adv[isory]. Comm[ittee] Report, the meeting was much too vague and up in the air. Everybody agreed on the quite vague and general principles: promote this and promote that, on the help-the-natives-sort of thing. But nobody thought seriously of details. Three main difficulties: (1) They want to try to go too fast. Everybody only thinking of this one domain (and possibility of showing-off !) M[edical] O[fficer] thinks only in terms of baby-clinics and model-compounds, and would, if feasible, drag the whole population by all possible means in to the new Community Schooling Center. (2) Overlapping with other schemes. Agric[ultural] Dep[artment] havetheir own schemes of communal Farms as demonstration farms, and of mixed-farming. They are unwilling, as it seems, to subordinate their scheme to any other, or to alter their line of approach. E.g. combination suggested: adults, in lieu of fees for adult education, work on demonstration farm. Also suggest to wait till boys who have school now will be independent farmers and able to carry out Agri[cultural] Dep[artment]'s plans. Agric. Off. dislikes apparently dealing with older people, and does not care what happens to boys who leave school in the meantime. (3) Difficulty of teaching-personnel. Shillingford (and Hussey !) are too easily satisfied: when boys from the village come to play football (and learn football) on school's playing field, the world looks much brighter already. If he could get an arts teacher to improve designs (!) on Bida brasswork, so that Europeans would buy the stuff now Europeans prefer Kano - it seems to him uplift enough. John Holt's, e.g., buy 2000 Kutigi mats this year, improve their colour-pattern, and everything is alright. [Here however thing points to the fact that internal consumption is the only satisfactory solution, not stimulating a (very insecure) export factor !]

Apart from all that: nobody bothers really about social background. Notwithstanding Report's stress on trained sociologist's investigation, he is to them a sort of Telephone Directory: who are the influential people there ?! I insist on leaving aside communal farm scheme (evolved in South!), and dealing with, and through, family head first. Get at them unobtrusively first. Get to be asked first, later ask themselves to decide alternate courses. [Hussey stresses last point] But in this, I am afraid, I neither appease M[edical] O[fficer] 's impatient drive for immediately something one can show off with (clinics), nor Agriculturalist's dislike of complicating "simple" matters, pushing 1 demonstration farm and finish, nor even Shillingford's naive assumption that a School is everything as it is.

Result typical: founding of Permanent Committee, which is to investigate local conditions. Then create (!) local committees, entirely native, but with "Status". Chief thing: write and publish a Report end of the year, so that those who come after us should know: such a thing has been started, has received official blessing, and should not collapse. Hussey finishes off by saying: "What has been done here already (!?) is really quite admirable, and very hopeful indeed!" By this he means obviously dragging into the "baby clinic" of so and so many women, without it affecting the family background in least. [And where is the moral element, the Advis. Comm. Report makes so much of ? !]

13/1/36

See Tychemuir, to ask him for Landcases Records, Learn that there are practically no land cases now, since they agreed to make occupation of land for a certain period a legal claim to permanent holding. Formerly a man came back after having been away for 20 years and claimed his land which he had "lent" somebody. This case happened recently, with an old halfwit, though, who got furious and assaulted Emir.

Jurisdiction of appeal has been changed recently. Originally: Alkali Bida's court (Grade A Court) formerly referred original jurisdiction to Etsu's court as to next higher Instance. Now changed. Has to be referred to D[istrict] O[fficer] directly. Only in appeal on appeals to Etsu against Alkali's decision.

Tells me that Etsu plays very shy of Alkali and does not like to interfere now, considering this new regulation. NB Tychemuir says that during last year 200 people have emigrated from Bida for south (Ilorin etc). End of emigration which lasts now for 8-10 years??

Ad.D[istrict] H[ead] of Kaba Etsu was telling D[istrict] O[fficer] and Resident, that there was very great resentment among Fulani families at this place being entrusted the local man. (I knew that). Therefore he wanted at once to have a Fulani gari as D[istrict] H[ead] for Jima - to appease his followers he said. Tyche, on the other hand, finds e.g. Kuta also not very satisfactory. He (Tyche) encourages councils more and more, instead of V[illage] H[ead]s acting by themselves.

Visit of Lalemi... Chiefly trading people living there, though not exclusively. E.g. Kpotun's house at beginning, and house of Fogu.. Settle some matters of ex-schoolboys.

Mal Ndayako. Get into historical talk with him, but elucidate matter of Liman and Alkali, also about town organisation, the question of Lalemi etc [[Nadel's note on his page no.208:-]] NB boundary between Efu tsa Maliki and Efu tsa Saba does not follow mainroads but slightly to west, passes by brass-smiths' quarter [[Text includes map; Nadel's note ends]]

Evening again Lalemi, see butchers, and enquire about system of *dilali*, i.e. brokers. (see [[Nadel's]] p.210)

[[Nadel's note on his page no.210 :-]] On market: great number of strangers now in town, viz passing through: Beriberi, Hausa, and plenty of others; horse-traders specially!! also ordinary traders who bring goods down and sell them here. Interesting how the news of the little economic progress which Bida had made during last year has spread and already attracts people. Quite a number of those Hausas came only a few months ago, they live in houses of other Hausas, open a "shop" in Lalemi, and then they stay. Special feature of market now is great number of sheep and goat driven down every evening again Hausa. People sell them either as "capital-investment", and simply leave them in the house (for future "walima [H.burial ceremony]", or presents, or *suna* etc..) or they buy them with view to profit. Now they pay 5/= for one sheep, in two months, before Salako [Id-el-Kebir], a sheep will be worth 10/=!! And in the rains, when the roads are blocked, even more! [[Note ends]]

Butchers demonstrate again how individualised everything is in the handicrafts and trades! The same applies to small groups of blacksmiths in *efu Ya Masaba*.

15/1/36

Morning visit of a Mallam who used to teach me *habe* [Hausa]. Discover that this semi-educated poor mallam is member of first-class *gitsu* [ruling] family of Maku. Get his genealogy which shows clearly how out of the original 7 claimants to Etsuship (=7 sons of Mauko) the 3 royal house emerge, leaving behind and often titleless the remaining 4 families. Shows also how Mallam family or *Gitsu* family deteriorates without jobs or offices..... "Idle" high-born Proletariat....

Then Mal Ndayako. Clear up a lot of questions. Inevitably discuss pagan and muslim jurisdiction. He is all in favour of *sheriya yegboro*, i.e. direct jurisdiction without basing everything on Kuran, as they have it in Ilorin and other places. Mistrusts present Alkali and his methods. Particularly in dealing with people who are hardly better than pagans. Also: Alkali has no moral power (neither *Kagbo* [strength] nor *Yiko* [authority]), therefore his judgements are, e.g. in divorce cases are bad. He must have power to force wife to stay with husband till she (or her relatives) can pay back exactly the bride-price. Otherwise she stays away, the relatives take long time in pursuing money (if at all). and poor husband can neither buy himself new wife, nor have his former wife. Reason why so many of the Bida husbands prefer to shut an eye and let their wives behave scandalously, instead of divorcing them.

Mal Ndayako also insists that funeral customs of among pagans differ greatly from Muhammedans. No *fo gutota* [lit. eight days -a mortuary ceremony], or *fo shiba* [lit. forty days -a

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mortuary ceremony], etc... Only feasting at once, as long as they have beer. No widowhood. Widow taken over at once by younger brother.

Tychmuir sends records of Land Cases.

In evening a messenger from Mal Ndayako comes to tell me that old Ndakotsu has just died.... First the Shaba, now he -old Nupe is dying out.

16/1/36

Quite early in the morning I go to house of mourning. First to Mal Ndayako -at 8.30 already 6 or 7 people sit there, the "*wacin* [big man]" with his followers. In house of Ndakotsu, the grave had been dug already last night, and he had been buried at once. By his neighbours. (the grave is near compound wall, outside hut.) The neighbours - the Mallam whom I know among them have done it in true Muslim fashion, and have said "*sala wangi* [good prayer]". Whether he was really a pagan they know not, nor did they care. There are few relations left. Some in *tunga* [H. village] on Badeggi road. The neighbours sent a messenger down with the news, but they have not arrived yet. Later, while I chat with the Blacksmith next door, the daughters of Ndakotsu arrive, bringing him food as they used to every morning, not knowing about his death yet. He was sick for about 5 or 6 days it appears, his heart was bad: *nyagban u ti* [his heart popped] whenever he did anything.... He had left a little corn and rice, one gown (present from *Etsu dazhi*), and various odds and ends. Among them I find the photograph which I made of him. Besides, he left a debt: he owed somebody 7/=. On the other hand his tax was paid already. In his hut we find various *cigbe*. Above all, in a wicker basket hanging on strings from roof, the famous turban of Bida Adamu, his ancestor of whom he had told me so much. A filthy threadbare thing, of reddish colour, packed full with small packets of *cigbe*. On nail over door another kuti: two receptacles made of antelope horns filled with *cigbe*, and one string 4 cowrie shells. This last "*kuti*" I keep. Also a string bow is there, various stools, pots, mats, gourds, hoes....All very filthy and neglected. Horrible smell inside. NB I also find in Ndakotsu's house parts of looms! And this proves the explanation the man give me: Formerly no guild of weavers among Beni (no "*ena*"). Whoever learned it (*na ekpe na*) became weaver. Only after the foreign weavers were brought in by Etsus from Yagba and Yoruba -it became a guild.

Contrary to this: blacksmiths (also *egbazhi* [woodcarvers]) always in guild. [But took on pupils!] *Banin* blacksmiths originally independent, and Maji was head over all the blacksmiths in Beni country. But when Blacksmiths came with Etsu from Raba, they got from him *yiko* and became the superior guild. I.e. they took the title of Dokodza, and the *ba nin* blacksmiths only had Majiu (and Shaba and Kpotu maji). But all are Nupe.

On way back we happen to discuss the Gwari. There was a man there from Abuja and Paiko. He says Paiko and Kuta are both pagan. Kuta the more important place in so far as it was never subjected by

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Fulani. Paiko for some time was under Nupe. [Etsu Gwari was the *egbe*]. In Abuja both Hausa and Gwari. All Gwari make Gani and Gunnu!! Katangi and Sakpa are also pagan, they say.

See two men cutting down a tree in front of their house. They are no *egba* [woodcarver], they are ordinary farmers, living in the house. The tree belongs to them, and they cut it themselves and don't call the *egba*, to save money. It is only a small house, so they can do it themselves (they don't make a very good job of it, though!). If it was a big tree, they would have to call the proper men!

17/1/36

Dispatch and write mail, and work up notes. Leatherworker comes, and tells me quite interesting things about old Nupe. I buy beautiful Nupe sword for 10/=; he will make a new sheath for 6/6½. He is such a nice-looking and charming man, that it is really difficult to refuse him anything.

Mal Ndayako comes with 2 complete *ena gbaraf[uzhi]* [age-associations of young men]. They are all "*lalako* [?]" however - so the social equality of which Mal Aliyu spoke does not seem to exist.

18/1/36

Court. Quite interesting, specially when the Alkali and his assistant pronounce solemnly one divorce effected.

Aftnoon in town. See barber Mamadu, who tells me that he had no circumcision yet, there will not be any for another 10 days. Mal[lam] Ndayako will get me a *ena* [age-association] of "*saraki* [chiefly]" sons soon.

19/1/36

Mal Ndazhigi comes. He knows a lot of Kuta, Paiko and other Gbari places. Advises me to make Kuta my HQ this being not only the most powerful, but also the "*nusa*" place. Paiko is half Nupe, Abuja half Hausa. In Kuta they are real pagans still -dog eating pagans (but also eat horses, monkeys etc). And all fallen animals belong to Sarki.. Have lots of "*kuti*"... He also gives me some information on former Etsu, and above all on detailed prognosis on the coming redistribution of titles. Discover that he is of Etsu Muhammadu's house himself, that his father held Maku and Kpotun titles... When he described himself as "Hausa" the other day I met him first at old Ndakotsu's place, he was referring too his Fulani origin. He is really a full *gitsu*, now holding title (and office) of former Natsu. Old Natsu still alive, is known as "*Natsu nusa*" (cp *Maku nusa*!) [[Nadel's note on his page no. 218:]] Realise that situation under N.A. actually reversed former principle of linking certain titles with offices. Except *Maiyaki* [H. Captain of war], all "offices" now in hand of *gitsu*, and not as original tendency of *Sarakishi*! [[Nadel's note ends.]]

20/1/36

Morning visit to "landed" Mallam Amadu. Interesting because he comes from very old Mallam family, but pure Nupe from Egga. Interesting genealogy. Also on Land good data. He was to Kano, in school, and speaks and writes both Hausa and English. Even one of his girls speaks a little English. She is a very nice pupil, and her mother offers me to marry her. There is much joking, and sometimes difficult to ascertain how far it is joke and how far earnest. Very nice people.

Court. Inheritance of cattle is decided finally. And other small, uninteresting cases. Also witness from Kutigi (the inheritance case) arrive.

Cattle keeping in Bida.

Have many people in Bida cattle? No, very few. Only (as in this case:) butchers. *Nanko a de wahala* [H/N. cattle are trouble]. Why? You can't keep them in the town, that means you have to leave them with the Bororo [Nomadic FulBe pastoralists]. Now they are not trustworthy at all. "*A ga* [they say]" They often sell an ox or cow, and then say it died. You have no check on them. That makes it so difficult.

Again I witness the ritual of the clock, and this time resolve to write it down: punctually at 11.30 the Alkali begins to question whether his alarm clock is right. He himself can not read the clock, so this is done with the help of Scribe, and long discussion and controversy. Scribe compares clock with his watch, and there will always be 3 to 7 minutes difference. Then a messenger is dispatched with bicycle to take clock to Post Office and have it set to right time. After some time messenger returns and brings clock back, puts it back into glass box where it is kept. New comparing of clock and watch, many "*Madallah* [H. general approbation]" and "*u da yegboro gancin* [it is finally going ahead]". And after some time the ritual is finished -all judicial cases which might have been on have, of course, been interrupted!

Brass-smith Mama Gana brings some old *ebi gwada* [dagger] to sell. Buy one nice (old!) brass one.

21/1/36

Second visit to Mal Amadu. He has collected all his pupils today, also Lilagi students. I discover among his books an old M.S. on Nupe history, with some facts in it which I did not know before. Engage Mal Amadu to translate it for me and to write it down in Hausa. I shall give him paper, and he thinks he can do it in 10 days.

New jokes about me and the girl whom they already call "my wife". Or an alternative I shall give her to my wife, and she should stay with Missis. On way back photograph people repairing housewall. They are neighbours of old Mal[lam] Amadu, *bara* of Maku, and have no work whatsoever now.

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Explanation of Mal Amadu: "they were *sarakizhi* once [NB: without title!! only *baras* [H. house-servants] actually!], and such people never work again! " Here they were all, 5 men, repairing the house.

On way young friends - actually a street boy -tells me he so wanted to go to school But his father did not want to pay for him. Mal Aliyu says that this is not the reason, but the teachers of the Elementary School declined to accept him, because he was too much of a "Street Boy "!!

News of King's death. No work - everything stops, and soon every native knows it. Mal Ndayako writes me letter of condolence, announcing his visit for tomorrow. We stay at home whole day. [[Mal. Ndayako's note (in Nupe [?]) is affixed to Nadel's page no.224]] Etsu comes to Middle School, and addresses students on event of King's death.

22/1/36

Mal Ndayako comes for "*oku be hakuri* [greetings on your forbearance]". I show him some photographs of King and Prince of Wales, and describe proclamation and coronation procedure to him. I am amazed at the similarity of situation here and in England which makes it so easy for him to understand - even to analogy of City of London and Banin.

In course of talk I obtain very valuable data on biography of *Sarakizhi* (i.e. men holding the ranks at present). Also on former and recent town administration. It seems to me that first town-administration, with *Mai unguas* [H. heads of town-quarters], was much better than new geographical division! At any rate old factor of locality still prevails, only "subterraneously" (Cp File, in Pol Org)

At last coherent and intelligible description of Inheritance case of Kutigi. Tells me of other law case, in which a thief who stole brass and beads was put in prison for one chain of beads which was discovered when he tried to sell it. But rest of goods undiscovered. And Alkali refuses to have thief summoned and questioned because he is in prison! Alkali is afraid of revenge of prisoner!!

Meet Mal[am] Aliyu. Ask him to write down (in Nupe) the song of Etsu Bello, as I recorded it last year, sung by Sogba. He promises to do it. Will he do it?

23/1/36

Morning visit to Masaga. As always, all very lively, all working with full power. Take some photographs. Masaga himself comes, and I take the opportunity to get information about 3 points which I was not quite sure to have exploited fully. last time. NB Also at women potters.

Meet the daughter of Mal Amadu (my "betrothed"). She, with the other girls from her *efu* [quarter of town], accompany a girl (their friend viz relative), a bride, to Etsu Agaie, where she is going to be married in a week's time. They were resting here on the outskirts of Bida on their way. They carry all their goods along in baskets, calabashes or pans, on their head, cloths, food, and a solitary Hurricane lamp, etc.... When I pass, the bride at once lets down her head-cloth, kneels down and begins to sing in a wailing voice, inter mingled with sobs and crying. This is the custom whenever she meets a man. "*Ebo*

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ye sa"...[because she is "lonely"] now, having left her parents, and not having yet reached her husband's house. But girls are quite cheerful, and joke with each other, and as soon as we turn our backs, the bride is joking with the others.

Wedding Bride goes to bridegroom's village.

Muhamadu, the leatherworker, comes to "greet me" on account of the death of the king.

Mal Amadu pays his promised visit, telling me that he has begun his translation already.

On way home observe farms: (1) man digging out cassava. (2) begin to plant rice in "*fadama* [H. low-lying flooded land]" (Bilharzia bottom [[Nadel's note on his page no.228:-]] State of farming NB Groundbeans already dug out! [[Note ends]]

NB Masaga promises to show me whole process of making original glass tomorrow afternoon (it is Friday, so they will not start work till afternoon, *la'asasi*, after having been to Mosque). Masaga denies that Mal Aliyu was to see him last year, and inquired for me about process of glass making. [Another lie of my great informant ?]

Potters.... We visit them to make photographs, specially of their "potter's disc". Place full of pots, finished and unfinished, also those flat disc-like things which are broken up and used for floors (*nya paba*). These as well as big pots only made in this *efu*. Knowledge of "potter's disc" from *nnazhi* [mothers]. Mother and Grandmothers teach their daughters and daughters in law!! Intermarry with Masaga, their neighbours, and other neighbours, so trade secret kept here! As matter of fact young girls don't work it! I have never seen any! Only married women [contrary e.g. to Jebba!]. Small pots or *butas* are no trade secret, made everywhere in Bida.

Just while we are there, a woman comes to sell potters' clay from the Badeggi market; she brings it in flat big basket.

The husbands of these potters are indigo dyers (Nupe, i.e. *mauna* type), and are just beating a blue dyed turban cloth, to give it the proper shine, after the dye.

[NOTEBOOK #1 ENDS]

24/1/36 [Bida]

Two prisoners came. One Muhammadu Gana, whom I wanted, had been released in the meantime so the warder brought along another Muhammadu (!) instead. A young man, nice looking and cheerful who stole 1 chicken and got 6 months for it!! This is actually the most impressive feature: his colleague who stole an 8d worth of rice got 3 months. And neither of them could actually make any use of his loot!! They were pinched immediately and for this ridiculous thing they were put in prison. Not that prison in

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Bida is dreadful and dishonouring. But where is the concept of justice!? And how is justice served by making the punishment a farce like this. The Na'ibi for bribery and embezzling £50 got 9 months, and a clumsy chicken thief who could not even get a meal out of it, 6 months!! Or a young foolish boy who burns 2 mats in a rival's house 1 year!!

Afternoon: Masaga. They have just finished the new furnace; for making the real new glass you must have a complete new furnace. The furnace is about 5 ft deep. They begin the glass making in my presence: On the walls of hut are 2 heaps, from which they take the "raw material": a) sand, mixed with water, b) potash. a)....it is the ordinary red sand which you find everywhere. They insist that you could use every kind of soil everywhere here. Nothing at all special about it!! It is made up with water, and forms the usual "mud".

b).... the "*kanwa* [H. potash] which you buy from the Hausa traders.

I take samples of each material.

The two raw materials are poured together in the furnace. Plenty of wood is added. Then the whole thing left burning for 18 hours. Today they don't sleep, they work in groups, for the furnace must remain in action all the time, and a man must be at the bellows all the time!! The amount of wood which the Masaga *efu* [furnace] consumes is almost unbelievable. Surely a hunched woman comes every morning, with immeasurable loads of wood. In front of every hut you see some man sitting and chopping wood.

Also enormous is the number of people who come to sell glass - in all forms: sodawater bottles, beer bottles, brown ink bottles from school, broken glass, lamp-shades, the broken off handle of a jug, etc... Also the women who trade in beads, and bring bagfulls of them. And finally there are the buyers, men and women, sitting in the workhuts and picking out what they want. When I ask the Masaga to make me a bangle exactly the same. I meant of the same size!) he said, he could not do that. For that one was made of a lovely bottle from the Hospital and he never got this sort again!!

On the way from Masaga to road, I pass by an old *mauna* [indigo]-plot, quite overgrown today, and obviously used as family plot recently. The compound of the former dyers is nearby. They don't dye anymore. Why? "*Dzuko da bo be a!* [There is no market]" Their dyed cloth is unsalable. "You yourself brought your wife *ewo zhiko* [black cloth -here for imported clothes]", says the Masaga, which killed this craft and trade. I am afraid it is true.

Dyers' pits

Potters.... I wonder: since this is a woman's job, how do they keep it from spreading with the daughters who marry into other houses? For they learn to make pots when they are small!! Explanation: there are potters also in other *efus* [quarters]. They all are of the same *asali* [origin]. But they don't work much in these other places. Big production only here. Which is natural, since in these other places it is only one woman who does it (and who, besides, has not the authority to hand it on and teach it - there is

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no "old" woman in these in-law *efus*); whereas in the original *Efu* all the women do it, led and organised by the keeper of tradition, the old woman! The speciality e.g. of the *etso* [a long-necked pot usually for display in women's houses] is only done here. Also, they say, some of the daughters marrying into another compound, let it go, and not exercise their profession. They forget it and it is lost....It is certainly more difficult a craft than the small *mange*'s [ablution-pots] which, accordingly, are made in quite a number of different places.

25/1/36

In the morning I go to Masaga, to see the liquid glass which will be ready today, so they promised. So it is, and I see it taken out of the furnace, letting it cool, and eventually smelting it again and form it into bangles etc. It is pitchblack, hard and glossy. Puzzle of "natural" glass solved! For this is then mixed with bottles etc, and thus gets coloured! In the ancient days, they say, they only had this black stuff, no green, blue or red as it is the fashion now!! But of course the history of the beer and rum-bottle in Nigeria goes back at least 200 years!! And since they bring up glass today by canoe from Lokoja and Onitsa, why should they not have brought it up from Lagos or Benin formerly?! It was quite as easy!!

State of crops: in the Bilharzia bottom I saw men farm, and throw up new ridges, very cleverly arranged, so that they almost function as terraces. I thought it is for rice. This is not so. There was rice there before. But after rice harvest they left it for about one month. Now they plant *Rogo* [cassava] there. The *Rogo* will be ripe in approx. the 4th month of the rainy season - i.e. in the middle of the rains. Then they will harvest the *rogo*, and immediately afterwards plant rice. It is true, they say, that in the marshes of Niger and Kaduna they plant and harvest rice twice (just now, and again in the rains!). But the soil here though irrigated a little by river is not so good. They are of the family of the Magayaki a Saraki (or *bara nya Etsu* [house-servant of the king] ?) of Etsu, living in Efu tsa Masaba. They own this plot.

Evening -see Tegetmeier. Come to discuss problem of education. It is interesting that he, a not very intelligent, most experienced administrator advocates a radical restriction of Middle School Education, only to those for whom jobs in the Pol Dept can be found. Already the Educ. Off. asks him to find a place for students who passed through Middle School, and he is unable to find any. This will, of course, only become more and more difficult. He is all for Elementary School Educ., but for very reduced Middle school (which would practically amount to something like the old school for Chief's sons!!) I object, that the Elementary Education would be just wasted for it is not strong, nor practical enough, to give the students something to "take home". They just relapse to their old standard of life (vide our statistics!!). On the other hand Middle School Educ. has drifted too far apart from Native Life. Sets aims and standards which are far removed from aims and standards of tribal life and ambition. Example: Head teacher Mal Aliyu knows not one Nupe story on Ndakoja. Add: arabic history, European history, and sports - and what Tegetmeier says is quite right: that the boys who went through Middle School are unfit for anything else but jobs! I try to show that this is not necessarily so. It is not an inherent fault of all education, only of this type of educ. It is a matter of believing in the possibility to reorganise the education (rural schools, schools as integral part of tribal life), or to fall back on the vague

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sentimentalism: the natives were much happier without our education.... (what Tegetmeier says). The proper reply would be of course: they were much happier without any of our new inventions, e.g. tax!! But education is the only moral idea by which we can defend our conquest and rule!! Still this would be too high philosophy for a D[istrict] O[fficer] in Nigeria. Yet I tried to show him that his plans may apply to quite primitive savages, but not to the Nupe social system with its enormous mobility. I say (translating it into more primitive terms): make the farmer's job worth something, show that education leads some where, to some higher standard, apart from jobs! and the game is won. In practical terms: reintroduce former system of Arts and Crafts + Literacy branch. Build up the elementary schools, as rural schools and tribal schools!!

Tribal means not necessary: Nupe. I.e. should not counteract new State development which is fostered by Government as well: e.g. territorial allegiance and administration, instead of tribal all.

Tribe versus Territory

e.g. this was Letham's viewpoint. This same thing happened very characteristically in Bornu, where the Shuwa Arabs were placed directly under Shehu racially or tribally, irrespective of their settlements. They declared they could not live under Kanuri chiefs. Then Letham introduced territorial system: from certain date only those living in certain territory would have franchise of being directly under Shehu. They were free to go and live there. But if they stayed in other areas after this date, they had to stay under the territorial (Kanuri) rule of whatsoever district it happened to be. After this time - nobody moved. They stayed where they were, under Kanuri chiefs, and are perfectly happy like this.

But on the whole I believe, that it is Nigeria where this situation of territory v. tribe, (State v. Community) would have arisen itself without our influencing it. Due to natural evolution of big political systems.

Beyond mere tribal boundaries - also inherent in Provincial School system, etc. yet one has to be careful in this. Nupe-Gwari-Hausa is alright. Nupe+Yoruba already more difficult. But Gold Coast [Ghana] clerks in Bornu country (e.g.)... surely this is too much! They ought to study my article just a little!! I shall have to make a very special chapter of the "Stranger in an african community".

This topic leads us to Kede position in Nupe. Teget[meier] a bit lost. Bulger (based on Maund's report!) said that Kuta of Muregi is given too little recognition, considering his position in the past [who knows it certainly Maund least of all!] Wilkinson, on the other hand, finds that power and influence of Kuta is already declining. Teget. asks why? I say: it may be individual for all I know! And I quite believe that this is a more plausible explanation than only the splitting off of part of his territory to Ilorin. As regards position of Kede: here again territorial principles gained the upper hand over tribal; Also of course, vanishing of former magical and mythical monopoly!!; many Batachi villages, e.g. being within Kede territory. Besides, powerful position of Kede due to large extent to Niger Company!!

27/1/36

Voyage to Katsa

In the morning comes a man from Masaga and brings a bucketful of bangles - but none of them of the kind I ordered. No big ones, only the usual stuff, though of black glass. I send them back, of course. But it seems hopeless to get from Masaga what one wants.

First impression of Katsa: a very big place, unorderedly and haphazardly built, in bad state of repairs: no wall is whole, no roof properly thatched.

Very nice view on creek - a sort of harbour for the canoes. They are moored fast on landing place, more than 50! The Kakanda canoes have large poles standing up like masts, many with a bit of white rag on top like a flag ("*Wimpel*"). The Nupe canoes have none of this. It is, they tell me, a typical *asali Kakanda* [of Kakanda origin]. Two big warehouses of John Holt and Niger Co., on this creek, where the native canoes get their loads, or big loads to. Steamers don't come inside the creek. It is half an hours paddling from here to main river, and 1 ½ hour from here to Egga.

Afternoon I meet D.H., the Sheshi, Alkali and rest of the town notables. (Including Yan doka). We go to market. Today, Monday, it is small market but at least 1000 people there. On Friday there is "big" market. People of all kinds: Gbari from Lapai and Abuja, Bida traders, Dibo from Gulu and Agaie, Kakanda, Kupa, Yoruba, Hausa..... These strangers often stay overnight, if it gets too late for them after the market. Stay with friends and acquaintances. No special rule!!

Of the hundreds of goods we see a few command attention: huge calabashes, and nicely carved small calabashes and calabash ladles from Dibo. Gwari pots from Abuja. Huge quantities of Kola from Labozhi. Rather primitive grass-mats from Kupe (Egga), soft beautifully woven(?) mats Warri (!! brought up by Kakanda) and, of course all kinds of European goods, including scent, mirrors, etc. Very beautiful pots with lovely silversmith work on neck ("*durch-brocken* [G. pierced through]") (like the ones we saw at Agaie once) are made by local blacksmiths *dukun yawo* [pot for a wife], made for newly wed girl. The local blacksmiths here still work more of the work in ancient style than e.g. in Bida! E.g. I see lovely brass-piece (sort of "*Atanschette* [G. ?]") in the blacksmiths' hut.

In Katsa there is still on the market the ancient block into which criminals used to be locked with hands and feet. Of course "*a la eza da be a* [they don't bring men now]" .. Sheshi explains to me. But formerly the rule: Who made *hukumchi* [?]? The Etsu, i.e. via the Hakimi. (Lately the Alkali.)

28/1/36

Visit of Kyedya-part, and landing stage. Quite good and valuable information about settling-history of Kyedya. They know nothing about Kyedya life! Information also about Kakanda war. There are 3 Mallam schools here. which are used exclusively by Kede (i.e. 3 schools for 16 *katambas*!)

Visit Kakanda canoes. The Kakanda understand and speak a little Nupe. The Nupe however don't understand Kakanda. Say that it is quite a different language. Try a few words: numerals very similar;

other nouns less so (e.g. water = *ori*, [cp. *ele*, rain ?] canoe = *nwa* [*nuwa*= water?]. Surprising that they have exactly the same tribal marks as Nupe (Beni, for inst.)

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[[f.p. includes illustration of tribal face marks]] Physically hardly different, perhaps a little more round-faced.

Proposed interview with Sheshi does not materialise, because of surprise visit of Maiyaki - hurrying up tax!

Instead walk through town: (about 4.30 p.m.) Blacksmiths... 4 men working together, 3 belonging to 1 family, one stranger, working in same *katamba*, and also living there. They are Bida people, from the present Muku's place (in the *ekpa baura*[?]). Only the son (perhaps 20) is born in Katsa. His father came from Bida 30 years ago. Why? To make more money. But now he realises that it is better in Bida than here, where people buy only blacksmiths goods imported either from Bida (brass, silver bangles etc), or through canteens. Their own work is brackets for the Kede-canoes, and a little silversmithing (bangles and rings). There is yet another *katamba* of blacksmiths here - they also came from Bida, namely from Efu tsa Saba (Dokodsa people). Originally (?) no native blacksmiths in Katsa. #Mallams: with very old Mallam I find 6 grown up men studying *litafi* [arithmetic]. Again there is no single Katsa man among them. The teacher is from Agaie; another man also; one man from Bida *banin*, one father and 2 sons from Lalemi... They came to Katsa 30, 15, 20 years ago... They are all farmers, and farm during rains. Now, during harvest, they continue their studies!! Some people whom I address on the road are again Bida people.

I hardly hope to find any native of Katsa in this town. In fact the Sarkin Barki tells me (he came from Abuja 12 years ago!) that there are only 2 *katambas* left for the original population. One of them being the Sheshi's. Rest all strangers Bida, Hausa, Agaie etc. And this place was chosen for first introducing indirect rule in the most rigorous forms i.e. bestowing District Headship on "local man", taking it away from Fulani "usurpers"!

Katsa used to be huge town before Fulani came. Its *zhitsu* [ruler of the town] had *kakati* [long metal trumpets -a sign of authority in Muslim Nigeria] of his own!! But the Fulani drove them all out. Some died, some left the place. The remainder are these 2 families. Some historical facts: even in pre-Fulani days subject to Nupe Etsu!! Egba (in Bida) was always: Makun [A rank in the Bida court]!

The block on marketplace (*tangi* [a type of stocks for criminals]) is neither Fulani nor Nupe though - but European!! Former no *tangi* and no *kata zhiko* [European jail], but *Ledu* [traditional prison]!!

Jokes as sexual education?! Curious thing which I witness: when I pass by old woman points to me with finger and explains to young girl - not more than 5 or 6 years - here goes your husband! Repeatedly. Another incident: woman of about 40 years says to young boy, again not more than 6 or 8

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years old, and explains to me: look, this is my husband! This is all done in jocular manner, and reminds me of joke of Mal Amadu's wife in Bida, who always addressed me as husband of her daughter, a girl of about 13 or 15!

29/1/36

Morning visit of *misun kpata* = waterside. Collect more information about Kyadya and their organisation.

Interesting that they profess to know next to nothing about the history or conditions obtaining among the Katsa-townspeople. I ask about the "*tangi*", and they say: this has nothing to do with them. I ask about the number of original Katsa families in Katsa, and they say : you better ask the Sheshi about it! Although they intermarry and "*da ya be dozhi yi* [they give wives to each other]" this amazing lack of mutual interest!! In the morning the D.H. makes his inspection tour, accompanied by his followers and one '*yan doka*, also through the Kyadya quarters.

Some interesting observations ad: market goods: huge amount of calabashes (very nicely carved ones among them) come from Dibo country and go up to Jebba. Pots from Gidi (Baro) and Kusogi Danci are sold here locally. They are not made in Gidi, only brought up from there. Made by Kupa of Ebwa. These pots are not very exciting sort, but are interesting for the ribbed pattern (circular ribs and round body) very much like some Gwari pots. NB No pottery at all in Katsa!! Actually no crafts at all here!! All obviously killed through enormous trade. Specialisation in trading, and unlimited import possibilities, can destroy original industries!! No possibility to compete [since there are no specialities produced here which could be held against imported goods.?)

30/1/36

Trip to Egga.

Our canoe is poled by 3 young men. One on the rudder is the son of the owner; the other two are engaged by him for the trip. On ordinary journeys to Onits[h]a [large Igbo town], f.i., they are two men; the owner's son and one of the 2 young men. As the owner has no other grown-up sons, they have to take in one outsider. Economic arrangement: the outsider gets 15/= for the voyage, of these he keeps 10/= and gives 5/= to his father. Our head-poler (owner's son) is already married. Nevertheless works still in *efako* [work-group] with father, i.e. takings go to his father, who only gives son 10/= for the journey. This will remain so till son gets canoe of his own. But *efako* also always viewed in conjunction with marriage money paid by father. In many replies this comes through: yes, this is *efako*'s, for does not my father marry me off?!

Buca catching fish with small hand-nets. This we find also in many other places where work of *nusazhi* [old men] does not include fishing at all, only canoeing for trade purposes (in places on main

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river), or farming [rice, sweet potatoes, *rogo* and maize (at the backwaters) pay for the trip 1/= for the boat - goes to owner and 8d to every man who paddled. Nothing to man who arranged canoe for me!!

Fishing: we see many various fishing devices on our way: big circular nets on trap-like balancing beam; small funnel-shaped basket-traps; --- both used by Hausa only!! Long straight nets of Kedyä; and small hand-nets (only when river is quite low) of *gbarafuzhi* [young men]. Also big seines (*eshe*), circular, or like a fence drawn across a dead arm. (Used both by Hausa and Katsa fishermen).

Certain villages have fixed places where they go to for fishing, putting up temporary camp on bank, and fishing. E.g. Wunangi people, who fish with nets, come inside side arm near Kipo. Seines near confluence with Niger - of Kipo people. Hausa fishing nets and traps all along dead arm. Most primitive sort of trap: sort of floating island of branches and leaves (not really floating) in dead arm left overnight.

Meet enormous number of canoes. Kakanda, Kede and Hausa (painted canoes, painted with figures of lizards, small rosettes, and the muhammedan writing [illegible].) On bank travelling camps of Hausa, and one small camp of Lagos fishermen!

In Egga the chief sends me 2 *evo* [calabashes] with food, which I give to my canoemen (they later tell everybody in Katsa about it). This is just ordinary Hospitality. About Hospitality the strangers who come to Katsa and stay over night, stay in houses of their friends. If they have no friends or acquaintances they go to Chief, who recommends place to them. No payment!! They also get food for nothing!! Only for return, i.e. the now hosts may come to their guest's house, some day, and then receive some hospitality there!

Reach Wunangi from Katsa in about 1½ hour. Surprisingly clean place, though quite on sandbank! All swept and cleaned, and dust burnt in long line of fires which keep sandflies away. Wunangi-people came originally from Gbajibo, are fishermen (in side-arm) and trader-canoemen. *Asali Kyadya tifi* [Originating from the upper Kyadya]. Right across Niger is Egga. Surprising the different style of housebuilding: not only no compound walls (not even made of straw mats as in Wunangi!), but exceeding number of square huts, and different (much less clever and neat-looking) thatching. People themselves explain this with fact that they have not space enough for walls, and spacious round *katambas*. Actually very cramped, whole place perched on little cliff emerging from marshland and sandbanks. Like a maze with unbelievably narrow passages and thoroughfares. You take one wrong turning and you land inside the compound instead of outside. How they ever know which is which house? Houses have much of arabic style I.e. they have windows like this: [Illustration on facing page (Nadel's p.30)] but they are certainly not very old (one 10 years). Whole place, according to their description, not older than 100 years. Interesting that they claim to have come from Katsina originally!!

The Kupa live inland, nearest village about 4 miles away. Take a few notes of Kupa language. Kupa themselves said to claim origin from Ebe, and to have come down to Egga driven south in (first) Fulani wars!! Preceding the settlement of the Egga people themselves.

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On way home meet again innumerable canoes. Extraordinary how the people hail each other over the whole of the Niger, shouting for some minutes, simply to say (and repeat) "*Ku be bo e* [Hallo]" and "*anani* [?]" or "*woloshi*[?!]" As a matter of fact they also arranged in this way of shouting across, some rendezvous for tomorrow at Katsa (market day!)

Egga belongs to Kabba Prov[ince]. Egga people were expecting their D.O. and Educ. man (who wanted to tour Ebugi, a place about 15 miles inland, in Kupa country, where they have got a school). They came up in the fast-luxurious screw-launch "Vulture", but ran on a sandbank at Koton Karfi (where they still are, as far as I know, for their launch had to be towed back to Lokoja).

31/1/36

Morning walk to town. First riverside. Find a man and woman from Kusogi (son and mother). Ask them about Maji Dodo but can't get much out of them, except that Maji Dodo is a pure Nupe and still a *gbarufu*. They say they know nothing else. Quite apart from that they are certainly unwilling to talk much as all traders seem to be. Are they afraid of taxes, or don't they like to spend their time in talk that doesn't pay? Otherwise the man was sitting there all day long doing nothing, only watching people. Says Kusogi people are pure Nupe, not Ebagi, nor any other Subtribe. I ascertain, at last, that Cekpan refers only to locality (i.e. other bank of Niger) and not to subtribe!!

On market people begin to assemble. Huge crowds are coming. Canoe after canoe lands people. Men and women arrive in one long throng from farms with calabashes on their heads. Hausa begin to spread out their goods. Women teams sweep the place (i.e. sweep the dust into the butcher's booth and the dispensary) The crowds in the afternoon when the market will be full, must be terrible. There is no *sarkin kasuwa* [H. chief of the market]. Only a '*yan doka*, and Alkali is officiating all day long (it is Friday!!). everybody knows his place, viz the traditional place reserved for the kind of goods he is trading in. *Dilali* [brokers] are busy everywhere (and, asked about their goods, many know nothing about their origin!) Some people buy straight away, as soon as the goods which have been brought in are put down then wait for "real" market to begin. #Ask Sheshi about woodcarvers, and the fact that I don't see any of their (famous!) work. He says: they don't work at all this time of the year nowadays that is -: why?, they have no money for the *takarda* [H. lit. paper] (i.e. license) to buy timber, viz. the permission to cut down tree. All the money they have, plus debts, are spent now on tax exclusively. When they will have finished their tax, they will again borrow money and buy the *takarda* for trees. And the Educationists and others try to encourage native crafts!?

Ride to Baro. A nice looking place, but hot and oppressive. Full of ugly tin-roofs. A pele-mele of tribes: Yoruba, Hausa, Nupe, Southerners. The labourers on the railway are mostly Hausa. A woman snake-charmer sits there (an old hag from Hausa), and insists on demonstrating her act to us: the boatmen Lagos like it, she says. The Hausa are really delightful people, full of humour and zest! They have t[w]o drummers to expedite the unloading of cotton!!

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Afternoon -4.30- Market is really full now! Not an empty spot. Continuous going and coming. Trade goods from everywhere, and incredible amount. We buy lovely huge stone-bangle, said to come from Borgu (Tuareg ?). Fish, and other food stuff, oil etc simply in thousands. Beggars and cripples and blind men walkabout, begging in their singsong. 2 '*yan doka* walk about looking after law and order.

Surprising the pronounced businesslike quality of marketlife. Almost no idle watchers, no young men and girls floundering about, no "spooning" or joking, no "*jeunesse doree*" watching crowd as in Bida. One buys and sells that is all. Some women and men wear "Sunday" dress, the two "*wawan sarki* [chief's fools]", that is all... During night no more drumming or feasting than is usual this time of year.

On the waterside also everybody busy. Canoes are leaving, packed full with the home-going visitors and their goods. Some of the people will not be home till late, 9 o'clock or so. They are not afraid of going in the night - for it is not the Niger!! Then dancing and singing all night through....

Good many things come from Bida: fowl (!), hats, embroidered gowns, horse-outfit (which Sheshi buys), small water-bottles (*mangege*) and glass-lamps, mats. Cocoa-nuts from South, etc etc.

1/2/36

In the early morning town still busy. On market some goods, left over from last night, are still on sale. The loading of canoes and donkeys with goods bought goes on. Huge number of donkeys all of a sudden in town. They carry oil and salt inland. Has to do not only with market, but with steamers that arrive today at Baro from South!! Canoe after canoe leaves. Take photographs of 2 Kakanda women with great difficulty. They don't want their picture taken, and their husbands try to hinder me! Otherwise they are quite used to our ways: for when I ask for two men to come up to R.H. for taking down a little Kakanda first thing they ask is: would I give them a *dashi* [dash/gift]?! Meet the Kyadya chief who walks about with his suite, supervising the landing place, and all the people camping there, and leaving today, loading and unloading their goods.

Surprising how people are afraid of officials: I pass by house of carpenters. Seeing inside *katamba* nice new *esa* [stool], I walk in to look at it. Stool suddenly disappears. I ask for it, they deny having seen it. I insist having seen it. They say: eh, yes - but it was not carved by them, only bought. I send 2 men to fetch it back. They, too, disappear and never return. More men come to tell me that nobody is nor was doing any carpentry work now. Till, disgusted, I leave. Obviously they were afraid I would ask them to produce license for having cut down timber!! Carpenters and new regulations!

In town I see 2 "*wawan Sarki* [H. chief's fools]", making fun, playing the fool, shouting and singing nonsensically, imitating soldiers, and "*Grimassenschneidurd* [G. screwed-up faces]", in short, behaving like fools. Sheshi tells me: every Etsu Nupe - even of old - had such *wawa nya Etsu* [Chief's fools]. They were always Hausa. The Nupe are not good at that sort of thing. They are not born fools, on contrary. For their tomfoolery they get food and presents from Etsu. Then they travel about in the country, go to various places, play their tricks, on the markets and get their pennies and food. "*Hofnau*

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[G. ?]" *Wawan sarki*" These two are quite well dressed, not at all like the ragged fool I was photographing at the Salla in Bida, and who was also called by people *wawan Sarki*. Go to place of former *kuti Takun zhiko* [ceremony of the black stone]. About half a mile outside of Katsa, towards E, lies half buried in sand huge black block of stone (Meteoric ?). Today all overgrown, we could hardly get near it. No clearing, nothing, left any more. A typical example of queer nature phenomenon becoming the center of religious rites and "superstitious" beliefs. but cp. recent findings about *kuti takun* etc. in Kopa and Doko, Ntbk 4,74

State of farms. They are just digging out Cassava on farms (*Rogo*) After digging it out - women do it - they leave farm alone till next rain. Then they sow *Rogo* again - by sticking roots into ridges which are newly hewn.

Planting of Cassava:

Sow any time during rain. Early cassava, sown beginning of the rains is ripe now. Late c., sown late in rains will be ripe before new rains begin. Only in *bata* can one sow *rogo* now, during dry season. It will be ripe just in time for sowing rice on same place, after reaping *rogo*. Not a spot, and not a week, left unused!!

NB: *Bata* divided from other farms by fence!! (on account of frequent quarrels)

NB In "*bata*" i.e.marshland, close by, they sow *Rogo* now, after having harvested rice on same ridges (cp Bida - Bilharzia bottom). Get surprising information on widespread system of paid labour on farms obtain ing here in Katsa. Obviously influenced by big trading at the place.

Visit Mission. A wretched little place, bare and without any charm, so poor- looking that one cannot imagine how this could attract anyone! I ask after name of (absent) *za na wu kalami na* [person that teaches the word]; reply: "*tsotso* [?] [nearby]. On the table are pamphlets of the Church of England Almanack lying about, with portrait of Prince of Wales in uniform on cover - Later I hear that english is not taught in his school!? So it seems to be just a symbol for manifest futility and superficiality of whole Mission-system here! For the visiting Missionary (Rev. Wood) does not teach either!! He only tracks through, going to every village where there are schools or rudiments of a school, converts or converts-to-be. His only effect apparently effect of his personality, underlining with presence of white man the ideas preached by native evangelist. It is, besides, difficult to imagine of what other use the Rev Wood could be in such a place, where there is no golf, no hockey, and no cricket! Shooting and games seem the only thing that really attracts him. *Vide* his obvious despair when he learned, in Stubb's house, that the Saturday hockey was off on account of the King's death. The only thing he said was: will there be no more hockey this week?

The native evangelist himself is a nice fellow son of a Nupe-Yoruba, who originally came from Ilorin, as *bara* of a Ful[ani] nobleman, and settles at Bida. He speaks both Yoruba and Nupe, and also Hausa - but no english!! The teacher has come about a good deal, knows many places, and has, from his

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father good knowledge of Nupe history. I learn most interesting fact about the Nupe having come originally from Kamuku (then at Katsina!!), and being related to Kamuku!! This at once solves mystery of joking-relationship with Katsina (pre-Hausa Katsina!?), also tradition of Egga-people to have come from Katsina originally, and finally the problem of Ndakogboya - this "nordic" and quasi-Hausa cult south of the Niger!! He has himself been at Kusogi Danchi, so he knows all about it. His news about the Kamuku origin of Nupe later confirmed by Sheshi Katsa!!

History and Demography

Another interesting fact, reflecting on what I learned at Agaie last year: the people from Atsu (Dibo) came originally from Etsu in Lavunkpa and in Etsu some time Nupe-king crowned!!

Interesting news also about the gradual disappearance of all old pagan customs.

Pagan *Suna*

The former pagan name giving ceremony, where one sacrificed on grave of ancestor, and an *ebasaci* [diviner] divined the name to be given to baby, is supplanted everywhere, even in smallest villages, by semi-muhammedan Suna, with a Mallam cooperating, *jin aduwa* [perform prayers] and *sadaka*, and Mallam giving name.

Pagan Funeral

The same applies to funeral - the last pagan funeral in old style which he saw took place 3 or 4 years ago, in Pichi and other village. But dropped everywhere now. He is an intelligent fellow, who observes and remembers. Can tell very interesting things, and describe really well the ancient funeral-customs, with their round-tunnel graves. These customs only alive now among Kuta and Paiko-Gwari. Sounds attractive!! Applies also to various "*kuti*". Since about 5 years none of the villages does practise any *kuti* anymore. Except Baka at Katsa.

Two Kakanda men came, and I learn language. Surprising similarity to Ebe and [The basis for remarks like these is unclear. See Blench (1989) for an up-to-date summary of the internal relationships of the Nupoid languages.] Dibo and Kupa. However Kakanda themselves disclaim positively any relationship with Nupe. --Proof for the information I obtained last time of gradual Nupeization of Kakanda. (1) *Ena gbaraf*. not existing formerly, but adopted now. (2) Titles changed to Nupe titles.

Kakanda

Old titles: New titles

Amana	Etsu Muyu.....	Chief of Muyu
Agancu	Etsu Buda.....	" " Budan
Saguma	Etsu Yawa.....	" " Yawa
Susa		Shaba
Logu		Kpotun
Tsadu	Maku	titles of notables
=		Nakorji
=		Lukpa
=	Cata	

(3) Etsuship in rotation [This however may have been the case also formerly they are very vague about this] Reason for adopting this? "Because the Fulani brought it into the country, and the *goyi* [Fulani] were the most powerful people". This interpretation is not quite satisfactory, because they had no direct contact with Ful., and besides the titles and the custom of the *ena* are Nupe and not Ful[ani]!! It just reflects on their own ideas to find a rational explanation. Obviously fashion adopted as fashion are adopted usually without rational or conscious motive. They are visibly relieved when I suggest, that they simply liked it better. "*Madalla, hakika a ba yi ga! a ba yi saranyi* [Well, it is much better than the other, it is very fine]!"

Two more facts which I ascertain: (i) now all muhammedans. Refuse to talk about ancient *kutis* they don't know them, not even their name. (ii) They always had independent village chiefs formerly, no paramount chief of all the Kakanda.

Sarkin barki tells me about former *kuti* they had against crocodiles.

Sacred crocodile. How the whole thing came about: on a *Rogo* field near R.H. we discover a charm against thieves, made of crocodile upper jaw. The field belongs to Sarkin barki, who got the crocodile jaw near Katsa. This brings us to crocodiles and their danger in such waters as the one at Katsa. At that time no crocodile would attack any man from the town. Only strangers were not protected. Sheshi used to bring certain sacrifice, and no crocodile would attack man. But some years ago a crocodile did kill a man. NB Still did not kill a Katsa man, but a stranger, viz. a Hausa *dogari* [native policeman]. They made much of this fact!! And today Sheshi cannot perform this sacrifice any more.

Forgotten, *cigbe* lost. So now people don't bathe any more and don't come too near the "*bata*" for fear of crocodiles. There are many crocodiles there, and the one which killed the man is still not caught. This, apparently, destroyed their belief in the power of *kuti*. Different from Mokwa people, they demand visible proof that the guilty crocodile has been killed, they are not satisfied with mere assumption. And they also are realists: a failing *kuti* is a *kuti* no more.

2/2/36

During the night we hear what seems to be a bullroarer. In the morning I enquire and learn the following nice story: The Yoruba watchman of John Holt's Canteen (called "Wasman") plays the bullroarer some nights, when he is afraid, against thieves. Lovely private alarm + Contact!!

Morning visit of town, one Mallam school, and place of Baka sacrifice. Also, in Sheshi's house, I see the goat which is preserved for Baka (next year most probably).

Ad Mallam-Schools It is a pity that good schools as this one, where an absolvent of Bida Middle School teaches Hausa and mathematics, has no possibility of financial success! Crowd of pupils, but nobody pays. And Mal. cannot ask for payment, lest pupils go somewhere else. Such schools ought to be assisted! They work for the benefit of the villages, they spread knowledge. And they spread it amongst people who, afterwards, carry on their old usual jobs. Not creating new aloof class, as Middle School does!!

2/2/36

Tell Shillingford about it. He is very interested and offers to "assist" this budding Mallam, i.e. offers him a blackboard(!!) On other hand wanted to open a school at Katsa, but this was cut off the Estimate. Wants to use my information now as basis for new application!!

3/2/36

Go to see Etsu in the morning, and to give him prints of new photographs I made some time ago. Come just in time to witness picturesque custom of riding round compound custom which he practises every day. His horse is brought before the *katamba*, he mounts it, in beautiful "Sunday best". He is waited upon by the whole usual crowd and one sword-bearer, and accompanied, also on horseback, by Uban Dawaki, Sarkin Dogari, Ndaturaki, Lukpa (who joins later), and Kafa. Besides some *bara* - who used to be old Shaba's *bara* - on foot. Usual continuous shouting and "singing out": *uban gari, albarka da sauki* [H. Father of the town, blessing and well-being] /: Etsu Nupe:/ *gyara, gyara, gyara, Dodo* (!) etc etc... Besides, there are three Hausa men from Sokoto who came to sell a canoe to Etsu (sic! it is waiting , so far, in courtyard), are singing their hausa-arabic chants. An awful turmoil (though no drummers nor *kakati* [trumpet]) which one hardly understands how he can stand it. On the way round the compound Etsu and the men produce a little of their riding-tricks, specially in the end, when we reach big open space in front of compound. In back of Emir's house a small compound where an Nupe Alhazi (Hadchi) lives, who was to Mekka and now teaches Kuran. (He was a Mallam of Etsu Saidu formerly). He comes out to greet Etsu, and Etsu shakes hands with him!

Amusing detail: neither Etsu nor any of his men use new bit!! They use their old bit, and indeed it is hard to see how they could manage their horses, and make them play theses tricks, otherwise....

Afternoon go to see Alvarez, and arrange about studying Mission. Shall have another, longer, talk with him about converts etc. He tells me that the CMS is not too keen on making young converts. Only in case their parents were converted already. Otherwise they must be at least 15. The first converts had a difficult lot - shut out from everywhere!! Evening Teget[meier] and others come to drinks. Some interesting news. First of all confirmation of what I thought I heard from Mr. Bieneman: Katsina College, E.T.C. and everything is transferred to Kaduna now. Nothing will remain at Katsina. Idea: Kaduna the capital, and besides Katsina will have to subserve not merely muhammedan interests but has to take on pagans from Toro now. [Most probably new step in Browne's program of development towards "inter-tribalisation and new all-Nigerian nationalisation!"]

Teget[meier] and Dr. had to carry out an Exhumation because of silly order from Minna. A child of 2 years was lost and found drowned in pool near Jima. One woman alleges to have seen other woman (co-wife of child's mother) walk to the pool together with child. This is only witness, and on this Wilkinson based suspicion of murder, and ordered post-mortem. They could not get to Jima, so had the corpse brought to Kuchi (*sic!*) and Dr could, of course, find nothing: after 5 days!! Difficult to get the people tell you anything... The same applies to a manslaughter case in Kutigi District:

Law, case of manslaughter

Reorganisation of Native Courts; limitations of Etsu's power. A Fulani and a Hausa started quarrelling over a calabash of beer; Hausa bit Fulani - but later they made it up. But Fulani died 14 days afterwards of this wound. Now Hausa embarrassingly free and ready to explain everything; i.e. to accuse himself! But no other witness wanted to open his mouth. Nobody apparently had seen anything, except for one Fulani eye-witness, who bolted straight away! Proof of unstable position of courts! Besides -- characteristically the D.H. had heard nothing of the case: news came to Bida (how?) before they reached him...

Interesting side issue: Etsu had begun investigations into murder case already when Teget[meier] had to stop him as tactfully as possible. Reason: All the First Grade Emirates in the North give the Emir full judicial powers, i.e. including homicide. But in case of Etsu Saidu this was abolished for Nupe - notwithstanding appeal of Resident, not reinstituted. Thus the personal antipathy of Government against the Bida-Emir led to this anomaly. Etsu of course did not realise that this was more than *ad personam* arrangement, and therefore once betook himself of this case.

A propos court: Mal Koyichi at last took confidence and went to see D.O. about this case of £5 from Baro (Thus do I help to consolidate the government!)

4/2/36

Visit of Mal Abu's Mallam School. One of his sons makes beautifully illuminated Kurans! Sells them for £1 each. I order, not the whole Kuran as they hope - but 4 pages, nicely illuminated. They use

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"Zirkel [G. circle]" made rather clumsily by native brass-smiths for their father, an obvious imitation of European compass, but does its work all right.

Mal Amadu comes and brings first part of his translation of Edegi-Ms. Quite promising, because it comprises all the different versions, always explaining: others say..... But he stopped short at the "Division of the Realm". So I ordered him to write on, till Etsu Majiya's reign and the coming of Mal[lam] Dendo.

Work in workshops. Carpenters and labourers. And one extraordinary interesting life-history of present PWD messenger, a son of Etsu Mohammadu!!

He tells me about Nupe community at Lagos, where he lived for some years, with his maternal grandfather (clan) who was a diviner there (with stones), with big circle of customers of all nationalities (Yoruba, Ibo, Nupe, Lagosians....). The Nupe of Lagos are not Kyedya the Kyedya do not come down to Lagos, only to Burutu! But what origin, he does not know. They live in the *ungwa shanu* [town-quarter of the cow, prob. butchers' quarter], all by themselves, but great many compounds (*efu*) of them. Their compounds called still today *emi Tsoede*. Their professions: traders (rice), boatmen, fishermen, labourers, diviners and Ndakogboya performers. Perform it still today as private "magic" for anybody who orders it.

A boy's toy which I saw very frequently already, a sort of small catapult, is called by schoolboys today *Robe* (rubber, because they use strips of motor-tube-rubber for the string). Native name *Etegi* or *Egbajere* (*Ete* = rubber, bird-line, gum; *egbajere* = sling for throwing stones), and used to be made with sling of *rama* [*Hibiscus cannabinus*]-rope (hemp). The missile itself = small stone or pebbles. [[f.p. includes a sketch diagram of an *etegi/egbajere*]]

5/2/36

Morning Mal Ndayako comes. Talk about various objects paid farm labour, the Nupe waking up to commercial value of crops etc. Tells me amusing, though very discouraging incident: one of the Messengers of the Sleeping Sickness Dr Bell (called *likita allura* [H. doctor of the needle]) went round the country - Agaie, Badegi and Katsa -and levied money. The ignorant villagers gladly paid him, hoping that they would be let off the needle...

Again we discuss the mentality of the Nupe who never go straight to D[istrict] O[fficer] to tell him their grievances. He says this: the D[istrict] O[fficer] does not understand Nupe, but many of the applicants do not understand Hausa. I say: but there are interpreters. He: *a'a* [No], they are just liars, they would lie and say the wrong thing, to cover up Alkali or Etsu. At least this always happened with Capt Wilk[inson]. It was simply no use going there. NB Confirmed by Alvarez. And still more - a man who dared to approach D[istrict] O[fficer] directly at Etsu Saidu's time was a branded man at once. Messengers of Mallam stuck together like glue.

Work in Workshops.

Alvarez comes to tea: talk on Mission work. Goes very slowly. During 30 years slightly over 200 baptised - but of these many children of baptised natives, therefore only approx. 100 original converts: slow and uphill work. But they insist on the graver conditions to be spared setbacks and relapses.

Process of missionizing among villages (i.e. pagans) comparatively easy. Certain places particularly friendly, e.g. Doko, Gaba, Pichi... No difficulty to get pupils, both day and evening classes. On contrary. Also baptism as such of younger men not difficult - even son of chiefs at Doko, Gaba, Kalangi). The difficulty begins when they want to marry: they simply can't find a wife!! Nobody agrees to give them their daughter. Son of Doko chief emigrated to Kano. For two evangelists (both sons of simple men) wives had to be found by C.M.S. in South. But Kutigi- evangelist, who is son of chief of Kataeregi, married Kataeregi woman. And evangelist of Badeggi whose first wife (from Lokoja!) died, could marry in 2nd marriage, daughter of local farmer. Otherwise no social correlation explaining why certain people become christian. Individuality certainly [[sic]] plays important part, and transforms the very frequent familiarity with mission life, formed in the successful evening classes and schools, eventually into real conversion. For actual public declaration is demanded - and, of course, renunciation of polygamy.

In Bida different: Muhammedans originally (partly still) despise and hate Mission-teaching, as regards the more learned ones, on religious grounds!! Would try to stop their children going there. Still members of some with known muham medan families went there, and still send their children to school, but no converts here!! Much more difficult.

E.g. family of old Waziri: Mal Ndayako, Mal Etsu Saba and others. Mal Etsu himself explains it to me quite from unlikely point-of-view: there was no other school then, only C.M.S. But they realised it would be better to get on terms with Nasara, and to profit by their teaching. They were also urged by Gov't. But when Gov't school was established, they all hurried to the Middle School. And now Mal Etsu Saba denied to my face that any of his relatives go to the Mission School, although 2 sons of his go the the Mission School, and L. had seen them there. Another difficulty now - competition with Gov't school. For C.M.S. does not encourage study only for sake of job! Wants to have them on the land. No Hausa or English, unless specially wanted. And reading or writing of Nupe not of great assistance in looking for N.A. job, for ex.

6/2/36

See Teget[meier]. He is off to Agaie, and asks me something about organization: the Etsu of Agaie suggested promotion of the Santali. Now Teget[meier] does not know if this is slave's title. On this case he could not recommend him for an office. He heard however that titles at Agaie were somewhat different from Bida titles. I tell him (a) that Santali was a slave's rank and something like an office besides [see my article - which he intends to quote as basis for his decision]. (b) that 2 slaves, and of

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alien origin too, are in the city council, namely Ndaturaki and Ndamaraki [which of course he did not know...]

He also tells me that the Etsu confirmed my advice that the 4 town-quarters are completely artificial. So he is more and more inclined to follow my advice, and to re-organise whole situation. We shall discuss this till he comes back from his trip.

Workshop-work, - at new court-building. Find there a lot of occasional labourers which is still more interesting than permanent labourers, N.A. carpenters, blacksmiths etc.

See number of horse-dealers, driving their couple of dozen horses to Etsu's house. They have just arrived, and Sarkin Dilali [Chief of the brokers] takes them to Etsu who is to be the first who has the pick of the new horses. - These traders - Hausa - should, theoretically, have their *zongo* [H. strangers' quarters] near *misun Gbara* [bank of Gbara river], i.e. in *efu tsa Maru*. But the new Etsu's house being outside of town, and near *zongo* of Etsu Saba, they prefer this. Thus upsetting the original tradition.

Evening - market, to study morals, or rather immorality. From what Yisa told me (nicely confirmed by Ndaba) I gathered that practically every woman in Bida is a prostitute. Even of high families, e.g. daughters of Maku - as soon as their husbands go away for short time, sometimes even without this subterfuge, they sell themselves to other men for the night. Prices vary: 6d, 8d, 1/=. (Yoruba-women, who on the whole are more difficult than Hausa or Nupe, because of their more watchful husbands quote sometimes 1/6!! Nupe women don't mind nationality, accept any kind of man. The same applies to all bigger places: Kutigi, Mokwa, etc. My cook, e.g. had everywhere, everyday, another woman, says Ndaba (who himself is no angel either) But not any farmers and "*gberizhi* [country people]". Here the womenfolk have to work all day long, that "they have no time to dress, to wash and to look nice - therefore they are not desired by men" (Ndaba). On the other hand, very difficult for nice looking woman to resist the attacks of men when husbands are absent. Only remedy: to stay at home. This is characteristic difference: no "decent" woman goes out after dark, neither on market or anywhere. Besides those women one meets on road in evening who wear beautiful cloths, and carry no loads (even small loads are carried by girls for them), and have, of course, no baby along - are the prostitute kind. (But they may have children at home!) They are without exception very nice and clean looking women, as I could see myself. Ndaba went to see and to "greet" all his old "friends" whom he found sitting on their usual place on the market, and one even gave him 2 kolanuts from her tray!

NB But Nupe husbands do just the same. Notwithstanding that they are married, they sleep with other women, e.g. Ndaba!! But there are Nupe, Yisa says, who don't sleep with a woman for 4 or 5 months. I: who, for ex.? Yisa: I myself...

One of the reasons evidently perfect lack of legal sanctions for adultery and seduction. It used to be punished very severely. When I first came to Bida heavy fine (£9) for seduction! This was then abolished. Now only civil case, with divorce as only result. But this situation cries for heavy legal

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sanctions!! Present fines (according to Yisa) approximately: for adultery (if it gets known - 5/= [[:]]) for seduction - £1-

The husbands know (of course?) nothing of this -e.g. Ndaba, whose wife is - as Yisa tells me - as bad as the lot. Still, only poor men would bring case before court. Rich ones would never (do never) do this, but throw the wife out, forfeiting the bride-price, and obtaining "*takarda*" from Alkali stating the divorce-fact. Save all publicity and shame, but lose the money. Problem that arises is: how do they counter-act pregnancy? No case of seduction or adultery came to my knowledge, where woman or girl was pregnant. Ndaba knows there are lots of *cigbe* which one drinks, and there is no child, and no menstruation. Only the barbers and some "mallams" know the medicines, he says... Well, we shall see our friend Mamudu about it. Ndaba: characteristic of Nupe that they shut their eyes against such things. What they don't know, does not disturb them. Therefore adultery done at night, nobody sees it, there are no consequences, ergo: nobody is hurt!!

7/2/36

2 prisoners - both thieves of more than [[c.: double]] two prison-terms. But interesting. Buy "illuminated" page of Kuran.

8/2/36

Talk with Shillingford, to get information about School Organisation.

9/2/36

Morning ride into town. Surprising how Nupe Muhammedans have adopted Sunday! Nobody on the road, nobody seems to be working. And you meet them in full dress - "Sunday best" - in the street, dresses which otherwise are worn only on Fridays (e.g. eldest son of Shaba (1) and his men, 2 mallam-teachers, I know etc..) Incidentally, I meet a young man on a bicycle, who used to bring me messages from Mal Aliyu or Ndayako - Yisa calls him a "*bara*" of Mal Aliyu!! Also see Alkali, who, accompanied by 4 men, is riding to Court. One of his men, the evil-talked-of Mal Gana, carries a clock after him. Clock as symbol of social status.

Talk with Mal Ndayako on certain operations performed by barbers. On children who are sick in the throat, "don't want to eat", and whose "uvula" [*zapfcher*] grows "too big", the barbers cut off [*ab Kneifer oder seissen*] [G. with knife or scissors]] the top of inflamed uvula. Appearance said to be enlarged and whitish (pussy ?). If operation is not performed, child will not eat, or grow... Sometimes also performed on people of more advanced age. [Diphtheria !?] Of glands and their treatment they know nothing - Native name of uvula: *belu-belu* (cp. Bargery Hausa Dict -*beli*!

Native Medicine and Surgery

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This operation is performed by Hausa-*gozan* only. The Nupe barbers don't do it, because they are afraid. The Hausa, in their own country, perform this operation on every child, after the *Suna*-ceremony. Here it is done only on those who want it, and whose children are slow in growing. When they are about 5 years old, one operates. Said to make them grow faster and more properly.

The tattoos over whole body which you see on women, not made in Bida. Bida barbers can't do it. Only on farms. Done before girl marries.

10/2/36

Noon - in P.W.D. to make sure about 2 points not investigated last time (1) marriage,... less than 50% married (2) *dashi*,... no *dashi* now,; but used to be made 5 years ago, when wages were higher. Discuss - with much delight - points of difference in life-standards of town and village people. They all agree at once, that town-folk are not satisfied with one gown, or one *fula* [cap]... That they must go to *dzuko lozun* [tomorrow's market], they must make "presents" at festivities, they must have women, etc. The result being, that although they have fixed and higher wages than ordinary income of farm-lad, they can't marry without making debts. They offer this explanation: farm-people are richer in this that they always have money. Besides they get money in larger sums, e.g. when selling rice or cotton, not a weekly 7/= which disappears before you say Amen. Secondly: most of their (or labourers) parents are poor, and can not help financially their sons to a wife. [More theoretically: these petty craftsmen, hat-makers etc, can not increase their production successfully according to want for more money!! Whereas farmers can to large extent, at least in reducing life costs by growing more, and more varied, food!] But, apart from all that, they also agree that they would not be satisfied, for inst., with the type of wife the peasants take. They want something nice and attractive - and costly. Town-wives run away when they can't get what they want. (cp. Law case!)

Evening Visit of C.M.S. Evening classes. Rather disappointing, because I like Alvarez personally. He had said that there are 10 to 20 people coming round to evening classes. When I arrive there, Evangelist says, 10 is maximum; 5 to 7 average. But in this he includes the "*egi nya gitsuzhi* [lit. child of princes]" i.e. the evangelists and teachers who just happen to be staying in Bida. Tonight there were 3 such "in-patients" and one 1 stranger, i.e. a man from neighbourhood who comes regularly to learn to read and write Nupe. It is really touching to watch this man, who is about 50, patiently read and try to write Nupe, and excitedly again and again discovering that all these unwont[ed?] signs and sound form themselves to words and sentences he knows. What a pity that Nupe is displaced by Hausa!! One can understand that such a place as the C.M.S. school also functions as social centre - people find something to do in the evenings, something interesting that is; people who otherwise have no "social life" in the evenings, as the young men with money have, or those hangers-on of noblemen who almost live in their master's house. cp. my suggestion of a village-centre in the school. If the schools would only be Nupe-schools! This also explains how these evening classes could become such a success in the small villages, e.g. Doko, Gaba, Pichi etc (where there is said to be an attendance of 70!! [But cp. the disappointing "Statistics" of Bida evening classes]). The men who come in Bida are only hat-makers, mat-weavers,

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tailors, elder people - in short *talakawa* [H. poor people] with no "connections". None of these will ever be converted. They only come for teaching - which must be given them "*tile a*[without compulsion]"

But here again, schooling may be success; but not developing into conversion!! Nobody minds one's children going to Mission School. Even Etsu Dashi said to go to evening school himself. But the convert (or convert-to-be) finds himself completely isolated. "*A ga ga be u nyi be a* [They say that he doesn't come]"... This is the reason why, e.g., the son of Etsu Dashi who became christianised went north to Zaria. [[e.f.p.]]

In children-classes no hope of converting Bida-people either. Only farm people, peasants, are likely to become Christians. Of Bida-people only 4 became Christians and Evangelists: Sheshi (Bida teacher), Paul (Katsa evangelist), a man who became later printer of Mission-printing press at Shonga (now dead); a man who was teacher for long time, but now has given it up and become Niger C[ompan]y clerk at Lokoja. Of these 4 only Sheshi of "high birth" - his father was Sheshi [*bara* [house-servant]] of Shaba, and tax collector under *mai-ungwa* system. Rest all - *Talakawa*. In villages a few sons of "notables" became christians: son of chief of Kataeregi, 2 sons of the man who "follows" Etsu Pichi. [one of them tax-mallam at Ndeji Gorau]

11/2/36

Visit of Etsu's house. He wanted me to see him in his daily routine-work, with his notables and councillors. I come about 9.30. He sits in his own hut, some *bara* with him, and the Sarkin Fada, later Uban Dawaki. Chewing kola - he is apparently just after his breakfast. We talk, in beginning about nothing in particular. Outside the usual crowd. Minor Sarakishi and *gitsuzhi* [people of the house] with their followers, and the followers' followers. Make the usual noise, singing out, quite senselessly and irregularly praises and blessings of Etsu. After some time the important personalities arrive. Sarkin fada - who acts as private messenger - brings the Etsu's (arabic-written) mail. The Sarkin 'Yan Doka with the prison-head-warder come, and give Etsu the *labarin gari* [H. news of the town] (in Hausa). There are news about foreigners who have arrived in town, people who were arrested or released. Among others news of 5 cases of smallpox among prisoners and labourers. [Etsu refuses to see one of them.. "*Ina yin tsoro da wannan* [H. He's afraid of that]."] Everybody who comes kneels down, and prostrates himself before the Etsu. Etsu himself sits on his (real) bed. When he dismisses the visitors he hands kola-nuts to Sarkin fada, and Sarkin fada to visitor (5 to 10 per head). There are both regular visitors, who come every morning on business, like Sarkin 'yan doka, and occasional visitors whose names are announced to Etsu, and who come to "greet" him, or with some personal matter. After a short time Alkali, with his 3 assistants and Messenger, appears; on his way to Court he always first goes to see Etsu, is greeted and presented with kola, and then dismissed.

The Sarkin fada announces the arrival of two *Sarakishi* from Sokoto, who came on a visit. They are summoned before Etsu, and graciously received. They brought a very nice horse as present. Somebody mounts the horse and rides it round the open space in front of compound, for the Etsu to see it.

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He dismisses the visitors graciously, sending a man for the Galadiman *gari* [H. keeper of the town], who is to find quarters for them at the nearest *Esozhi* [xx], and get them food etc.

These visits among Sarakishi are a traditional custom. The royal family members of the Northern Emirates visit each other like this, staying for about 1 or 2 months as guests, and then returning. No special object -just visits and "seeing the world". The Nupe princes do the same. Next morning I pass by *Esozhi*, where they sit doing nothing, idle and honoured guests. They really are nice-looking chaps, tall, light of colour, finest specimen of Hausa nobility, although rather ragged as regards clothes. But most probably they expect to be presented with a real Nupe gown!!

Ad[?] Nupe Gown: when a former student of Shillingford, from Bornu (son of Shehu) was here in Bida on a visit, he bought 2 Nupe gowns here for £1.10 and £2.10. In Bornu he would have to pay £5 or £6 for them!! [NB this sophisticated and immensely conceited Bornu-man, made still more conceited by European's admiration for his various talents which comprised Polo and driving, simply had to buy a Nupe gown!] I ask them [[sc. visiting Sokoto nobles]] what work they do in Sokoto, and very indignantly they say: nothing at all, we are *Sarakishi*.... In the meantime Maiyaki, Ndeji and their followers have appeared - the *madarisa* [H. audience] of Etsu, and he is ready to proceed to the 2nd part of his daily routine: the session of the Etsu's court. For this we all move over to Etsu's Court-Hall, which is adorned with a platform, and throne-like wooden armchair, and on the wall the framed certificate of his Patent and, in a chromium-plated frame, a photograph of King and Queen. We sit down in appropriate, traditional arrangement. [[Nadel's page 86 gives a diagram of traditional arrangement of court of Etsu]] The Sarkin Dogari stands at the door. All the time the usual shouting and saluting was going on, and even now, we hear from outside sudden outbursts of "*Uban gari* [H. father of the town]", "*Gyara Etsu*", etc etc...

First the Etsu "private secretary", a young Mallam, reads aloud the mail which the Etsu received from various D.H., matters are discussed with the councillors, such as situation of tax, state of repairs of Resthouses, etc. Then court matters are proceeded to and court minutes read, so that Etsu should know about history of the cases he is going to hear. :NB Both cases which were tried before Etsu today, are cases which were transferred to Etsu's court from Alkali's court,-not appeal!! In the meantime Gabi arrives with the messages from the "*Barki*", i.e. D[istrict] O[fficer]'s office (which is, today, only that Teget[meier] goes to Minna for 2 or 3 days, and that tax from this or that district is still outstanding). Also Etsu is informed - i.e. sees it in the records - that D[istrict] O[fficer] has confirmed by his signature a finding of Etsu's court of the day before. Generally messengers and strangers arrive continuously, even while the court session is going on. E.g. the head-carpenter who works on the yard comes to pay his respects; or a *dogari* [H. traditional policemen or sentries] messenger from City Office (Mal[lam] Ndazhigi) comes to inform Etsu that the remainder of tax of a certain man (6/=) had been paid, so that this man who was put into prison for not paying his tax, could be released. This is then arranged at once, and the man, who had been brought out to Etsu's house at the same time, "thanks" the Etsu and leaves with lots of "*albarkas* [H. exclamation of blessing]".

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Finally the cases are heard: First an interesting quarrel about bride-price (see: Case records); then a quarrel between a canteen-clerk and his employee, a *bara*, whom he dismissed for misconduct. After this case I leave - it had become 12 noon in the meantime, and I had no food at all today.

Amusing incident: the young Mallam who acts as private secretary reads very bad and indistinct Hausa. When he reads Alkali's minutes, Etsu interrupts him asking Ndeji: do you understand all he says? Ndeji: yes. Etsu : *Mi la wo a* [I don't hear]!" (His Hausa is not very strong). So he orders Mallam to read the whole thing again, and Maiyaki, who knows the Etsu, suggests another arrangement: Mallam reads sentence for sentence, the *Yan Doka*, who has come with the parties to give evidence, repeats every sentence into colloquial Hausa - which the Etsu eventually understands. Though plenty of in-between-questions are still necessary. This, then, is the Official Language, understood by everybody in Bida - as the Government will have it.

The role of Maiyaki and Ndeji is definitely the role of advisors and councillors.

Although Etsu decides everything by himself. But, when they "*jin shawara* [give advice]" he propounds his views to them, and almost invariably they agree. They have, no doubt, better heads than he himself. They are better at the complicated figures of finding out proper amount of bride-price. Also they see case clearer, and sometimes throw in questions to witnesses or defendants, which clear up case considerably. But all this is done rather in a by-the-way sort of way, quite unobtrusively. Ndeji is particularly clever. He looks as if he was sleeping all the time. And suddenly, lifting his heavy eyelids, he asks the most pertinent question. A shrewd old fellow, although he does not look it. - After hearing is finished, parties are dismissed, Etsu "councils" with his men, then parties are called in again, and Etsu announces grandly: "*yi jin shawara* [we advise]..." or "*yi jin shawara be madala ise*[?] *yi* [we give advice and blessings]." But in reality he has been talking alone all the time. - Najya and Etsu Tafie never say a word, throughout proceedings, and are never asked to. How Etsu Tafie should be of any use at all in the hearing of such cases as they come before Etsu here in Bida (cases of Yoruba, strangers, clerks etc, among them) escapes me!!

Mamudu *gozan* [barber-surgeon] comes to see me, and tells me 3 interesting medicines: (1) for abortion (?) or contraception (2) for securing and facilitating childbirth (3) *aphrodisiacum*. [Cp.Ntbk 3] Of some of the herbs mentioned I get samples, and also a sample of (3), i.e. of the aphrodisiac.

He corrects what I had heard about operating the uvula. (See [[Nadel's]] p.76 [[p161 in this transcription]]) About women's body-tattoos, also see [[Nadel's]] p 76! - He promises me a circumcision for Saturday. I present him with "*Tierkohle* [G. animal-charcoal]", and he is very pleased indeed with his medicine. Tasting it at once, and asking me as first question: could he give it to his wife?!

Work in Labour-camp Badeggi, at new bridge-building. [[c.: Finish census there]]

Badeggi. incidentally I enquire into two points (1) Pottery.... very nice pots are produced in B. for marketing. So I want to find out which method is used, the Bida-method with sort of "potter's disc", or the Jebba- method with free-hand work. It is the Bida method adapted. [[f.p. (N.'s p.92) includes a

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diagram of this method]] In every house the women do it. They store the pots in some of the huts till they burn them and then they sell them to middle-men, who sell the pots finally on various provincial markets.

(2) Fishing.... I see hand-nets everywhere in the houses. Used for fishing in Gbako river. Only *gbarafushi* [young men] as *buca* work, *nusazhi* don't fish, only work:.. farming. Usual type of hand nets, used when water is low and one can wade through.

NB The houses in Badeggi are very nicely built!! Ornaments without and within...

NB When I drive across bridge I see quite a number of young labourers swim in river, or at least having their bath. Does reflect favourable on Nupe cleanliness.

12/2/36

Visit of Hausa *Zongo*

Interesting facts: According to tradition the *Zongo* should be now on the fields belonging to Etsu's house, i.e. near Esozhi tsa Umaru. The Etsu's new house however having been built up on grounds of the Etsu Saba's family, the *zongo* was again established here, and the Hausa-traders are living there again.

Zongo (Econ)

I meet Sarkin Dilali, and other brokers, who go to visit the Hausa-camp every morning to see what business there is doing. (Chiefly in horses, sheep etc). Sarkin Dilali office appointed by Etsu (this one 3 years ago by Etsu Saidu). No fixed obligations between *dilalis* and their head. But they bring him small presents of kola (5) on Friday. He returns by gifts of kola (10 to 20) and even a gown now and again. One of the *dilali* wears a gown given him by Sarkin Dilali. The reason for this is obvious: every *dilali* wants to be "in" when Sark. Dil. makes his big jobs for Etsu; and he wants every *dilali* to tell him if he should come across some "big thing" worthy of Etsu himself. [[Nadel's note on his page no.94.-:]]

Sarkin Dilali (econ)

Formerly, Sarkin dilali levied "*lada* [H. commission]" on all trade on market, and gave half of it to Etsu. [[Note ends]] [[f.p:-]] Land tenure; King's Farms I - Farms of Etsu Esozhi (see also [[Nadel's]] p.107

The whole ground where the *zongu* used to be last year is farmed this year, ridges already thrown up, everything prepared for farming. Quite manifest use of manured soil. Who farms it? All the farmers living in neighbourhood, which means: all the bara and house-slaves of particular roval house, living in surrounding parts come together when farming season begins, and work with *Egbe*, drumming etc, the Etsu's field first. More than hundred men, and only one or two days. Etsu arranges for food, beer, drummers. Then their annual farm-labours for Etsu is finished, and they return to their own farms. But

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there remain the people in the Esozhi whose job it is to care for the farms in the remaining time, i.e. they sow and harvest and weed for Etsu.

NB Not all the Etsus were keen farmers. Etsu Saba and his sons were extremely keen farmers; so was Etsu Bello. But Etsu Muhammadu let things go, till finally the Esozhi-people lost all connection.

The same applied to old Shaba. Their *wuzhi* [attendants] and *bara* brought only money or *dzanka* [Islamic tithes]. People in Etsu Bello's farm used to work last two years on following principles: first hoeing - *Egbe* [collective work] ; keeping in fact *Efako* work of all *Esozhi*, they kept 2 thirds, 1 third went to Etsu! but were never called to work in annual *Egbe* on King's farm. Besides, people from *Esozhi* dwindled, died or left, till finally Shaba had to pay wage-labour for his farms. The former system of combined *Egbe* and *Esozhi* had been left to dissolve. Now when new compound for Etsu was built Government bought whole ground from *egi Shabazhi* [descendants of the Shaba] to make it crown land of ruling Etsu. [= now: Government land!] But trees still belong to *egi Shabazhi*!

They came the other day collecting the fruit of the *Lonci* [the locust, *Parkia biglobosa*] -trees.(see [[Nadel's]] p108) So this year the people of Etsu Saba will have to work for an Etsu of other royal house, viz the farmers who belong to the present Etsu's house will have to come up from other *Esozhi*: If this will work all right remains to be seen: certainly the Etsu Saba-men cannot refuse to work for Etsu, but it may turn into wage-work instead *Egbe*!! (Mal Ndayako)

17/2/36

Actually proved: people working in Etsu Umaru's Esozhi, where they put up new mixed-farm for Etsu work on wages (monthly) under an *Egba* (building stables and haystack so far! (see [[Nadel's]] p.107 [[entry dated 17/2/36]] [[N.'s note on his p.98 ends]] The Eshoshi in meantime has changed its allegiance. I meet Sikyura and ask him whose Esozhi it is. He says: both of Etsu Saba and (now) Etsu Muhamadu. Actually the guests from Sokoto whom I saw at Etsu's house, live in this Esushi as present Etsu's guests (see [[Nadel's p.86 [[pp.166 & 7 in this transcription.]]]) - but in meantime Etsu bought 3 oxen to start mixed farming on his (second) farm, i.e. near his original Esushi. So he happens to have now 2 official farms!!

Mal Ndayako comes. With his help I manage to identify some of the medicinal herbs named to me by *Gozan* [H. barber], by translating them in to Hausa. Talk on legal practise in case of seduction and adultery. formerly and at present, and explanation of deterioration in present day.

He asks for my help for a friend of his who is the owner of a motor lorry, but who has only 2 tyres left. How can he get new tyres. He does not want to go to the *bature* [H. white man's] Canteen because last they don't sell the "Black man good things" or it takes ages till they get there. Last time he ordered 4 tyres through the canteen, and got tyres which were too small. But he never knew that he has to give them the number and size first! He just thinks this is the sort of trick the Canteen plays on natives with purpose. - Funny this mistrust and fear. But if there were not so many people still afraid of canteen,

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all those middlemen (and -women) who buy in the U[nited] A[frica] C[ompany] and sell at once on the market, would lose their job.

Transport and Caravan ways

In Kuchi, on the way, we find great number of horse- and goat- and sheep- traders. They are Hausa on way to Ilorin, via Dakomba and Muregi, and Patigi. So old transport system of Kede still intact, and Dakomba has not yet lost its prestige!!

Work in Labour-camp Badeggi. Finish census of labourers.

13/2/36

Visit of Doko and Kusogi

In Doko I manage to clear certain problems, and so settle the anthropology and sociology of Doko for good. Among others checking information (very reliable now) on : pagan funerals, and pagan Suna. *Gunnu*-place visited and photographed. Photograph also big *Gunnu*-pot drums (which come from Gbari!). Consult a native diviner (also phot) and visit Mission.

Etsu Dashi, first thing, condoles me on death of the man in our country, the -"*nusa na de kpikpe saranyi na, na ga kpata kpikpe na* [the old man that had fine knowledge, who exceeded everyone in knowledge]" -the old one who exceeded everybody in learning, meaning the King!

Find place unchanged. Except for the surprising sight of farms being started right on top of stony hill. They explain that with lack of *cika* [uncleared bush], of new soil. And it is in fact surprising to ride through this country: not a bare spot, everything under cultivation!! Reflects also on surprising use of *taki* [H. (manure!!)] in Doko!! Doko is still the same charming and clean place it always was. There were Sunas in 3 hours and a great number of weddings going on just now. Everywhere people are brewing beer - quite apart from *Gunnu*-preparations. Etsu Dashi seems sincerely glad and pleased to see us, and no real objection is made to my seeing of certain secret places, and my intruding into certain-houses, e.g. to see place where they sacrifice at *Suna*!! What a great change from the days when I first came to Doko, and they barred me from seeing one single thing. Indeed I discover now that quite a number of things they told me are not true: no hut at Dibo Saba-place, and no hut either at *Gunnu*-place. *Gunnu* in fact exactly the same as in Kutigi. I save therefore trouble to go to Doko again on Monday when they perform *Gunnu*.

Kusogi, perhaps 2 miles off the road Kuchi - Doko was my most astonishing and most delightful discovery. There were 2 Kusogis of the Ndakogboya, and 2 Majin Dudos!! And this Kusogi harbours offspring of original and ancient Maji Dodo!! They are those who performed the notorious Ndak[ogboya] at the Etsu Bello's house. I obtain a full list of all "members" of the Ndak[ogboya]-society. Besides - most important - here, in this Kusogi, the Shaba Ndak[ogboya] priest was initiated. They

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remember his name at once, Ndawu, and thus the 2 informations tally. My assumption from the beginning is justified, that Ndak[ogboya] is not southern in origin. For South-bank of Niger was only temporary abode of their ancestors. Original "*asali*" - Dibo!! Further back unfortunately their memory reaches not. I photograph some of their paraphernalia, with the real Majin Dodo [H. controller of the Masquerade], and with his brother, who looks exactly like a head of some fearful secret society (for the sake of title pages!)

14/2/36

Mal Ndayako comes. I make use of his presence to make a short account of diet and daily cost of living in Bida. An *Ena gbarafuzhi*, composed almost entirely of sons of *Sarakizhi* and *Gitsuzhi*, comes to my house. Most funny titles, nearly all of them being borrowed from Europeans, named after either their offices (e.g. Gobna = Governor) or their own names (e.g. Le = Mr Lynn). Here is the *ena gbaraf.* in fullest and most ludicrous decadence.

15/2/36

In morning I go to see circumcision performed by my friend Mamudu Gozan, in house of a neighbour. The circumcision should have been performed long ago -but the family head was backward with the Tax, was summoned everyday before City council, and had no time for the operation, till today. Very quick and remarkably cleverly performed. Only antiseptic of course not very brilliant.

Although Gozan and helper wash their hands before, during and after the operation, carefully in separate clean water! Also visit Gozan's house, which is remarkably clean and nicely equipped...e.g. he has a marvellous deckchair, with beautifully carved wooden parts, which he proudly produces. But apart from that, splendidly kept compound, clean, faultless floors, roofs and housewalls throughout. One "smells the money"...

16/2/36

Have talks with Tegetmeier, and discuss, among other subjects, Taxation cp. file.

17/2/36

Visit to new mixed farm of Etsu, new data about *Esozhi* and King's farms. First, *Esozhi* not, as I was used to think, one hamlet (or compound-like unit) only. Only in Etsu Bello's *Esozhis* they all live together. At Etsu Saba's E. 5 compounds, after some distance from each other. E.g. house in which the "*Alazhi*" (*Hadchi*) [i.e. pilgrims who have been to Mecca] stayed whom the Etsu went to greet the other day, part of the *Esozhi*. The morning-ride round the town which I took part in a week or so ago, actually was a tour through the *Esozhis*. The same applies to *Esozhi* of Etsu Umaru. All the compounds situated outside town walls are *Esozhi*. Only the E. of Etsu Umaru the worst-looking of all. Many houses dilapidated.

All the farmland immediately outside of townwalls belongs to 3 royal houses, and is *Esozhi* land!! [[f.p. includes map of Bida *Esozhis*]] No private holdings by anybody else, save as *aro jin* [on loan]!! This explains the why people from Bida who work on these farms (e.g. Mal Amadu) can claim only "*aro*"-rights, although to all practical purposes there is no actual difference between their holdings and "bought" land. Also: most of this land given away as "*aro*" belongs to Etsu Umaru's land! [Given away by *Esozhi*-people themselves (cp. Mal Amadu's land!)] In accordance, apparently, with general fact that these *Esozhi* were the worst looked after, and their keepers the least keen men. Therefore they preferred to "sub-let" them rather than to work them themselves. The old Shaba finally was too old, and not interested enough, to hold them down to their work.

Titles of heads of *Esozhi* vary:

Of Etsu Saba...	Etsu nu - Sakyara
" " Umaru...	Sakyara - Shaba
" " Maliki...	Ndazabo - Sakyara - Madugu

Economic arrangements on *Esozhis* farmed for Etsu: see [[Nadel's 98]] *Esozhi* people keep two thirds (may sub-let, against one third as "*dzanka* [tithes]"- see farms of Mal Amadu!) Etsu receives one third Trees - belong all, without exception, to Etsu [this has not even been altered though new sale of land to Government!! see [[Nadel's]]

18/2/36

Mal Amadu brings rest of the historical notes he wrote, viz translated for me.

19/2/36

Visit to adult-class in Middle School

State of farms:. on one of the farms along the road down to Billharzia-Bottom new ridges thrown up for yam, and yam already sown (marked by the usual cap of leaves to protect seed from rain). Half the farm is yam. Half cassava. Measures: whole farm 2 ½ acres. (Roughly 1 acre yam!) Man works there almost every day, a Hausa who has no farm of his own, works on "*lada* [commission]" only. Gets paid per month. 23/2.. Inquiries show that the full yield of farm is kept for food; nothing sold!! The farm belongs to one of the prison warders, a Yoruba! It had been worked on wages ("*lada*"), by a Hausa, who is paid by the month, and has no farm of his own.

20/2/36

Drive to Lemu to tackle certain farm-statistics, size of farm v. taxation etc. The main results are the following:.

(1) no disproportionate increase of taxation with increased land under cultivation in case of family Efako's work. Rather on contrary. [Still total-amount would be difficult to obtain ready for tax-term but for the commercial crops involved!] Commercial Crops and Taxation NB No clear plan or rend as regards commercial crops. One man plants cotton for one year, then gives it up. Explanation: *u ga..[they say]* it has been passed (the state of utility) One cannot grow cotton twice on same plot. But after cotton, or red pepper, excellent cash-crops! - But he could have taken another plot under cultivation! Another tackles red pepper and cotton in miniature. A third will start rice this year. Individuality cer tainly important. For Shaba, who seems best and shrewdest farmer of all, also as man certainly the cleverest!! At any rate, the change towards red-pepper which I believed to have found last time, proves to be small, individual attempt.

(2) no disproportionate increase of possibility to cultivate land in big-family system as against single farmer. Cultivated-land unit per head remains approximately the same. [Explained through *Egbe*-help (!) for small families.].

(3) Taxation fundamentally head-taxation, with number and age of family members as criterion for assessment. [NB Wives don't pay tax!!]

On the road meet great number of donkeys, brought down from Hausa (Kano..) for sale either in Bida, or any other place south of Bida. Also pack-donkeys, they bring beans to Bida, and return with kola. This fixed trade is remarkable. Certain "patterns" of exchange firmly established, not just random trade, but definite end for which the expeditions are filled out. E.g. Rice for South, salt and oil for North - Horses for Bida, straw-hats for Hausa. *Kanwa* [potash] for Bida, gowns for Bornu. Etc etc.

Evening on Market

Some new items attract attention: the huge beams for roofing which are brought up from the marshes and river-area. Enormous amount of grass - thatching season!! And plenty of animals, goats and sheep ... The Salla is near, as one sees.

Also plenty of dried grass for mat-weaving etc..

Market NB: these beams (*eba*) ... nobody's property: from *gonta* [bush], whoever cuts it can sell it.

Grass ... nobody's property either: from *gonta* (i.e. "bush")

Firewood... gathered by women on their husband's fields. Definite property. Dyes[?]..... certain people work the dye out of *duidenoji*[?] and *turi* [turmeric], and sell it on the market; mat-weavers either buy it, or - if they have these plants in their fields, - work the dye [?] themselves. No fixed rule.

21/2/36

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Last night I heard that there is *Bori* [H. possession-cult] going on in the town, almost every day. So we go to Sarkin 'Yan Doka, who confirms this. There has been a *bori* in the barracks 3 days ago. He is going to see if a *Bori* can be arranged this afternoon. - Later he sends a messenger, saying that he had fixed it for the late afternoon.

Measure some fields: average of 1 man-farm remains 2 acres. [[f.p.:]]Farm-plots [[e.f.p.]]

Measure farm belonging to Sarkin Dogari (of prison) - worked by 1 Hausa man in "*lada*" [for wages]; farmed in two plots of same size, one yam, one: cassava. (cp. [[Nadel's]] p110). Other farms are worked in *lada* too, e.g. farms of School Mallams (but only *Rogo* [cassava], and day's work, not continuous work and payment per month as in case described on p110 [[180]])

Phonograph recording of *Zaworo*-group. Also Life-history of drummer and singers.

Friday at Etsu's house.

Afternoon to watch Etsu coming home from Mosque (Friday!) Some interesting new details: among his followers rides the guests from Sokoto who I saw the other day, dressed in their finery, riding next to Emir. There are 3 *Kakati* [ceremonial trumpets] (1 big one, 2 small ones) and 1 *Algaita* [H. shawm] player all on horseback. When they reach the open field in front of Etsu's house, they start the usual riding scenes, and suddenly stopping, - with shouting and singing and drumming, as in Salla, only on smaller scale. Finally Etsu stops in front of gate, his personal followers group themselves round him, and one of his "Heralds" addresses in his name the *jema'a* [Friday gathering], greeting all the guests and thanking them for coming, that is Maiyaki and other Notables (who, after this ride home, whereas household of Etsu, his relatives, *bara*, etc with him into the house). During the whole address his state-umbrella was made to spin round over his head, all the time.

NB See also type of drum (clay!!), played by one of Etsu's drummers, which corresponds exactly to old Egyptian type: [[Illustration in Nadel's text, p.117]]

NB Also discover that 1 man in Etsu's suite is beating iron double-bells with small wooden stick: [[Illustration in Nadel's text.]]

Late afternoon *Bori*. On market in front of circ.[?] Bello

Very difficult to describe after seeing it only once. Big doubt if whole thing is genuine or only made for bluff and fun. A Hausa friend of Mal Ndayako says in Bida it is only *waya* [play], only in Hausa country proper "real" *Bori*, which is a *Juaji*[?]...

The onlookers are another problem: they obviously enjoy it, but more often than not take it as fun, and laugh heartily, clapping the dancers or pointing to each other with much laughing and jocularly an interesting phase in dance. E.g., at a certain phase they begin to shout: *Ah - ya zama makafo, ya zama*

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makafo [H. he acts as if blind].. and this seems to please them very much indeed. There are Yoruba, Hausa, and Nupe present, women in the majority. The Nupe stand or sit round silently watching and rarely speak; the Yoruba women, richly dressed, laugh and chatter with each other; the Hausa make all the noise, comment aloud and shout to actors. Only shade of seriousness when the dancers demand a new victim from onlookers, then women and men run away, half laughing - but evidently only to cover their real scare.- Interesting that the actors are all most ugly and vile types of Hausa, quite different from ordinary nice looking Hausa fellow.

Following actors: the *magajiya* [H. Chief's mother =senior woman] - an old Fulani woman. She supervises whole procedure, (she sits among onlookers) specially the falling in trance of "new" victims. The male dancers, stripped to the waist, except for chest-belts i.e. sashes tied across chest ("*damara* [H. belt]", see [[Nadel's]] p.124), one is the Dan Galadima, one the Sarkin Raji, one - ? Then one after the other 2 women, who" fall in trance". The magicians sit under tree, one *goge* [H. one string fiddle] - player, and one man who beats hollow calabash, which he puts across his legs, with 2 small sticks. At moments of highest tension calabash stops, and only fiddle plays - reminds me of circus - always the same times, unalteringly, in same strength, without any marked period, nor marked marked rhythm - one can understand that this is needed to get in trance.- The men-dancers dance up and down, sometimes suddenly exhibiting their "possession", smearing sand in face and eyes, like acting madly and blindly, shaking their head wildly from left to right, making a gurgling noise in mouth, and then jumping up several times letting themselves fall down flat on buttocks. Saliva drops from their mouth, they (imitate ?) stare rigidly, once one acts as if blind (*ya zame makafo*). or they chase round the circle waving their cloth wildly over the people's heads. - One woman dances slowly round the "arena", bending her body very far back, and turning her arms as if in rigid and involuntary movement. Also in kneeling down, she does this, swinging her bent body round in circle. Face turned up ecstatically, with closed eyes. Sometimes suddenly shouting and gurgling noise. After some time she returns to "auditorium", but spreads her cloak over other women, who - quite cheerful and joking so far -suddenly falls down, and appears to be possessed by spirit "*ya kama ta* [H. it has captured her]" Then she performs the same sort of dance, only wilder, turning more wildly and shouting louder. Till she again catches a victim, who takes her place, and she passes out for time being.

The coming into *kama* [H. seizure] begins with new "victim" suddenly getting convulsions and falling down like in a faint. At once the Magajiya and her helpers bend over her (him), cover her face and fan air with cloth etc [[NB *Bori* description continues on N's page no. 129:]] The victim is at once stripped to the waist, and dresses in other cloth (taken from somebody else). [Symbolic of becoming another person?] Also the '*damara* [H. belt] is tied across his (her) chest. 3 belts one above other, and one leather belt with (magical ?) ornaments XXXXX... Also cloth which new dancer is to hold over head and to wave. After dressing is finished "victim" rises and starts dancing, saliva dropping from mouth (artificial?), movements like in sleep... Sudden spasms and long shouts "*kilikilikiti*"... which seem to force upon person the stupor of "trance".

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After very strong such spasm, sometimes collapses (or after number of turns, remains dull and motionless, like lifeless, on ground). The helpers at once assist dancer, clapping his shoulders, sort of soothing massage, gently helping him to recover.

A man and woman seem to belong together. For they dance together, sort of wrestle in cramped and rigid way, as if driven against each other against their will, or stand facing each other and shout or cry.... One man-dancer escapes, runs away from woman partner and hides behind onlookers. Which causes much joking comment. People shout : "he went away with motor-lorry..." (which was just passing by.) Or: he does not want to marry her.... Or: Look for your husband! ... When woman suddenly notices him ,she glares at him with dead staring eyes, crying like seeing the devil: "*Shera, Shera! kilikilikiti*..." There is something real in her (quasi-exorcising) fanatic gesture. But the man laughs, later jokes with '*Yan doka*, and finally disappears (he had changed back into ordinary clothes).

One problem: are they doped? Women and men "-victims" repeatedly hold an edge of their cloth over mouth and nose, and take something that looks like tobacco. (Is it *Haukata yaro* [H. lit. 'madness of the boy' -the epithet of the Hairy thorn-apple, *Datura metel*, which has psychotropic properties] - as some people tell me it is ? a drug which would put them into the stupor and make them act like mad...)

Use of *Bori* in Bida: (1) for showy display like this, making "fun" on market, getting money for it.. Hausa and Nupe and all kinds of onlookers

(2) as exorcism in cases of disease, to drive disease out. [Only Hausa have this done, Nupe are no party to this sort of case].

(3) Divination... This I have not seen. Same kind as (2) NB Two of the men come from Zaria and have no other profession, but *Bori* - viz exorcism and divining.

22/2/36

Morning. *Tunga* [village]: make farm-censuses.

Nda (*bara* of Mal Ndayako) comes and brings me a medicine which he promised me. I.e. Mal Ndayako told me about it, but this man was very unwilling to part with secret - not till I gave him Epsom salt, permang[anate of] Potash in return, and promised him Aspirin as well. The medicine is called: *Tankpolo yila* [Toad's madness]. It can be used for 5 purposes :

(1) the root is put in the fire - and the fire will at once go out, and not even scorch the plant. This has no practical value, it is only for "*mamaki* [something amazing]".

(2) One screws the leaves pounds them into a powder, and rubs them on hands or skin, and one is at once insensitive to fire, Use made of ? Only for *mamaki* [wonder] when they "*enya ma*" - do conjuring tricks

(3) A rather mysterious use: if one has pains inside, one presses the spot where it hurts against wall,; another man stands outside, puts a little of root of the medicine on wall and puts his sole on it (approx 2

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ft from ground); then he pulls foot down along wall, always the *cigbe* on sole. This draws at once the other man's pains!!

(4) drunk with water, against pains in the stomach.

(5) mucus, pressed out, mixed with salt, rubbed on forehead - against headache.

He also tells me of another medicine called "*haukata yaro*", (*Haukata yaro*) . This must be a hashish-like drink, one "drinks" the leaves and water, and is at once in a stupor, feels and sees nothing, for one day. Next day the effect is gone. Or if one drinks milk, it acts as antidote, and effects of drug disappear. [Insists that this is not the same medicine as e.g. *Badufu* [a type of invisibility medicine] of *Ndakogboyazhi*. [masqueraders]

23/2/36

Medicines Used by *bori* dancers, and Bororo [FulBe pastoralists], when their young men undergo the cruel manhood test; they drink little of it to become in sensitive against everything. Is of several uses:

(1) against Rheumatism (*kasamagi*) Leaves... rubbed to fine powder, soaked with *swaka* (H. *loka*-water after it had been filtered through ashes]; after it is absorbed (*fi*) one adds a little shea butter (*mikote*) and rubs the whole thing as an ointment on hurting spot.

(2) the kernel (stones) inside fruit, drunk with water. Make insensitive, and - in big dose - completely drugged. The man who drinks it "*wun wa dzuyila*" . "becomes (like) mad".

(3) A little bit of the kernels often added to palm-wine, to make it taste stronger. The people say: what a marvellous palm-wine.

Afternoon I go to see his brother in Law who is an *ebasaci* [diviner]. He lives near house of Kpotun, in one house with his own brother - a hat-maker. He himself only divines. This is his one and only work. He works with loose white shells (*ewo wara* [cowries]); whether they fall face up or down gives him the clues. No other paraphernalia. What he tells me is usual *lafiya* [H. good wishes] - that I shall have many children etc. He also knows many medicines, and treats the sick, but has to divine first. Makes also Trance. Shall go to him some other time for a longer talk. But get him to keep a simple statistics for me of all the people who come to see him, and of their repeated visits. We shall see if it works.....

23/2/36

Visit to Weaver's house, to get an economic census. Later visit of Mal Ndayako, who brings me sample of *Haukata yaro* - sup. Sogba the drummer also comes - I write down Song of Etsu Bello, and 3 other royal songs.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Magic dance *a la Sorogi*. Finally the dancer with the horn-cap (*gurutso*, or *mai kafo* [N. & H. lord of the horn], as they call him) whom I first saw at Salla. His horn-cap has been modelled after *Elo* mask which the dancer saw at Mokwa. Reason: no "*dalili* [reason]", only because it is "pretty" "... *ebo u sa*. Yet 3 interesting facts emerge, which have wider bearing.

(1) This sort of dance, called *Kutukpa*, has apart from being entertainment, the magical meaning of counteracting witchcraft. I.e. like an ordeal: witches who watch this dance can not eat anymore, swallow and must die of hunger

Spoken of euphemistically: a dance *bazhiko*=darkness. NB only *gacizhi* [witches] referred to; the dance is not for viz against (2) The dancers wear huge amount of medicines, rattles and bells - (to frighten witches!). And besides, they wear a sort of apron made of long flapping straps of leather (nicely ornamented). [Very much the same as the *Sorogi* dancers wear] Explanation: the farmers originally wore this leather-dress when they worked on the farm, instead of the *bente* [H. loin-cloth] worn now. This original farmer's leather-apron was called *warki* [*woriki* = leather apron]. It proves that this dance is part of the Hoe-farm-culture [which the Ndakogb[oya] is perhaps not?]. Farmer's leather aprons.

(3) Both dancers wear one or more pieces of cloth tied with a knot round their chest, one above the other, the highest just under the arm-pits. Exactly same type of "shawl" tied round chest as I saw at *Bori*, also at Gani at Kutigi (worn by the "warriors" in the cortege). Enquiries prove actually that the Nupe (and Hausa) warriors always wore these hide belts which are called "*edzagba*" or "*damara*" (Hausa) waist belt to gird up loins "Bargery. *Yan doka* says, that in their former wars, when they robbed a warrior of their belt he would at once stop fighting and surrender. For with the possession of these belts is associated bodily power. One "girds one's loins" (sic!) to get more strength. A man thus arrayed (*nw'a kenin*) is "strong" - *u de kagbo* [he has strength].

Thus this reflects ultimately on *Gunnu* - rule for Ndaso to tie a new belt round his waist every year - which I found alive at Doko! Renewing is bodily strength and keeping it for whole year. Cp Ntbk 3 p.40

25/2/36

Visit of rice-farms in Billharzia-bottom. Measure farms, interview of Magayaki one of the farm-owners there.

26/2/36

Visit Mal Amadu's house, who is very pleased and honoured. Specially his wives. The joke with "my wife" (one of his daughters) still carried on with gusto. She is always called first to greet me, to show me everything, etc. All the women in his house are weaving, even the small girls. Women weaving. 5 looms altogether. And beautifully woven cloth with nice figures woven into by hand!! His wife could not weave when she first married him, she learned it afterwards, from a woman who could do it. But now all his daughters can weave, so that when they marry "*a de nyagici* [they will have food i.e. they will be able to support themselves]", says the father.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Whose wives weave in Bida? Only the wives of the Mallams and the *Sarakuna*. They sit at home, they don't go out, they have time to do it. The wives of the *talakawa* [H. poor people] must go to market, into villages, have no time for weaving - this is explanation! Also, of course, less leisure when there few women in the house. [formerly Slave-problem came into it as well, obviously!! Now number of wives, or *baras* (who do errands) conditioning element!]

For one big coloured and embroidered cloth, consisting of 3 wide-woven (wide = loom) "*kpere*" (parts, sewed together) 30 days; 10 days for each *kpere*. Sell it on market for 10/= to 15/=. Smaller simpler cloth, one *kpere* - 5 days weaving!

Whole house of Mal Amadu surprisingly clean and well kept. They are busy repairing roof and walls and have everything ship-shape.-

Drive to Sachi, on Badeggi Road, to meet famous *Ebasaci* [diviner], Galadima (a Yagba man). He just went to Bida to the Sachi, as I learned when we reached village. But there was another diviner there, as famous, whom I interview. He is scared to death at first. But soon we become friends, and he shows me his (to me well-known) technique of divining. Learn incidentally interesting things about 3 symbolic colours: *Enya* drums, e.g. beads, or cloth - always propitious!! *Enya biku* - equals "money" (cp. white shells of Cowrie- currency!) red - whole (good omen!) and black (bad!) The divining as such not very exciting. His customers come both from farms and from Bida. He does not know the Bida-people who come to him. When *Sarakuna* [H. nobles] want his advice they sent *tuci* [messengers] who do not divulge the name of their masters. Average period of revisiting seems to be 1 to 2 months.

Calendar I put a checking question as to Calendar: we have now 13th month, i.e. the beginning of the year (of the rains), the *togaya* [?], as they surprisingly call it [= name of first season ?] In this year then, native and muhammedan calendar will coincide.

Eclipse of the moon I ask them about the eclipse of the moon. Yes they have seen it, and have beaten their drums and pans, and shouted, till moon was allright again. Explanation: "*Yigidi nwa tswa* [sun it breaks]". They insist that this is not govt or Mallam- knowledge, but what their ancestors believed in!! This fits well to very sceptical and diffident attitude of an educated Mallam in Bida when he explained to me "they say the sun eats the moon" - the they referring not (as I assumed first) to Europeans, but to those ignorant Nupe!

Have the opportunity to see a granary (*edo*) being built. See drawing 13 [[Nadel includes a drawing of a granary on his page no. 137]] The whole of Sachi is just in state of being repaired: walls, roofs, granaries, *katambas* [entrance-houses], and house-platforms. A really keen and busy place which appreciates cleanness and properly kept houses, etc. On Bida day-market, previously, I notice for the first time a small clay hut, built like the granaries, but with no opening save 2 small holes on top, behind the round house of barbers: within hut they throw the hairs and nails which they cut! Some barbers (on farms) bury these rests. But some here in Sachi are quite careless, for you can see hair-"*Buschel* [G..

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

bunches]" lying about on path leading away from barber's house. Yisa, who points this all out to me knows of no explanation...

See strangers -Beri Beri [Kanuri] - sitting under tree out side of City Council and waiting - with all their loads, in complete touring equipment. They are strangers who have to produce their tax- receipts to Natsu, otherwise to pay tax here. No means to escape. In charge of this foreigners' control is the Sarkin Zongu, who at once communicates with office, or - in case of "distinguished guests", with Etsu. He is not salaried at present. Formerly used to be very rich, from presents given to him by strangers, for protection, getting them in touch with influential town-people, etc....

[[Nadel's note on his page 137:-]] "Aliens office at Bida"

27/2/36

Rise in prices

Hats.... now 6d (the type that costed some months ago 4d) 9½d and 1/= [with leather - the sort that costed some months ago 6d and 8d.] Reason: people began to work on farms, and partly gave up leisure time work on hat-making. Mats...have not yet risen - till rainy season. Cloth... short seasonal rise before Salla - after Salla nobody will buy for some time (*a sa shi* [they cease buying]). [[f.p.:-]]

Addition: **2/1/36**

Change of prices of mats in Kutigi. 9 and 10 years ago one square grass mat: 3/=! 2 years ago - 7d.- Now (1936) - 9d and 10d - Best sort: 3/= A straw hat without leather (this year) 4d; leather ornament extra: 3d!!

Kutigi **4/3/38**

Round grass mats - working time: 5 to 7 days - price 6d to 9d, 10d Long square mat ("*dara*") - working time 10 days -price 1/= to 1/3!! I pay for a very nice one 2/6 even. Cost of material: The grass for these grass mats is bought from the Marshes of Tanga. They need 2 to 3 bundles of grass for 1 mat @ 2d = costs = 4 to 6d. The maize- and corn- stalks for which the other type is made is allocated by mat weavers themselves.

Cp. prices 2 and 1 last year: hats, 2 years ago. (of all kinds) never dearer than 3d or 4d!! Last year: 4d or 5d - Long, long ago they have even reached 2/6 and 5/=!! [[e.f.p.]]

See Teget[meier], who asks me to write for him my suggestions for new Town Council. - Also he wanted some of my data about income and tax-situation. In the evening I sent him an extract of my notes on economic censuses in Bida, of craftsmen e.g. weavers, blacksmiths etc...

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Of one of my "prisoners", Muhamadu Bokli [?], I learn that his last sentence for stealing a chicken (6 months) was due to the fact that he had been convicted previously twice in Patigi and Lafiagi.. [Still, heavy enough term for chicken-thieving!]

I had news of the Doko pretendant-case of last year. When Shaba of Doko died some months ago, this same Mama Gana wanted to be made Shaba. But had no following in Doko, and Etsu Dashi refused. Etsu Dashi offered him title Maku instead. He refused because it was a new, and meaningless title. Case came before Etsu Bida, who, after hear wit nesses, advised Mama Gana to accept and to tent. This was actually the end of the mat Continuation, File on "Case of Doko" Mama Gana (or Ndako Gana ? and Pol Org) [[e.f.p.]]

Had news of Doko... Huntsu Bibi died. He was called Huntsu, because it used to be a village by itself before the Doko people moved to the present site. Then his small village got incorporated in the township of Doko, became an *efu*, and then "Huntsu" became a *nusa*-title among others, actually subordinated to present *efutso*, the Ndafia.

29/2/36

Kutigi

Last afternoon walk through town, see Zonuwa. Not much change to be seen. On inquiries hear that Sheshi had died 4 months ago. The man who was Sarkin Barki before will probably be made Sheshi now.

Econ Crafts Blacksmiths

The Blacksmiths near road not working. Only just handle-making, and a little repairing. In the furnace no coal, no fire, no bellows there. Most of them sit in front of blacksmith's hut, and weave mats!! Reason: they have no iron, they say. There is no European iron for sale. And they don't go to the *edudacizhi* [smelters] any more. Their fathers used to, they don't because it is not worth while. Formerly they sold a big hoe for 1/= and 1/6 - a man could make 2 a day. Now they only get 6d for it, with a profit all together of 2d. They prefer to farm. People who want hoes either go to the *educacizhi*, there are blacksmiths there, and get the hoe from them. Or they have iron, or buy iron themselves, and the smith only repairs it and puts in a new handle which he sells for 1½d - There are even people who go to the blacksmith when they smelt the iron, and farm for the blacksmiths for ½ day, and are paid by a hoe (*kantsu* [Farm labourer]!). The situation being thus, they had to turn to farming and mat-weaving!! Their farming is still completely individual, though for "farming for a blacksmith is only *buca* [private work]! The smithing is the *efako* [main occupation]! " This maxim is still valid, notwithstanding the changed conditions!!.

Visit of Twaki's house

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

The house is still excellent, clean, well kept, everything in shipshape. News: his son who married two years ago has a child! Nobody died.

Everything prospers. No *gunnu* was performed. But *zhikinta* [a ceremony] was done regularly. Gani as well! They had some good hunts last year. The crops were excellent. I check a few points: no sacrifice over grave of dead ancestor! No obligatory visit of wife's parents after she has born a child! - It is, obviously, a house of prosperity, where everybody makes "*kokari*" - [H. efforts]. One of Twaki's sons has learned to weave (a friend of his, of the weaver-clan, has taught him), and weaves during leisure hours. He is not a perfect weaver yet, it goes very slowly, and neither his arrangements nor his final produced work look much - but there it is - "*kokari*". His wife dies with indigo in big Gwari pots, which are sunk a little in the ground. - All huts nicely painted, coloured. Wall paintings.

Check the paintings in "*kata yaro* [room of the boy]" : i.e. the "*nampa* [leopard]", *za wangi* [human being], and the hands. The latter is made by spilling colour over the hand that is pressed against the wall.

- In another hut the same arrangement: *nampa* [leopard] in center, one "man" at the side, and various small animals round (tortoise!). Again they insist: it has no meaning. "*Lei edzo* [they are playing?]" . - One of Twaki's grandchildren goes to school!

Try to get clear economic census. But even here, with these great friends of mine, who were overjoyed to see me again, and who last year asked me to intervene in their tax matters, even here I get the data but with great difficulty!! And even then, some of the facts they tell me are definitely wrong. I have to pin them down sharply to make them confess that they are lying. They want me to believe that 2 men work 33 mats each, @ 10 days per mat, to get the rest of the tax!! I ask them: any other trees? They say, no - and then I see palm-oil-fruit brought in by the women They are liars these Nupe!!

Tax, and technic of economic census

2/3/36

Blacksmith

Complete investigations of blacksmiths among the group of blacksmiths of Tswalako. The same information, but no real explanation. Very little smithing goes on, much less than 2 years ago (avowedly!). Why? The iron-ore smelters don't smelt much. The blacksmiths from Kutigi go there, and find that there is no iron. Therefore they work but very intermittently. The ore-workers have to large extent turned farmers!! The blacksmiths here have not done any smithing for 2 months. 3 months ago, and 4 months ago, they made in one hut (i.e. one man 10 hoes per month. But in other months nothing at all. Yet they pay their taxes with blacksmith work, not with farming - which brings very little, e.g. guinea corn cpa 3 only. When the farming season comes and people will want hoes they have to go somewhere else, although next month they will try the "*edudacizhi*" again.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Obviously one of the reasons for this slacking is the failing market. I heard e.g., that formerly there were big Hausa-caravans coming down here, with horses and donkeys, stayed here for about 4 months and bought blacksmith work: they made good business selling hoes to Hausa for 1/=! Since 5 or 6 years they don't come any more. Nobody can give an explanation, for the local people buy their hoes locally, they don't go to Bida or Laboshi for it... (but cp. the farmwork in lieu of payment p144 [[Nadel]]) Carpenter - there is no more carpenter in Kutigi. The one who was here returned to Bida after his father's death there. They buy all their goods on the market now.

Cotton-growing - not a complete success everywhere. Many people grew cotton 2 years ago, and gave it up then, because it was not good enough. They don't know the reason, but believe, that cotton does not grow well except on land where there was plenty of grass before. Now this is not everywhere the case, therefore the different results. But surely also -the Nupe are as easily discouraged as they are prone to adopt new things!!

Pol Org New investiture 1

Ad. Pol Org - the place of Sheshi who died 4 months ago not yet filled. "Shawara [taking advice, consultations] " goes on and on, for they are not yet of one opinion as to the successor. Goes very slowly, and meet in house of Cezo (*quasi* Maiyaki) and Tsowa. When they will be all agreed upon one man - not sooner - they will meet at Zonuwa's house and final steps will be taken.

Through checking information I discover that really, as I assumed, the data and figures given by Tswaki and Mama Tsado, were only 75% correct: e.g. 1 *epa* [bundle] of corn is up to 7d and 8d (not 6d as they said) a mat is sold for 9d to 10d (not 6d!!) There is actually a standing contract of U[nited] A[frica] C[ompany] for round Kutigi mats @ 9d each!!

Afternoon :. Market - i.e. the usual Market, held here every 5 days. Market does not show any special surprises. Very full, and big business going on in "clothing industry", fancy-things and foodstuff (sheep)... Approaching Salla!! The women actually stand waiting in front of the machine-tailors, almost forming queues, to get their cloths sewed quickly.

Machine-sewing...this year twice as much as last year (6 against 3). Newcomers: one tailor from Bida, who stays here for about 2 months and then returns to Bida - bigger business here in village!! (Too much competition in Bida ?) One: son of a former Huitsu somewhere on *yako* Patigi, whose father lives in Kutigi now. Father bought him machine, and he gives father ½d for every 1 ½ he makes (although he himself is married!). Machine costed £2.6.0.

The third newcomer is a son of a Mallam of Kutigi, who formerly sewed with the hands. All others are also Mallams or sons of Mallams, who also laboured by hand, now combining Kuran-teaching with machine sewing.

The only full-time tailors work in Kutigi every market day, and the remaining 4 days they go to farmers to pick up customers - they take their cloth to Kutigi and possibly return it when finished.

-Profits made:

they work cheaper than in Bida, 1½d per cloth. But on market-day they make 1/= to 2/= . Today already 1/6 (and there are still people thronging). On other hand - after Salla there will be nothing for 2 or 3 subsequent markets....

Barbers

... 3 local barbers sitting there with customers, they also make the cut-tattoos of girls, but none just now. Also my old friend the Fulani barber there!!

Hausa sell Medicines..

Blacksmiths from farms bought a number of hoes for sale, sold them very quickly and left after that.

No carpenters work today! Cp. what Alvarez said: carpenters, annoyed about new timber-licenses, actually think of fighting the Government, and refuse to work anything at all!! Sort of native conception of a tax-"strike".

In general market organisation again appears to be this: almost no territorial limitations for specialities. E.g. the typical Yagba-woven, heavy cloth sold here by Yagba man. Hausa medicines by travelling Hausa traders. Beautiful Gwari pots brought here by woman trader from Lemu (she bought pots at Lemu for 1/6 , and sells them here for 2/= . - She came 2 days ago, with other goods besides these pots!). Other goods (specially food-stuffs and local products) from neighbouring places only, e.g. cotton... Bida holds, as always, exceptional position, dominating all the markets with its special export: glass, brass-ornaments, straw-hats, cloths etc... Canteen-goods here of cheaper sort compared with Bida (e.g. no flowered enameled bowls, only cheap 2d-stuff; tin-basins!)

3/3/36

Visit of Efu Ndau... Talk about various things, chiefly what happened last year. Marriage statistics....

Then School-Statistics. Every year more pupils! And from farther away. This time even girls! All done by stronger initiative of D.H. who is expected to demand from all the V[illage] H[ead]s in his district that children should be sent to school. Latest demand from Bida was for girls, 20 girls were demanded!!

Settling and splitting of family compounds

Afternoon ride through town. Checking information about new-built compound from last-time. - It is called Efu Nkoworo (an offshoot of Nko). The people living there are.:

[Nadel includes genealogical diagram]

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Reason for moving to new place: old place was full. They moved over 1 year after eldest son got married for the first time. (3 years ago); his second wife already in new compound. The *emitso*'s [compound-head] elder brother and families stayed on in old place.

All farmers and mat-weavers. 4 sons work together in *Efako* (father too old, only mat-weaving). Must be good farmers - made 30 *epa* [bundles] of corn!! Cotton no luck; 3 years ago very good crop; this year, although on real new land, crops no good. Don't know any explanation -*sei iko* [??]. Will try again this year! Have no trees - this is one of the disadvantages of moving to new place: trees belong to old site (and elder brothers), till present *emitso* dies. Only after his death divided up.

NB Trees as inalienable property of *emitso* and *nusazhi*, even though farmland may be divided up!!

Visit Kuran school. Teacher and pupils so scared that don't even know their own names. Although it is Efu Liman (late Liman), the knowledge of Mallam "*sei degi* [just a little]" - not very bright, nor very highly educated.

4/3/36

Visit Efu Tswata - Genealogies and marriage statistics.

Kinship. Correction to data on exchange of children. Practise called "*a ta'gi be* [they contribute a child]" - they exchange children. Only between *danngi* namely between maternal (in law) relations. Never between mere friends!! [[Nadel's insert: Not correct, also between friends (Sakpa!)] E.g. Efu Ndaou => Efu Nko - Chief idea: that child should be taught something in other house, i.e. educational, (cp. *Sofa*. original meaning!) Now more and more abandoned, because children refuse to stay in other house, and at once run away home again. (Naturally, also school-influence?)

Realise more and more that marriage tends to comprise whole place with no special preferences. The structure of *enas* does not correspond to marriage links, nor does it betray any tendency towards "*Ques-struktur* [G. Original structure?]" . Almost isolated groups, integrated into whole only through (and in) Gani. Is this explanation? Besides - racial differentiation and stratification developing towards segregation?

Efu Lubasa [Quarter of onions] - onion-growing on very small scale. No data about possible correlation of commercial crop-maintenance of large family group!! Only dependant on kinship factor - i.e. with death of father, *Efako* [collective work] collapses. Cp. Econ. Census.

Art ... give Tswaki paper on which young girls should draw same things which they used to draw on walls of *Kata-yaro* [room of the young people]. Good success!!

Efu Shakpalanko [?] ... Here I get valuable data about the 3 age-grade- groups, their functions in Gani, and the date of their re-organisation. The latter appears to be co-ordinated in whole town!! Date of new title-giving; 3 days after Salla!! First "public performance" in Gani!!

ad : Gani

Through Mal Amadu, at present teacher in Kutigi El[ementary] School, who had been teacher in Bornu first, I learn that prototype of Gani is celebrated in Bornu on 12th (muhammedan) month, and is named Ngumuru Kura. But he has not seen it himself, only heard of it from Shehu. [So that Gani, name and cult, may not be of Bornu origin at all - only theoretically assumed to be so by Bornu settlers, in their eagerness to link their present organisation in everything to their historical past and country of origin!!]

Farming Seasons and *Egbe* [communal work bee]

First month (= beginning of rains) ... first hoeing if not already done after harvest)

... sowing: *mayi* [millet], *kpayi* [millet], *ekpā* [sorghum], *eci* [yam], *guzhya* [groundnut]

2nd month (when corn stands 1 ft high): big hoeing-

First weeding ...First *Egbe* work

5th month... harvesting of *mayi* [millet]; new ridges thrown up, Second weeding (big hoeing)....

Second *Egbe* work...

Sowing: *Lulu* [cotton], *edzu* [Bambara groundnut], *ezo* [cowpeas], and small crops (See Ntbk 4, 23-25)

NB Originally first general *Egbe* work done on farms of Shaba - [[c.: obligatory]] compulsory!

In Kutigi *Egbe* is done by the local *enas*, i.e. separately for each *Efu*. But all grades together!!

Salla in Kutigi

In the evening preparations for Salla begin...i.e. 3 drummers appear in front of Zonuwa's house and drum his "*taki* [H. praise-name]". Now all the men from Kutigi should go to *salata* Zonuwa - None however come, owing to a tension between chief and town (see below). Drummers - represent, as everywhere, the "*Kaufliche Kunst* [G. A marketable skill]" - disregarding public opinion, where there is money and presents at stake. At about 7.30 p.m. other drummers - "*tsari* [set of ground-standing drums]" - assemble at *dzukogi* [little market] (place in front of Shehu's house, where all public announcements take place) and young boys and older men get ready for chief event of this provincial "*Salla*" namely the "*ceko*" (= *donbe* [Hausa], wrestling. Unfortunately, a big storm comes, and the rain spoils the whole show. They try once more at midnight - to begin, but another shower stops it for good.

Buca [private work] of small boys

I notice young boys, between 8 - 15, spooling up cotton, making it into strong strings which will then be used as trouser's strings. This is their *buca*, they buy cotton for 1d to 2d, and sell it for 3d or 5d even... A mercantile nation!!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

When a younger brother of Zonuwa's house passed by he is saluted by "Yaya Wancin".... I.e. the salutation reserved for Fulani in Bida, "Wancin", is accorded here to the Zonuwa. (*nuknara* in any other village with Huntsu!! Racial element!! Conquerors in miniature) Yaya only means that he is younger brother".. Analogy : *Goy* = *Benu*

The town-*licizi* [?] also address Zonuwa as Etsu, and salute him "*to u bagadozhi* [a man above others]"

5/3/36

Salla in Kutigi

In the morning all is quiet. Everybody dresses beautifully (last night one could see everywhere freshly washed gowns laid out to dry in the sun). They get ready for Mosque. At about 11 a.m. They flock to the mosque from everywhere, in "Sunday-best", the water-bottle (mostly calabashes, few tea-kettles) in the hand. Even Twaki and Mal[lam] Tsado - these arch pagans, go, with their brothers and sons...

In the afternoon visiting each other, and receiving and bringing presents, chiefly the customary "*ebi Sala* [Sallah kola]". Mama Tsado brings me a beautiful leg-of-mutton and rice as *kyauta Salla* [H. Sallah gift] - I refuse with thanks. But Dispenser, on the other hand, comes late in the afternoon to demand the customary *ebi sala* from me (talking of himself in the third person), "because the Dr is not here!!".. The impudence!

Earlier, in the morning we went to see Twaki, and then, in the course of our talk, he inquired keenly into our, the white man's, chief. The meat-and-rice which he sends as present is a result of the information he got.

In the evening they slaughter their muttons, not till 8.30 begins the public entertainment: the *ceko* [boxing] on the place in front of Sheshi's house. Lasts whole night, they finished at 8 o'clock next morning! Small boys and grown-up *gbarafushi* - e.g. Mal Ndegi!! - all together. Girls clap hands and sing, and women (with babies on their back) bring their stools along. sit down and combine pleasures with business - i.e. sell kola, *ekwa* [solid guinea-corn porridge], roast yam etc (no bar!!) They, too, return to their houses in the morning. Now they will eat and sleep. Till the afternoon, then the fun goes on again. On their way home some of the older men were discussing heatedly the sporting events, the fairness of a combat, the fault in the technic of a champion, etc - *tout comme chez nous*...

Drive to Shebe. Good data about "*Tunga*", and correlations between commercial crops and *Efako*-work!

Political Organisation in action (feud between chief and town see p. 173 [[Nadel]]) Political feud in Kutigi, referred to earlier: when Sheshi died, 4 months ago, they started discussions on his successor 2 months after his death (after '*fo shiba* ['forty days' a mortuary ceremony] was finished!!) Then a big

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divergence of opinion became manifest: Zonuwa wanted to give title of Sheshi to a man who was the Bisami Sheshi (a sort of "*bara*"-title in Sheshi's house). The rest of town however objected to this, on grounds that this man has no brains, and is a "*wawa* [fool]". They voted for the former Sarkin Barki who used to be the Tsowa Sheshi (younger brother of Sheshi). Since two months this goes on, Zonuwa remaining obstinate. Now the whole town is cross with him, nobody goes to visit him, and as most severe action of public opinion, they refused to go and salute him at Salla, and exchange presents with him!! They hope this will force him in the end. Other wise it will come before Etsu (via Kpotun) after Salla is finished.

NB The Tsowa lost the post as Sarkin Barki because of this prospective appointment. A future "*nusa*" cannot do the work of a Sarkin barki. The new one is a "younger brother" (without title) of Zonuwa.

The "*nusazhi*" who "*jin shawara* [give advice]" and oppose Zonuwa are the following:

Cezo Mal Ndazhiko (although he has no title, and is, exactly, not a "*nusa*"; but he is Mallam *haraji* of V[illage H[ead], and that counts big nowadays!

Twaki Tsowa (i.e. this is the "real" *nusa*-title of Tsowa - in Efu Ngama)

Tsadu (*Efu* Shakpatanko)

Mama Tsado (he has no title yet, though. But he will be *Zhitsu*, "*u de ke degi* [he will have it before long]!!")

Ad: Keeping title of *Zhitsu* within new political organisation as mere "*nusa*"-title -cp. title of *Zhitsu* (*Bebi*) in Doko, also originally independent chief of aboriginal village on this site!

2 *efus* which ought to be included have sent no *nusa* representative; viz (1) Kukpafu - here the former *emitso* is dead, and no-one has been appointed yet. - (2) Yintsu [-Lubasa]; the *nusa* here, the "Maji", is blind, and therefore does not take part any longer in Nko.

Salla in Kutigi

Salla goes on in afternoon. Throughout morning, till about 4 o'cl., town does not stir - all asleep, recovering from strenuous night. After four people begin to reassemble still in their finery. Every-where one sees goat- and sheep-skins stretched i.e. plucked on grass in the ground (this had been partly done already on the morning) - as evidence of the amount of sheep that had been slaughtered. In front of Twaki's compound I see 10 skins!! They will then be used to sit upon them. People also "say *sala*" in their own small mosques. On the *dzukogi* a few drummers assemble, and a "*Sempru* [?]"-dancer is due to begin soon - it last there till about midnight. The usual type : 1 *Tsari* [boxing-drums] and 2 *Kalungu* [hourglass-drums], 2 singers, or "*maba*", and the usual shouting. Girls clap hands, boys jump and make their *Saltes* [leaps] -This time the entertainment is not so strictly centralised as the night before: for there is dancing, laughing and clapping of hands going on in other *efus* as well... NB The Yoruba did not

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make *Gugu* [a masquerade] as promised, because nobody came from Sakpe and Etsu - as they had expected. And they alone would be too few to do the *Gugu* properly!!

Everywhere there are few people walking to and fro the houses on Salla- visits!!

But market went on undisturbed though on a smaller scale.-

7/3/36

In the morning, town still in festival-appearance - except for some farmers who go to have a look at their farms. At about 10 all the *nusazhi*, accompanied by eldest sons or younger brothers, flock to house of Zonuwa. Zonuwa is awaiting them, himself dresses in his Sunday best - this is the customary *emisa-Salla* [Sallah greetings]. The being-cross with Zonuwa seems temporarily suspended. Or is this going to be the final appeal in the matter of the "Tsowa Sheshi" appointment?? Pol Organ, cp p.169 [[Nadel]]

It has in fact to do with the matter in question. The Zonuwa has, at last, agreed, and the Tsowa Sheshi will become Sheshi. "*A jin gyara gancin* [they will be reconciled at last]" as Twaki put it self-satisfied. Obviously, the Zonuwa could not brave this maximum of public pressure as manifested in the refusal to pay the customary Salla- visit to chief!!

Native Courts of Law

Alkali calls me to a case (a dull bride-price and debt case). He is very keen to show me that all his receipts and records are in perfect order, and makes me read them all from time of last checking up to now. Discover thus quite interest ing adultery case (see Law cases). Rest all: debts, inheritance, divorce and bride-price. People from everywhere - including e.g. Sakpe, Gojata, Etsu... It is interesting to see with what paltry cases they come to Alkali, which could be dealt with as well by themselves or their chief. E.g. present case: A bride-groom owes 30/= on his bride-price (of 7), the father in law to be refuses to let his daughter marry him till money is paid in full. Alkali decides that bride-groom is to pay 15/= in a fortnight (which bride-groom is ready to do), then marry, and pay rest in one month. They readily agree - and for this they need Alkali!! Or - still more surprising -: a man owes a debt, but refuses to pay, or is slow in paying back. One goes to Alkali, who calls 2 witnesses, they say *haka nan ne* [H. it is thus]; and debtor owns up at once, ready to pay if reasonable time is granted. The same as regards inheritance: as a rule two family members claim the whole share for themselves, or claim both one item. As a rule again no witnesses existing (only sometimes reference to word of mouth of deceased father, or elder brother, or husband). Alkali consequently suggests a reasonable division among claimants, to which they at once agree. Very rarely refusals or complaints..

Authority of stranger (= *alkali*) obviously greater and more impressive than of their own people!?

Ena nyantsugishi[Women's age-grade societies] Distribution of titles

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In the early morning hear drumming and singing -go down and find a dance at occasion of new title-distribution of the girl-societies of the -society is a man, viz the Ndakotsu also of the parallel young man group. The Etsu, Ndeji and Kpotun of the girls greet us - between 13 and 16 years of age. The situation is rather curious, for the girls sit together in one group, clapping hands (girls from the other parts amongst them - as guests), young men of the highest grade from another *Efu* (Nko) perform their typical dances to a drum rhythm called by Yisa "*enya ticizhi* [dance of office-holders]". It is the same sort of dance I have seen very often already: (1) moving forwards and backwards in rows, the hands stretched out and delicately flapping from left to right. In first row the 3 highest ranks: Etsu, Ndeji, and Shaba. Rest from the ranks in the back. (2) standing solo in front of drummers, bent forward from the waist, slowly dancing on spot while moving buttocks gently sideways, and the dancing slowly back-ward to join the ranks (3) "*Kanji*" jumping and "*saltos* [G. somersaults]", and whirling round on one leg, done by solo dancers, or pairs dancing symmetrically towards and from each other. This is the culmination of each dance movement.- Surprising that girls, who are so-to-speak the hosts, don't do anything themselves, save watching, clapping hands, laughing at the clumsy jumpers.

Explanation: when a group of (boys and girls) distribute the new titles, the Etsu of the group sends kola out, 5 to each *ena* in the neighbourhood inviting them to their festivity. The guests dance and "*jin raha* [make entertainment]" - the hosts only sit and watch. Occasionally crying out encouragingly. But the men pay the band (in usual way - with formal salutations, and addresses, announced by one of the musicians). Band: 3 drummers (with

Sala [large, double-headed]-drums and 2 flute-players!! Later the dance grows more agitated, more and more onlookers join. Some girls make themselves independent, and have their own primitive dance nearby ("*Auszahlen* [G. to pay out] and *setzfere* [G. ??]") It goes on till late in the night - with a pause for the evening meal only -. The entertainment becomes more general, one hears girls laughing and crying, they press round the men-dancers... Chief element apparently: the quasi- sexual development of men-women attraction and appreciation! Inter-*ena*-bond!! On basis of entertainment This long-lasting dance upsets the plans of the young men of Shakpatanko who wanted to have their own title-distribution and dancing today. But there are only these 3 drummers in town, and they being engaged with girl's groups, they had to postpone their own festivity till evening first, and finally till tomorrow.

8/3/6

Morning visit to 2 Mallams. The development of Kuranic teaching very slow, but visible since last 2 years.

Then to Zonuwa ... ask him about old tax. Also about his owning all *Lonci* [locust] trees, as was alleged by Shebe people. Untrue - the explanation is that Zhitsu of Shebe owns all *Lonci* trees, and gave to new settlers from Sakpe the land, but not the *Lonci* trees or Palms!! They, in their ignorance, confusing original with present conditions, assume as natural that Etsu Nyukpa (=Zonuwa) of biggest town in District, also owns the "royal" trees.

(" Trees") History

Ask about grave of the Etsu Nupe Zhibiri which is said to be in Kutigi. They know about it - they call him Etsu Samasa (evidently with reference to his previous title, as Makiya was called Majiya Rani!), his grave is in *Efu Bauna* [Quarter of the buffalo]. But the *emitso* there - the last man to know about it - had died some months ago, and his sons (who came to Zonuwa's house) are "*dzakangizhi* [children]" [of about 45 years of age!!] and don't even know the place of the grave. So this settles it Cowrie-shells/money

Learn of new rate of exchange: cowrie-to-s/d -*gba* [2,000] = 8d (and not 1/=). But this was a more recent course, as fixed by Europeans.

Originally the natives asked for *gba*=1/=!! NB In Bida everybody counts the rate of exchange *gba*=1/= Altogether not everywhere and always the same -changing value. - 4 years ago villagers tried here to pay tax with cowrie - this was refused, so they exchanged small amounts of Cowries on market against pennies, and thus paid tax. But disappeared from market since. Although natives still have it. - I ask Twaki if he has any - he denies it at first, and then, when I explain I want to buy some - he eventually admits that he has some, actually any amount of them! They at once, in everything, fear to have done something illegal!!

9/3/6

Yisa of Yafu, Kutigi

Ad; *Ena gbarafushi* in Kutigi: the Konu of Yafu, have also their titles and age-groups; as they are only a small *efu*, they join their groups with Takogi and Efu Lubasa. They don't have the farming *Egbe* on their own land, though, - naturally - nor do the onion-growing *Efu lubasa*-people ask for *Egbe* on their land. Thus reduced to social events: *Suna*, wedding, funerals, and Salla!!

Feast of age-group. It begins about 1.30, I thought it will be the distribution of titles, but as it turns out, it is only a feast preparatory to the taking of new ranks. So-to-speak last official appearance of old *enas*. On free space in compound of *efu* Shakpatanko. Unbearably full, no space left. In the shade are sitting, in a dense crowd, with not so much room as for one small girl, the boy's and girl's *enas*, viz. the youngest and the "second" boy groups together, and on their right the girl's group which is affiliated to the lowest boy- group. They all sit on the ground, facing the music, except for the respective Etsus (male and female) and the two highest ranks: they sit on chairs, most beautifully dressed. The boy's Etsu is a cast-eyed, dull looking boy, apparently thoroughly frightened who doesn't dare open his mouth when I talk to him - you don't see much of his "*hankali* [H. wisdom]" which - as I am assured again and again - was instrumental to him getting the title. Everywhere round these two main groups stand and sit guests, onlookers etc from this and other efus, great number of women - amongst them the proud mother and grandmother of the Etsu. 3 drummers (from *lati* [bush]) and 2 flute-players make music and girls and boys dance. When I come actually only girls, or women, because the male dancers are tired now and have a rest. Officially it says that the society-members are executing the dances - but as always the official

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interpretation is at least inexact. Most of the dancers are grown-up women, many with babies on the back, - some (whom I know) have come for a short spree from the neighbouring market, where they repair to again soon to continue their selling *ekwa* [stiff sorghum porridge] and *fura* [H. soft sorghum balls], others have left business go for today, and settle here to enjoy themselves thoroughly, although they do a bit of business here too, selling kola and other tit-bits.

Theoretically interesting: these young boys and girls being, and feeling themselves, as center of such a big scale social gathering, ordering the dancers, and watching grown-up people dance, and enjoy themselves, as their guests, and to their honour.

The male adults, in fact, sit mostly outside the "arena", trying to get a little shade the only shady place, under the tree being occupied by the boy's and girl's). Among them are the Ndakotsu of both groups, - who, soon, will be Ndakotsu no more! Through the usual tangle of this, combatting the usual unwillingness to tell me anything at all, I eventually get at the facts described here. But the begging for money, and unwillingness even to let me have a decent place in the shade, the stench and the flies, and - last but not least - the hardly concealed resentment of the party about my having held up, or threatening to spoil, their entertainment, force me to early departure. Hear the "party" goes on till next morning!!

One of the consequences of this large party, which attracted and kept "busy", at least half the young men in town, was that next morning, when we wanted 8 carriers to Sakpe, it was impossible to get more than 6 young men (i.e. from Efe Zonuwa which is next door to Shakpatanko, the Zonuwa having, apparently, authority only over these people!))!!

9/3/36

Track to Sakpe, through pleasant, hilly and really nice-looking country. Passing by great many Indigo farms, with their typical hollow-tree- trunk-mortars, buried in the ground, in which the leaves of Indigo tree are pounded.

Interesting talk to Yisa about beauty of the landscape through which we were passing. He says, enthusiastically: "*Kin nya babo ge saranyi, u ge wangi bologi* [This soil is very good indeed]!" I ask: "In what way? HE: *Ka yi, u ya bokun* [This is white]!" Meaning, that the soil is white - not red (i.e. more fertile than the red sand round Kutigi or Bida!) -

Also passing by great number of *tungas* which are scattered along path - one every mile or so - belonging together and forming one large *tunga* (e.g. Budako) although there is no central place or mother migrations and settlements (from Sakpe), till it formed a sort of scattered town by itself with an own chief etc, each compound being actually a *tunga* by itself. Large cotton fields lie deserted, crop obviously bad, but still a little cotton left on stalks, yet not deemed worth while to pick it!

NB farmers belonging to Kutigi reach 3 to 4 miles towards Sakpe!! *Tungas* of Kutigi and Sakpe actually constitute overlapping areas!!

10/3/36

Sakpe is very lovely from landscape point of view but very hot. Resthouse walls and ground around resthouse really hot when one touches it, still in the late evening!!

Rather primitive place, pure pagans; looks in everything as if it had been much bigger once and is now reduced to small site of a second rate place. This was actually the case, according to their information on this point. The isolation - locally and socially - between the 4 *efus* is amazing (cp Ntbk) and a political consequence of this fact was the dismissal of one chief for neglect of duty (it was, in fact, only traditional ignorance about the affairs of another *efu* - I should say institutionalised ignorance! Sidelight on P.G. Harris' idea to make village chiefs into D.H.s!)

People are very shy and frightened - but I find some friends who came to see me in Kutigi 3 years ago who help me to get in touch with the people here. Socially rather confused situation, due to the gradual dwindling of population; the same applies to religious factors - here a very superficial muhammedan influence comes into play. But age-groups, system of elders, and co-operation between *efu* - they all are disrupted and disorganised, because the necessary re-adjustment of an organisation evolved for a big town to the new poor-village conditions has not been possible, as it seems.

I have the opportunity to see the last act of a real pagan wedding performed - although I don't attend the final dancing which went on through the whole night till daybreak.

The stay becomes more and more intolerable: heat, flies, and impossibly close nights make the stay here an ordeal.

In the afternoon a performance of the Gugu in the *efu* of the Nupe-Eyagi [Yoruba] of Sakpe, Tswale. Great attendance from whole town, and also from the Konu committee of Etsu and Kutigi.

Gugu

Yesterday, in the evening, they have sort of rehearsal, without invited onlookers in their *efu*, which we saw as part of our surprise visit. There were 2 masks, which came to salute us, and then rushed up and down again in the house, accompanied by the womenfolk and their rather disorganised singing.

We were soon asked to go, and rather to return tomorrow for the proper performance. One of the masks was actually not yet ready: on the dress was missing the black cowrie-framed "face" and the feather bush on the head. Also he had bare feet, not yet properly clothed in trousers which are to cover the legs and feet completely.

11/3/36

In the morning I have really interesting informal talks with chief, Liman and some elders, on all kinds of topics: muhammedanism, slavery, pawning, adultery, etc etc ... These loose informal talks prove in

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such a place as Sakpe of much more value than well-prepared questionnaires which only scare them and embarrass them. The simplest questions, when put before them as determined questions to a certain point, were left unanswered, or were answered with lies - although there seemed to be no reason whatsoever why they should dislike the question. As regards this part of my work I found S. one of the most difficult places!! Asking for ex. such a simple and uncontroversial question : who was your *egba* in time of Etsu so-and-so? - I get the stereotype reply: we don't know, we did not live then (of men 60 years of age!!). Till I eventually caught them and got them to admit that knowledge. Still more passive resistance when I tried to obtain genealogies, or inquired after farming-organisation, i.e. *Efako* and *buca* (e.g. they disputed the fact that they made mats - till I proved to them that I actually saw weavers with my own eyes!!) - In this sort of question ideas of taxation may have entered through!!

NB: Surprising that most of the "*nusazhi*" wear those heavy stone-animals which are made in Borgu. They bought them in Bida, they say.

Travels. They have not travelled much: surprisingly never to the west and north (i.e. Laboshi or Mokwa). All of them have been to Kutigi and Etsu (with which they are linked by many marriage relations); many have also been to Daba, and some to Bida. Never beyond!!

We had extraordinary trouble to obtain 9 carriers. We waited and waited for 3 hours, and only had 3, 4 and 5 carriers. People refused to carry loads, they were not keen at all to make money, they rather stayed at home. The elder men refused to carry from the outset, and send boys of 10 or 12 years! One man came in lovely dress and turban, and when he saw the loads, he said he wanted to go home and change first -intending not to return. Of a pair of brothers only one agreed, the other insisting that it is a Nupe custom that of 2 brothers only one should carry at a time, and the other should "rest". This was what most people preferred to do: to rest (for their were not on the farms, or at some other work!!) Authority of V[illage] H[ead] did not avail much. Yisa said, than when he once came to Sakpe with an A.D[istrict] O[fficer] they could get carriers only through the *dogari* intervening and driving the men to the R.H. The situation reminds me of Mr Alvarez' stories of those early times when it was impossible for Government officials to get any Nupe to carry loads - not for as much as a shilling a day!! With great pains we had 8 carriers by 12.30 - whom I had ordered at 9 o'clock!!

12/3/36

Return to Kutigi

Talk to Twaki about my information collected at Sakpe, and get valuable corroboration viz completion, particularly as regards: pagan weddings, - adultery and divorce - pawns and slaves.

Kutigi appears like paradise after Sakpe: cool, airy, and surprisingly clean. Flies have not decreased in meantime, thou'. - The cleanness of R.H. we owe to Dr Ellis' visit, who [text ends suddenly]

13/3/36

Political conflict (case of Sheshi)

Mama Gana came to me with news about Sheshi-conflict. Zonuwa has, it seems, changed his mind again, and refused to carry out the "investiture" as he had agreed to. Big Nko held this morning, but without result so far.

Tells me another story of Zonuwa's tricks: this was when Mama Tsado complained to me, 2 years ago, about his big tax: 30/= for him, and 25/= for his younger brother. I had told Bulger about it, an investigation was held, and his tax was reduced immediately to half. It was the Zonuwa who was responsible for assigning this tax to him!

Afternoon visit of Twaki's compound to study Diet and the preparation of food.

Incidentally we arrive just when the women beat the floor of the hut of the mother of Twaki's "younger brother". All the women and girls of the *Efu* are together, about 30 altogether. The day before I saw women of the *efu* Twaki come home in the evening, with their beating- tools on their head, from a beating of the floors at Shakpatanko - this was a different occasion, namely the preparation of a bride's hut, and not only the women of one *efu* worked at that, but all the female relations. Beating of floor they started in the late afternoon and finished at about 6.30 or 7 o'clock. - the time when they take their evening meal. By then they were too tired to carry on. The floor (wet mud beaten with the wooden boat-shaped "*Shebelu* [floor-beater]) is left for one day. The day after tomorrow the floor will be treated with *Makaba* [locust-pod infusion] (which has already been prepared in large quantities) and the work will be finished - till another floor will have to be done. The interesting feature about it was the excited, and exciting, spectacle of all these women, packing the place, pressing against each other, beating the floor while they are singing and dancing! There is a drummer there, who plays his big *Sala*-drum incessantly, corresponding to the songs sung, and the rhythm in which the women are beating the floor.

The women are mostly stripped to the waist, except for those who carry their babies on the back, and are all dirty and bedraggled from the wet mud. Some have to wipe their eyes viz to wash them with water now and again because they can't see any more. Besides, they are all drinking water - brought to them - continuously. I noticed 3 or 4 different "movements".

(1) The women arranged in somewhat irregular concentric rings beat with the right hand 3 times, then lift themselves up, both hands in the air, stamping short dancing step towards each other, singing. Looks like a "*Reigen* [G. round-dance]" stopped at some moment of its movement and automatically "swinging out". Rhythm of song and dance :beating stamping and singing

[Nadel has a notational diagram here]

(2) Beating with both hands, in a furious way and terrific speed, in the right the "beater" and with the left hand bare; when doing this they shake their shoulders so violently that one can not imagine how they

can stand it for any length of time. Then they get up, swinging their arms from left to right, and moving on in a circle of a typical "*Reigen*"; then bowing again and again beating furiously.

(3) The women all forming one group, all pressed together on the periphery of the place, the rest of the place remaining empty. They beat with one hand, then sing, and while singing, move along the periphery to a next spot, where they do this again.

After the work a huge pot of "*Katsa*" (guinea-corn jelly and water) is ready for the women.

Other songs had the following texts:

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Elu, elu wo le wun ye - bird, bird, you see it

u tso wan wan be it escapes catching again (lit.: it is quicker than catching)

Ye-be-be Come, come

Wangwa yi le be Release (them) - come in

a kezhe a they don't return

Mariko jin ankuri A backbiter ("karambeni")

ega yi o, nda kata we are strangers, father of the house (i.e. the singers and drummers speaking of themselves)

[NB Nadel has crossed through another translation of some lines:]

line 2: he himself will catch him

" 4: the weaver bird we see coming

" 5:[addendum] (for they stay here with us, i.e. with the singers)

line 6: the tattler should exercise forgiveness

" 7: (it) (who is) is the guardians.]]

Nb Interesting to note that very often girls joining in the chorus sing terribly flat - the general musicality of the natives is a myth!!

Interesting also that singers when tired, drop by one octave, and small girls join an octave higher!!

14/3/36

Return to Bida. No news.

15/3/36

Extraordinary how one forgets things! Now when I ought to have completed everything about the Nupe I discover number of questions which I have quite omitted to investigate. Namely.:

(1) Does one make *Suna* also with girls?

(2) Who eats together in compound, viz who cooks? Is farmwork unit or local-unit identical with menage unit

(3) Details about inheritance and succession of *nusa*, in connection which regulates which keep extended family within bounds?

(4) What sort of cohabitation practised during the years after birth of a child, during which time, according to Nupe beliefs, no new child should be born, viz. what means made use of to prevent conception?

Luckily none of these questions difficult to answer. See respective files - short replies given on page 207 [[205 crossed out, as are answers given there, reproduced here:-

at (1)... Yes, exactly as with boys.

(2)... Menage=unit (which I shall call from now on household unit) = farm-work- unit, but smaller than local unit (locality of living place) (in villages larger, in Bida smaller, than household unit)]

(4)... They know incomplete cohabitation, and also various (superstitious and medical) devices.

(3) ... Inheritance-rules imply two principles: younger-brother, and son-principle, for family, personal property respectively.

Succession to position of *nusa* classificatory!! Regulative principles as regards restrictions involved in (a) normal process of dying out of branches, and (b) splitting of particularly large kinship groups. [[p.205 ends]] [[Nadel's note on his page no.207:-]] Preliminary replies to problems on p.206.

Ad (1)... Yes, exactly as it is with boys. Ntbk 4 p62 ad (2)... Household- unit = economic unit (i.e. people who have one "menage", work together in *Efako!*), narrower than local-unit (i.e. compound-inhabitants). In Bida, household unit sometimes wider than economic unit (i.e. brothers of independent jobs live in single menage, senior brother being the head!)

ad (3) Inheritance rule implies 2 principles (a) younger brother (classific!) succession - as regards group property; (b) son succession - as regards personal [narrow family] property. Natural regulative principles work for restriction of ever widening framework of *Grossfamilie* [G. extended family] (1) dying out of branch, viz age limit to succession among line of brothers of approximately same age. (2) Splitting up of particularly large groups.

File Law

ad (4) they know and practise incomplete cohabitation, and besides number of devices, based on superstition as well as medical knowledge. Ntbk 3, p [[end of Nadel's note on his page 207]]

16/3/36

Court - mostly bride-price and divorce cases, interesting in so far as they tend to demonstrate.: dwindling of paternal and husband-authority; increasing arbitrariness in divorce; increasing individuality (individual like and dislike) in marriage (as against obeying to parental arrangements); and incidentally

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disappearance of familial or parental authority, and even as regards competence as to the settling of familial disputes, and replacing of it by the authority of Alkali.

Afternoon talk with Mal Ndayako. Settling of some of the problems mentioned on p206. Chiefly checking the statements always made by Nupe: namely (1) that former *Efako* system by far exceeded present system in numbers of workers and that (2) the disappearance of large *Efako* system was due to coming of Europeans. Neither of these statements correct, at any rate not (2). For Mal Ndayako himself has never seen more than 10 or 15 people on *Efako* when he was a boy!! Of 30 or 50 or 100 (sic!) people on one *efako* he has only knows from hearsay!! (At least 50% myth!!) (See File Soc O)

17/3/36

Ride to *tunga* to check point of identity of household unit and *efako*-unit as well as problem of common household, cooking for household members, and also their recollection as to site of former *Efako*-work.

Then court. Afternoon Mal Ndayako - watching preparation of evening meal. Continuation of questions to problem of p207

18/3/36

Ride to Pici checking following points: (1) *Ena gbarafushi* (here comprising whole village contrary e.g to Doko, even in old days!!)

(2) Disappearance (gradual decrease in number rather of *efako* co-operation.

But quite incidentally two new (though not important) problems of Religion cropped up - again immediately before presumptive completion of investigation!! [If that goes on - what shall I miss!? If these so far unnoticed facts keep on cropping up - where is the guarantee that I have not overlooked or omitted essential facts, which these are not, thanks to God!? Damn, I should like to know if that happens to every anthropologist. But who tells the truth in such matters!?)

1... This refers to the small stone pyramids which I have noticed 2 years ago, and which - then -the people described as childrens' game without any significance (at least they wanted to make me believe this), and at once removed. Now we find two of these again, in front of houses of Zhitsu and Shaba, each consisting of 10 small stones. After much lying and beating about the bush (e.g. that they are to signify that beer is sold here!! This trash they want me to believe!!) the Zhitsu, who really is a decent fellow, explains: it signifies that the Gunnu had been performed, each *emitso* puts one stone there, (therefore 10 altogether) viz in front of houses of 2 men who performed sacrifice. Gunnu was performed a week ago, after returning from sacrifice place, before starting on drinking and dancing part, these small pyramids are erected. They are then left like this, till they collapse, till next year's Gunnu. Actually put up on no special place: on platform where an old *katamba* stood and apparently collapsed not so long ago (skeleton of roof still there).

ad Gunnu [[e.f.p.]]

(2) This "discovery" originated in my observing, in the "re-decorated" *katamba* of the Zhitsu a nicely done plastic of a crocodile which was not there 2 years ago. They explained to me that there are no crocodiles there any more, so it had no special meaning. I enquired further, if it was was not perhaps a "sacred" crocodile as the one at Mokwa, or Katsa. This they strictly denied. And now it came: their [[c.: holy]] sacred animal was not a crocodile ("for there are no crocodiles here" ?), but a leopard which lived in the bush and was called Ndako Yisa (by the name, that is, of their eldest known ancestor-chief!!) How that came about they are unable to explain. But as much is certain, that it is still today a sort of guardian of place, never kills the Pici people -who are under a tabu to kill any leopard (even in foreign land!) - and is welcome to feed on the village's sheep and dogs. He may have had a special sacrifice once (they have been told so), but now, as far as one can make out, the "worship" of leopard-ancestor has been absorbed in other sacrifice, in ritual of Zunnu, which is performed every 3 years. [[Explanation here of Etsu and Katsa 3 - annual rituals!!]]

Dessication of Nupe country?

Incidentally - I buy "*Wasa* [snake-bite medicine]" for 3d (which is much too much, I only take a little) and learn its recipe.

Talking about the non-existing crocodiles, they say, that their grandfathers said that there was once much more water in Pici, the whole gorge - dry today -near the village was full of water, and there even have been crocodiles here. Not even the Zhitsu, however, with his 70-odd years, has seen this himself, only tradition. From the look of the land, it may have been true. Actually I was wondering on the ride out to Pici if there has not been a great dessication here in not too distant a time, for one comes across many dried-out "*kurmi* [H. forest]", where dead palm-trees and reed prove that there must have been water there once. Besides, on 2 places I found small *tungas* on such places, deserted which, judging by state of houses could not be older than 5 to 7 years, and could not have been left before 2 years (the thatch on the huts still quite good!!). This throws a characteristic sidelight on Nupe custom of changing locality (cp. Ntbk 4 p) frequently - for various reasons; but 3 years, for ex, with little rain, is sufficient reason enough to look for better place!!

Change in price of foodstuff (Potatoes) Meet great number of women who come from Dakpa on Kaduna to sell sweet potatoes on Bida market. Sweet potatoes are now 6d per load, i.e. basket-full [1 man-farm producing 1 to 2 loads]. Sweet potatoes on ordinary farmland are now finished, only in "*bata* [floodland]" still going - therefore high price. When rains come they will not be more than 2d per load!!

NB some of the newly sown yams show signs of growing!! Owing to the rain we had this month!!

We also had a talk about calendar. Very confused, they are not at all certain, mixing up Bida-calendar with farmer's calendar (as is only natural!). Only Zhitsu knows the facts, and knows them clearly and

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

positively. He joins in the debate and soon puts it right. (One reason for their vagueness lies no doubt in fact of postponed Gunnu: reason for postponement: no money, nor "opportunity" till tax was paid!! As against Doko people who, as they say, "*a de kafa saranyi* [they have plenty of leisure]!"

[[Nadel's note on his page 217:-]] Policy of Agricultural Office in Nupe [[Note ends; NB Nadel's page no.s 218-221 inclusive are missing]]

this can be prevented!!)

These farms will be worked in rotation system, 4 fields, field No. 1 is manured field, with manure goes guinea-corn; after this cotton, then groundnuts, finally cassava etc...Can run on for ever. [[Nadel's text includes diagram of crop rotation system]]

Phonographic recording of girls songs (Mal Amadu's daughters). Texts see "Texts" 2; one specially interesting song - quite up to date!! - refers to the sleeping-sickness injections in Agaie- area!! [see separate file on Land]

22/3/36

Ride to market - to buy some beads. Nda (Mal Ndayako's *bara*) tells me about Kopa, the oldest town in Nupe, which I must see, he says. It is now in easy reach via Jima from where it is only 2 miles. Arrange a visit to Jima and Kopa for Thursday next.

23/3/36

Court - some more or less interesting divorce cases.

Witchcraft in Bida and Doko (recent cases)

Afternoon visit to Mal Ndayako - nothing important except one thing: I ask Nda whether he knows any witches, or knows of them, at Doko. He says: of course he knows them. at Doko. He says: of course he knows them. There are a great number of them at Doko - Would he tell me about them? - No - Why? - Because they would learn of it, and then he is done. - But surely, if I shall keep it a secret, how can they know? - They will know, viz hear, nevertheless: "*a 'a wo* [they will hear (of it)] !" Eventually I get him (with Mal Ndayako's) to say: he would think it over and tell me tomorrow. I ask only for 3 as compromise - we shall see.

23/3/36

Yisa tells me a dream of his (Freudian to the brim!).

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Big visit: Yisako, the son of Etsu Saba comes, together with Mal Ndayako. Begins to tell me about slave-raiding against Kede at Katsa - but I realised at once that he was not well. He had fever, was shivering and looked as if he would collapse at once. Eventually his companion tells me that he did not feel well - his head is not good, he had drunk some water on the road and now he has head-burning and hick-up. But he did not want to stay away, although he felt so poorly. Advise him to go home and lie down at once.

Witchcraft

Alone with Mal Ndayako and Nda I pursue the matter of witches. Ndayako has agreed to tell me about 3 Doko witches - there are more of them at Doko, but he only knows of these 3. With one he has had, it appears, direct personal dealings. Before he embarks on this story however everybody else (3 followers and friends of Mal Nd.) are sent out of the room. Now, in secrecy, he tells me about the witches. - Surprisingly, the first story they tell me (Mal Nd[ayako] himself telling me!) refers to recent cases of w[itchcraft] here in Bida, only short time ago!! Happened (again!!) in their ward in *banin* (sic!), in Mal Ndayako's close neighbourhood. Both seem very upset. I ask: what are people going to do? - "What can they do!!"

There is no *telu* [?], and no Ndakogboya - what can we do "*Yi ma jin 'nya ndoro a. Sai Soko* [We cannot do anything at all. Only God]" (Nda says this) - I arrange with him that I shall go to this witchcraft-ridden house tomorrow to see the 2 witches from face to face. Mal Nd. invents a complicated and shrude story which he is going to tell the people, and according to which I am to act, so as not to arouse suspicion: there is a diviner-mallam next door, whom I am going to visit - everybody knows that I do that frequently; and then I shall just drop in at the house in question, saying: I heard of their misfortune, I came to "*sa-a-mi* [greet]".... This will work, he assures me.

In addition I learn 3 interesting life histories of witches.

24/3/36

Witchcraft 2

Ride to Tswata Mukun, present "our" brass-smith with a photograph of his. In return I get data about "economic census" of their work, and interesting details about the origin of their raw material.

(Correcting former informations!!)

Then, passing by house of Etsu Umaru, I meet Nda, and together we go to "greet" the witch-family. The chief witch, we actually meet on the road: she is just going to market. Nda addresses her, saying in rather bantering way: "we are going to your house, to greet your husband: he will then tell us truth at last"

() anti - witchcraft Ritual, suppressed by the British

Upon which she only laughs and says as much as: All right, you go ... We find the two husbands of the witches, just buying "*masa*" - cakes, we follow them to their *katamba* [entrance-house], and I explain reason of my visit. Ask about sickness of their children - *A'a, a de ta nya ndoro a* [No, nothing is painning them at all] - But surely they had some sort of sickness. - No - "*sai kadara Soko*". I enumerate all possible diseases: smallpox, *eta gbako* [stomach-ache], fever - To everything they say: no. "*A ta nya fo eshi a, a ta nya fo gunni* [?] *a, a ci a tsu a* [They don't have the pain of twenty days, they don't have the pain of four? days, they don't lie down, they don't choke]" Eventually they admit they had a little fever: "*naka aro, a de razabi degi*. [the body ? , it has a small fever]" Well, that is that, I say my "*oku be hankuri* [greetings on your forbearance]", and go. On way back I ask Nda about the witch we met, I say she looks quite nice - she really was a pretty girl, and still young, not older than 30 or 32. He doubtfully replies: "*u ge be fisika yi*" - she has a nice face ", leaving unsaid how he regards her "heart". He as everybody else, is quite fix[ed] on this point: a witch knows that she is a witch. No possession of spirits turns a woman unknowingly into a witch. Possession of spirits and *gaci* [witchcraft] have nothing to do with each other!

25/3/36

See Brasssmith; some new facts about where they now get their raw material from: cartridges and pennies!! - See beautiful big bamboo-stick made with silver ornaments on top and round it - for a wedding, given to bride by mother, to be used for the first, ceremonial, stirring of *eje* [porridge] - the first cooking, that is, in new home.

NOTEBOOK 2 ENDS.

NOTEBOOK 3.

26/3/36

Track to Kopa, the famous ancient place of Beni country. As always in such cases when the natives stress the enormous importance of seeing such a place, and tell wonder stories what information I shall pick up about past history and tradition, I am disappointed. The data on tradition are far from generally known and clearly remembered. The usual situation: 2 or 3 old men remember vaguely this or that - and the younger members (up to 50 years !!) know little and care less. The knowledge of this tradition has little or no function - unless it forms the basis of some actual claim: e.g. their proprietary right in their waters based on this claim to be most ancient inhabitants here. For this purpose however a simple and vague and undetailed" such- is-the-case "knowledge seems to suffice perfectly. The same as regards their alleged relation to Doko, Tafieu, etc, on which cf. ex. their marriage relations are based.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Find here (although no longer existing for at least 60 years) interesting twin-village organisation, i.e. 2 *efus* (or *katambas*, or "villages", in fact) living in close neighbourhood, in social and religious symbiosis, but no single chief (quasi-clan structure). Obviously same structure as in Doko-Dashi formerly, and also corresponding perhaps to loose *tunga*-structure of Guduko (near Sakpe) and even Sakpe itself? Most ancient form of local organisation? Perhaps still alive - Gwari or what Rev[erend] Sherk told me about such twin towns) Kamuku?

At Kopa I meet Ndako Gona, the Doko "pretendant" to the chieftainship who accidentally came to Kopa the same day. On the way home he gets hold of me, and informs me of the latest development of his almost chronic case against Etsu Dashi. Says he was to see me, for Tegetmeier knows nothing about the situation, and Etsu does what Etsu Dashi says, but I was away. Now he claims the land which his father and grandfather owned, and which Etsu Dashi had allotted to someone else. I have I suspicion however that his main purpose is still to keep the issue of his claim to the chieftainship alive, and to make it permanently manifest to Doko-people!

On the road to Jima meet bridal procession, with 3 drummers, 2 friends of bridegroom, clad in gorgeous robes and caps, who came to take the bride to Kopa, and lots of girls. Even here, in this arch-pagan place, bride veiled in white, (cheap canteen stuff) cloth. She is very young, not more than 14 or 13, and bridegrooms' friends are perhaps 18 or 19.

29/3/36

See D.O. Tells me - and asks me for advice - about Wilkinson's suggestion to abolish Shaba-title altogether, because it rather prejudices the administration which may be placed in difficult position. Tegetmeier had discussed it with Etsu, who was dead against it because it "would abolish an old custom". I try to make clear to Tegetmeier, that abolishing the title of Shaba would not ease matters, because there would always be a "senior" or "head" of one of the 3 royal houses, whom the population would regard as heir presumptive. D.O. then goes on to ask whether abolishing the succession in rotation altogether would not seem feasible. To this I can not reply in short, for if they don't realise what this institution means, I can't help them. (would they understand if I explained it as an essential result of their original clan structure!?)

See Mal Ndayako, where we meet Wancin Yisako. Complete the history of the Kede-Katsa war. Interesting new data about the custom of secret and public executions, according to the personality of criminal. See huge, heavy chains, made of small discs, or bead-like small balls, of ivory and hippo-tooth. Used to be the ornaments of the ancient Beni, before the new bead-trade was brought in from Raba.

30/3/6

Bring Tegetmeier my exposé re: suggestions for reorganisation of town council. He asks if he can read it "at his leisure". Seems to take me for a sort of teacher who gives impossible texts to read and then,

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

immediately afterwards, asks for a learned discourse on the subject. - Information about salary of Etsu and whole N.A. active administration printed in Nigeria -NA.

Treasuries Estimate, published annually. Etsu has salary of £2000, the Ndegi (and now also the Maiyaki) £180. Interesting that Nagya preferred to come to Bida as Etsu's councillor (instead of Naibi) with salary of £120, than to stay in Mokwa as D.H. with salary of £150!! ["Call of the town" - being near the Etsu??]

Wancin Yisako comes to visit me, chiefly because he asks for my help for himself and his sons: they want work. But under "work" he understands either a job as messenger for his sons, or - better still - some "*Kin* [land]", i.e. a District Headship. He and his sons have been obviously always left out when the various Etsus allotted titles and offices - he being the youngest son of Etsu Masaba, born shortly before father died, who had no father to help him along in the hard competition in this vast family, was evidently severely handicapped. I make clear to him, with difficulty, that Hakimi posts are given away by Etsu only, and not by me or D.O., and that for this job, or the job of messenger, there are lots of applicants who are younger and with better qualifications. His sons cannot even read! They have learned, actually, nothing, only hatmaking. I try to make his son see that he must either learn something: e.g. weaving, mat making, a trade - or else they must try to make use of the large land which they own, and so far only give away as "*aro* [on loan]", perhaps with advantage under the new scheme of mixed farming (provided that they have good farmers in their family - which I rather doubt). They thank me profusely for this cheap advice, and finally ask for the fever-medicine which I had given to Mal Ndayako, (Aspirin).

Talk with Lines in evening, about new agricultural scheme (see special file). He seems to love the idea that what they start now - a re-organisation of the native agricultural system which is eventually to introduce here the english tenant-system - is a "complete revolution" and will be completed "in a hundred years" - The fool!! But even he realises that general administration must do something to keep pace with this development. What they do so far is this - according to him - that all Residents and D.O.s pester him to go to their provinces, and bring them the salvation of "mixed farming" rather to-day than tomorrow.

Interesting sidelight on trade-policy and commercial honesty of Niger Company in Niger Province, where the best type of groundnut is grown, the price per ton is 5/6, against 11/2 in Kano! Explanation: There is no competition here... Government will have to make a move, as they did in regard to cotton!

31/3/36

Mal Ndayako comes. We talk about War, and I get some interesting informations about war-tactics, etc. Incidentally - discussing the character of the Nupe - I hear a nice "saying", the more significant because the Nupe themselves speak thus about their character:

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Gaskiya Nupe mapa bo u da o:

Truth of the Nupe is in the cheek (remains inside the mouth, they don't tell it)

About Ndakogboya practise he says, that Ndakogboya people, at time of Etsu Saba, made the following rule: those who were witches, had to pay 4d, those who were not witches, 8d - of course everybody claimed not to be a witch, and paid 8d (But is that true? Or just "Bida-talk"?)

1/4/36

Visit of old Kusodu. Valuable data about War and old Nupe, viz Fulani army.

This morning died the old Kpotun, who was very old and blind (the former D.H. of Sakpe, who had been pensioned). We find the whole town assembled as usual, - and just see the Alkali coming for the "service". - See Mal Ndayako who tells me that there are rumours that Uban Dawaki (of whose illness I had heard from M[edical] O[fficer]) had been poisoned by the Maiyaki. Two different reason were abroad: one, that the Uban Dawaki was trying very hard to get the Maiyaki's title and job, and that the latter therefore tried to eliminate the dangerous competition by a shortcut *; the second, that the Maiyaki and the Uban Dawaki had quarrelled over a girl from Jima, with these disastrous consequences. *The following of the Uban Dawaki in Bida is much bigger than of the Maiyaki.

2/4/6

At Kusodu's house we see a man dressed up in the way the old Nupe horse-warriors used to - complete with chain-mail (*sulke*), spear (*tanci*) and leather shield, made of skin of [[Nadel's page no.s 14-17 inclusive are missing]]

This *dzomanci* [?usually a word for cousin] business is said to go on till end of year. In the evening I go again into town and into various houses (e.g. Mal Nday.) - but there is very little doing. Daily work goes on like ever, nowhere even traces of a holiday-like atmosphere. And even small Ibrahima - who had told me so much about what he was going to do at the *dzomanci*, has done nothing.

.. As always: theory and praxis differ....

4/4/36

Uneventful journey to Minna via Zungeru. Country round Wushishi very pleasant: open and green, like real grass! Must have had lots of rain lately.

After Zungeru more severe, rocky - road goes on bare rock often enough. Climbing continuously. Highest point Maikonkele. Wild country: a naked, bare, desolate rocky plateau. Huge stones and boulders everywhere. The Gwari village, extremely primitive looking, on hill side. Perched on to hill, lots of quite small round huts, lined up in one row (faint resemblance to Doko) like this: [[Nadel's

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

text includes sketch]] Meet the first Gwari: hunters with bow and arrow. And women carrying heavy loads of timber or water on shoulder. Arrive at Minna about noon.

5/4/36

6/4/36 Minna

Visit of Gwari hill: the Gwari speak here mostly Hausa, and I find two men who speak Nupe. Houses same type as Nupe. But physical type quite different, specially women who have round, fleshy faces, are short and stocky, with enormous shoulder and back-muscles (carrying loads on shoulders!!)

Dialect of Minna identical with Paiko, but different from Abuja and Kuta!!

At any rate, the first Gwari I hear gives me no little shock: it is (at any rate sounds) completely different from Nupe! Certain phonetic characteristics which are completely absent in Nupe. And not even greeting alike!!

7/4/36

Journey to Kuta. Through pleasant country, often reminding me of a wooded country at home; really dense wood often. Very hilly. Up and down, always. North of Gwada again through wilder country, bare rocky hills, over a barren ridge, down into a more friendly looking valley. On the ridge Gwari village Egbwa - seems to be a characteristic of Gwari to build their villages on to the hills and ridges. Whole country very dry, and "suns scorched"....

Kuta lies pleasantly enough: an open country, with round hills covered with low scrubs and low wood. From sort of plateau where R[est] H[ouse] stands, wide view all round. Whole country through which we came very sparsely populated, villages in at least 10 miles distance - with ridges and high stoney hills in between.

The town of Kuta lies - alas!! - 1½ miles from Rest House. It consists of number of *ungwas*, scattered half round central hill, on north side. The largest and most spread *ungwa* in the valley, with market and house of Sarkin Kuta (little "Kuta", also salutation !) in the centre. But other small, compact *ungwas* in distance away, up to 1 mile, partly perched on the hill side.

Farms all in the valley - State of farms: *Gero* already sown, also groundnuts and yam.

Poor market: only foodstuff and European goods:- Nupe traders sell onions and dried fish! Women only selling prepared food; men sell corn !! Women apparently not great traders as in Nupe!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Sarkin Kuta, quite a nice man, with pleasant manners. Bears himself well - in muhammedan dress. His younger brother (one father and one mother) is Uban Doma, and lives in house of his own, in same ungwa, opposite Kuta.

Preliminary inquiries as to Religion:

They have the Ritual *Mwama* (*Mama* !) - it was performed yesterday, by Sarki, but can be performed again - not "fixed".

Gunnu - performed 10 days ago (in 13th month), 1 lasting 1 day;

Gani - in 3rd month.

8/4/36

Extraordinary discovery which upsets all my theories: Gwari not the primitive prototype of Nupe! But independent tribe which came under Nupe influence * (mixed with Hausa influence) 1 viz the common source of all the influences: the northern sudanic ("Hausa") culture-area.... Must be the ultimate explanation for some of the existing affinities!! Nupe influence strongest in Paiko (neighbourhood !!) and adjacent areas, weakest in Kuta.

Linguistically: completely different phonetic system. Also: Genitive suffixed!

General culture, (a) material culture striking differences in house building, dye-pits, pottery no potter's disc, or anything like it !! , women's dress, hairdress etc. E.g. women have their hair bobbed short round head, evenly. Wear no beads or necklaces, and short apron-like petticoats round waist.

They carry loads on shoulders !!

[[f.p., includes 2 sketches of Gbari huts, one of a woman carrying firewood on her shoulder, with the note:-]]

Types of "faves [??]" of Gbari

This more elaborate type not restricted in any way to certain personalities, but every body who has energy "*kokari*" can build it.

Note side door of "portico !" (Not in center as among Nupe!)

I actually saw a great deal of repairing and building going on while we were at Kuta.

(b) culture: husband and wife sleep in same hut! No cross cousin marriage!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

(c) Physical type: completely different. Round short heads, fleshy faces, women particularly short, stockily built with huge back and shoulder muscles. [[at foot of N.'s page no. 24:-]] not "*eintreitlich* [G. xx]". One sees several types, apart from the round faced, thick set type one type very much like Nupe - lean, big cheek bones, triangular-oblong face; another type: strongly bearded (black), flat brown nose - reminding of Bornu cattle drivers [[footnote ends]]

Rest see Ntbk 5

9/4/36

Sarki went off on assessment tour, left his younger brother, the Ubandoma, in charge of town.

Continue investigation. Assisted by two Nupe - speaking men, both very intelligent - Alkali (born Nupe) and Dispenser (trained in Bida), and one young Mallam who speaks good Hausa. So far I investigated (apart from material culture): Marriage, Pol Org, Genealogy and Household;

10/4/36

Morning house of Ubandoma: Pol Org; Household.

Afternoon language.

11/4/36

Visit of the house where they have a certain cult (*tsafi*) called Ebwagi.

NB The number of different cults in this town - cults often limited to one house or one *ungwa* - is amazing. Cults of which inhabitants of another *ungwa* know nothing. E.g. we came with our Malam informant to an *ungwa* when they are just about building a new *zaure* [H. compound]. The walls are not yet high, so one sees what there is inside. On one side they fixed a big stone block. I suspect a *tsafi* and ask: the Mallam does not know it. Eventually I learn that it is a Zhiba [Jiba], - performed regularly every year on 13th month!

Linguistically same derivations. Nupe Zhiba: *bada* = to speak, or make a speech! But actual use not in accordance with norm - wholly private cult!

Or on wall of another *zaure* in another compound one sees feathers of fowl stuck on to some mud, and soaked with some liquid. What is this? Again only *mai gida* [H. compound head] knows answer: a cult they call *Sheko* [Gb. God] - again performed annually.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Besides - there are the graves in every compound, 3 to 5 ! Here again sacrifices are brought annually on 13th month!! This sacrifice-service en masse has something ridiculous.... Religious practise run mad.... Abwagi-dance

The Abwagi cult itself is performed by 3 sons of *mai gida* [H. household head] (*apida* [Gbari translation]) who are so ready to show it to us, that they at once get ready, put on their ritual dresses, and give a demonstration. Unfortunately I have no camera - But they are going tonight and tomorrow morning in any case in some other *ungwa*, the occasion being the distribution of young-men ranks - so we shall see it there.

The little we saw in the morning:

3 young men dancing, 3 brothers. Eldest brother chief dancer. Father sits on stone and watches them, calling them and shouting advice, and exhorting them.

Dress consists of dried grass petticoats, and loose collar round neck falling over chest. On belt various charms of beads and shells. One has the skin of a rabbit hanging from belt. On legs they have tied the same type of boat-shaped iron rattles as we know from Sorogi and similar dances in Nupe. Bare heads, in hands various iron things, e.g. half broken blacksmiths' tongs. They sing - the *pinni* [??] live, short melody infinitely repeated-type of song which we associate with "real negro" culture. Chief dancer sings verse, 2 other dancers are chorus. During this short performance they sing 2 different tunes, viz movements.

Dance itself consists of circular movement of 3 dancers, facing inward, and stamping ground in peculiar syncopated rhythm - the chief dancer's rhythm of stamping coming syncopated in between the single rhythm of the other dancers. Characteristic: *breib Kratsch stelling, Fune nach auswärts gedeckt being Niederstampfen, ifluals du knie schnell und oft aneinander geschlage aus Kratschenstelling, Hande auf Scherkel aufgestilst* [G. xx]. The movement of chief dancer are more lively and more extravagant, i.e. he chiefly is doing the "*Kniebullen* [G. knee-movements]". He lifts one leg alternately, jumping from one leg and falling on the other.

The second "movement" has the same "*Grundform* [G. Basic form]". But in addition: touching ground with flat hands, while making "*Kniebullen*").

When is this dance performed?

(1) As annual cult of this particular house, in 13th month - In connection with it is a *dakin tsafi* [H. cult-house], with huge pot inside, medicine in it, where they sacrifice.

(2) At funeral of *mai-gida*. Also in other houses!!

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

They are asked to perform their dance there on 7th day - and they do it for money!! [most primitive approach to the quasi-clan-like idea of religious reciprocity - cp Kutigi!!]

(3) for general amusement ("wasa") in any place they are asked to. E.g. to-day and tomorrow in different *ungwa* at occasion of *samari*-rank distribution.

Material culture

Bow.... different type from Nupe and Hausa-bow!! On both ends only string-tied, Bow = *Taye*, Arrow = *Knayu*. No *kerb* [G. guard]!!

Sleeping hut.... A sort of "bed stead" made of clay, actually only a platform with - or without - a barrier round (sometimes very elaborate !). Here sleep husband and wife. Small child sleeps in same hut, on floor!! Not till grown up, will he get hut of his own.

[[f.p. includes sketches of bow and bed stead]]

Blacksmith ... Very poor. Only 2 huts, one abandoned. Not much work. In one there is one man working, both operating bellows and forging iron. - Bellows of usual type: 2 skin bags, opening into clay tube and furnace. Small clay wall in front. End of bellows not sticks, but sort of handle.

Greeting.... Very curious. Greeting of big man (e.g. myself!) is thus: one kneels down, hands flat on ground, arms straight; right hand touches ground and then taps 3 times on forehead, while head is bent towards ground all the time. In presence of chief, they rub ashes and sand on forehead, taken from the ground in house.

Cotton preparation.... For the ("*Auszupfen*") preparing of cotton women use a small bow. the string of bow placed in cotton, and then the whole bow shaken, [[f.p. includes sketch of handles of bellows]]

11/4/36 Young men societies [[e.f.p.]]

In the evening a big dance in the town, connected with a procession. It is the feast of the new young-men societies and the co-ordinate young-women societies, of a certain *ungwa*. The 2 groups assemble at about 5 o'cl., on the main street, they are all dressed in their finery, with gorgeous silken dresses, kerchiefs, caps or *rigas* [H. gowns], of all colours. All fashions meet (except a "Gbari" fashion): Yoruba velvet-caps and striped shirt-like dresses, Nupe embroidered gowns, Hausa turbans etc etc.... Each group has a flag staff with a square yellow silk flag attached to it (yellow seems their favourite colour in everything!). Each groups has its own band. The women have the "kaburu [Gb. lute] players" (q.v.) and the men ganga-drummers. The two groups move separate at first. They move along "High street" and stop in front of the various notables' houses: chief, Galadima, Ubandoma, Makama etc. The leaders of the groups go inside, pay their respects, and come out again, to join the dancing crowd. The male members are between 18 and 20, the women about 16 to 18 - all already married!! Later the two groups come closer to each other, and do a bit of dancing

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

(in Nupe manner!!) All is rather stiff and dignified.... The head-women (Magajiya) divides kola-nuts among friends and onlookers, the calabash with the kola is carried by one woman on head and covered with blue velvet. The Sarki of the male group also lavishly distributes kola nuts (which he himself had to buy) After a while, they move further inside the village to continue their visits. During the night there will be great dancing and feasting at their *ungwa*, the Sarki has prepared the beer, and then (at night) the women will dance (also the Nupe fashion of dance !) Tomorrow evening the dance will be continued, and then the official inauguration of the *samari*-group is finished. NB The members of the expired group are not present. The members of new group all together about 20!

NB Before we went to see the dance, we were told we are going to see the young men dancing in "Paiko" fashion, and the informant imitated very well the characteristic features of this dance: the stretched out arms the slightly bent body, and - above all - the swinging of the buttocks!

Music: Quite un-nupeish and un-hausa. First band: 5 *ganga* drummers (corresponds to Hausa *sala* drum, only with a iron shovel-like device attached to it which rattles with small iron rings.) Each drum big, bent drumstick. [[Nadel's page no. 37 includes a sketch of this drum]] Interesting rhythm achieved through beating the drum and then at certain moment the rattle. Drum beaten both by stick (carried in right hand) and left hand (palm)

E.g. d q dd q. d q + rattle

In addition to it, the head - drummer sings - but not very audible. Both a primitive negro-type sort of song, with nasal and quavering voice and the usual "announcer" *-stimts* [G. sings out].

Dance and songs often interrupted by curious form of excited salutation or cheering: a man from the "audience" steps into circle of drummers and, lifting his arm with fist as high as possible, shaking it slightly, he sort of trills the top of his voice: "Trrrrr A---!" then much laughing and shouting, and dance goes on (dancer, in true Nupe-fashion, in front of drummers !)

Second band: again 5 players: 2- play the *kaburu* (h. and gw.), a long 2-stringed guitar ("*Westafular* [A German neologism to describe West African lutes with pear-shaped bodies] guitar") with huge calabash body, skin covered. The tones and tuning of strings not essential, more the deep humming sound - like a *basso ostinato* [It. repeated base pattern]!! Three players play a *Langpfeife* [G. long vertical flute] with tuning holes, and a small *Schall-hichter* [G. bell] of goathorn. Name: "*Mwayi*" -- The 3 flutes play in real polyphony, one is leading with rhapsodic solo, always with new inventions, but remaining in basic rhythm, the 2 others accompany in heterophony and even harmony (harmonic *Ruhepunkte* [G. counterpoint?] or *Quial* [xx]!!). No singing.... Dance performed to this music identical with above mentioned !!

12/4/36

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

In the morning I have the Ubandoma and his people here, and get most valuable data about Pol Org and Funeral. As regards the former: most striking proof that even in this minute "State" - the Kuta chiefdom, political boundaries are *not* identical with tribal or sub-tribal areas.

In the evening continuation and end of *wasan samari*. To-day there are only the *Ganga* players there - no procession on the high street to-day, but dance on open place near their *ungwa*: onlookers, women and old men sit on stones and logs all along the slope of the hill; the young men dance and cheer. Later the women come down as well (i.e. chiefly the *magajiya*) and join the dance. To-day the *samari* have invited the Abwagi-people to come and perform their dances at their feast. Beer is prepared in big pots on ground, and brought from houses continuously (bought by Sarkin Samari).

When the Abwagi dancers come, there are now 2 groups of dancing and singing people side by side, taking no notice of each other, pursuing their own rhythm and music without heeding the neighbour - Only in our ears the two come to conflict, and the deafening sound of the big *ganga* drums crashes into the intricate rhythm of the Abwagi which relies on song only, and on the sound of iron rattles on the legs of the dancers. But most illuminating to look down, from a small height, on these 2 groups. To the left the drummers, with men and girls dancing in Nupe fashion, beautifully dressed in silken robes and turbans (in their technic however but a very crude image of Nupe dancing - they have none of their elegance in movement and ability to follow an interesting and changing rhythm! Here the drum is rather primitive, heavy and slow in changing over to another drum tune!). To the right the 3 Abwagi dancers, in grass-petticoats and with grass collars - otherwise naked, except for iron rattles on knees. Entirely different movements, entirely different "motion - habitat", different tunes and words and everything .. Culture contact *ad oculos* [L. before our eyes]...

Abwagi dance:

I can now perceive better its basic features:

The dominating feature:

Everything comes from the legs and the shoulders. The chief "actors" of the body are knees and legs. The foot as such plays no role: always placed in same way: full, flat sole treading ground heavily. None of the fine distinction of Nupe, who dance with toes, heels and flat sole in intricate, alternating movement. Instead there is the continuous rhythmical movement, without break or pause only once did one dancer pause: when he lost his knee-rattles; at once one of the audience picked them up and helped him to tie them on again. But all the time he continued singing. The rhythm is straight and rigid, exciting and captivating in its almost automatic going-on.

e.g. Specially characteristic the 'knee trill'. Also dancing back, pushing one leg vigorously towards front, and falling back heavily on flat sole. Chief feature: '*Hocke-Stellung*' mit weichen Gelenken, und beweglichen Knien- Oberkorper und Arme nur [G. Crouching position with a nimble falling-back

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

and mobile knees -upper part of the body and arms only] 'additional'. Also: Jumping with closed legs forward and backward instead of walking.

[Musical example]

Sai na gode, yi gode

Thus I thank you: we thank you... '[i.e. thanking me for my coming!]

As against Nupe dancing characteristics: everything from '*Shifte*,' *Oberkorper ruhig, aber Schnelsteris Staudenspiel* [G. xx, upper body composed, but xx]; (sic!) *Berni ruhig und garde (zog in Springen!!)* new *Frisse wichtig* [G. fresh direction] . If Gbari dance is typically negro, Nupe dance typically asiatic!!

No fixed series of 'movements'. The following occurs again and again (sometimes coupled with change of text and tune. In the text (which always respects the same short phrase, something like: *sai ya ma koti* [H.?] chorus they easily

<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>			
4	4			

mixed an *extempore* salutation of us!!:

(1) Walking in a circle one behind the other, arms shaking freely, legs stamping, and leader makes knee trill.

(2) All turn to center, back to audience. Bent heavily forward, one after the other makes knee trill.

(3) All in one row, leader dances forward and backward; combined with (a) closed leg-grouping, (b) pushing legs forward and falling back on flat foot. Only leader makes leg-trill - repeatedly.

(4) In one row. One after the other dances forward and then backward as in (3). Frequent closed-leg jumping instead of walking.

13/4/36

In morning I ride to the SE to find some farms. But for miles and miles nothing to see but low, open bush, now and again a dried out water spot, and the wooded hills of Egba in the distance. No game, no birds - a dead, sun-scorched and almost deserted country.

Later we make photographs of *Kaburu* [Gb. a large lute characteristic of the Gbari] -players. Altogether 3 *Kaburu*-players, (father and 2 sons) [[f.p. includes a sketch of a *Kaburu*]]

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

2 *Goge* [H. viol with one horsehair string]- players (father and son: father = younger brother of sarkin Kaburu [H. master of the Kaburu]) [*Goga* in Gbari '*Goje*'.]

2 *Busa* [H. generic term for wind-instrument -here probably end-blown flutes] players (brother: no relation of other musicians; joined them in voluntary partnership. They are widely travelled. They have been - as travelling musicians - to Bida, Ilorin, and even Kano!!)

We make altogether 5 records (Waxes, No 10 - 14).

No. 10 1 *Goge* and 1 *kaburu* (the latter [*Sarkin Kaburu*] sings as well)

No. 11 1 flute, 1 *kaburu*, 1 *goge* (*kaburu*-player sings)

No 12 (a) .. 2 flutes, 3 *kaburu*, 2 *goge*; *Kaburu* players sing; *goge* in front

(b) .. id. - 2 flutes in front [very loud!]

No 13 Same combination

(a)-(b)

No 14 3 *kaburu* and 2 flutes. One *kaburu* player sings.

(a) ... *Bwodwo* music

(b) ... Funeral ' [End of record = tuning of *kaburu*, but not audible !]

[[f.p. includes sketches of *Mwayi* (flute) and *Goje*]]

No. 10-13 ... Ordinary music, as played for any '*wasal*'[H. amusement]

Each time has a name.

No. 14... Tunes only played (a) *Bwodwo* ritual, and (b) at the feast which follows the funeral of a '*apida*' (*mai-gida*) [Gb. household-head; Nadel has glossed it with the Hausa term meaning the same thing]

NB I asked whether there is any music of *Kaburu* and song, without either *Goge* or Flute - They say: no, it would not '*ba dadi*' ...[H.'not good']

[[Nadel's note on his page no. 50:-]]

Measurements of 2 '*mwayi*'

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

R	A	B
Full length (with mouthpiece) -	30"	29.2"
" " (no mouthpiece)		24.6 24.0
4th whole	23.4	23.3
3rd whole	20.5	20.4
2nd whole	17.2	17.4
1st whole	14.4	14.4
[note ends]		

14/4/36

In house of Uban Doma. See some old weapons. I was originally mistaken when I understood 'lakobi' as throwing knife - they meant by it simply sword. The sword I saw is exactly the same type as the one we bought (same blade!) only Hausa-made (from Kano) with typical Hausa ornament on hilt:

Besides, 4 spears ('*mashi*'), 2 older, and two more modern types:

[[sketches follow in Nadel's text]]

15/4/36

One of the most surprising, and saddening features here is the enormous amount of diseases one sees. Nearly every man has ankles or joints swollen - the curse of Guinea-worm. Reason - the water. It really is almost 100% distribution. Besides - great number of open tropical ulcers, Yaws - and - to a lesser extent - the swellings which indicate Sleeping Sickness. (40% infection according to Sleeping Sickness Commission!)

I ask Uban Doma if I could see Kakayu. At first he declines saying that I would have to wait till Kuta returns. But then he intimates, that he has no authority to order them to do it, but if they could get the necessary amount of beer for the *Kakayu*, then they would do it without doubt or difficulty.

Thereupon I take the bait, and send down 2/- for the *Kakayu* people, to buy beer - and they promise me a nice K. for tomorrow.

I learn for the first time that K. is connected with Bullroarer! [A connection which is intriguing - and later corrected!]

16/4/36

In the morning Kakayu ceremony. [[f.p.: -]]

Kakayu - Ritual

The place where it is performed is in front of the *Maigero*'s house [*Maigero* = *mai-barfi* of *Kakayu* in this *ungwa*, i.e. the *ungwa* of the Makama]. The same place is also used for the *Mwamwa* ritual.

The Makama, as the head of the *ungwa* [H. ward of town] must be present - sort of spiritual 'in the chair'. He meets us on the boundary of the *ungwa*, and accompanies us to the place of rite. The preparations not yet finished. After a time the people gather - I note the Abwagi - people from neighbouring compound [in the same *ungwa*!] They always join each others' rites!!

In the meantime, in the house, i.e. in the *dakin Tsafi* [H. hut of the cult], the Kakayu gets dressed, and a small sacrifice of beer and fowl is made at the K., in the hut. Blood and beer poured both on the floor and on drums.

First appears the *mai-tsafi* [H. master of the ritual], no special dress - only bareheaded as all the others are. Then the drummers. One small drum, beaten with two sticks, put on the ground, and the drummer cowering behind it. And 2 long, '*Rohen* [G. crude]' drums, on which the drummers 'ride', fastening the drums head with a rope round their waist, and beating it with the hands. When they appear, the mai-tsafi walks slowly ceremonially [?] from one drum to the other, addressing them in a subdued voice, and shaking his hands, with closed fists, and thumb enclosed in fingers, towards them = the traditional Gwari form of exulted salutation of chiefs and high persons (e.g. Myself). This means he salutes the drums and exhorts them to 'sing nicely' (*don su kuka da kyau!* [H. xx well]). The place where drumming and dancing takes place actually over two graves ... But seems to disturb nobody. Forms excellent dance-platform. Drumming begins. From inside, one hears a long chant on top voice - the '*Kirari* [H. praise-name]' of the *Kakayu* (see Ntbk 5, 63, top). A loud yelling - and the *Kakayu* himself appears. A straw mask, very much like Mama mask I saw at Jebba, only different head dress, with a sort of pig-tail falling on the back. Where mask leaves body uncovered, i.e. feet and hands and lower arms, white paint is smeared over skin! Mask carries long stick in right hand, and 2 small iron bells in left hand NB. I learn later that the mask is actually the same as in *Mwamwa* ritual, only the head dress is different. In the Mama the top of the head ends in a long, straight '*Bischel* [G. xx], and the face of the mask is double-faced i.e. has eyes both in front and back.

N.B. As a rule at this magic rite several *kakayus* - from all the various *ungwas* which 'have' the K. (4). Only this time only one ... This would be the arrangement if K. is performed on order of Sarki for benefit of some singly person (who requested it to cure his wife's barrenness !)

Mai tsafi first walks slowly, in back of music, round dancing - 'platform' as if to introduce K. mask starts dancing slowly on the spot. The mask does never speak, only occasionally making sort of 'speaking' gestures, and yelling, right into song. The dance grows faster and faster. One of the 'elders' the Madoci (= head of Abwagi cult), harangues the mask, to go on! Shouts the *kirari* [H. exclamation of encouragement] at mask!

Mask performs curious pace which consists in always moving forward towards the drum which mask is facing, and 2 steps (*Wechselschritte* [G. change of dance-step]) backwards again. Doing this the mask bangs itself on stick. On the whole proceeding more than retreating. Looks like a labouring, tentative, but forceful advance towards some aim which is guarded, and always repulses the advance - like advance in heavy storm, or such like (likeness caused by role of stick!). Idea of attack of this masked magician, and repulsion? The yelling becomes more frequent. Eventually sharp *in tact* [G./E. in musical time], to every beat of the drum.

The advance comes to an end. Music changes to other tune. Masquerade 'tripples' on spot. Now singing begins. One of the old men (*Maigero* or *Madoci*, or sometimes both) sing the text, rest is the chorus. There are older and younger men among them. All from *ungwa*. (But strangers from neighbouring *ungwas* have free access: they sit under trees in short distance and watch, passers-by stop to have a look (even a Hausa cloth-trader), children and women - no secrecy at all! All is rather quietly and peacefully. No over excitement. The song is a mixture of senseless words which nobody understands, and a few phrases which have meaning. One of the Abwagi people who can hardly walk with his legs swollen from Guinea worm, comes limping on stick, sits quietly down under the shade of a tree, watching, and later joining in song.

A short pause - the *kakayu* disappears in house (but he remains in fanu [?], we see him sitting there, and smoking his pipe). Meantime I enquire into bullroarer, it appears is used together (always!) with Abwagi ritual. (i.e. with annual Abwagi, as well as with funeral-rite!) After some discussion - I promising more beer to the thirsty *Kakayu*, the *Madoci* agrees to let me see the Bullroarer. He disappears in his house. After a while, returns with Bullr. But takes great care not to let me see it too close, at once covers it with sleeve. Small wooden thing. Plays it. After display Bullr. disappears for good. Here again: no secrecy. They take it rather humorously.

Speaking of the Bullroarer I use the word '*vugu-vugu*' instead of the proper Gwari '*Bwagi*' or '*Bwari*'. They all find this rather apt (for it is sometimes awkward to distinguish between Abwagi, the whole rite, and *Bwagi*, the bullroarer). Actually, after a few days, most of them have adopted the new name when speaking of bull-roarer, and only call it '*vugu-vugu*'!

Then new pace: Mask standing on one leg, pushes leg lightly and rhythmically in all world-directions, turning himself round own axis.

A second dancer appears, from *Kakayu* house: naked except for loincloth, he dances round in big jumps, like comic figure, making pantomime gestures: greeting of *Kakayu* and of ourselves (lifted fist!),

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

and drinking beer out of hollow hands, rubbing his stomach to show how well it tastes, and that he wants more beer (hint in my direction!) One laughs at his face and jumps... He sometimes collides with mask, but all this is taken humorously. After some time, he leaves 'arena', and joins chorus.

Again a break: the drummers stop, because the tuning of the tubular drums is out of order. One brings burning dried grass from hut which is held against drum-skin, and sort of rubbed gently against it, till they find tuning all right. Singing and dancing of mask has been going on all the time, though!!

A very old man, blind and hardly able to walk, is led on arm out to place of dance by two sons. He stands alone now, but on his stick, and starts chanting the names of the 8 ancestors who have bequeathed the *Kakayu* ritual to them! He is the father of the *Maigero* and it is the ritual duty of the eldest living member to thus invoke the names of the ancestors. NB Makara, who knows all about this ritual of 'his' (i.e. in his *ungwa*) who knows the *kirari* and the songs, nevertheless does not know the names. He has actually for some time been performing the K. Himself - before he was *mai ungwa*, and handed over religious office to his younger brother, the present *Maigero*. But names of ancestors seems most secret part of it!! He has a few dance-paces himself, but is after a few minutes led away again by sons, into hut.

Later the old Madoci, singing his songs with rising excitement, enters the arena, performing jerky movements with his arms, pushing elbows to the side, rhythmically to music, dancing up and down, facing us. Very strongly rhythmical music to this movement (phonographic ... *a wari jam* [F. Greetings -lit. did you wake up in health?!]), the whole thing much more lively now, everybody enjoys it, even mask. New movement of mask: 'tripling' quickly changing from one leg to the other, and shaking with behinds. But clearly Madoci has become the main actor now. It should go on now for whole day and night, but we finish of course earlier, and go home.

In afternoon we go there again, to record *Kakayu* songs. No difficulty in doing this. The mask is then all dressed up, and the singers at once stage another *kakayu* which however, after some hard trying we manage to restrict to place in front of horn of phonograph. they are all very pleased - including '*kakayu*' who insists on having his yells recorded as well- I wanted to take the *Abwagi* song as well, as the people were there, singing in the chorus. But they decline: for they cannot sing without having put on their ritual dress. And they could not do this to day, because they had touched oil today and thus broken their ritual taboo. They could not, therefore, enter the *dakin tsafi* [H.cult-house] on this day.

We postpone recording of *Abwagi* songs till tomorrow afternoon.

17/4/36

Visit to Shiroro and the gold fields.

The labourers who work as gold miners are all Hausa, even from very far. No Gwari among them. But there are women, girls and boys, carrying earth which the labourers digging up a little inland of present river bed - making a pit for the rainy season are Gwari. They come voluntarily from all the

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

villages round Shiroro, to make a little money. Rarely staying longer than 2 or 3 weeks, and then returning with money. No men, they are on the farms!

Shiroro itself, a small decrepit place. Only 3 compounds and 1 grave (!) Explanation: they have lived further up the river till 4 years ago, and only then moved hither. The present site was formerly only 'ofwa'ba' - *danki gona* [Gb. + H. farm-site], and has now become a village (Kanya) which belongs to Galadima Kogo.

Afternoon recording of Abwagi. The Abw[agi]-dancers turn up, properly dressed as for the dance, complete with leg rattles etc, although they know they will only sit and sing. Which they do nicely.

An interesting talk afterwards, on Abwagi, Kakayu and bull-roarer, is interrupted by a fierce tornado. They are all anxious to go home, and cannot come again tomorrow, for after this rain they will go straight to the farms, to sow *dawa* [H. sorghum] they will all go, young men and *tsafi jin* [H./N. carry out the ceremony]!!

State of farms

18/4/36

Visit of Uban Doma. The whole town is deserted from the storm last night. Everywhere unroofed houses, Everybody busy repairing fences and roofs.

In Uban Doma's house I see an enormous granary. [[Illustrated in Nadel's page no.67]] He has got 2 of this type. In one is guinea-corn, food store. In the other grain seed. Interesting that the opening of the granary is plastered over with mud as a means of shutting it tightly.

Later discussion in Emir's house on various problems. Among others we discuss *kakayu* ritual which we saw yesterday. Most interesting attitude to 'mask' for some time I have been thinking that the mask represents a 'spirit'. But they deny this positively. I saw: in other countries I was told that such beings (e.g. Mama) were spirits. They: then they have told you a lie! There is an ordinary man in it, only he has his 'magic' (*shigwe*), and that makes him an '*abin tsoro* [H. thing of fear]'. It is only the dress, in short, which give living being supernatural power, but does not change him. On other hand this supernatural power also envisaged is independent, free-willed being (personality?) For they say: the *Kakayu*, or the *Mama* 'killed a man ...' or 'we must give the *Kakayu* beer lest he will kill us'

21/4/36

Visit of Sarki who has just returned. But he is not feeling well, so I leave him alone. Go to see Makama, and get information (further) on *Kakayu* (record '*Kirari*' [H. shouts of encouragement]), Abwagi, etc ... They are firmly insisting that all their '*kutis*' came with them from Beriberi. Makama

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

himself has been *mai tsafi* [H. leader of the cult] first, when his elder brother lived. But when he died, he was made *mai ungwa*, and so handed on ritual job to his younger brother, the present Maigero

A Hausa charm dealer [[e.f.p]]

Afternoon visit to market. Interesting only one Hausa trader who deals in charms. Quite unbelievable collection of them. Beaks and claws of all kinds of birds, skins of snakes, a crocodile jaw, small cut out squares of hyena skin (charm for 'popularity' = *farin jini*). Of most of the charms he does not know the use. But he knows that they are used, and therefore buys them with view only to '*sha ruwa* [H. lit. drink water, i.e. get a living]', business...

23/4/36

Place of Bwodwo ritual

Visit to Sarki. A last talk on 'souls', spirits, ghosts and on agric' rites. Finally, having obtained the *sarki's* permission we go to see the Bwodwo place accompanied by Makama, Uban Doma, and three other '*tsafafi* [H. ceremony- participants]', we walk up to the hill. There are 2 grave huts there, one smaller one, with cowrie shells round entrance opening in the usual way has no roof. It collapsed and has not been repaired. This was the grave hut of some other *api'da* [Gb. compound] who had lived here at time of Kuta Bwodwo. The latter's hut is a biggish hut, more like a sleeping hut than a grave hut, also no ornaments, cowrie shells etc. It is in good state of repair, and a mat hangs in front of entrance. Not very far from here remainders of walls of other hut, of recent origin: a certain young man from town had built himself a farm hut here and farmed the ground for some time, but left it again. In the Bwodwo hut are buried both Bwodwo and his wife (sic)

Big tree near Bwodwo hut: sacred tree: one sees small empty pots placed on roots and branches left from sacrifice; also half jaw of cow (sacrifice animal) hanging down on tree. There is a spirit in tree but don't know its name, has nothing essentially to do with Bwodwo ritual although sacrifice performed over its roots as well.

When we reach the place, all take off caps and shoes. The Makama approaches Bwodwo hut first, kneels down in front of entrance, greets in Gbari fashion, knocking his hand several times against his forehead. Addresses Bwodwo to explain intrusion; says: our master (*uban ji ji*) had come to see you, and to greet you. He salutes you. You may cause turn from everybody is '*lafiya* [H. well]'. With this he finishes, and joins us. They demonstrate to me how, at Bwodwo ceremony, they all rise and salute the Bwodwo in the Gbari fashion, raising their arms and shaking fist towards the dead Sarki. And then they dance and rejoice.

NB This is not at the same time the burial place of all the Sarkis of Kuta. The latter is on top of hill where they used to live till 4 years ago. Here is only house of Bwodwo, who founded Kuta and lived and died here. After his death his successor moved up to hill!!

23/4/36 Minna

Scientific Agriculture on native farming methods

Meet an agricultural officer from Zaria. Of valuable informations I learn the following: 1. I enquire if they know anything of *Gero* [H. millet] spoiling *Dawa* [H. sorghum]; (as the Gbari claim it does.) No. But in their experimental farming they always plant *Maiwa* [H. millet] and *Dawa* only; no experience of *Gero* at all. 2. They have made experience that *Maiwa* imparts success of Cotton, since it needs too much tilling just at time when Cotton must be watched. i.e. the farmers of Sakpe and Kutigi who told me of this experience, were right after all. 3. Type of yam plantation, before or in the rains? Here they have no experience at all. 4. Experimenting at present with manure made of ashes (household ashes, and other kinds as well). There may be more in it than one thought!!

Change in mental state of Bida population since 1932

NB ad: Bida. Having been stationed in Bida 4 years ago, and having paid a visit now again, first time after fateful 1932, he notices that population now seem much more subdued, frightened like, less cheerful and self-sure! (sic)

25/4/36

Minna

See D.O. Logan about our projected tour to Paiko. He asks me to refrain from it (I had forebodings!) They had 'trouble' there, and Mooring is just at present deposing the Sarkin Paiko. I should be suspected to be a Government spy, and it would complicate matters. No study of Paiko therefore possible till things settle down - in about 2 months time!! He was very sorry and offered me all kinds of other places instead to go. (Interesting sidelight on 'direct rule', and the administration's view of the work of the anthropologist!) Would I tell him about my future plans?

25/4/36

See Logan again, and suggest only a day's trip to Paiko, to settle certain points, promise even to keep away from 'politics'. But he is still adamant: there is serious trouble there, feeling running high, and even a short trip would aggravate the situation (whose situation?) Suggests to send me a Paiko Mallam, as to do language, at least. Also says that there are Gbari in Wushishi (confirmed by a 'Messenger').

The Gbari in Wushishi District are 'real' Gbari, but in Wushishi town there are only Gbari Gauta i.e. former slaves of Kontagora, who after being freed did not return to their various places, but stayed on there.

26/4/36

Visit of Chanchagga

This is a *kanye* [H. clear ground] now, but has been a 'farm place' in the beginning, founded by the present Sarkin Dosso 14 years ago, when he was a 'younger brother'. Now other junior relatives of his live there, but also a Hausa and one Nupe family. I notice a tree with a white cloth belt round it. At once they admit it is the Gunnu tree. All other rituals are only done 'in town' But the Gunnu is also done here in the '*kanye*' once a year, but only as sacrifice, not as a feast with dancing etc. Apparently reduced to its most narrow meaning of a mere fertility rite (what they call so strikingly '*gyaran kasa*' [H. the repairing of the land])

(4/5/36 Cp.: in Minna every *ungwa* has its own Gunnu. Only *Ziba* is done for whole town!!)

27/4/36

Visit of 'Gwari-hill' in Minna. Number of compounds dotted round hill. Formerly lived on top, but came down on Gov[ernmen]t order 8 years ago (when Provincial HQ were transferred to Minna). Population to day very mixed: In one compound group Hausa and Abuja people living. *Ungwa*-distinction rendered impossible though all these small compound groups, of 3-5 compounds, for one sort of loosely spread '*ungwa*'.

Nice, openhearted people. Mostly farmers. One carpenter from Kuta. Others work occasionally as labourers on the houses of miners nearby.

Compounds arranged in usual way. One sees no graves - they are still on the hill!!

One also sees very few young men - they are all out on the farmsteads. The farms are very far away (this was not so before the Europeans came!), therefore the young men who work the farms sleep there. The elders spend some days out there, and then return home. (In Kuta the old men work on the farmland between *ungwas*. This is impossible here in the valley, for either the land is stony, or else it has been taken over by Govt; there are miner's houses and claims on it, or Hausa-people who have 'bought' the land, farm it).

All big smokers. Make their own big wooden pipes, Tobacco itself bought on market from Hausa.

In morning all the compounds deserted: Men on farms, some women collecting firewood etc; some women in houses preparing food etc. In one *katamba* I see a boy of perhaps sitting, he is blind and possibly also deaf (he did not appear to hear my greeting); he sits there masturbating and grinning sheepishly. Masturbation seems very common nearly every boy you see plays with his penis.

No sense for abstract numbers

Interesting general psychological characteristic of Gbari: they have difficulty with figures. When one asks them how many wives have you got, or how many bundle of corn go in to one pot of beer, they lift the hand and show you so and so many fingers, saying: so many. Almost never say the number although they know numbers alright! This I have not noticed among Kuta Gbari!! (NB The fingers are counted as in Nupe- beginning from small finger to thumb, and not from thumb to small finger). For '10' they hold both hands together, the finger-tips resting on each other.

28/4/36

Again Gwari hill, specially in compound of Galadima. (The Gbari town of Minna appears to have 2 parts of section: One connected with Sarki, one with a certain Galadiman Fada. The latter is the present 'mai-ungwa' for whole native town) Interesting talk about 'ancestors'. A diviner (the 'Tukura') produces the sort of divining (with the 'climbing tortoise') one does to ascertain which ancestor has been reborn in a child.

Then walk up to former living place on hill top where today only sacred hut of ancestor remains.

1/5/36

Visit to Bosso

Bosso represents the typical Gbari town as it was before British came. All houses still on top of hill, and farms not too far away. Not yet this division as it struck me in Minna between old-men town and young-men (on farmstead).

But here also moving has taken place: the present chief lives where formerly the Makama lived; but graves and sacred places belonging to his family still at old site. Reason: when Bosso was District H.Q. they built a motor road up there and this altered everything.

The chief speaks good Hausa. Asks me if I am the *Gbari wusili (asali)* [?] of whom they have heard. He also knows (already!) about the dismissal of the Sarkin Paiko. they are all inter-related by marriage, and visit each other almost daily. When we are there 2 messengers took leave who had come from Kuta to 'salute' chief.

The culture more or less identical with Kuta. But certain new features in marriage and religion. The latter curious because of its loose structure, quite different from clear and distinct Nupe system. Here more on the 'what one man likes better' principle. On other hand the necessity to consult Diviner balances this.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Puzzling feature that they distinguish 3 sections of Gwari Kongu according to type of Gunnu they practise. Gunnu clearly the centre of their system. But they have no theories as to the origin or meaning or these distinction, except that it has come about like this in the course of time, in the course of their spreading etc. Gunnu- Bosso connected with some sort of initiation-idea!! (which I was expecting to find somewhere in Gwari for purely theoretical reasons: to counteract psychologically detrimental effect of severing bond between children and parents (sleeping together till children are 8-10 years old!!))

2/5/36

State of Farms:

Still sowing of guinea corn going on. Also belated burning of farms. Yam everywhere sown already:

One sees everywhere *Rogo* [H. cassava] now spread out to dry!! *Rogo* already harvested during last month!

State of crops in granaries

Still plenty of *maiwa* left. Only *gero* is finished (was finished already, except for seed-crops, beginning of March!)

In consequence to reading Fortes' article in Africa on food I make sure about *gero*- seed (I don't think his observation is correct). *Gero* seed stored as full stalk not pounded first!! Only pounded shortly before sown. As stalk is quite dry by then, the separating of seeds no problem --through ordinary pounding in mortar.

Minna-Gwari hill. More information about Gunnu, viz the 3 (4) kinds of Gunnu that exist. Matter becomes more and more confusing - unless one assumes that the 4 Gunnu groups are 4 clans, more or less exogamous. Their only and constant explanation of existing differences in Gunnu (both in Minna and Bosso) hardly understandable otherwise: namely that differences are due to fact that wives marrying into other area, or coming from the other areas, then follow the different diverging form of ritual. No explanation at all unless understood as interpretation that wife's group follows 'naturally' the diverging type of Gunnu!

Marriage - the looseness of marriage more and more surprising! The same as regards the almost legalised facility with which wives leave husbands, and men think of taking other husband's wives for their own wife. All is said in most pleasant frankness - no shame or secrecy about it. All is completely and to everybody: natural. 'you want a wife? Well, here she is!...'

3/5/36

Minna

Afternoon again in *Fada ungwa* of Gbari hill. More talk about marriage. Try to take statistics- but whole matter becomes more and more puzzling. My 'theory' of exogamic clans hard to maintain unless I attribute rather a good deal to a 'falsifying development' or 'decadence'. Looseness of marriage bond really surprising.

The 6 sons of Galadima Fada came up to town today, from their farmstead to repair the roofs in their father's house!

Learn news of the death of an old *mai-ungwa*, the Shaba, who lived in *ungwa* Dnagi[?], nearby. Two men (from other *ungwa*) who passed by, brought the news. I go the place of mourning.

When I reach the place the ceremonial mourning is just going on. The old Shaba had died early in afternoon. Now his body lies in *Zaure*, covered with blue cloth, and some 6 or 7 women sitting inside, sort of 'watching' near the corpse. There are very old women amongst them, but also 2 younger ones, and one of them, sitting close by the head of the corpse, holds a baby between her knees. From time to time one of the old women starts 'wailing', i.e. cries out in sharp top-voice, the characteristic half trilling half choking like sound, which the Nupe use as well (e.g. as ritual 'crying' at weddings or in Ndakogboya, viz *Mama* or *Elo* ritual!) Then again an old woman would begin to sing: in plaintive voice, the sort of free, [[pufillos,??]] almost rhapsodic sort of tune, the same following tune, produced with a thick, vibrating voice, far back in the throat, which we know from the *Kaburu* singers (and again from Nupe!). No fixed text; she sings: 'and old man had died; a big man had died; nobody told us he would die; but now he is no more.' These women are: the late Shaba's wife, elder and younger sisters and daughters. Not all of them have come yet. They sent messengers at once to the various places where relatives (female!) live. They will all arrive in due time. Meanwhile the morning here goes on. The 'wailing' women work in relays. Some who are tired, go outside, and others take their place. The wailing goes on in long intervals, and between them they are quite ready to join in ordinary conversation. But then, nobody claims that they are doing big mourning - for is he not a very old man, who has '*cin dunya de yauwa* [H./N. lit. *eaten the world to the full*]!?' Only for young ones there is real mourning.

Outside the *Zaure* are sitting men of all ages, just sitting, some doing nothing, some mending a cloth or playing about with tools. No real work is done. They are chiefly engaged with waiting for the guests and relatives who are coming in gradually.

NB Each *ungwa* has its own burial place!! Another curious fact of this severe particularism which must be (at least partly) due to the fact that the Minna Gbari are of different origin, only the Kontagora wars having brought them together, within the protecting walls of Kuta.

Now this silent mourning will go on till nightfall (it's now 6.30pm) Then drumming and singing will begin: they have sent for *Kaburu*-player. But there will always be some woman 'on death watch' with the corpse. Throughout the whole night nobody will sleep. They prepare fires which will be lit.

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At daybreak then the music will finish. Then the Zabi will go up to the hill, where they bury their dead, and dig the grave. After this is done the corpse will be taken up and buried - this will be sometime in the morning. After this there will be dancing and singing again for whole day and night, till next morning - but not with *Kaburu*, but with a different drum (these drummers have also been informed already).

[[Nadel's note on his pages no.s 91-93]]

Rules of funeral:

NB The people of the *ungwa* Dnagi, like all the other Gbaris here, have been living on the hillside till 6 years ago. Their graves are still there. but their system of burial is different from the Gwari Kuta and Paiko. Here are all the main features ascertained so far, in case of *mai-gida*'s death:

First day: immediately after death: mourning and wailing, till night. At night *Kaburu*-music and dance women. Friends and relatives begin to come.

Second day: at daybreak: Zabi and helpers dig grave. Meantime in house of mourning wailing goes on, but also dance and singing of women to different drums. More visitors arrive at midday: grave finished, corpse taken to grave. No sacrifice on grave. After return to house, again continuation of dance and music. Food and drink given to visitors, as well as small presents of cowrie shells (money!!). Goes on through night - no '*kuka* [H. wailing]' any more. Till next morning.

Third day, rest. Visitors return. No work, women still in house. But no festivities.

Fourth day - id. But at night *tuwo* [H. porridge] and beer in pots is placed in *zaure* [H. compound] of deceased, and then everybody hides in hut. At night the spirit of the dead is supposed to come and eat and drink of this repast. In the morning, they say, they find the pots empty. Should rest remain (bad sign!), it is thrown away. They don't see the dead, but they hear his voice, and hollow deep wailing (Bullroarer denied!)

Next morning the ceremony finishes.

NB during 2 days of actual burial there is strict sexual taboo!! One year after this, on anniversary, big communal meal for all relatives who come from near and far, dancing and drinking. Only once! Then all is finished. (see Ntbk 6 p) Corr. **4/5/36**

The information above was given by Kuta-man living here. Proves to be incorrect. Afternoon I get real information from family of deceased: No '*tsafi*' in grave. After return from burial dance (2nd day) dance through night till next day morning. Then finished.

Now beer is brewed for sacrifice. It must be new beer, brewed by family itself. No bought beer may be used. This will take 7 - 10 days. When beer is ready, it is filled in pots, and pots are taken up to the

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

hill, into the *zauren tsafi* [H. shelter for the ceremony] which I saw - only *tsafofi* come along. Left for dead man to drink. For 7 days. But every second day they go up to look whether beer has been drunk. This they do 3 times. On 7th day the rest of the beer is used for libation, and the old men drink it, also speaking certain spell. (see Ntbk 6, p.funeral, - but the Fada-people have a slightly different custom of burial!) [[end of Nadel's note {his page no.93}]]

4/5/36

At 7.30 we go again to village, to place of mourning. The theoretical program has been upset. The digging party has set out rather late, and now digging is rather difficult in the rocky soil, therefore they will not have finished till about 4 pm.

In the village we find a great number of strangers. Men sit in one group, back to walls of hut, in shade. Women in other group, under the projecting roof of one of the Gbari *zaures*. In the hut of the dead 4 women 'watching' - among them 2 daughters who have just arrived from far. All quiet and silent - they are all tired. They have been dancing till early this morning. Now too tired even for wailing. On the ground we see burned out fire logs, the proof of the long night they made of it.

Now we proceed to burial place. Climbing up hill side. Lovely views, and nice fresh air. Pass by broken down boulder walls, ruins of huts, old grinding stones, etc, marking the old site of the Gbari Minna. On a small round hill top half way up to the highest top we find the digging party at work. As regards the sity: close to here used to be the former Sarki's house. There is still one big *Zaure* left, the *Zauren tsafi* ('kaba' - magic). Inside (it is open!) I see pots of all sizes and forms, nothing else. Close to this hut small hut, about the size of Kuta grave huts, with broken-down roof, and empty inside - the Gunnu- hut, as I learn, whose 2 pots have been removed to big *tsafi* hut of 'kaba' where they are safer during rains.

The Gbari of Dnagi bury all their dead in one place. The place is marked by a heap of stones piled on top. Yet this site is already full (I ask how many corpses, Baba Iyaka! At any rate the fathers of all the men present (6) have been buried there!) so they have opened a new burial site recently, where only one man has been buried so far: in this place the Shaba is going to be buried.

People present: the corr: elder (see [[Nadel's]] p101) brother of Shaba who will become *mai gida* and Shaba now! sitting small distance apart and watching digging. He is a very old man, weak, but quite clever. Clad in his best gown! Then there are the 3 Zabi they say: not related and no head Zabi among them!. of the *ungwa*, strong men, of 30 and 40 years respectively. Besides 2 friends of them who just sit there watch, talk, and smoke. One stranger even who passed by on his way (he went to gather grass!) No special serious '*Stimmung* [G. atmosphere]!' They talk freely, make jokes - etc In main discussion - namely 'where shall we dig new shaft ? Where is old grave-chamber?' all join, giving freely advice.

Grave dug first with long strong wooden stick, to its end is fastened the iron blade of a *tsukun* (small hoe). With this the perpendicular shaft is buried. Small circular hole is cut left open, just wide enough

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for a man to slip through. Shaft altogether 3 feet deep - the man working inside, kneeling! After straight shaft finished, the iron blade is taken off the stick and placed on a small angular hoe (its handle is cut off to make it fit for working inside narrow shaft). The earth is removed with calabash. The old grave-chamber is closed towards main-shaft by big stones. They work in shifts - it really is strenuous work, they will send down a man to tell in the *ungwa* that everything is ready. They themselves stay on. The corpse will be brought up and buried. After finishing this, they all will go down. No sacrifice on grave!! While staying there watching the digging, I use the opportunity and make a few marriage statistics (confusing as ever!)

After 1½ hours we return to village. It is by now crowded with peoples' - visitors constantly arriving. We meet 3 old women who came to 'salute' mourners, and then returned again to their own houses. No cooking in house - but women come and go constantly with food: yam, etc. The same arrangement still: men near house walls, women (with babies in arm, on back or between knees) under *katamba* grass-roof; 6 women in death room (in 'shift'). Before entering she kneels down, and rubs the earth and straw from the ground three times in the face, at the same time she speaks a few words of salutation to dead. When inside she starts to sing - but not for long. Another woman 'wailing' the same pitched-voice trill as before.

Some women sitting in shade with calabashes full of cowrie!

[[Nadel's note on his page nos. 97, 99]].

Cowries as ritual Currency

Cowries are still taken and given as currency among the village (and Minna) Gwari in inter-*ungwa*, viz inter-village traffic. Not on market though! Only for small amounts, up to ½d. For beer, or a little food. It is stored in the houses, for at the ritual occasion of a funeral only cowries may be used.

i.e. the food which is bought for guests is paid for in money alright. But the drummer must be paid in cowrie, and the compulsory present to all the visitors is given in cowries!! This explains that the women visitors all bring cowries along. It is they explain a means of 'chengi', i.e. you change there your pennies when you have to pay in cowries for the ritual work. E.g. Zabi helpers are also paid in cowries. In Kuta, moreover, cowries are placed into mosaic of grave-platform, viz thrown into grave.

NB Cowries are not used for marriage or *suna* any more!! But both used as payment for diviners (Not in Kuta, though)

[[Nadel's note ends]]

After some time a drummer appears. He fixes round iron rattles round wrists, and sits down on mortar, and starts beating the drum with his two hands. He is still young, seems rather shy, and is silent all the time. All the time the women were sitting there silent, men (although occasional chatting and

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joking ..) By the way - Kanem Shaba, the old man from the burial place had come down in meantime, and is sitting among the other men - as soon as drum sounds, the women get ready for the dance. First one old woman starts a few slow paces, swinging gently her arms, bent forward, and singing with a husky low voice. Other women join. some more, some less eager. Some make the same shaking movements with shoulders and back as we know from Nupe, only much slower. Swinging arms from left to right is general. Gradually they form a ring, moving slowly - face to back - in a circle round drummer. One old woman sings the tune, the rest the chorus. The whole thing rather slow and quiet, but by no means 'funeral' like. Now and again, in middle of song, one woman (always the same - a hearty creature, very keen on dancing) lifts her voice to the ritual wail, but disturbing nobody. The words of the first song (again) rather free, not fixed text:

People come to Minna (*aza zi Minna*)
From East and West they come to Minna
it will be full soon, Minna (*u la' nu, Minna*)

At about 10.30, when dance is in full swing, we leave for the time being.

Later: 3.30, hard luck. When we came everything is finished already. ie. the gravediggers finished sooner than expected, and as they were in arrears already - the corpse should have been buried early at daybreak!! - they hurried with burial. It was finished at midday. Then they all returned to village. But now there was not enough food in house, so they stopped the dancing in house and went out to farmstead to continue the '*was*a [H. playing]' there till tomorrow morning. Then all will be finished. But only the young men and women went out to farm. When we come into *ungwa*, the old men, among them the Zabi and the brother of deceased, also.

I was badly informed in the morning. The man who died was a younger brother, i.e. not in every respect a '*tsofo* [H. elder]'. The brother remaining is the elder brother - he is the *zarnay* [?] (the priest of the Ziba!) Therefore the preparations were not quite first class, and therefore also no ram will be sacrificed in *zauren tsafi*, but only beer. Theoretically interesting because it shows that '*tsofo*' can have 2 meanings - old, and real 'elder' (eldest family member), and the two meanings can enter the ritual consideration which otherwise strictly distinguishes between 'young men' (funeral with no sacrifice, but with real mourning) and 'old men (sacrifice, but only short and conventional mourning!)

....also the older women, amongst them the widow, remain in village, talking, smoking etc ... This gives clear proof that with '*was*a' they really mean feasting, and not a conventional affair. For the change of locality means apparently nothing, and it is a young men's affair!! had there been enough beer and food in the house, they would have had their '*was*a' here. But as it is 'can you have a good '*was*a' on empty stomach?', they ask me.

I try to get the texts of some of the songs sung at funeral. The women are very ready to dance it all again for me to see. I note down the following two:

(1) 'Iyi na? (What happened?)

Eya yee (o)

(2) 'Kaba go lo mena mana

Kaba go-wo ogyegye'

('ana yi masa zaure ma kyau [There is plenty of maize in the compound?]/! zaure wurin da zai kwana [the compound where they sleep])

NB [[??]]

5/5/36

Morning visit of Galadima' house to settle following points: marriage - sleeping arrangement with children -- funeral -- inheritance.

Among other I ask if they know any funeral songs. They say: no, but they try to remember some. Seems very difficult for them. the women alone know them.. After long discussion and mutual reminding I manage to get from them the song no.2, of p.102 [[see above]]. Clearly, these songs constitute no comprehensive integral part of ritual of mourning embracing whole community, but refer to women only - exactly as the ritual healing is done by the female sex only.

In a talk about inheritance they mention the eldest son of the late Galadima, = present Galadima's elder brother's son. He is a cripple, he fell as a child and broke his leg. Nevertheless he is an excellent farmer. Being the eldest son he supervises the work of the others, and excels in this. Two interesting facts come to light. (1) referring to this accident they say: '*aljenu ya kama shi* [H. spirit, it caught him]' Obviously all such 'natural' accidents which could be (theoretically) prevented are due to *aljenu*, spirits. cp. what I had learned last year from Ndakotsu: felling a tree, digging a hole, working near water etc - all that may interfere with spirits!!

The unaccountable events, the incidents which are not 'natural' and not naturally explainable, - this is the domain of witches.

(2) This cripple is in no way socially impeded. Being the eldest son he will some day succeed to the title and property of *apida* [Gb. household]. His physical inferiority does not matter! He has nice wife - they stress specially how lovely she is (for a Gwari woman!!) and is quite alright except for his leg!

Go into hut of Tukura. In his *fevize*[?] the usual assortment of things: saddle, bridles etc; 2 bows and arrows complete without fit for going out to farm. [[f.p. includes sketches of these objects including: bow, leather wrist protector, charm against robber/bad men]] Pots and calabashes. And - masses of

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

charms. Over door a calabash with sort of '*teoddelen* [G. *tassel*] 'dangling down, made of string and on the end small kernels- charm against thieves. In the centre of hut on rope hanging down fruit of *Kubewa* [H. *okra*] [[c.: *Auduga* [H. *cotton*] tree]], with a dried leaves of maize or a sheaf of corn tied into a rope - against '*Kusuru*' (rats - sort of trap: rat moves down rope to get at corn, and falls down on floor); part of his hunting outfit is a small goat-horn, covered with leather and fitted with certain fruit kernels- hunting charm, finally a great number of simple armrings: leather: *geflochten* [G.*wickerwork*], or iron leather covered - charms again.

7/5/36

Visit to Chanchagga

Chanchagga itself not very interesting. Only one Gbari house there, namely of the *mai- ungwa*, i.e. the Shaba (younger brother of Sarkin Bosso). Rest Nupe houses (Dibo and Bida people), a whole Nupe tunga nearby, and hausa. The Gbari this side of Chanchagga river are all politically under Bosso, viz hail from Bosso. The river is the boundary: across it is Paiko country. We cross the river and study one tunga, Kongiwa, consisting of 2 hamlets. In one live the '*talakawa* [H. *poor people*]' i.e. junior relatives of the *mai-tunga*; in the other the *mai tunga* himself, (also house of one stranger (Gbari) there), who is, at same time, the V[illage] H[ead] = *gundumawa* (from Tax-collection point of view). He is a *bara* [house-servant] of Sarkin Paiko, called Maiyaki. The first hamlet comparatively new 10 year sold; the second a little (not much) older. The V.H. is away in Paiko just now, which makes it difficult to get any information about history and so forth. Interesting that *talakawa* were very willing to give me all information I wanted about religion, and magic, but about history they proved ignorant, and referred me to the *gunduma* [H sub-district head]. There again, they all said, only the V.H. himself could give me information for they were only '*dzakangi* [children]' - this referring to two old men of 60 and 70 years!! In the end however they themselves could tell me one thing or the other. But on the whole historical knowledge and interest, and interest for traditions, very small. A non-historically minded people, I see more and more clearly. They themselves put it like this: 'all these things were known to our parents and grandparents. But when they discussed history and tradition, we, being young men, were driven away not to listen to the old men's talk. Now these elders are long dead. But we never bothered about such questions till you the Europeans came and began to ask us about. But we never '*kula da shi*' [H. took any notice of it]. (Influence of war? migration and flight?)

Still I get some interesting data. Among others clear picture of 4 fold Gunnu, and the 'clan' organisation connected with it. The missing clue is the exogamic situation between Paiko and Payi. But no hope to find out about this...

Material Culture.....

(a) in Payi cult they mention horn-headdress!!

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(b) Potmakingpot put in small open calabash which stands on inverted mortar. Pot is fixed, and woman while working walks round it. Just scraping inside with broken piece of calabash. Patterns made with 'roller'. The roller is made of wood, also by Gbari, but some other town. Women go there and buy it for 3d.

NB Nearly everybody understands Nupe. So I can talk Nupe, and need an interpreter only for their answers.

9/5/36

State of farms

Visit to Galadima's house in morning. House and whole *ungwa* deserted: only Galadima there. Tukura went out to cut grass for his house; Barde went out to farm to supervise sowing of ground nuts of his sons - but he will be back in the evening. Other men work on the farms nearby; e.g. Galadima has one yam farm '*bayan gida* [H. back of the house]'; it is worked as part of *Efako* by one of his '*yara* [H.sons]' who - otherwise - work on farm.

Tells me some news: they had a burglar in the house last night, they chased him - bow and arrow ready - and eventually caught him and brought him to prison. He was a Gbari of Fuka, who had been in prison three times already.

The wife of Sarkin Bosso died few days ago. There is, of course, no ceremony or *tsafi*, but big '*Kuka* [H. wailing]', visiting etc. Galadima will go tomorrow to condole Sarkin Bosso, and to say the usual '*oku be hankuri*'.

On last Monday one of the 'sons' (classif) in Galadima's house died. He was about 30-40 years of age, and had already a beard. He had 4 wives. he was buried in '*tsaure* [H. grass?]', not down in valley, and his corpse was brought in from '*gon*a [H.farm]' where he was living when he died. I am surprised at this irregularity. But they explain: he was already a little '*tsofo* [H. old]', he had a beard', therefore he had to be buried on hill, with the '*tsafofi*'. But there was no *tsafi*, and there was *kuti*, because he was comparatively young man. On *gon*a (farm) his relatives i.e. brothers and friends had a little *was*a [H. play] of *Kaburu* (this corresponds to funeral of Shaba of *ungwa* Dnagi who was also an old man (in age) but not a *mai ungwa*, i.e a family head). Interesting conflict of 2 principles: age and position as 'elder'. The former seems to determine place of burial, the question of 'mourning' and partly also the '*was*a'. The latter determines the *tsafi*, i.e. the purely religious side. NB the *was*a said to be made to honour the dead. At same time, incidentally, he tells me that they repaired and re-roofed the *Zauren tsafi* on hill!

Evening visit again village. Barde not yet back from farm. But Tukura there, and tells about the Fire-cult. In his days still done twice!!

Mission and Culture Contact

Meet a Mission girl from Paiko (who's on her first tour). She speaks Gbari and tells me that they find the Matayi Gbari much more difficult as regards conversion than Kongi. But here again only small village successful, not large places such as Paiko town! Hardly any converts there or in Matayi. Where Gbari mingle (intermarry (sic!)) with or just come in contact with) Nupe, conversion becomes nigh impossible. The best results - 400 converts in 2 years!! - were achieved in the southeastern area of Gbari, i.e. in Keffi, towards Benue-river. (Which seems to prove that results are only easy where the pagans live (1) not in considerable mass, as in Matayi, but in sparsely, scattered groups, as in Keffi (2) not in strong and independent political units such as Kuta (3) not in close contact with, or within integrative influence of, big cultural centres, etc; successful only in the small *tungas* which become easily severed today (they are all, of course, of comparatively recent origin!!) from the 'mother' town. (4) finally conversion is easy where the consolidation and unity of culture is lessened and partly dissolved through influence of other cultures other tribes, other political influences, etc; in short in already existing contact-areas and their labile culture. E.g. conversion is easy among the Kaye who have been exiled, who have lived as slaves (sic) under Hausa or Kontagora etc... or also in areas of Yoruba and Southern mixture: e.g. Murina town is an excellent field!!

NB for real conversion the mission demands public abnegation and damning of the 'juju'. (They really only call it 'juju' - but divining to them is also juju, and a diviner a 'jujuman'!!) C.p. the biography of the Nupe-evangelists, also slaves, exiles.

A characteristic exception to (4) is this: the inter-mixture with another culture does not work for easy conversion, but on the contrary, in the case the other culture being (a) Nupe, or (b) strong Muhammedanism.

NB The high cultural standard which Nupe culture and country represents to the Gbari becomes evident whenever they speak about Nupe, or Sarkin Nupe. E.g. the Tukura or the Sarkin Bosso speak of their journeys to Bida and their encounters with the Etsu, in the way a loyal colonial describes his leave in London during Jubilee week!!

11/5/36

Wushishi

All tribes mixed in this one place. But I can pretty safely pick out the Nupe - although every Hausa understands at least a little Nupe, and every Nupe speaks Hausa. The Nupe are extremely delighted being talked to in Nupe, and show it by friendliness and politeness. The women appear all as 'beauties' after the stay in Gbari! They are very witty and charming - like being home again ...

Visit of house of 'Sarkin Ruwa', the 'Tsadu' of the riverain Nupe here, who are not, as I believed Kede, but came originally from Cekpa. But they have forgotten all about their ancient (?) domicile. They have become mere citizens of Wushishi, with the proper limited provincial outlook. They lost apparently

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completely the characteristic 'historically-mindedness' of the Nupe. They intermarry with Hausa and Gwari - but not with Nupe from Bida or other places. They speak pure and good Nupe, though. All Muhammedans. Already their fathers have not known '*kuti*' any more (they say).

State of farms:

Everywhere busy farming today, in soft ground after the heavy rains, both hoeing new ridges for corn (oblong ridges), and sowing corn. Everybody busy from very early in the morning. In the heat of the day they stop work and rest for a while! the work now done mostly one 2nd or 3rd farm already. i.e. the yam farm finished, and so is the *gero* + *maiwa* + *dawa* - farm. Now they get ready with the only -*dawa*, or 'main *dawa*' farm, viz sometimes *dawa* and *rogo* farm. The *gero*, in the meantime, has come out already, with leaves at hand-high.

In the farming the *Efako*-system already clearly visible. Father and 2 sons sort of average. Either 2 sons drawing ridges and father sowing out of calabash, or else all 3 hoe up ground. After the first rough hoeing up, in which some are still engaged, comes the drawing of ridges. Here one sees everybody working his own ridge to the end, and then waiting for his comrades to finish: e.g. 3 brothers working like this in sort of friendly competition.

NB the sowing of *dawa* done in about 3 ft distance.

NB that ridges rarely quite straight, mostly slightly bent - has to do apparently with fact that edges of field not always square (trees, stones, holes in ground, etc) and they try to fill out whole space. [[Nadel's text includes diagram of lay-out of ridges; e.f.]]

Later, sitting at home, I hear drumming accompanied by characteristic slashing noise. Go there and find what I had expected: women beating floor. Two drummers in rhythm, and about 8 women and girls beating floor outside, and later inside, and sleeping hut. One woman sings, and chorus sings refrain, or they sing all together their different ditties. Admire again combination of work and graceful dncing movements. Strong rhythm for both. They 'play' with their work, throwing the '*Schlegel* [G. beater]' up in the air in time with music, filling out the time between the working 'spells' with dance-movements proper. Beating of floor. '*Arbeit und Rhythmus* [G. Work and rhythm]' Interesting that they direct the drummer now and again to change his rhythm to another 'time' or 'movement' which they want for their dance and dance-work. Problem of '*Arbeit und Rhythmus*' from entirely new angle!!

12/5/36

Visit to Gbari village on west bank of Kaduna. Extremely nice and intelligent people. Very open hearted, and ready to tell you everything. Trilingual: everybody speaks Gbari, Nupe and Hausa. Many women Nupe - interesting how one notices the typical Nupe features at once!! Talk about everything frankly, including *kuti*. On top of roof, wrapped in grass, they store away the Gunnu head dress. Very readily they put their full Gunnu-dress on, to be photographed. (some women actually ask to be taken)

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Very readily, too, they explain Gunnu-hut and *Sogba* to me. We stage a *Sogba*-sacrifice, and they act their parts quite seriously. e.g. the 2 young assistants of *Sogba*-priest have to grip the forked wooden post. Now one was gripping too lightly, not 'real' enough and at once the other prders him to grip fast and to do this and that, for *Sogba* has to be performed thus ... Only in one point I found them adamant, namely as regards possibility of putting Gunnu forward for about 10 days, so that I could see it. Their reply is: no, impossible. They can under no conditions perform the Gunnu now, on a different day from the time prescribed for the ritual (and this although the month would be the same, and the tabus would have been observed already, throughout whole month!)

See potmaking in progress: usual Gbari type, i.e. pot stands fixed on inverted mortar, and woman walks round it. She polishes outside with an old '*Maiskolben* [G. maize cob]', using it like a 'roller' ...

Evening a last talk with Cekpa Nupe. Settle important point arising out of intermarriage, i.e. brideprice versus farmwork.

13/5/36

Want to go over to Gbari village in morning, but when about to crossover, somebody calls me: the Gerunko, telling me that all the men have gone out to farm to sow corn and groundnuts. He himself and his brother remained here to help to carry the loads of the two Europeans whose arrival to Wushishi was announced for today (two Sargents of the WAFF [West African Frontier Force] from Zaria). So, sitting on a sandbank, I ask him the 3 questions I had prepared, and get good information. The 3 questions were: about *Sogba* wooden post; rules of inheritance (which rather to my surprise - are uninfluenced by Nupe); and if there is a tabu on women-cooked food; as I expected (a triumph of 'functional' Anthropology) there is none!

On journey back to Bida stop at Lemu. See some of my friends. Lemu has changed a good deal: had become definite Districts H.Q. Hakorji built a new house. The Alkali of Gbangba is now in Lemu, the Alkali of Edeketa went to Katcha, and the Alkali of Katcha went to prison. People from everywhere very willingly come to court of Lemu - but there are all together rather few law cases.

We talk about paid labour - no Nupe man ever goes to Goldmines of Kataeregi or Lafiagi - '*Zhitsoshi jin wun a* [The rulers wouldn't do that]'. In fact Mr. Carruthers, one of the big goldminers near Kataeregi, said that the great difficulty for goldmining in this area is the labour position. Almost impossible to get local labour. As regards farm labour in Lemu, the same situation prevails: Occasionally passing Hausa men hire themselves out as labour (no local people!), but find very little, if anything, to do in this district.

State of farms: *Rogo* planted (by women!!) by sticking small sticks of *Rogo* plant quite superficially in ridges,

'Chief' Pol Org

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Funny incident: when I ask: 'where is the *Zhitsu*?', they say- politely correcting - 'there are no *Zhitsus* in their country; only Etsu Nyonkpa. *Zhitsus* there are only in Lavunkpa' (which, as they later admit, is incorrect, for there are the Beni *Zhitsus*!) Characteristic for their original organization: no '*kin* [territory]', i.e. neither town (*ezi nusa*) and *kanye* [H. cleared land], as in Beni-country; but independent small villages, each a separate *ezi*-unit (as in Gbari!!) and - of course - also *tungas* of Bida of more recent origin.

See old Shaba and get my long overdue Farm census and budget from him without difficulty - on the country he is very proud of his agricultural achievements.

State of Farms

Farms corn and groundnuts sown everywhere now. They had plenty of rain, and are very satisfied. Rice will be sown in about 2 months time (just when *gero* will be high). Everybody busy working on farms - when I come to Lemu, all the men out on farms, except Alkali, V.H. and the various Mallams.

NB when I mention to them the way in which the Gbari farmers plant *eyi* and *mayi* in separate farms, they say at once, that nobody in this (Nupe) country does this. That means that in farm organisation they are complete Nupe.

WAR. have an interesting talk with old V.H. on war etc. In his youth he had joined the 'army' of Nagwamacu, and had been to Minna, Bosso, Maikonkele and Koro-country, raiding and fighting against the 'pagans'. He very proudly tells of this glorious past of his. E.g. the fight among the Koro was very difficult, he says, because they were then not living in towns, but only in small scattered group of one hamlet or two. But when asking him if he had visited Gbari areas of Lafiagi, Zadi and other places, he said: no, who wants to go and see these pagans? They are murderous people, with their poisoned bows and arrows they 'kill men' (*a ni za wu* [they kill people]). I: but do the Nupe not kill men, too, in war? He: no, we don't 'kill', we make war. I: but in war did you not kill and raid for slaves? He: yes, but that was different. We don't kill from ambush with poisoned arrows? I: but surely you had arrows yourself. He: no (emphatically) we had spears, shields and guns! I: but they are sufficient to kill anybody. He but don't you see, we did it in war, whereas the '*gberizhi* [rural people]' kill ordinary, peaceful (sic) wanderers and travellers, from ambush, without there being any war! (Quite a modern point of view!!)

[[NB Nadel's page nos. 122 & 123 are missing]]

thrive after that!

Maize ... already coming out. Was sown same time as *mayi*, will be ready at same time. Very little maize grown here, only near housewalls or in places of derelict houses inside town (*emi wasagi* [desolate compounds] specially in borrow-pits! (Manure!!) It does not thrive on ordinary farm if land is 'lived'. And they don't sow maize on new land. A family of the standard 20 *epa* [bundles] corn and

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millet (ratio: *mayi* 2 *kpayi*: 8 *eyi*: 10) would have perhaps 2 to 3 loads of maize only! - maize grown chiefly at Katcha - i.e. in marshland.

Rice ...will be sown when one begins to cut early millet. Rice ripens within 30 months (90 days).

[[c.: System of *Esozi* Farms (cp. Diary 2)]]

18/5/36

Visit of farms of Sukyara (Esogi)

The old Sukyara came out to farm where his sons and grand-sons were working, to watch them. He brought along food and water for them. He scanned their work, and shouted at one of the young boys that end of his ridge (everybody working all along one ridge) was not 'finished' properly, and boy at once attends to it. they are now shifting the ridges, i.e. '*se wogi* [making ridges]' for groundnuts, corn and late millet, as described on p.123 [[missing]]. The important thing is to how around the young millet plant, but not to upset or destroy the seedling itself. They do it very cleverly, and extraordinary fast, leaving a small heap round millet plant. The blamed boy had, on the end of his ridge, torn down a millet plant. Now he was trying to repair the damage. He is no more than 10 years, but he is given the easiest work, a ridge where there are no big shrubs or wood. He works slower than the rest.

Third day of F and C tests

First day of Story test

First Sowing (everywhere the same system)

Interval 5-10 days

After first rains, *mayi* sown (either at once in ridge which has been prepared last year; (No time for new ridges!) or else in ridge which is thrown up fresh after first tentative rains when soil is soft.

Then one waits for next rains and after that one waits 3 to five more days, till damp had sunk in, and then sows *kpayi* and *eyi* together.

I make use of presence of Sukyara to ask him about original arrangement of Esozhi as regards Etsu's share. Interesting that his sons (about 40 and 45 years of age) declined to give me this information, saying: only '*nusa*' knows it. But when he comes and I interrogate him, they at once start talking, giving me all the information, while Sukyara who is a little deaf and ga-ga mumbles unintelligible sounds with his toothless mouth full of *eje* [porridge]. Interesting sidelight on Authority of Family head.

System of Esozhi (Etsu Mamadu)

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Present system: every family head gives Etsu 1 to 2 *epa* of either corn or late millet. The other family heads hand it first to Sukyara, and he on to Etsu (viz. till last year: Shaba).

Former system (abolished with death of Etsu Mamadu): the Esozhi paid no tax. But they worked the Etsu's farms for him (*a jin u Efako*), every kind of crop. Altogether the Esozhi used to supply 100 *epa* of corn annually. The whole yield of this '*Efako*' field went to Etsu. He, in return, sent them food regularly, (cooked food, or meal), also presents of cloth, *rauni* [H. turban] etc ... They were, in one word, slaves - (they retained no share of this yield of crops, as I had assumed!!)

Besides, they had farms of their own, which they call *buca* [ordinary work], but not proper b., for only the married members have them, unmarried sons working for fathers. (More of small *Efako*-type, than *buca*!) This yield is theirs completely. For their own food (it was perfectly sufficient!!), and trade!!

The change from this system to present day system they comprise as follows: formerly they were working *Efako*, as Wuzhi, now they give only *dzaka* [Muslim tithes].

19/5/36

State of farms round Bida, and in town:

NB sugar-cane already quite high in marshes in Bida. (Sown 3 months ago)

Fourth day of F.C. tests

2nd day of story tests.

Very much varying arrangements of crops on their farms. No such fixed rule as on '*lati* [upland farms]'. this comes from their not being proper farmers (says Yisa). Everyone of them has also another job besides. I find arrangement like this: (_____ means on one ridge!)

eyi mayi eyi mayi kpayi eyi groundnuts *mayi mayi kpayi* groundnuts *eyi mayi* (see p126 [[Nadel's text]])

In town also this arrangement: *kaba mayi*, or *kaba eyi*. Surprisingly little *kpayi* (apparently because it wants much tending, and at same time as *eyi*). Nearly near every house a small farm of hemp. The bigger house farms are up to 1 acre (mostly maize and *mayi*). Tended by the old men who can't go out far.

Staple food: getting 'menus' from Yisa, I am surprised at small proportion of *rogo* and sweet potatoes eaten in town. He says: '*a la za gbako a* [People don't have stomach for it]'

Only corn and rice (e.g. *eje* and rice) make 'man strong'.

The predilection for *ekpan* or *kpayi* respectively, as staple food, varies. More people like *ekpan* better. At present *ekpan* much more plentiful on market than *kpayi* (about 3:1), although of same price!

People living with family (in Bida) know as a rule exactly what they are going to have for 'lunch' or 'dinner'. The father asks for the special meals he fancies, so that mother could buy it on market, viz - in village - father gives out the necessary foodstuff. So that some of Etsu Tafie, one of our test persons could tell me exactly in the morning what his menu for the day would be - the father (Etsu Tafie) told the sons! Yisa, who has no father, does not know beforehand what he will get.

20/5/36

State of farms: *Duku* (sweet potatoes) are to be had throughout the year but at certain times they are a little scarce. They are grown both inland and on marshes (where, viz when, there is not too much water). Inland they are sown just about now, and will be reaped when rice is just filling (*ewa ti*), i.e. in 4 months time. Then, on marshes, *duku* will be sown after rice harvested (September), because then the rains subside gradually. Again ripe in 4 months. The interesting thing is that the potato growers of inland and marsh farms exchange their seeds, (as friendship-exchange) i.e. after reaping inland crops, inland farmer gives seed potatoes to marsh-land farmer, and vice versa.

3rd day of story test

Table of Potato growth

Inland Farm

Marsh Farm

May Sowing

June

July

Rice Sowing

August

Sept

Oct New potatoes

Rice reaping

Nov

Dec

Jan

Feb

March

[[e.f.p]]

Seasonal changes in Handicrafts:

Blacksmith: they have plenty of work now. Every man approx 2 hoes a day (@ 6d - without handle). i.e. in a 2 man workshop 4 hoes per day. Only hampered through lack of raw iron. The *edudacizi* [smelters] are working on farms now, the furnaces are all cooled out, and they don't smelt any iron just at present. The blacksmiths are waiting for the break in the rainy season next month: then the *edudacizi*

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will have time to return to their furnaces and smelt sufficient iron for the heavy demand which will last now till *yikere* [dry season].

The '*nusa*' of the blacksmiths (near prison) (Dokodza) has 2 donkeys (each £1!), which they use for carrying the charcoal. Bought them after the Salla when the Hausa traders brought them to Bida in great numbers. (Now no Hausa traders anymore).

NB Straw hats still the same price:

simple straw - 4d to 5 ½d

with leather - 9d, 1/-, and 1/3. [[e.f.p]]

One sees great number of sheep and goat on the roads. Led out in farms to feed. Present price between 5/- and 10/- (as against 15/- at Salla!). Many people buy young animals before rains for 2/6, and rear them now when feeding is easy, to sell them at next year's Salla with profit!!

Witchcraft

Ask Nda about the 2 witches in Bida ... they have not done anything so far. But one does not expect them to have altered completely. What Nda (and other people) think is that they will leave things to rest a little, till suspicion is sleeping. And then they will do something now again. Their 2 husbands, after their last misdeed, at once told them that they will divorce them and seek other wives. But they refuse to go, and husbands live in constant fear. Often somebody on market goes to buy something from these 2 women - but then a well-meaning friend puts him right, and he won't have anything to do with her anymore. It is not good to have business with witches!! - No means against it here in Bida. Different in Doko: there they have the *Fi fakum* [?]: it does not destroy all witches completely, its true, but it helps to keep it down.

Nda comes with a more personal matter: he does not want to work on the farms any more, I should give him a job through my connections. I explain situation to him, the nonsense and the evil thing to leave farm work and go in for unsecure 'jobs'. Explain to him necessity of education, and that new policy is to lead even educated pupils back to land. Stress, that a clever man can excel also on farm. Makes big impression on him, and he agrees readily. He will be wiser now and devote his work to farm, at least he promises this.

To reconcile me he tells me that Etsu Dazi and Ndako Gana have made peace at last, following my last admonishment. They visited with each other, and there is no enmity between them any more: Ndako Gana being satisfied with his present state of farmland!

See old 2 women on night market who sell, everyday, herbs, leaves and bark, for medicines. They are from Bida, and buy their stuff from old men and women from farms; they sell it either directly to consumer, or to other traders (Hausa medicine men, and barbers!!). Quite a regular trade. Of many herbs they don't know the full use - they have no 'secret' medicines, thou' i.e. for '*badufu*', or also for

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contraception - at least not that they know of. The use a 'gozan [H. barber]' can then put their herbs to is a different thing altogether. Mostly they are for indigestion, babies' headache, gonorrhoea, etc...

21/5/36

Fourth day of Story-tests

Threshing of Corn...see women with stick on floor. This procedure (as against pounding mortar) can be used when there is a good beaten and dorowa [H. locust- tree] polished floor, but not where there is only sandy ground. Besides only when they want to thresh great amount at once. For small amounts pounding in mortar the better way. Pounding in mortar may replace grinding on stone, the former is heavier work (3 women, or so, I gather) but much quicker, the latter is easier (*u fa ga*), but longer.

22/5/36

Went to see Etsu in the morning - today being Friday. He was already very cross with me for not having announced to him my return to Bida at once. Find him in big *katamba*, with all his men, making 'Salla' to his right and gitsuzhi (among them the eldest son of late Shaba, who has been given the title of 'Shaba raba!!). to the left the Saraizi, Mayaki and Ndeji next to Etsu. In front, the 'Mallams', the Liman of Etsu sitting, saying the prayers (by heart, though holding his hands as though holding a book) in Hausa, another one standing, and repeating everything in Nupe. Then the usual *Dogari*, fanning Etsu with ostrich feather fans. Salla finished, we had a short talk. Etsu tells me that he will get his glasses at last, and they will be all gold, he ordered golden frame when he was in Kaduna and declined the horn-one they suggested, for a 'Sarki must have all gold!'

Having been to Kaduna he now wants to go to Lagos.

He heard that L[isbeth] was ill. He asks me: do you send your wife to hospital? I: no. They all laugh, and Etsu says: Aha! But Nagya and Maiyaki explain that I have my own *cigbe*, and rather famous for my doctoring. Etsu: well. I am Etsu, but nobody ever told me that! Why? Murmur. Etsu (to me): do you only cure your wife, or can you also cure other women? Nagya and Maiyaki reply for me, in affirmative. Etsu: why then must we send our women to hospital if you have medicines, and you don't send your wife there? I try to evade, by telling them that Doctor asked me as well to convince the people of Mokwa and Kutigi etc to send their wives to hospital. But Etsu is not easily deflected: but you don't send your own wife to hospital!! And we have to... I much rather have you try your medicines on our women folk here, in the house ... I try a lame explanation, not wanting of course to say that hospital is only for natives ... so my visit ends on discord.

Dream: (Yisa)

He met a man with his little daughter on farm. The man started '*ceko* [fight]' with Yisa. They fought, then Yisa kicked the man severely, the girl cried. He woke up.

24/5/36

Ride to Pici. Go there specially on Sunday because of Christian Service. It is on when I arrive. Great number of people. From every house. Also 2 of chief's 'sons'. Talk on religion: even *nusazi* go there (only kept from going because of my coming). The conflict of Gunnu (etc) v. Christianity does not disturb them. Magudu (?) says they do it '*ebo lafiya* [for health's sake]'. Do we want to be ill? No- therefore we do both. Who knows which is stronger. We don't. To be on the safe side we combine the two. *Ebo lafiya*. I: since when? He: since you came. I: but why did you not adopt Islam? He: some did. but most of us not. Islam has no power since you came. But (he adds) one can also make Salla if one likes. *A de anfani guta* [They have three types of assistance] (e.g. Islam, Christianity and *Kuti*!) The older men, then, do Gunnu (did it only 2 months ago!) and go to Church. But the younger generation only church, refuse to carry on Gunnu, although they are not baptises (polygamy is the trouble, not religion!!) In one house, elder brother 'Christian ' and younger makes Gunnu. Number of young men doing Gunnu dwindles, this year only 20. (No wonder that 'bushnight' disappeared. Although they say the reason for this is lack of food, beer and money to do the thing in style. And 'style' here means all those elements which, through their direct psychological 'resonance' keep ritual itself (as such) alive! (See my article on Gunnu!)

Get good data on former Gunnu-practise which proves that Gbari-Gunnu and old Nupe Gunnu were essentially identical, apart from minor details in ceremony, e.g. head dress of Payiri, or certain food tabus valid for Gunnu.)

25/5/36

Empire day celebration

Dr Ellis tells me that he is working now on prenatal deficiency of Vitamin D which seems to be responsible for very late teething of Nupe children which he observed. I suggest that the very poor feeding of women as against men, may be responsible for that. Not specially the dividing up of food among men and women in Mal Ndayako's house, and this proves the case. It was as follows:

Rice and fish and sauce:

1 big bowl (approx 2lbs) ... *emitso* [householder] and 4 children (Ibrahima and brothers)

1 smaller bowl (1lb) ... for 5 *bara* who share lunch.

1 bowl (1 lb.) for 6 *katamba* = *bozi* = people living in house

1 bowl, smaller still .. for his mother

4 bowls, (½ lb) one for each wife and her small child which lives in her hut

Relation of husband/wife's food approx ¼

26/5/36

Cigbe Magic

Mal Ndayako brings the famous *cigbeci Sheshi Benu* along. An extraordinary man: looking exactly as one expects an african sorcerer or medicineman to look!! He is the 'head' of all the *cigbeci* and *boci* of Nupe, of ancient *cigbeci*-stock. He knows every kind of *cigbe*, including *Badufu* and the *cigbe* used by witches that kills everybody who bears evil against the person thus endowed!

Speaking of witches he suddenly says: who has told you that he has seen a witch? Where are the people who have told you that they saw a witch? (Quite angry!) They told you lies!! Nobody can see a witch! They have that medicine which they rub on their eyes, nobody can see them. I have this medicine!! He is almost offended when I ask doubtfully if he also possesses these *cigbe*!! The belief of Mal Ndayako and his men in this fellow is amazing - here in Bida!! He also knows all ancient traditions of Ndakogboya, the origin of '*ti dzana*' (as told me last time by old Ndakotsu!) the *Cigbezi* appear to be a sort of loosely organised 'secret society', open to everybody! Most interesting fact that they came originally from Cekpa, and they say: Cekpa is the home of every medicine and magic in Nupe. Why? I shall visit his house this afternoon, and I wonder what I shall find there!! He is travelling a good deal, he was away this month, therefore I could not get hold of him sooner.

Cigbe - Professional Magic

Incidentally I hear a very nice story about professional magic, used by present Sarkin gini. He was a Hausa who had come to Bida to find work as Sarkin Gini, during time of Etsu Muhamadu. But Etsu refused to give this office to him, because of his being an alien, specially instigated by Mayaki and Ndeji who had their own prestige! At that time they built the big new house for Etsu. All the *egba* [woodcarvers] of the town worked at it and it was all ready, only the roof was wanting. But this Hausa builder passed by, using his '*cigbe*' and the whole building collapsed. They tried it again, all the people of Mayaki came to help with the work. And again, nearly finished, it was destroyed by this mans *cigbe*. They tried it a third time with the same result. Eventually Etsu agreed to make him Sarkin Gini, and now he came along, and he handled the sun-dried bricks himself first, and threw them up to builders. And the building stood. He became the most famous builder, and was asked to Sokoto, Katsina, Ilorin and Onits[h]a to build there the chief's compounds. Mal Ndayako tells me this story, quite in earnest, as if vouchsafing every word of it!! Ad: pagan beliefs in muhammedan Bida!! When I returned from Gbari and told Mal Ndayako of some of my experiences there, he asked if it is true that the Gbari can see the spirits of the dead (sic!! quite seriously!!)? For he had been told the Gbari possessed this faculty.

Afternoon

Cigbe and Witchcraft

Go to house of *cigbeci*. Well kept house, with nice *katamba*. Every corner filled with covered pots of medicines, outside of *katamba* as well as inside. Ascertain a few of them. One of the pots containing a famous snake-*cigbe* (called Dabwale, the same sort of thing as the '*Wasa*') has a white 'tie' round neck. This is a protection from thieves he says!!

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The 'Wasa' medicine which one finds everywhere together with *Ndakogboya*, also made by him (good for *gbako* [stomach]!) (See Ntbk 6, 85) Later, sitting in *Katamba*, we discuss again 'medicines'. Every medicine has a formula of greeting which must be spoken when doing something with it, e.g. when handing it out, or sieving it, etc. Even when I took a photograph of him stirring in a pot and sieving it and then giving it to his sons to drink, he spoke the formulae. Nevertheless the '*yiko* [power]' lies in the *cigbe*, not in formula! ie. the *cigbe* does not forfeit its power if formula is omitted. The formula only like '*ziba*' (+here prayer) to *Soko* [God] who is the ultimate source of every *cigbe*. I ask him about *badufu*, I want to buy it. He promises to have it ready tomorrow. But very difficult to learn anything about *cigbe* of witchcraft. There seems to be a certain *cigbe* which is eaten and makes the person who consumes it at once, and inevitably, into a witch. But besides there are also witches who either obtain this *cigbe* somewhere else, or who are witches owing to inheritance. I ask if he sells this *cigbe*? He: yes, but not to everybody, only to certain persons. (which means - as the others interpret it - to persons who can afford its very high cost!) I ask further: have you sold it actually to anybody, for example recently? He: no, I don't sell such things at all!! And so it goes on, till somebody explains to me that he would never tell such a thing, for this is '*asiri* [H. secret thing, charm]'. Speaking of witches, he quite excitedly says: have you ever seen a witch? No - of course not. Nobody can recognise a witch. But when you walk on the street, and some body passes by, and suddenly, unawares, you fall into (over a) a hole - then you know: this passer by was a witch. Or if you see people fight, and one man is '*tu ko*' (pricking or boxing with fist) another, but the man attacked feels nothing, and the attacker himself come to harm (dies suddenly afterwards) then you know: it was a witch. Separate *cigbe* for *ega* [witch's familiar] and *eshe* [witchcraft]. But same '*kirari*' - which I manage to obtain, nevertheless!!

NB One always says: *wun de 'ga* - she has witchcraft!!

Second thoughts of informer and Corrections - cp. [[Nadel's]] p.157/158

Hear a new version of Edegi-rhythm from Cigbeci:

The father of Edegi was an Apa [Jukun]-man Koro[afa]!!. Edegi himself was born in Apa-country. From there the two of them went to Idah, and later to Nupeko.

27/5/36

Egbe Agriculture

State of farms *Egbe*

In the early morning I hear drumming and flute playing from farm close to Etsu's house: *Egbe*. I ride down. Find about 25 men there. 15 younger men work *egbe*. They work in 2 groups of about the same strength, working from edges of farm towards centre where they meet eventually. Everybody has own ridge to work, one group is in charge of Sode, other of Etsu. 3 drummers and one flute player contribute music. Occasionally they sing. Old men stand round exhorting the workers with shouts, calling out names, and 'quicker, quicker!' Now and again a worker gets up and cries out in long, high pitched,

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

trilling yell which I know from so many occasions. Or they shout, lower, hoarse, at every hit of their hoe. Now and again even, one man gets up and makes a few dance-paces to music, and then works on again. Feverish speed, and feverish atmosphere. the drummers follow along the ridges, parallel to progressing of farm-teams. When the farm plot is finished, and before they move to other, the Etsu and Sode dance before the drummers, who beat their *kirari* [praise-calls]; a heavy graceful dance: holding hoe in two hands, stamping with both feet on soft earth of ridges, and lifting each foot in turn, straight up in front. One or two other men take place of 'Etsu', till the short interlude is finished, and they move on to the next plot. The Sode is a young man, about 18, who finds difficulty in balancing the heavy hoe which he dances.

The farm belongs to a certain Muhamadu, who was formerly a slave of Etsu Saba, and has become a *bara* of Nakanji. Till 9 years ago he had farms rather far away, near Pici. But he exchanged these farms against the present plots (between Billharzia bottom and Etsu's house) because they are nearer town, by entering 'service' of Nakanji. He has 4 plots altogether: 2 big ones (@ 1 acre each) for *eyi* and *kpayi*, and groundnuts respectively; one ½ acre plot for *rogo*, and a small plot near water for rice. He pays Nakanji 1 *epa* [bundle] of corn annually as *zaka* [tithe]. Millet. Near the town no *mayi*, because the birds eat everything!! Much more birds here than on *lati* [upland farm]! In the area S of Etsu's house no corn or millet planted, according to the order of D.O. 2 years ago!! (sic!)

The 15 young men began in the morning (7 o'clock) on the 1 acre farm for groundnuts, and had finished at 9.30, when they went on to next plot (*rogo*). They are all friends and relatives (distant!) of owner of farm. They do not live in same neighbourhood, some live rather a distance away, in *tungas*. The 'Etsu' and 'Sode' have got these titles recently, a week ago, when they were working on experimental farm of Agricultural Dept (Forestry? - the owner had food prepared: first *katsa* [a liquid lumpy gruel], the *eyi* with palm oil, kola and *kuka* [baobab leaf sauce] (no [[Nadel's amendment, on his page no.155 - meat or fish, nor beer etc, only water. Not enough money for luxuries. But *eyi* plentiful = 1 bowl for 2 men.

After the young men and musicians move on the the 2nd plot, older men, who do not hoe, do the sowing of first plot at once. [[Neither]] meat, nor fish, nor liquors, only water!! For he has not money enough for these luxuries!) But *eyi* plentiful: 1 *kpako* for two men! - After the young men and musicians go on the second farm plot, the older men, who do not hoe, do the sowing at once! Rough cost of this *egbe*: for 30 people - 15 *kpako* corn = 1/- *katsa* 1/2; *kuka* and oil and salt and pepper:

3d ... *kuka*

1/3 ... palm oil

salt and pepper ... 3d

1/9 total 4/=

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Later comes Cigbeci again New talk about medicines. tomorrow he will bring in the ingredients of certain interesting drugs (to facilitate childbirth; to prevent childbirth; to prevent menstruation; aphrodisiac).

About witchcraft .. he explains his attitude of yesterday. He has no medicine which make you (only women) into witch. He has only medicines which cause every being that tries to do you harm, to be harmed, and even killed, in turn, including witches and *aljinu* [spirits]. The chief medicines of this kind are the *Imiyagaa* and *Zabadi*. *Eshe* is a 'medicine' which only men use for farm, making their crops thrive, and the crops of neighbours spoil. Now in both cases people would say (onlookers - public opinion' - or in the latter case, the angry neighbours) '*Gaci da o na* [there is witchcraft]' viz: '*u yi esheci* [he is a witch]'. It is a *ge Soko* [call to God] more than a real accusation, at any rate in latter case. As regards *gaci*, he reserves his opinion. Nobody has seen them or can ever see them.

It is only '*ega*'. But it may be true - exactly as (his example) we see and hear lightning and thunder. 'One says *Soko* makes them. Has anyone ever seen him do it?? but we believe it' So witches have their own existence, not created or assisted by his medicines, unless by misunderstanding, mistaking the effect (namely the killing of evil minded aggressor) for cause (deadly influence of witches). These medicines are only logical outcome of charms for war. Whereas witchcraft is an evil, invisible force, exactly as spirits, of which we can only observe the effects ... He is, on the whole, a surprising realist and sceptic. As regards witchcraft he is prone to settle the problem by saying - *a ega* = 'they say'. But on the other hand, as regards his own job he is quite positive that his various medicines make you invulnerable or invisible. And as regards the curious story of one of his ancestors having fled up to God, he tells it as if it were proven truth. How go these two together, scepticism, as regards witchcraft, and unshakable belief as regards the miraculous science of '*cigbe*' ?? ...

29/5/36

Ride to Doko

When I arrive in Doko I hear that Nda Kpotun, the elder brother of Etsu Dazi had died yesterday!! (He had been an ailing old man!) This is indeed luck. I am too late to see the burial proper, thou'. But I see the place where they buried him, and see the women beat the ground, restore the hard floor and pour *Makuba* [black paste to harden floors] over it.

Death and Burial.

The son of Nda Kpotun already sleeps in the hut. The men sit in *katamba* of the family head (Etsu Dazi), mourning. They talk however in usual way, don't refrain from laughing or making jokes, and Etsu D. himself carries on his job as V[illage] H[ead] as usual: there is a matter of tax to be settled, the tax mallam comes and writes a letter, gives receipts etc. In the hut of the deceased man's wife are sitting his wives and sisters mourning. They 'cry' intermittently, and then again they 'rest', just talking quietly.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

They have their babies with them, and don't make a specially mournful appearance. The daughters-in-law of deceased don't mourn at all, but explain to me that they have just finished '*pa ba*' with singing and dancing, and are now preparing food. They sing and joke and laugh - no atmosphere of mourning about them. Guests and friends have arrived already from *tungas* to say the usual '*oku be hankuri* [Greetings on your forbearance]' - I see their horses tied up outside. When a visitor enters and speaks his condolence - formula the people in *katamba* momentarily take on the typical 'mourning-face', but soon they let go again.

Etsu D. sits on beautiful leopard skin. he tells me that the hunters from his house have killed this really big leopard a week ago (with gun!). They had (162) a big feast, eating the flesh, and the *Dunguru* [lute] (=Molo [H. lute]) player had come and played songs of the hunters the whole night long, they had *jin raha* [dancing], because this leopard had long threatened their village. But the leopard is no Ndako Yisa here, and there no special rites linked with him. It was just a feast given to the lucky hunters.

Later I go to see the *Dunguru* player and listen to his music. His 'band' consists of himself (a hare-lipped Nupe, relation of Etsu Dazi!), and 1 woman and a boy who shake the rattle (calabash and net with shells-type), 1 woman beating the iron bell. The women and the *Dunguru* player himself sing in between 'bars'. the singing is the typical vague and fluctuating Nupe tune, sung with vibrating and nasal voice, almost without rhythm. The rattles and bell (gong) mark a simple stereotype rhythm, e.g. ♩ . ♩ ♩ . ♩ . ♩ ♩ . ♩ ♩ . The *dunguru* music itself is dull and monotonous, consisting of a short Motif, repeated over and over, not sounding like proper and independent tune at all (although played as such), but like some accompaniment. Tuned in Minor "3-string". No comparison with *Gabri* [A Gbari lute] (or Hausa) *Molo* [a Hausa lute]-tunes.

[[Nadel's page 161 includes sketches of *dunguru* (lute) and gong, both mentioned above, and a "*Querhorn* [G. transversely-blown horn]", mentioned below]]

On farms I hear a young boy blowing a small horn. ("*Querhorn*") - "*u be kafo* [he blows a horn]" ... He does it in the pauses during farmwork to rest himself; when he is tired he passes his time with it. Only boys do it (this boy is about 14), the adults don't.

Witchcraft Before leaving Doko I go up to Edeko to see 2 alleged "witches" of whom Nda had been telling me. I find 2 old women, nothing particular about them, they are just picking out rest of *kula* [a preparation of locust seeds] for goats. They are friendly and not shy or embarrassed at all, and even smile and laugh while we talk, when they are surprised that I know certain technical terms in Nupe and recognise a *Bakomba* [twins] sacrifice lace. Apparently the contention that witches "never smile" is not quite foolproof. *Bakomba*. The "*Bakomba*" there is made of mud stuck on to wall of sleeping hut, and in it are built in 3 pots, a large one, and 2 fine ones, side by side. Explanation: the larger one is for a child born in caul, a *Shiru* (see Ntbk 6, p.75). Should fact that they have born *Shiru* and twins have contributed to belief that they are witches? The 2 small ones for *Bakomba*. The women look after that. No regular sacrifice time. But whenever they eat *eje* or drink beer, they drop a little into pots. Pots are actually full!!

Sleeping Sickness Survey.... after Dr. Fox's survey, sickness stations have been established in Doko and Kuci. The interesting thing is that all the people working at this job - the *Mallamai allura* [lit. H. Masters of the needle] "as well as their "boys" [young schoolboys!] are aliens. Some of them come from Onits[h]a and can speak neither Hausa nor Nupe. None of them is a Nupe. [The dispenser from Lemu has been trained recently for this job, though]. This does not stop them from walking about like "bosses"....

State of farms

Cotton begun to be sown. On Doko marshes they begin to sow rice. Not however as yet in marshland near Kuci where there is less water.

See huge flat "*woro* [?]" (hill-type ridges) for sweet potatoes. Creeper leaves quite long already.

Early millet on some place 5 ft. high!

Notice a *gbaci* [*Ficus* sp.] tree which has been cut down, about 4 ft high. The ends have been carefully wrapped in straw to protect the tender places from sun. i.e. real knowledge of afforestation. The tree has no special value, except as shade-tree.

1/6/36 Kutigi

State of farms:

Everything sown already, except Cotton and Rice. Cotton will be sown about 5 days after beginning of next month. At present only weeding on big farms, and first hoeing viz sowing on small farm plots near compounds, i.e. in town. As regards former one goes out to farm 2 days, and then rests perhaps for one day.

2/6/36

Gani...yesterday they celebrated Gani in Ruga and Batati. Nothing to be seen in Kutigi - almost everybody on farm. They did not return til 6 o'clock or 7 o'clock. In the evening there is a little drumming, and boys and girls play about, shouting etc. But it did not last long. The adults are too tired, and the drumming dies down after an hour.

Today only a few people went out, and they only for half a day. People stay at home getting ready for Gani, and only perhaps hoeing a little their house-farms. In the early morning the barbers went round and cut the fancy hairdress for boys (*ka'ti*). At 9 o'clock many boys I meet have already cut hair. But still in the early afternoon 2 barbers on the market are busy preparing the boy's hairdresses.

The Gani proper begins with a big delay, and throughout the ceremony it is rather inaccurately performed. Reason: Tuesday happened to be market-day and the elder "young men" were busy on market, and audience as well could not get away till very late. Only the boys drummers have arrived long ago and were sitting and waiting on the *dzukogi* [market-place] since 4 o'clock. Now and again they did a little Gani dancer in anticipation, and a little singing, too. But it was not the right thing. Towards 5.30 p.m. *Tutas* [banners] begin to arrive. The procession of boys is formed and marches off towards "Nuwakogi" place. But here again they wait and wait, and nothing happens. A few of the older people have arrived, "cracking" the children, driving them together, frightening them in usual manner, and exhorting them to sing. But none of the important grades have arrived. After a time they get tired and move back to the town, singing the boy's songs of Gani, but the *Nuwakogi* burial has not yet been performed. Eventually, half-way back, they meet the Shaba and Etsu of all the *gbarafuzi*, who sternly asks them what they do here. Confused reply. He asks: has *Nuwakogi* been brought back (buried)? They answer with confused shouting. He, sternly, repeats this question. Finally he takes them all back, and now the proper secret ceremony takes place - but it is already 6 o'clock and I hurry up to the hill of the *Dzukogi* to get some photographs made. But here again it takes some time till other "actors" in the drama appear: the "warriors" in dress flock in one by one; and then the mock-horsemen - a new feature - wear spectacles as a sort of mask. It is almost dark however till the procession comes back from the grove, and till the warriors meet the *tuta*-carrying boys, and till the canopy is spread out. By that time I feel already very wretched, and we go home - just in time to reach the bed safely, with 102.

On the whole the organization of Gani exactly the same as last time. First day: burial of *Ndakogi*, in charge of Etsu (viz Shaba) *Gbarufuzi*. Second day: burial of *Ndakogi*, in charge of *Gbarafuzi*. I see some amusing special details: a stranger who stood near me went near the circle of boys, drummers and their "captains" while they were waiting for Nuakogi, near the grove. With savage shouting and cursing they turn against him when they notice him, threatening to beat him, the elder men and drummers especially ferocious, actually drive him back with sticks and fists. But he refuses to go, says that I am also a stranger and am allowed to stop, remains obstinate, till he is actually pushed out by force, a long and violent exchange of words having proved unsuccessful. Later, when the Shaba is told about that happening, he asks sternly - obviously to impress me - both in Nupe and Hausa: has he been killed? The other are rather at a loss to reply, not realising his showing-off. But he repeats: "*A la u wu ani* [Have they killed him already?]" - Again down near gorge where they were waiting, they suddenly discover a small girl among the boys (they all being dressed as girls it was not so easy to see at once). They push her out with laughs and jokes, and the poor girl goes home ashamed and crying. - Interesting that the "captains" of the boys groups always combine in their attitude towards the initiates exhortation with awaking real fear in them. They drive the boys together, shepherd them, exhort them to their singing, wailing and dancing, and then when they do something wrong, they beat them and frighten them by driving them nearer to the secret grove. The boys then break out and run away, back home - specially the smaller boys -. They are stopped by onlookers, the women specially ridicule them, shout deprecatory remarks, and eventually they run back to their groups, at the call or order of their captains. The lure of the secret and their ritual acts, and the feat at the same time, upheld continuously by the ever raised whips of the captains, hold each other the balance. This running away and returning happens 3 or 4 times while I was watching it.

I note down the short songs or ditties which the boys sing during this "waiting" part of the ceremony, i.e. before the proper round-dance beings. They sing them between the "wails", and then the procession moves back to the town, i.e. the place where the last part of the ceremony is to take place. The texts are extraordinary obscene, and the boys (small boys of 10 and 12 years!) know it all right. I ask them for explanation of *dzuko* [vagina] which I do not understand. And they say: *dzuko na nyizagizhi de na* [the vagina that women have]. And repeat with obvious enjoyment their uses shouting the obscenities at me, laughing and enjoying it thoroughly.

Ndaturaki tells me later that these licentious songs are taught and explained by parents themselves. Nobody says anything during Gani. But would boy sing them after Gani he would be severely beaten. Only during Gani permitted. Fits well into general idea of initiation. Definite period of licence. "Safety-valve- theory". Doubly significant in view of usual quiet temper and moral earnestness of Nupe - e.g., how children and half grown boys always laughed embarrassed when they overheard my talking to the elder people on such delicate matters!! But here they were almost wild with crude pleasure....

Licence-principle goes further: adultery (not seduction though!!) more or less officially permitted during Gani. A husband who would follow and spy on his wives would make himself ridiculous. And except by that he simply could not keep track of his wife during the bedlam of Gani. "You may sleep with a woman almost under the nose of the husband" says Turaki, "and he would not notice it". True - if one thinks of the Gani-dancing going on for 3 to 5 nights, every night, both sexes intermingling. And this stimulus to sex!! The songs and obscenities, sung in front of women, repeated by them, the showing off of manhood in the wrestling, the women as audience and judges... I under stand what one Gbari-man once said, laughing at my question if there was any sexual taboo during Gani!? "On the contrary! Gani is *ba dadi sarai* [H.very fine] with women!"

Theoretically more and more clearly how Gani could replace Gunnu as a fixed ritual, "taking wind out of sails", degrading it to occasional magic for rain or illness.

Main-Elements shared in both rituals: Uplift of sex, initiation, Chastising, Fear- and Attraction complex, Certain moral licences...

Additional proof: all the places in this area which have adopted Gani, have Gunnu only as occasional magical rite

NB Intoxication not very promised. Only in certain *efus* did they make palm wine or beer. The drummers ofcourse were half drunk. But the rest markedly sober - to be in form for wrestling? But quite generally neither beer - nor palmwine -consumption in Kutigi. (Beer used to be very high formerly, with all their pagan rites, - and with better financial situation. No corn left to make beer with. All wanted for tax and food).

Short Resume of sequel of Gani:

3/6/36 2nd day of Gani - burial of Ndakogi. Evening - wrestling

4/6/36 3rd day of Gani - continuing of wrestling - the '*sadaka* [alms] Gani' i.e. the heads of the *ena gbaraf*[uzhi] go round to houses of '*sarautas*' salute the '*nusakos* [old men]', receives 3 small bowl of *eyi* [guinea-corn] each; eaten with ceremony on *dzukogi* in evening.

5/6/36 Gani finished - only ordinary dancing and drumming still going on, specially of young men - older men go already out to farms.

6/6/36 Kpotun returns from tour (he was on tour during Gani), and they perform Gani dances again for him (on his request), in full dress, they do the warrior-canopy - and work horse scene, and also the final wrestling. [[e.f.p.:) the Gani songs mentioned above are found on pages 171 & 173 of Nadel's text, and here are included below:]]

Texts of short songs in Gani

1. Sung when waiting for procession to be formed, viz to proceed to secret grove:

'Sa-la-laa, Sa-la-laa (General greeting)
Gani woro gani, [Gani, new Gani]
Sa-la-laa'

Also

Sa-la la-,
A la be a (ie. not all have come yet, they are not yet complete).

2. short round dance when waiting for Nuwakogi:

Fako fo buca,
Nanna nanaye, [no meaning]
Sabo dashi, (*dazi*?) [H. because of a 'dash']
Sabo, wondo,
Yayaraha [no meaning]

3. When procession is moving back to Gani-place, before meeting 'warriors' and 'horsemen': (All shout single line ditties, no fixed order)

Eba tigi likpo (to be sung really by girls)
Dzuko Gani. The penis weeps* it proceeds to its hiding place.
Dzuko nuwan vagina (makes) [vaginal water]
Gani Dzuko nuwan kpasa Water of the vagina is dirty

The water of the vagina is dirty (Sakpa)

* They explained it - *jin boli*, which means both urinate and to exude semen

NB There are more verses of this generally apparently saying the same - (beginning with *Dzuko nuwan*) which I have not taken down.

3/6/36

Leave Kutigi for Mokwa. Tegetmeier says that Shea-nuts coming now into canteens.

One sees shea nuts everywhere on local markets. In the houses busy preparing shea nuts, i.e. drying and roasting them. The same also later in Mokwa when all the '*nyakun*' i.e. roasting ovens, are full with shea nuts.

9/6/36 Mokwa-Jebba

Rev. Sherk in Mokwa tells me about the bad effect the new D[istrict] H[ead] has on country: the Rani is too young, and travels about in big state, having again that big suite of hangers on who (partly at least) live in the country, and who, at any rate, have to be fed by the villagers when the D.H. stops on his tours. As against the modest and quick Nagya who used to mount his bicycle and go all by himself to any place where his presence was required. Also Alkali plays tricks, passing unpopular judgements, and perhaps even extorting money through 'fines' for which he returns no receipt? People who had loved Nagya, feel the difference very much.

Sacred Crocodile (Mokwa)

Sheshi and Ndagoro come to greet me. They say town is all *lafiya* [H. well], crops are good, everything is all right. Samaza is away in Gbere to meet his wife who went there for wedding of her sister who married to Gbere. - I ask about the crocodile - its well behaved, they say. But it has caught a foolish girl ('*wawa* [H. fool]' they stress the point) when it fetched water and bit her leg. But Sherk put her right very soon, and she is all right now. They are very eager to exculpate the crocodile pushing all the blame on to the 'idiotic' girl. And since it did not die there was no need to repeat the sacrifice.

JEBBA

12/6/36

Visit my friends on Jebba Island. They are all well and greet me very enthusiastically. No one I know had died. No news - *sei alhari* [H. unless good fortune].

State of farms

They don't grow mayi here. But *kpayi* and *eyi* and *eci* [yams] already quite high. Also maize. Groundnuts sowing finished. Rice partly sown. These main-crops all grown on Jebba North mainland. On island only hemp [here, kenaf, *Hibiscus cannabinus*], and sweet potatoes and groundnuts. One enterprising Mallam grows Henna.

After a rain the lower parts of island flooded. Only the slightly raised ground on which on which actual village is built is above water mark. Niger on the whole very low, big sandbanks stretching across, and number of Kede, Hausa, and Kakanda camp directly on sandbank in mid-river!

See a fowl slaughtered in curious way: two men work at it, one holding fowl, the other cutting its throat very carefully, pressing neck of fowl down on earth so that blood should not shoot out but run directly into ground. This is a mallam's way of killing fowl for *Walima* [H. mortuary ceremony]

NB Instead of *Walima*, the 'real' pagans say: biki

Fowl for Sacrifice:

Explanation of Mallam: when fowl killed for *Walima*, small grove dug in sand first, blood must drip in (Ancient sacrifice in modern disguise? Blood = powerful essence?!)

[[Later note]] 2/7/36 But fowl killed for sacrifice first tested by giving it corn. If it eats *kuti* will accept it, if not, it is refused. Cp Ntbk 7, 24 [[note ends]]

Inquire into funeral-feast which we witnessed 7 months ago when we passed through Jebba, funeral of (present) Twaki's (former Ndauf of Gbarafu)* brother. He was himself a Ndauf, titled Capa. The feast we saw was the '*fo shitswanyi* [lit. sixty days -a mortuary ceremony]', and lasted for 2 days. The dance they performed, with big sticks, was the 'hunter's dance', and the small hand-nets with fish in it with which they were then making '*dzodzo* [playing]', belong to the paraphernalia of 'hunter's funeral'.

*Not correct; corrected 19/6/36: His name is Twaki; his title is still Tsowa of Ndauf

Ad: Titles: The old Wangwa, having been made Second-in-Command, got the title Tsadu. The former Shaba (of drummers) became Wangwa.

Ad.: hunting. they don't do any hunting now, there being no animals to hunt!!

Mission... visit terrible house of Miss Lance. Curious woman, living in this wretched place. But one simply can't feel sorry for her, there is no heroism about her work, only ridiculous! Her chief activity is baby-hospital, which is not so bad, and starting native needle-work (tray-covers etc ...) for European customers! As regards her school ... young boys don't come, are afraid of Mallams, say they are beaten, (whipped) if they go to Mission school. Only elder men come -attendance 10-15 in afternoon classes.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Difficulty here is that nobody agrees to give these converts to be a wife! So they suddenly leave again. No converts made so far. Miss L says if we can only get over this period of opposition (i.e. stopping boys from attending and discouraging elder boys by refusing to give them a daughter for a wife we shall make headway very soon.

Apart from this school teaching she teaches natives (men) to sew and embroider small cloths for trays, plates, etc!! Bought on order by European viz American mission ends of hers. But she complains that the natives are unable to make a nice symmetrical design themselves - of the Nupe embroidered gowns she seems to know nothing!? Side effect: teaching men new crafts which keep them from farm, and which, besides, will some day remain without market!

Later I see two men sitting under same roof of *katamba*: one, the elder, embroiders Nupe gown (bought by Yoruba, Hausa and Nupe traders), and the other stitching a tray-cloth for 'Sagi [Leader of the women, usually a witch]' - Miss Lance.

13/6/36

Calendar .. Wangwa says it is now the 4th month. Cp Kutigi people who were not very sure about the farmer's calendar, and seemed to know there was one month's difference between Muhamed[edan] and Nupe counting; he said it was now the 2nd month! But Jebba people who never knew other counting it is 4 month now since rains began. Next month (in about 1 week) *mayi* [sorghum] will be reaped in Nupe country. They themselves don't grow early millet. But *mayi* appears already on market, from farmers further south, in Yoruba country!!

ad Calendar: 3 months ago they had *Dzako* ritual, and cleaned the Bronze figures then, also repaired *Kuti* hut the efforts of which can be seen distinctly still today.

Fishing ..only done a little now, at night, with small hand-nets. River too low for big nets, and people too tired from farmwork during the day to care much for evening-fishing. Except when they need money.

Canoes: No Kakanda canoes here now, owing to the river still being so low. A few canoes from up-stream, Nupe and Hausa. No big traffic at present altogether.

Blacksmiths busy working. Get raw iron (always) from traders in Jebba north. No iron-ore furnace here, never was - only in hinterland of 'Kasa Mokwa [H. The land of Mokwa]

Evening: meet Mr Merryweather, the Missionary from Kpade, in Cekpa country. Learn a few facts about Kupa and Cekpa. The former get rapidly muhamedanized, in their capital Ebugi, all proud Muhamedans. (NB The Government census has classified the Kupa as subtribe of the Yoruba!!) The Cekpa gradually disappear ing, breaking up ... they are great travellers, and emigrated in large numbers during last 30 years. Almost none left, only wretched, small, disconnected groups. Both groups

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bilingual now, speak both Nupe proper and their dialect. They all wished to be under Bida very much, instead of Patigi, which they seem to detest! Attraction of Great Bida (Fulani-Bida!!) enormous! There, they feel, they belong to, and not to the small bastard Emirate of Patigi.

14/6/36

Visit of Island: mallam School, Genealogies and Diet Also: 'adultery'. After noon Tsadu, Twaki and Ndakotsu come to repay visit. Also the 2 Kede men who used to tell me so nice stories. They will come again, and I shall take down more Nupe *ecin* [stories].

15/6/36 Farming, Rice-sowing

Morning visit to farms on island. The island is real marshland, every rain leaves water in channels between the ridges. Often flooded completely after heavy rains. They grow here: rice, maize, corn, hemp; but the farms are rather small and the big farms are on the mainland, rather far away. On these small farms are working the '*manzi* [mallams]' (Twaki calls them so), not real mallam though, only those who have studied a little and who this is actually their main characteristic 'are sitting in their houses doing needle work' most of the time, and are farming but a little. A one-man farm, comprising corn and maize (in same ridges), and rice, is not quite one acre. Another farm worked by two men (see below), only rice, a little more than 1 acre. Twaki's own farms, on the mainland, are about 2 acres (i.e. 'normal' Nupe size)

The two young men just sowing rice 5 - 7 or 8 cones in each hole. Altogether sown 2 *evo* [calabashes-full] on a farm which bears 10 - 12 *evo*. Ridges so drain down a little slope that rainwater will penetrate everywhere, and is then stopped by last ridge like channel.

Normal yield of one such rice (3.4 acre?) 10-15 *evo*; in bad years, when all is flooded, and spoiled (rot) by water, perhaps only 5, or nothing at all. Sell it here @ 9d.

16/6/36

Waged farm labour [[e.f.p]]

The two young men working are not owners of farm, but paid farm labour. They were working on this farm since 10 days (half days only), and were paid 2d each p[er]d[iem]. The farm is owned by the son of a Mallam on Southern side of Island who is in bad health. This is the reason for his not being able to farm himself. The two labourers are: one a young Hausa from Jebba; one a Nupe from Lapai (Lapai *tacin* [in the middle of Lapai], i.e. a Dibo, as he stresses!) who is stopping here for some time, he came here 3 months ago, and will return home again; in the meantime he earns his living thus. This is the only case of waged labour on the island. Farm labour not known otherwise, except *Egbe* [Collective work].

Crops

Curiously the Jebba people do not grow sugar cane and onions, although soil would be very good for that. Sugar cane and onions, also sweet potatoes, are grown in Raba and Shari, and brought to Jebba in masses, for the trader there to buy them and transport them both inland and down-river. No reason why they don't grow it - 'they never did it', this is reason enough. The truth is that they are not too keen farmers, being able to rely on their fishing (and formerly hunting) to get all the money with which they can buy every kind of food stuff, which is always there, in this blessed country. Once I ask them why they don't grow oil palms? they answer: our grandfathers never did it for us, why should we? We would not see the fruit, only our grandchildren ...

17/6/36

To river bank in the morning. Interesting the division between up-stream and down stream travellers: the up-stream canoe people have their boats moored fast on left bank, near bridge. The downstream people on right bank, below our house. Very few here just at present owing to low river. 4 Yauri [a town north of Lake Kainji] canoes are staying here since last month, can not return now, till in about 2 or 3 months, actually stranded here. Live under the mat and bodywork of their own canoes which has been detached and placed on beach. Others have found relaxation in one of the grasshuts which the Kede build for travellers and traders -chiefly for the onion traders. Down below 1 Kakanda and 1 Katsa canoe.

-Big big trade in food is still going on, people crossing the fords, also Kede-canoes coming with calabashes, pots and onions.

NB some of the canoe-men have actually specialised in working for the Niger Company and don't do any other work. Don't fish at all. This specialization of work -one part of the Jebba Kede are *esacecizhi* [net-throwers] and one part *eyapacizhi* [canoe-paddlers] exclusively -specialization which I did not find anywhere else, perhaps due to new specialized demand of Niger Company, i.e. Culture Contact?

Kede -division and specialization of labour due to Culture Contact?

After Sule and Soasi come up to my house: take genealogy, list of age-groups (which again reflect the division and specialisation of labour!!), diet and 1 story.

Afternoon walk down to small Nupe settlement below our house. Called Efu Ndadoko, after man who founded it, father of present *efutso* [Head of the ward], dead since some time. They are Bidaci by origin and have come here when railway was built, stayed on then. When they first came nobody was living on this bank at all! There were only the island-people, and the Kede on the other side and a Yoruba village further inland behind hills. But already then big traffic and traders and cattle crossing rivers here. Only 3 crossings on Niger: 1. Jebba on main road to Ilorin 2. Raba to Shari, and 3. Muregi to Patigi.

They have a little land in the back of their houses, about ½ to ¾ acre to a man, on which they grow corn, maize, hemp, groundnuts, and a small separate riceplot. They are very late in sowing, some people just hoeing up ground and sowing *ekpan* [sorghum] and maize! but they are farmers only as a sideline: one man is a machine sewer, one an onion trader (*nwa shi ku*). Women dye indigo (Yoruba!!)

19/6/36

Day of Rest

Friday - no work is done on farms, nor are the fishermen out on the river today. Only canoe men carry on their work. Some canoe-men (Sule among them) have gone inland to collect timber to repair their canoe. They say that in ancient (pre-muslim) times the free day also was Friday never Sunday.

State of farms. Food Stores

Food on market: Lots of ground *rogo*. Rice, Fresh maize (apparently from the south). See signs of the fresh *gero* however which the natives were speaking of some time ago.

Sacred Crocodile?

Talk to a Kede about crocodiles. He says: none at present up here, because water so low. But plenty when river is full up. Do they attack men? Not zhitsuzi [chiefs of villages] For (in low voice, with all signs of secrecy:) there is one *kuti* which is performed annually by the Geba for all riverain people, the Katsa (!) which secures safety from crocs.

(performed on 7th month = end of July to August!!)

NB 28/6/36 This is later denied by Gbede: Katsa is only of the general '*kutis*' for Soko, and had more specially to do with the rising Niger, but has nothing to do with *Krokodile*. Only 3 years ago a man from Jebba was killed by a crocodile here. No means against it, *sai Soko* [unless through God], '*yi ma ka nwu a* [we don't know about it] ... (Interesting this different interpretation of the ritual by Gbede - the 'congregation' - and a Kede-man, = an outsider. Now we shall see what Tsadu will say!)

26/6/36

Visit to island. My story teller Sule is still abroad, he went with the canoe up stream. He has gone up stream (together with 2 brothers) to bring fish down to Jebba. And so is old Tsadu, who has not yet returned from his sister's (?) funeral at Bule. More than a week now. Try to find other story teller. But they all say they don't know any.

But when I return home, after a while one of my more permanent paddlers (a fairly old man) comes along with another man (from Bida, but living since long in Jebba), both of whom have previously denied to know any '*ecin* [folk-tales]', and tell me now, they know some stories after all. The stories of the Bida man prove really good. Those of the Kede less so: one story (about Edegi) all confused, and half forgotten. the other begins all right, and it is about 3 brothers, but then he only remembers the part referring to the first brother, and as I ask him about the remaining two, he tries to make up something, not

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very successfully. Lack of practise, lack of auditorium, obviously gradually obliterate many of these stories; old men are not the proper *ecin* teller. This is a matter for young men.

Version of Edegi Myth

Worth mentioning only this: '*Daga asali* [From the beginning], *asali na a ma Edegi na* [the time when they gave birth to Edegi], *a ma u nuwan misun* [they gave birth to him by the waterside], *kin nya Yauri kpatsozi* (sic!) [land of the waterside of Yauri] *kanga u ci a na kin* [then he embarked], *u ga fia* (drifting down by canoe). *Kanga na u ga nakin na* [then he embarked], *u da tako* [he went down], *u fe lo* [he continued], *u be tso za bagi na ce goro na nuwan misun* [he came close to a man with cola at the waterside], *Ega o nya Muregi* [a stranger from Muregi]. *U cin a lo du o be eya nwi* [he got back into his canoe?]. (now comes story of the Kuta, and Edegi's sinking his canoe ... but is all very confused.) Before he had mentioned the various places where Edegi stopped on his way downstream (!!): *u sa Geba*, *u sa Tada*, (*u la edegizi* (idols) *lugwa бага о, bagi be nyizagi* [men and women]), *u cin Pashya*, *u cin Gisagi o* [He got down at Pashya and Gisagi]. *U cin Raba a*, *u cin Gulu a* [He didn't get down at Raba or Gulu].'

Sewing machines: number increased since last time. But no Gbedegi amongst them, not one. All Bida people (some of them here since many years ago; e.g. son of Sonfada Bida, who came here with his mother, after father's death; he began as 'mallam' student, and carries on his study of '*litafi* [H. book, here Islam]' here.) Also a Cekpa-man from Kpado. Does not know 'Cekpa' language, says that they all speak proper Nupe! etc. Why not Gbede too? Twaki says: we don't know it, '*yi ma gun mashina yi a* [we don't know how to sew with machine]'. And nobody taught us. We only now to farm, to fish and to do blacksmith work. The same applies, more or less to the women: the huge number of women traders on Jebba 'market street' are Yoruba (for European goods) and Bida Nupe (food-stuff), and a few Hausa. The Jebba women only make pots, and sell Ekwa [steamed sorghum] which they make. Only one has started a 'shop', selling all kinds of food stuff, red pepper, salt, *kula* [locust-seed cakes], bananas, *zambu* [a guinea-corn porridge] etc ...

The trade here must have increased tremendously during last year, with increased 'tourist traffic', mainly increased cattle-herds passing through.

28/6/36

Visit to Tsadu's house. He himself not here, but Twaki, Ndako, and other friends of his sit in his house, chatting - they had just returned from the farms start talk on marriage, and touch on sexual matters, namely sequence of time, and its meaning, between consummation of marriage and the *ewo dzu*, the 'money of shame' - I find them rather embarrassed, talking about these things, they look aside, and an older woman, who otherwise is the typical chatterbox, looks aside, and does not speak a word.

Brideprice economic factor!!

Interesting discovery: that, where brideprice did not go up greatly, *yawo-dāngi* [cross-cousin marriage] is not treated economically different from every other type of marriage.

Twin Sacrifice

See twin sacrifice place, *Bakomba*, in Tsadu's house. Tended by this same old woman. The grandfather of her (his). since her husband died, and younger brother left the house, she carried the sacrifice on. had the twins, and the sacrifice carried on since then - also *lafīya* -. Every 7th month, blood of fowl and perhaps beer (if there is any) Month of sacrifice independent of date of original birth of the twins.

Market, price of foodstuff: Still *kpayi* sold: one *kpako* [lit. two hundred -a measure]: 0.6d.- Corn: one *kpako* - 1d (more expensive!!). Rice, - 2d. Yam (Cheaper than in Bida, but has gone up on the last few days!!) two weeks ago: 6 yams for 6d; today 3 yams for 6d)

29/6/36

Make phonographic records of Yoruba music. Most charming music, polyphon[ic]! the young men who sing it are Yoruba from various parts: Ilesha, Lagos, Akoko, and Benin City. But they have been in Lagos together and then came to Jebba Railway-works together. In Lagos they bought the songs which they are singing now from a Yoruba group of musicians, for £1.10.0.

This 'buying' and selling of songs and dances is comparatively new. Jackson told me, that in his part (Sapele [a town in Southern Nigeria]) they 'buy ' their songs from another place (Ijo), use them for one year (rarely longer), and then sell them to other people. But the buying and selling was introduced not till 1930. Before that time only looked at viz listened to and copied by clever musicians. But the changing hands of dances always done. As a rule coinciding with intermarriage. No other inter-village trade traffic existing!! (One sided adoption of songs corresponds to one-sided marriage!) One of the songs which we recorded Jackson recognised as a song (danced) played in his village in 1929. Now adopted for Yoruba, and produced in Lagos.

One song was on Abyssinia, quite new song from Lagos. The singers promise me full text in Yoruba. Their provisional, scanty translation was this:

Abyssinia ... We hear there is war between Abyssinia and Italy. We wonder who will 'conquer'. Whoever will conquer we salute (thank) him.

30/6/36

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Went to sandbank where some new canoes had been landing. People from Raba mostly; they came to Jebba for a wedding of a Raba girl to a Buka man. At present they stay in Jebba with relatives, father, uncle, bride and her 'brides- maids'. The wedding will take place day after tomorrow, and tomorrow they will move on to Buka led by father's younger brother (father stays behind of course!). The bride at present, "*da rufa o*", i.e. they put the bride in the house previous to being taken to husband. This is done for days (bride veiled when going outside), and for these 5 days they came to stay with their relatives in Jebba.

But they also took their nets along, and will try and catch tonight or tomorrow night (after a rain it would be best). At present they are repairing their nets on sandbank. They throw out their nets at night, with no light - and I ask them if they are not afraid. They say: have we not always lived here on the water? And add a proverb *Cigban ghere na dagba gi na, wun a wu wun a*. (the bark [correctly, root] which the elephant is used to eat does not kill him!)

People from Jebba (*esacezi* [cast-net throwers]) were also throwing out nets last night, but they returned with poor catch. River too low here. They will go upstream, there is better fishing there at present.

A Mallam from Muregi came to Jebba with a brother. They came to see relatives. They came a fortnight ago and will be returning soon. He is still pretty young, perhaps 35. His wife is a granddaughter of Kuta, and he is a son of Liman Muregi. He knows nothing about the '*asali* [origin]' of his people, '*dzakangi mi yi o* [I am a child]'. While in Jebba he does a little occasional teaching too. 3 years ago he had been in Onitsa, trading and teaching, at the same time - the Nupe who live there. Not too bright a fellow.

Number of Bida-people in Jebba surprising; men and women. Trader (women!), Mallams and embroiderers, machine-tailor, bead-polisher. They come here to make money! After they have made a 'fortune' they will return to Bida again! ... Some of them have come with their parents, who have died here, and left them here. All attracted by the new business-centre. They live near, and along the Kede compounds, along the market, as well as on the Ilorin side.

Mallam Schools

One Mallam who also embroiders, from Bida, has 6 pupils: one grown up one, who now does the elementary teaching. He is the younger brother of present Sarkin Bussa. (Speaks good Nupe!!)] 3 small boys are sons of Bida-man residing in Jebba. 1 of a Patigi-trader living here. And 1 is the son of the Mallam himself.

Evening: visit of Island. No news. Tsadu not back yet.

1/7/36

Receive surprise visit of Mana, son of Ndadoko, the head of the small Nupe-community down from the R[est] H[ouse]. He comes, because I am his 'father', to ask for my advice. He has been a trader first, he has been traveling to Kano, Zaria and Lokoja, in groundnut trade. But now he had no money left to trade. Complains that formerly he has '*daye* [been accustomed to]' with Europeans, and now not any longer (e.e. does not get credit!) could I see some way for him to find a profitable job (*ekpatu ndoci* [through your influence(?)]), *ebo wo yi nda u* [because you are our father]'. His son has come from Bida two months ago (where he was at the C[hurch] M[issionary] S[ociety]) and was farming on small scale. Try to persuade him to do farming, real big farming. He agrees at once that there is plenty of vacant land here, not used at all, because everybody is doing labourer-work etc. He could, (he admits) farm groundnuts, cotton etc, Not *kpayi*, though. Because, if only one man farms *kpayi*, the birds eat the whole crop! but he is not very enthusiastic. He has not been farming for years, never actually. He is a trader and wants to trade ... His life history is interesting. he has come to Jebba with Lord Lugard's men. Later he had been confidential agent of some officer in Zaria, and was travelling about with some man of his, listening to what people said, and bringing back 'report'. He has a smattering of English, picked up on his travels). But he is indignant when I call him a 'messenger', no, he was 'report'. Later he turned to trade. He knows a good deal about his country and its history and gives me invaluable data about Witchcraft. His father also expressed the wish to come and salute me. but he asks me not to mention a word from what he was telling me about witchcraft to his old man!! He was really anxious. He had, perhaps said more than he wanted, or thought safe to say.

In afternoon canoeing round Katsa, with Nda Twaki as guide. Most impressive formation. Looks actually like huge, titan-built wall, which broke into pieces where Niger goes through today. On the right bank a broken off piece, square, steep, and wild looking blocks towered upon each other like by gigantic hands, and showing almost places where it must have broken off like a wall, pulled down by builders. This curious edge of what appears to have been a huge rib of rock stretching across the hinterland, is called by the natives, *eya (nya)* Katsa, friend of Katsa. Has no sacred meaning. Seen from there one can see the corresponding edge on Katsa itself, and with a bit of imagination fill out the gap formed by river bed today and envisage titanic wall stretching across last '*Auslanfer* [G. outlier]' of that mountainous rib. This small island on which Katsa stands is deserted, overgrown with dense forest. Nobody goes there, neither fishermen, nor farmers or hunters. When we land further on, our guide and canoe man reluctant to land except on place where sacrifices are performed and both uncover their heads. A little back, further up the stream, a second huge island-block, a replica of Katsa, but much smaller. Called Tsadu. Katsa corresponds (they say) to Geba, Tsadu = *egi* [child of] Katsa, to Tsadu, of the island.

There are 2 sacrifice places on Katsa. One nearer to sandbank, not very high and pretty well cleared. This place for fowl: sacrifice . Another place, further round the island towards N, through small '*Uribel* [G.xx]' and '*Strudel* [G. whirlpool]' in water which obstruct the progress of our canoe. Much higher up, actually on foot of big steep (unclimbable) rocks, where cave is. On top of earth-sediment which forms gradual slope up to rock wall. Completely overgrown now, impossible to find path. This is for *nangi* [goat] - and *nanko* [cow] sacrifice. In this case regular date 7th month and 11th month), path cleared first. In neither case food eaten here; but, after performing sacrifice, taken across to sandbank on opposite bank, and here eaten. Only men allowed in Katsa's presence.

Water is very low. Curious to see flat valleys of clean river sand between rocks and bush covered hills: in the rains of course, these 'valleys' all covered with water, forming narrow passages between rocks. Effect of erosion marked on lower part of rocks which are at present, above water level: forming angle with the rocky edge which is always above water. Like this: [[Nadel's text includes sketch]]

Have interesting, extensive, though slightly puzzling conversation in canoe with Twaki on *kuti*, *aljinuzi* [spirits], *Soko* [God] etc ... encounter again that embarrassing vagueness. 'anything can be anything'. Every rite can be both 'fixed' and 'unfixed', individual and general. Has a specified meaning, and an unspecified meaning. Every *kuti* is an *aljenu*, but also for *Soko*. But what is an *aljinu*? Invisible, in the earth viz water ... No sharp distinctions. Have to try to get to the bottom of this in talks with Tsadu. But Twaki rather resented this suggestion. He knows everything just as well. Therefore perhaps this vagueness inherent in system?

Hear for first time of place up-river, called 'Bazumaci' [[Nadel's later insertion: Wrong]] which performs Ndaduma for whole country (over and above various individual Ndaduma's), with white bull sent by Kuta (the bull for Katsa is black!) In same month when Jebba people make Katsa.

Suggest that they should perform some sacrifice for me, so that my illness should not recur. They accept this with great pleasure, very keen on it. When Tsadu returns he will be asked to divine about which sacrifice will secure health of Shaba. And I shall contribute the animal found necessary.

END OF NOTEBOOK #3

NOTEBOOK #4 BEGINS

2/7/36

Jebba

Ndakotsu comes to salute me, and tell me that old Tsadu has returned from Bele last night. We embark on talk about *kutis* and *aljinn* and *Soko* ... The same vagueness about these concepts as in Twaki's information. Seems to be inherent in conception of ritual, magic, spirits (this is perhaps an imported concept altogether) and High God. Learn a few old Nupe words for the modern, Hausaized terms. i.e. 'walima is, in 'pagan Nupe' = *biki* [?H. 'feast']. *Lafiya* [H. well, good] = *eya* [This doesn't make sense. Perhaps a mistranscription?]. But no word for '*aljinu*'.

Nupe Canoe 'ferry' service: strangers pay 0.3 per head and tour; and 0.5 with loads. The same applies to women traders who cross regularly going home from one market to the other. But *zhitsuzi* [village chiefs] who have no business to transact, are carried across free!

Hospitality to travellers

Strangers who come through to Jebba and stop here for the night (Yoruba, Hausa, Bornu etc), are invited to katambas to sleep there. Nupe from other parts who come through Jebba are given a *kata lele* [sleeping hut] when it is possible, and often are invited to share a meal. In neither case money is taken from them for hospitality (although Yoruba take money for this service, I am told). But expect a small present of kola or money to *emitso* [householder].

Later I get a second visit from Mama (son of Ndadoko - hamlet down R[est] H[ouse]) He actually wants to announce visit of his father and his men, they have some favour to ask me. They turn up son, after long preliminaries and talk about history etc, they bring up their matter. (It is, in parts, connected with historical questions - at any rate they in explaining it to me start from Adam. The actual point in question refers to an interesting Culture contact issue:

Ndadoko is the son of the old Ndadoko, a Nupe man who founded this hamlet. They came originally from Dabba, (originally Hausa immigrants, from Katsina, from '*asali*' but they don't know how many generations back! Since generations regard themselves as Nupe pure and simple. E.g. are indignant about possibility to intermarry with Yoruba and also to lesser degree Hausa!!

Intermarriage among this group of Nupe and Yoruba none. With Hausa? *Nini, nini* [one, one i.e. occasionally], ... 'You have made us to', How? Our *lawan* (Alkali!) have ordered that a marriage between Nupe and Hausa, if young people love each other, should not be stopped'. So Europeans blamed for creeping in of this type of intermarriage.

But with Eyagi [Yoruba] - no. '*Yi cin eyagi a* [We don't love Yoruba]'. This old Ndadoko was in service of Niger C[ompan]y, and came up with first Niger C[ompan]y expedition, together with 4 other men, 3 Nupe and 1 Yoruba (Kupa among Nupe). The sons viz grandsons of the Nupe still living down at Ndadoko. The Yoruba had become headman of this Niger C[ompan]y gang. Later, when more Yoruba came to Jebba, specially when railway was built (no settlements till then!, they made this 'helmsman' to Sarkin Eyagi. This son is Sarki of Jebba North at present. So far they all lived in peace together. Till some years ago they had been in service of Niger Cy. but then they have been dismissed and been given money-credit to start a trade. Trade was bad, 2 years ago. Credit was stopped, so now, they have nothing. They were living on a sort of middle-man job: the native lorry whihc bought down goods from inland (Ilorin) used to stop at the canteen. Here they built a shed, and they used to buy the goods from lorry and sell them to the Nupe and Hausa- traders who came across river. Proper '*shi kun* [buying and selling, i.e. trading]'. Made a few pennies profit. There are other such sheds about Jebba: across the river, for canoe-trade in onions. Near the Yoruba shore-settlement for canoes going up-river and bringing calabashes, fish etc. Now the Etsu Eyagi had introduced innovation, making lorry stop at his house, thus excluding Nupe from their '*Zwischenhandel* [G. middleman's business]', giving the whole business to the Yoruba. This meant to them loss of business, so they gave the Etsu two months ago 9/6d, and he promised them to alter that. But did do nothing - they are still excluded from this trade. They came to me '*ebo nda yi wo yi o* [because you are our father], that I should help them ...

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Later they go, and Mama stays with me - he plays the proper *egi kata* [son of the house], behaving towards his own relations as if he had a lease on me, telling them that I dismiss them, that they could go now and that he would stay on.

- He continues his reports on witchcraft, bringing me a handwritten document (written by his mission-educated son), giving me all the data about the witches of Gbajibo. According to his statement nearly all the old women there must be witches. (Cp texts) Gives me even advice how I should treat the village chief (with '*ankali be edzo* 'yi [careful with the chief]), and what I should ask him: namely to produce a 'box' in which the witch of Gbajibo kept her deadly secrets, which the chief, after her last crime, had removed to his house. Now I wonder what the truth in this is? -He also tells me about a witch on Jebba Island, confirming my own suspicions about Miss Lance's famous poisoning case. Finally he tries to persuade me that I should fare much better with an interpreter. For the Nupe don't confide in a white man, and less so if he speaks Nupe. That will only make them shy and suspicious. What he suggests is to take his son along. In the dark the natives will all come and talk to him outside the hut, he will question them carefully, and I shall be sitting inside the hut, unseen and write up every word I hear. the 'interpreter' would of course explain to the natives that I don't understand a word of Nupe. He knows his job as confidential agent!! To give their suggestions more power of conviction, they tell me that A.D.O. --Hallener when he was doing pawn-releasing work, used to do the same. Only he could not speak Nupe, but his informant handed all the news thus gained 'in the night' to him in the morning, and he acted upon this. Mama, smelling a cushy job, invites me to try this method for a change. I decline, giving my reasons - how can you know if what your 'interpreter' tells you is truth? And besides, I maintain that I can read from the face of every Nupe if he tells me lies or the truth. They have to agree to that, and in fact do it gracefully. They can discover a certain value in this other method as well.

Evening Island. See Tsadu and Ndaug Dagba, who has come home from farm for a few days. Try to get Tsadu to tell me about funeral of his father's brother in Bili. but he says there is nothing to tell. No *kuti*, no *dzodzo* [play, i.e dancing], gets me in deep water, his talk full of contradictions. E.g. he says his uncle was buried not in hut, but Zempao. Why? First he says, because he was a younger brother. But had title of Tswana - so I hold against this that he was a *nusa*. He tries another explanation: he was not Bele-born, but a stranger. Also he says there was no *laba* [libation] nor *kuti*. Why? they had no money. He was a 'younger brother' .. Again I check this by asking if there is no *kuti* performed in Jebba when Tswana dies? Of course, there is a *kuti*. Now then - what happened in Bele? Eventually, very reluctantly (chiefly because there were great number of listeners, and among them that fierce self conscious pagan Ndaug Dagba, I think) he admits the true reason: this man was a Muhamedan so they only had Sadaka and Walima - nothing else - Still, this leads on to valuable discussion on funeral customs in general, both among pagans and muhamedans.

Incidentally it clears up the problem: have pagans the "*fo shitswany* [120 days]"? The feast which we witnessed when we came through Jebba 8 months ago - at occasion of burial of Ndaug - was definitely "*fo shiba* [forty days]" - for the hunters (fierce pagans don't have "120 days" at all!!

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Tsadu rather resents publicity, and also, I think, that I had made an appointment with Ndau for same day. So we agree eventually to postpone the divining, which I had planned for today, till tomorrow, when we shall be alone.

3/7/36

Morning visit to island. Tsadu first. Divines for me: first general "*lafiya*", then my trip to Leaba; finally what I am to do about my illness. Nothing, no *kuti* necessary, I shall be all right. Only *walima* of fresh fish and *eje* [porridge], 2 bowls, for all the people; I have to make this and I shall be safe. Give him 1 shilling, Twaki undertakes to arrange *walima* for tomorrow.

When he finishes divining, his old sister brings him beer. He pours a little on the ground, for his grandfather, then drops the hippo-tooth which he uses for divining into beer and touches all his divining stones with it. Whenever he drinks beer, he does so. Everybody else, when drinking beer, pours a little on floor - for ancestors. But no words.

Talk with old Ndau Dagba, who is so full of stories that more difficult to stop than to wind up. He is indignant that I have no paper ready, and don't write down everything (e.g. rather scrappy account of Tsoede). He has been about a good deal when young - hunting lions. Has been all through Nupe and Gbari, and big part of Yoruba country. Says that at that time Wushishi did not exist, only the Gbari settlement both there and Dunguru. Talking of his torical matters come across again that confusing problems of "which sub-tribes are Nupe?" Ndau Dagba limits original Nupe-tribe only to people living west of Kaduna. To him the real Nupe are the people of: Etsu, Sakpe, Gbara, Kutigi (i.e. non Beni), Batati, Dabba, Labozi, Yeti and Mokwa. The term "*kusopaci*" is recent, and refers not to sub-tribe at all, only to profession. Mokwa not Gbdegi. All other groups not Nupe (except Kyedya): Beni- *asali* [originally] Gbari!! Beni as originally Gbari is not so foolish!! Cp. my experience in Pici. But on the other hand Tsadu as so many other calls Beni the original Nupe!! Gbedegi - *asali* Eyagi; Dibo - separate tribe;

Ebe - separate tribe. On the other hand Tsadu stresses that they are all Nupe, including Dibo, Ebe, Kupa, Cekpa, and even Kakanda. Truth obviously somewhere in between. Number of tribal groups of same culture area and some linguistic group (cp. Gbari), wedded together gradually to one tribe, independent groups becoming sections of larger group. What process has achieved this? One of the influences certainly political. They are all of one opinion in two respects: (1) some of these different tribe groups became "Nupe" through influence of Edegi. (2) At some time all united and under one Etsu "*maji kukunci nya kin kpata* [? of the whole country]". They know of Gbara as capital, and of the Etsus of stock of present Patigi and Zuguwa Etsus. Also know name of Magiya as "great king of whole country". - This process still going on: dialects are disappearing (e.g. Kupa !!) and new groups absorbed: e.g. Kakanda. Present influence strengthened by element of Islam. In 10 years time Kakanda will be a sub-tribe of Nupe, no doubt!!

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Yesterday the old Ndau was using some words in Gbede a proverb, actually, in joke. He can still speak Gbede. Everybody else in Jebba has lost this knowledge. Gbede, according to him, was a separate language, but not like Nupe, but like Yoruba. A dialect of Yoruba. The Yoruba "*wo Gbede degi* [understand Gbede a little]". This tallies with his tale of the Gbedegi having been originally Yorubas, who came from Oyo, and settled first in Eda (Kin Muwo). (Cp. also tradition of Mokwa). Since Tsoede's arrival greatly nupeised.

N.B. They also say that their bronze figures, and the whole *Dzako*-cult are originally Yoruba. Why? the tribal marks of figure are Yoruba, they say. We go down there and examine them, and find they are not - at least not present day Yoruba. So actual facts can not have been the basis of this idea of their origin!! (something in it?)

4/7/36

Travel by motor launch to Gbajibo, and from there by canoe to Yankyedya. It took us 6 hours to Gbajibo, and 4 to 5 to Yankyedya. the landscape on the first stretch rather disappointing. The hills behind Juju rock, to the North-East disappear quickly. And so do the romantic rocks à *la* Katsa. On south-Western bank the long range of hills, almost plateau-like, rolling on a little further. Completely uninhabited. Easy to imagine the Bornu-raiders haunting this first-class hiding ground, always escaping their pursuers into the unapproachable wilderness of these heights. Near Buka the range flats out and disappears. Here the old crossing place (ford?) between North and South reported to have existed. Very favourable place indeed, flat open country, with a very shallow river easily to ford. Till Gbajibo flat country, tropical vegetation, but not very thick. Some small villages and tungas, specially on East bank, and farms stretching down to river bank. Corn on some places all dry and yellow from lack of rain. River abnormally low, and we frequently run aground, on sandbanks, and sometimes hit a floating tree.

After Gbajibo river too low we have to take canoe. Now tropical character disappears, no palmtrees, ordinary thick bush-forest. Abundant vegetation, and fauna. Diving birds, herons, etc of course everywhere. Monkeys - small grey and brown ones - tittering in the trees, and often running a long stretch parallel to boat, climbing over obstacles, lianas, etc, like on a scenic railway. In evening on right 4 or 5 hippos, ejecting gusts of water like whales, only heads visible, I just glimpse through glasses one hippo who comes up to surface for a second.

Shortly after Gbajibo, island splits river into 2 narrow channels. They are thrown with huge rocks, precarious passage through them. Strong current, a number of rapids formed through water being so low. We bump again and again against hidden rocks, or are thrown by current against one of the cliffs, so that I think canoe will burst any moment. But nothing happens. After navigating this first channel, river opens wide, like lake. Water so calm that one thinks there is no current. After this widening, again island and two narrow, rock strewn channels. The channel towards west completely blocked by rocks and impassable. One hears the gush of water through narrow straits, and over rapid-like boulders, for miles up river!! So I have a little '*Ersatz* [G.substitute]' for Bussa rapids. The final river widens again, see again the usual wide, soft, grass and sandbank-lined open water-course as which we know the Niger

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from further south. Yankyedya on island - biggish island, but small village (Kyedya Gbede). It is very late when we arrive, and I have not much time to look about. The little I see convinces me that it is very much the same place as all these river villages. North of Gbajibo country very sparsely populated, no village in between the two. (Yankyedya belongs to Ilorin).

Overhear talk of men: usual subject, money. They have no money. No fishing because river so low (but all huts full of fishing nets!). Women busy roasting shea-nuts in their ovens. Also big farms - but on other side of river, i.e. on mainland.

Why don't they fish further downstream? They have no canoes. Why have they no canoes? None left, the old ones are hardly fit any more and no money to buy new ones. Why don't they get together and try to obtain money buy pooling the small amounts they could put in individually? Aha, they say, this is '*dashi* [H. mutual savings association]'. Only women do *dashi*. I try to impress them with the fact that in Bida also men (traders) do *dashi*. I don't think it leaves a deep impression.

Rest house small, but in excellent condition. Lucky Ilorin Province!

The '*katambas*' of Yankyedya have peculiarity of number of wooden supports, outside of mud wall, carrying the grass roof, so that it does not sit directly on all. Perhaps to let air in? Because *katamba* also store room for nets.

[[Nadel's text (p.19) includes a sketch of this hut design]]

6/7/36

Very long and tedious journey - leave Yankyedya at 8am and arrive in Leaba at 7pm. Stop for half an hour in morning on a sandbank to have some breakfast and again for 10 minutes at about 2 o'clock. Otherwise going all the time. Slow progress, because current very strong, and river not straight. River bed continually bending, and besides tongues of rock like small 'promontaries' stretch into water course forming deep bays, which must be poled out, because current too strong for paddling on the straight. In mid river, besides, water very deep indeed, and often, when one leaves banks or a few yards only, poles find no ground. In this case - e.g. when projecting trees, or boulders right in our path, force canoe to leave protection on bank - everything possible made use of to press pole against: trees, big rocks, and small rocks. No wonder that we often bump against rocks, or that pole suddenly slip and falls into water, and has to be recovered with great loss of time.

[[Nadel's p.21 includes a sketch map of the river]]

River becomes more and more narrow. Thick vegetation recedes from banks, further inland, and finally disappears. Only small groups of trees left, rest pleasantly open, though bare, grass (savannah) country. Instead of thickly wooded banks, no huge stone rocks (specially huge because of river being so low), black basalt waters. Rocks tilted above rocks, forming blocks of most phantastic shapes. Really,

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here the Niger is that terrifying 'black river' which it must have been to early explorers. No settlements on banks, for hours and hours, no houses. --The rocks have not one sharp edge left! All soft and round, washed out and polished by thousand years old pressure. Some rocks have circular round pits 'drilled' out, or are shaped like hand, with huge fingerlike half-columns in relief. Often an enormous rock ragged and clefted like glacier [[illegible]]. Ask myself if river alone could have done all this? Not perhaps rests of prehistoric glaciers? No fauna, except bird and one ungainly crocodile basking on one sandbank. When river is high antelopes come down to water. Grand area for big game: lions still about, and even elephants.

On way meet a number of heavily laden canoes - perhaps 5 or 6 altogether. Towards evening, shortly before reaching Leaba, meet 2 Nupe canoes, stopping at a sandbank, for the men to say their evening prayers (and at same time also having meal there).

Reach Leaba in evening, tired out and glad to get out of canoe. Here river is so narrow that one could almost throw a stone across. Difficult to imagine that this river goes on, for thousands of miles, through half of continent!! Risk when full must be enormous, one sees the high-water marks. In high water, Mason can not go up by launch, so strong is the current.

7/7/36

We had a good night in excellent (square!) R[est] H[ouse]. Clear full moon night - Leaba consists of two villages, having same name, and chiefs of same title (Leaba) One belongs to Kontagora (Etsu of Zunguru) and one to Borgu (Bussa). Very poor places, and after two houses I realize that there is not much to find out. It is northernmost place of Nupe, intermarriage and mixture with Bussa people strong (a Kamberi village actually south of Leaba!!), and connection with Nupe hinterland weak. Very sparsely populated hinterland as well!! almost complete lack in crafts, since their own poor products were eliminated through Gbajibo competition when canoe trade in up-stream areas expanded. Quite clearly: an isolated place as such does not preserve culture! To do this there must be a certain density of population and a hinterland which supplies (and keeps alive) needs, thus creating and preserving the cultural stimuli. Mere isolation, coupled with interruption of contact with stronghold of own culture, means decay, loss of keenness, indolence, decadence. Evident in religious life as well: everything reduced to mere 'skeleton', with none of the apparently 'secondary' elements' which in fact keep cult alive (cp. my 'psychological factors', e.g. in Gunnu!).

Result - cult becomes less and less 'interesting' and 'stimulating', and eventually runs itself out, like a worn out spring. A culture as in Leaba, with no drummers of their own (sic!) cannot preserve a religious cult. E.g. *kuti Mama* performed 3 years ago for last time (when Peters saw it) and not repeated because dress is now ruined, and 'no money' to replace it (no interest, either!)

Only proof of any active interest that they acquired large canoes for river trade when Niger comp. came to Leaba, and offered their services regularly for taking down produce. The Niger company had a store here long ago but the amount of produce bought was too small to warrant special trading post, and

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it was near being closed down, when mining came up. Attracted so many labourers, and increased river traffic so much, that stores became important not only for buying up produce but also for selling European goods.

With mining they were less lucky: the young men who tried their hand at it did not apparently grasp the essence of the work ('*Yi ma gi a* [We were not good at it] - is the continually repeated plaintive comment they make on this), and only made about 9d for 2 weeks - the payment being 25/- per ounce, and some labourers making £1 to £2 per month! After that they just gave it up.

Plenty of miners about here - mostly Syrians and Greeks. One man (British) with wife and child and one white assistant work on Patashi island. When we passed a sandbank a little south of Leaba, we saw five or six gold-washing natives suddenly jumping up and running to hide themselves in bush. They had taken us for commissioners of Mines most probably they had no prospecting licence, which is necessary before one starts even looking for gold.

Afternoon cross over to Kontagora Leaba (where the *manzhi* of Leaba live). No new information. Only confirmation of what I heard in the morning. Interesting shifting responsibility for things spiritual' on to *Manzhi* . Here again, as I had experienced often before, certain aspects of life have become, in a partly muhamedanised community prerogative of the Mallam section of population. E.G. aspects such as calendar, natural history or history = in short, aspects in which knowledge of a kind is involved. Here there is an additional, surprising, feature, that I am referred to *Manzi* also for information about former pagan customs and beliefs!!

State of crops: Leaba people grow all 3 kinds of millet viz guineacorn; also yam (but whole yield dug up at once, nothing left in soil!). In about 10 days ("5 days before end of this month!") *Mayi* will be ripe - provided that the drought does not last. Yam ought to be ripe beginning of next month; but owing to lack of rain, perhaps not till later. Maize just ripening - *nini-nini* [one-by-one]. People coming home from farms in evening, all carry maize chunk each, children included. On farms they are busy on their raised wooden or cane platforms, driving away monkeys and birds which are after maize, viz millet. (In a Yoruba mission school this week no boys came because they had to wait on farms till maize was harvested, and help frighten away monkeys!!)

In the households of Leaba women all getting shea nuts ready, for canteen. But some have no oven, and let it dry on ground, in sun. Takes 10 days, and even then not really good. Ask a woman why they have no stove? She says, the men of the house have not built a stove for them. I suggest, husband was unwilling to supply stove because he had no share in sale and profits (Shea nuts being women's property!). They laugh but I am sure I have hit right. After a time women (quite a number take part in discussion, eagerly!) remonstrate: why should they give him part of the money, they work and cook, they '*bo eje ya nwi*' [because of the food he gives]. I: but he gives the *eyi* [cereal]. They: O yes, but only the *eyi*. They have to contribute (from their own 'pocket money') *kula* [locust-bean paste], *kuka* [baobab leaves], salt, pepper and palm oil. I: But surely you have *loncis* [locust-trees] and pepper. But one woman eagerly corrects: no, this is not true, we have pepper. The other women, defiantly: well,

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there still remains salt, *kula* and oil. I suggest eventually, jokingly, men and women should share the profits of sheanuts. The men seemed pleased enough, but the women declined with much shouting and laughter.

[[Nadel's note on his page no.31--see Nadel's p.19]] I had very much the same discussion in Yankyedya when the women were complaining they had no money to pay the taxes (8/= p.h.), I said: why not share the profits of money with women? This, apparently, was considered impossible and out of the question. But the women helped them out with tax money, they said, last year, when there was such a bad crop, nearly famine.

8/7/36

Had heavy storm and rain, in the evening which almost flooded the R.H. Fortunately (because of leaking roof) rain stopped at night, and we had undisturbed sleep.

Went off again at 8am, reached Gbajibo, after uneventful journey at 7pm.

Next morning begin my inquiries. Not too successful. As regards religion, usual selection of rituals, some very much faded (e.g. Mama and Gunu). But on the whole still intact.

NB: Here, as *kuti'ba* [place of ceremony] for Mama, I see the first real 'sacred grove' in Nupe country : a beautiful shady place, surrounded by 12 big *gbanci* [*Ficus* sp.]-trees, standing out distinctly from other wise thinly wooded town site. But Gunu, only a short walks distance away, has nothing of the sort, only one big tree, at the root of which sacrifice is performed.

NB They also have the '*Elo* [masquerade]', and the same mortar-drum with brass- bell-belt, as in Mokwa and Raba. Photographed it.

But when I bring discussion on to witchcraft, they at once 'know nothing'. After patiently talking to them for long time, partly trying to worm the data out of them, partly by blunt assault, I manage to elucidate witch story, of which my Jebba informer had been telling me. It was impossible however to reveal a) why they all believed readily this particular woman to be a witch, and b) why the village women, admittedly, hated the alleged witch. When questioning women, they all refer me to the Sagi who was responsible, as it appears, for spreading (or using?) hatred against Katswamasa, the 'witch', and confirming, by her authority, the suspicion. Unfortunately 'Sagi' was away, in Yankyedya, so I could not interview her. Another witness I could not see was the 'disappearing' man's wife, on whose testimony the accusation seemed to be mainly, or solely, built. She, too was away. I was wondering if she was the hysterical woman the facts make her. But then, how could I have found out. The main witness, however, the witch herself, was present. I went to see her in the house where she lives at present: she is a fairly old woman, perhaps 60, certainly ugly, but not uglier than others - e.g. her sister in law, who receives me was much more witch-like to my opinion, and I actually thought her the witch at first. She is a potter, and a very good too, the samples I see in the house prove easily that her work is much superior to the stuff I saw them selling on market. Perhaps professional jealousy was one of the motives for her being so unpopular with the other women?

(See complete story of the witchcraft-case)

On Gbajibo market many strangers - women. Selling fish, yam and maize; buying pots and calabashes (from South). Salka-women [i.e. Kamberi], very dark, but pretty, with tall, slender figures. Have pieces of cane, 3 in. long. pierced through ear-flaps, with round metal pieces or coins on front end. Wear heavy silver or brass bangles. Wear thick, heavy red necklaces, made of small chains of red bead-chains tied together into thick coil. Have their eye lids tinted yellow! Also Dakakeri [Lelna] women with fierce tribal marks, feather or fish bone patterns, all over face. Always, besides, of course, sprinkling of Yoruba women. NB The men everywhere here, up to Leaba, wear the big stone amulets as we bought it in Nupe!

Leave Gbajibo at 11 o'cl. reach Jebba, in motor launch, at 3pm.

10/7/36

Morning we have visit of Mr and Mrs Daniel. Talk centres round witchcraft, with short spot[[?]] into Jung's psychoanalysis. Incidentally, he says that all the witchcraft cases he has been confronted with, were men's witchcraft, mainly cases of evil eye!!

Later go to Island. Am greeted enthusiastically. Find old Tsadu expecting me. Start talk on the Gbajibo witchcraft case. First he says: he knows nothing of it, never heard of it. And nobody present corrects this. But later we go into his house, and here he starts telling me what he knows about the case - throwing very interesting sidelights on this particular case as well as witchcraft in general. Sagi, it appears is only a new name for Lelu. There is no real Sagi now in Jebba - the last Sagi is dead. She was appointed by late Geba, and was the elder sister of Tsadu himself.

The Sagi of Gbajibo was in Jebba two years ago, that's how he came to know her. His comments may actually contain the explanation for the happenings in Gbajibo. - Also he tells me, that they have performed the " *walima* " (or *biki* [H. **feast**]) which he advised me to have performed when he was divining for me last time.

But he wants me to do something else as well: he is worried that my wife (he refers to her as "*nna-wu* [mother] ") is childless. He possesses an unfailing medicine. I have to bring him 1 or 2 glass-bottles (*kwalaba bokun* [white bottle]), and he will fill this medicine into it. We both should drink it, and the success is certain. But he also wants money as well, for there are other preparations he must make. We leave it, then, till tomorrow.

11/7/36

See Tsadu again. He now says, that for this medicine which removes barrenness he usually asks 5/=. He will do it cheaper for me. But I must bring a cock which he will sacrifice first to the medicine shrine.

This cock will be tested first, whether it fits the medicine. I.e. he will put grains of corn on the *cigbe*, if fowl picks it, it is alright. Otherwise new fowl has to be brought. - I entrust Twaki to get the fowl for me. To-morrow we shall have the performance.

On way back I photograph 3 men of house of Ejiko with *egban* [chain] Tsoede unfolded. They refuse to come out into road, so I have to do it inside the house, rather cramped by lack of space.

12/7/36

State of farms

Maize near Jebba all ripe and harvested, viz on some places will be ripe very shortly. This appears to be ordinary farm-maize (Cp. in Bida, during our last stay, they were growing maize, and partly also sweet potatoes - 18/5/36)

But some people down at Ndadoko here on island have been sowing maize only one month ago - i.e. it will be ripe middle of September - " *bata* [flood-plain]" crops. The same applies to Sweet Potatoes. [Sown at same time with rice !!]

Visit of Ndadoko - talk with my confidential informer. Last touch on witchcraft-story from Gbajibo. I ask him about the connection between the man fished out at Jebba and the " bewitched " one. He positively, and without hesitation says: they were not the same. The man drowned was no Nupe, but a Hausa man !! Calls as witness an old woman of the house, who is a native of Gbajibo, she confirms his story. But neither of them has actually seen corpse, but heard of it from " reliable source " ! (sic.)

He himself is a versatile person. He built himself a two-storey house, quite nice, really. He goes fishing with *efya* (fish spear); and hunting with gun (but broken and useless now). Besides - trading, and farming a little. Also doing Mallam's work: writing and reading. He is generally addressed " Mallam ".

See a drink made of water filtered through rubbed cocoa-nut shell; the latter used as "*deesa* " = fodder for goats.

On Jebba market-street a Hausa snake charmer from Sokoto. Savage looking fellow, but sympathetic. Has 2 enormous snakes in a calabash-pot. Singing a slow, unmelodious Hausa litany, he takes them out with his hands, and lets them playing about him, letting them loose for a second and - when everybody around is frightened to death - catches them again. Petting them and stroking their ugly bodies - always smiling. Nothing artistic about the performance, but quite impressive with these ungainly, spitting beasts. He has a snake charm, he says, so they do him nothing. He travels about, selling his charm and producing the snakes for money.

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On island, talk with Tsadu, Twaki and Ndako on various religious subjects, such as difference between *Aljinu* and *Kuti*, *Kuti* and *Cigbe* etc... We test the fowl for sacrifice to the *cigbe*. And later sacrifice fowl itself.

Good piece of play-acting. Tsadu has divined that a white fowl must be sacrificed, nevertheless he brings first, not betraying anything, a grey-white fowl, and makes the test. It is negative, the fowl does not pick the corn. Evidently he presses its throat so that it could not eat even if it wanted to. But it is made to look quite natural, and to impress me with this discouraging procedure, till I am forced to say: "No, this won't do at all ! This chicken (bought for my money !) is no good. But did you not say: a white fowl ? " And then, he, smiling in a superior way, says: yes, so I said. But I just thought we might try this first.

They go and fetch a white one. and - behold - it starts picking like mad. Laughing triumphantly, Tsadu points to it: well, what have I said ? And I am expected to be doubly impressed by truth of divination.

Actual procedure: in the corner is the pot of medicine, covered. On the ground Tsadu arranges various calabashes, one with corn, one with ash- water, and one empty. He fills beer in empty one, and then approaches sacred pot, pouring a little beer on top, on ground in front of pot, and in pot itself (drinking nothing himself) muttering the "*emisa* " of pot, and explaining to pot, in dull murmuring voice his errand. Then he takes a little corn, which he had mixed with water, and pours it on lid of pot, and on ground. He has stripped himself to the waist before starting. Now he takes fowl, holding it round body with one hand, and round throat with the other. Holds it head down, directly over corn to make it pick it up. Fowl refuses. He addresses fowl like a human being, it should eat the corn, why doesn't it eat the corn ? But mixed into this address also talk to " spirit of pot " (*cigbe*), so that one often does not know which of the two he is talking to.

E.g.: " is this not the right fowl? Why not? Tell me, for I must know, because I want my mother should have a child. We all look at you, the whole town looks at you, whether you accept this fowl. " Once the fowl picks a little on the ground - he looks at me reassuringly (you see it will be alright), assuming evidently that I am deeply alarmed. But then carrying on his entreaties to *cigbe* or fowl, he says: Once is not enough. No, I don't take once for an answer. You must show me again. Really dramatic in the pressing questioning and beseeching of this unwilling " magic ". Finally has to abandon it. They bring a white fowl, the same thing again, only it eats at once, and his talk turns now into satisfied acknowledgement of "*cigbe's* " approving attitude. After a while, he takes a small knife, and with the help of Twaki, cuts off head of fowl. Grasps it so, holding it tight round neck, that it never utters a sound. Before killing it, he addresses *cigbe* again, with usual formula at sacrifices, explaining what he does it for: " *Soko* [God] should give his *nna* [mother] a child, and *lafiya* [make it well] it for ever ". The blood drips into pot, then the lid pushed on again. Chicken and its cut off head are taken to be cooked. The sacrifice itself is finished. Tsadu pours himself some beer out, before drinking libation on ground in front of *cigbe*, and on lid, with murmured " *emisa* [greeting]", then drinks himself a little, and gives Twaki. When fowl is cooked, they make their " *biki* ". Now everything is done, and he will proceed to preparation of the medicine, using substance inside pot as main ingredient.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

[[Nadel's note on his pages nos. 47 and 49 :-]]

" *Emisa* " of medicine, murmured whenever one approaches it: " *Funagba, egba na emu na. wu gba(e) eya* " [The carpenter of the *muci* [baobab] tree (= who tries to use the *muci* tree) will not master a canoe (lit: he is not sufficient for canoe-making)]

In the whole address, many sentence spoken too indistinctly and too fast for writing down. No fixed formulae, or ways of expressing what he wants to say. Many variations from time to time. This is as extract, but easy to supplement : (order not always the correct one)

(Fowl does not eat)...

Wo wa bishe nana e. (many repetitions) [You don't want this chicken]

Bishe ndoci wo nwa o ? :/ [whatever fowl hears it]?

Ega Soko wo wa nana a. [Word of God, you don't want this]

(Chicken eats just once)...

Mi go zunni a. :/ [I do not accept it just once]

Zun guba mi ewa o, [I want it twice]

Zun dokun mi ewa o. [I want it many times]

Go bishe nana, ebo u nna mi u magi. [I accept this chicken because of the mother that bore me]

(almost beseechingly)

Nna-mi be nda-mi a le wo ye. [My mother and father will see you]

Ezi kpata a le-wo ye. [All people should see you]

Ama wo wa bishe nana a? [but do you not want this fowl?]

Mi go zunni a Etc [I do not accept it just once]

With new (white)fowl...

Nna-mi a magi eti gboro, [My mother will bear a child with a straight head]

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Mi la wun (i.e. fowl)*ya wo*,...[I will kill it for you]

Zandoro u le ye nya ezi babo, [Anybody sees its egg here]

(When fowl eats with hearty appetite:)

Ndami u jin yebo saranyi [My father is very grateful]

Wo go bishe gancin ...[You take the fowl at last]

**Nda mi u jin yebo, ezi kpata jin yebo*, [My father loves it, everybody loves it]

Bishe ga da o na. [Here is the fowl]

Nda mi u de lafiya, lo nna-mi [My father is well, also my mother]

u ma gi wangi. [She who bore me]

(Sacrifice)...

Funagba, egba na wun na, [?, the leg that swells]

wun gbe eya a. [He does not hunt for a friend]

Yi a wa zuriya. [We will want offspring]

Tsoci a ya yi a...[The master will not give us]

(When drinking beer himself)

Funagba, wo fi nana, [?, you drink this]

Tsoci a yi lafiya. [The master will be well]

* NB Does he always refer to suppliant as *nda-mi* [my father]? -No, only in my case, because it is equivalent to his father. (*Nda Kata* [father of the house]!!) In case he would sacrifice for anybody who stands in *Nda*-relationship to him, he would also do so. But other people only by name.

13/7/36

Further talks with Tsadu, Gara, Twaki etc about religious topics. Photograph the bronze figures from near.

Food prices. Food prices in market: no *kpayi* any longer. *Eyi* slightly more expensive (2 bowls for 1½d; one @ 8½ aninis [A now extinct coin worth a tenth of a penny], as against 8 aninis last month). Rice same price - 2d.

I am asked to arbitrate between Gara and Twaki in question of seniority: They are direct cousins, sons brother and sister. The sister was the older one. Now, they ask me, who is the senior of the two

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

cousins? I decide the son of the brother, because the man is always senior in family usage. This makes Gara the senior, and he thanks and rejoices -Twaki is a good loser. They all were laughing heartily - but they said it quite in earnest. For Twaki had something to say all the time, I could notice it, and when he began, "Shaba, *mi de ga* [I have a visitor]", Gara suddenly tried to stop him. He nevertheless told me. I ask Tsadu if my decision was correct, and he says: perfectly in accordance with their own ideas.

NB Of twins the one who comes out first, is the *nugunci* [senior]. The one " *na ka ki tu na* " (who begins to reach the earth)

15/7/36

Tsadu comes along in early morning bringing with him a bottle of the "medicine" he had promised. We should both drink it, and then we shall have a strong healthy boy !

I give him paper to start statistics of divining. He accepts with great pleasure, stressing how well he understands it, and how he likes it. He would, of course, - another important fillip to his influence in the village.

In great secrecy he confides to me that he had met a man who said he knows somebody who sells the medicine which enables you to see witches. Perhaps he only invented that other man, and makes the medicine himself - ? But now, at last, I hope to find out whether this witchcraft-medicine is reality or just another fiction !

Childbirth-medicine

A man in Jebba had a child 5 days ago - a girl. He had gone and fetched the necessary medicine-herbs on the first day. But he had not yet been to Tsadu to divine the name of baby, and, accordingly, *Suna* not yet performed.

15/7/36 Fishing Jebba

People in Jebba Island all prepare their big nets for fishing. They will have no perhaps 10 to 14 days of it - the river is just rising, but when it will have risen too much they can again not fish. They have to wait then till river fills backwaters, and main water is falling. Then they can fish in pools with small nets (wading through)and fish spears. At present proper time for big floating nets. They go out in afternoon, ad come back before night, or in morning and come back next day. Some go upstream to Buka, some downstream towards Kpatsuwa. - The nets belong to *emitso* [compound-owner], but many younger men weave them. E.g. in Ejiko's house they have 2 nets, one of European and one of native string.

3 young men go out in same canoe. I.e. the small-sized canoe as Islanders use them. Distribution of catch as follows.:

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Of 10 fish 2 belong to young men (= *buca*). 8 to *emitso*. They take this period of fishing as the best thing to get whole tax money in one. When tax money is paid out, at all there, and food is also provided, then the fish caught in excess of that, are given as presents to *yelezi*, i.e. the in-laws - a permanent keeping-up of friendship.

16/7/36

Yoruba Magic

When I go to see Sarkin Yorubawa of Jebba he shows me in his *katamba* long thin chains, very much like *egban* Tsoede, stretched across floor, pressed into mud.

Called *eguwa*, used to keep of evil spirits. All Yoruba chiefs possess a chain like that. [So - evidently - "chain-as-magic" = a common culture trait both of Nupe and Yoruba]. He also tells me of other (common ?) "*kuti* ": Sago... Performed whenever new chief comes to power. Says Nupe call it "*arado* " (certainly not correct; most probably *radi* [meteorite], i.e. Sogba !!) Finally, I ask him about red-clothed mask I saw dancing through the streets of Jebba some time ago, when they celebrated funeral of old woman. Is called *Egu*, or *Egungu*, and apparently (not only by look of it, but really identical with what we know as "*Gugu* " !!

Burial of girl (First day) When we reach house of Tsadu we hear that a grand-child of his (more exactly: daughter of a nephew of his) has died last night, a girl of about 13 years.

It had been up on river trip, beyond Leaba, with mother, felt bad on trip home (*efa gbako* [the skin of the belly] - they apparently mean really belly), and then had died shortly upon re-turn. They had buried her immediately, in an *ede* [cloth]. When we come (10.30 a.m.) they are just finishing grave.

It is done by "*manzi* ", i.e. "*manzi yi Goro* ", her father having to muhammedan inclinations. The grave has been dug in a disused, roofless sleeping hut, with only half walls left. Grave not deeper than 2 ft. On top of oblong, square opening they fit strong wooden branches like timber roofing.

Again on top layer of fresh leaves and branches from trees. Then sand is mixed with water, poured upon, and filled out with ready-made clay till nothing more to see. Finished in quarter of an hour. About 15 men stand about looking at it, Mallams saying prayers, viz. finishing grave. They all have rosaries in hands. Later they retire in to *katamba* where Mallams *jin aduwa* first.

Mallams from all over town, and one even from Gana-bank. Madiwa the neighbour, among them. Not however Liman (of Mosque) who lives in "aliens' quarters" on island !! Then Mallams receive their Sadaka, about 0.3 from every man in house (Tsadu included), collected by father of girl and handed to Mallam. Mallams get *eje* [porridge], and leave. Only male relatives remain in *katamba*, waiting for mourning guests to arrive. - During preparation of grave and *aduwa-jin* the pagan visitors (Twaki, Ndako, Gara) sit in *katamba* or Tsadu's separate enclosure. Later, when Mallams leave, they all repair to *katamba*. Tsadu himself is in his Sunday-best, and receives guests, being the *emitso*. Does not take himself matter very seriously, behaves as usually, jokes and laughs with us, receives "customers" for his divining, and does not forget to ask L. to wind up his new watch for him (our present to him). - The

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

women of the house were sitting in front of hut, they had just stopped "crying". They are sitting inside the mother's hut, really grieved. Two or three talk comfortingly to mother. They have tears in their eyes. Except for some old women who sit there with usual stone-like expressionless face. Guests and visitors come continually. They go inside, say their "*Oku be hakuri*", some cry with mother, some just sit silently. Some brought a few *aninis* [1/10th of a penny]; and give this "*sadaka*" to a young woman who hands it over to Mallams. An old woman brings fresh yam cakes, also given to Mallams. Outside of hut perhaps 8 women sitting, mostly visitors who have been inside already, or will go inside, and afterwards depart. Two young women of house prepare *eje* (they did not take part in crying). An elderly woman supervises: she is sitting inside, but comes out from time to time. Eventually divides up meal: 2 calabashes (small) taken inside hut for mourning women. 4 for men who have assembled in *katamba*. The *eje* was made of rice and fish and sauce. Men eating immediately, and mallams leave afterwards.

Women who have been preparing meal, then take dishes away, wash dishes etc. Finally disappear partly in own huts, partly in mourning hut. Meanwhile mourning women were striking up a whine, not the usual "formal" type we know, but nevertheless "staged". For the ordinary crying they do, is normal and noiseless. This whining is done in chorus, on top of voice, falsetto, a sort of trill, fluctuating, a miserable and piercing expression of grief. Then, again, they stop for a time (this stopping of the "staged" performance of grief is called by men - "*efa gbaci*" the real, noiseless crying is not referred to as "*tigi* [crying]" at all ...), and start their whining again. This will go on now for some time, till, at end of 8 day's period, a "*fo gutota*" = *sadaka* will conclude period of mourning. Since it was small girl's death, there will be no *fo shiba*! - The men sitting in *katamba*, some with usual vacant look of guests or relatives who want to look trist, but other relatives with tired and really sad faces. They are all of them pretty exhausted after the day's work, and physical strain so far may overshadow mental abjection.

Economic arrangement.:

Collection of money for mallams who dug grave and "read service": everyone gives 0.3d to ½d. Men and women, (not merely relatives and neighbours) included who happen to be there; father himself perhaps 1d to 1½d. - Altogether 4 women and 11 men, sum of 5-2d...roughly 6d. (4 Mallams, head-mallam and 3 assistants). Besides women cook *eje* (rice and fish), 6 bowls (2 small and 4 large), or perhaps 3 bowls rice @ 2d, plus sauce and fish @ ½d, together 9d. Cost of funeral day 1½d.

Cost here rather out of proportion, because very little corn left, and they eat mostly the (more expensive) rice now !!

Ad "*fo gutota*": again *eje* cooked, but much more, perhaps for 1/= to 2/=. Relatives who come give again *sadaka* of 1/2d each only to Mallams. People of the house give then nothing to Mallam

Cp. pagans: here the friends bring money presents for won of the home as weak recompense for *eje* they cook. (E.g. 20 relatives giving ½d each, = 10d; now *eje* cooked for them will be at least 6 to 7 bowls @ [if it is corn, and not rice] 0.8d, = 6d, + *eni* [sauce] perhaps 4d, so all is square.) Theoretically it looks then as if pagans stress idea of mutuality (= recompense), Muhammedans of display (you show off with what you give, no practical advantage for yourself)

Cp. Brideprice

Ad: Gunu

NB NB In talk about Gunu, and the Ndazo Gunu, Tsadu happens to mention linguistic derivation of title "Ndazo" ... Because of "tsotso [?]", to give birth to a *tsotso*-child, "nwi zo saranyi [he tried very hard]!", only through help of *Soko* possible. Because of this "ezo [perseverance]" he is called Ndazo. This version evidently authoritative !! *Zo*, and *Ezo* as much as rare, miraculous !!

Corrects (actually upsets) my own linguistic theory

Suna I

Have opportunity to witness divining from a new angle. First of all see for first time a divining which is really first in the day, and the special preliminaries necessary. (See Ntbk) Secondly, a young father comes in who wants to have his new born boy's name divined. [It is not the father himself, but his elder brother, the present family head - it must be the *nusa* of family who goes to see diviner.] Tsadu throws his strings in his usual restless, pressing way, entreats his strings to tell him the "name". Till, eventually he finds it, and the divining is finished. The *Suna* will take place to-morrow morning. Tsadu also reads in his strings what sort of a *sunu* should be performed: Dialogue: "A wa nuwan kpota [they want water for six hundred]" [Father: a wa nuwan (= beer) ani [they wanted water already] Tsadu wants to make sure: A la nuwan nya kobo guba [they will bring water for two kobo], and not *kpota* !! Father has to admit, he bought beer for 1d only. Tsadu is adamant. That is what the *eba* [divination strings] say. Will this *nuwan* "a ga jin laba ba na a dzu Landu na [they will make libation at the place where Landu entered], a ta yi o egi da o na [they tell us the child is there], egi ci de lafiya [and the child is healthy]."

Suna I Divining of Name

This is an account of some of the sentences I could jot down. He was speaking very fast, mumbling under his breath, like speaking to him self, knocking his magic ivory-tooth against strings or "stones" as he progressed. Now it sounds as if he spoke to himself, angrily at slowness of procedure, and now as if he pronounced tentatively part of his as yet unfinished prophecy. (He refers to figures, viz stones as "Etsu [Chief]") Every phrase repeated frequently

Ba tsu ke egi ke... [At the place of the chief the child remains]

Ega nya we ga gun [Will you meet your visitor]? belongs to preliminaries referred to on p.64-

U gun a ...[He will not arrive]

Wo ga a, wo ga a. [You don't speak, you don't speak]

Nda na ma nda na [Also the father]?? (repeating again and again, as if, having got hold of a clue, he wants to make sure)

Mi wo a [I don't hear] (almost in despair)

(eventually)

Nda na ma we na,

La nda a yi wu o. [Bring the father that will explain]

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

NB the customer is a distant relative of Tsadu, thus he comes to know the name of this particular ancestor. Wedding canoe

See a canoe coming upstream from Kpatsuwa going to Buka, with bride and company. 3 poles (bridegroom relatives), 1 drummer, who is drumming continually, and about 10 girls sitting in canoe, clapping hands and singing. One elderly woman apparently chaperone i.e. here bride's father's sister. In front of canoe pile of pots tied up in net, calabashes, etc etc - i.e. the dowry with bride brings into wedlock.

State of crops, Food

Food, State of crops

Kola nuts (small and cheap kind) are bought in large quantities from Ibadan and brought up here by Hausa and Nupe traders.

Sugar-cane just begins to appear - from farms at Raba.

Groundnuts also. From

Otherwise sheanuts still main crop (commercial !!)

17/6/36

Suna II

When we reach the house where the child was born it is full of women who prepare *eje*. The baby itself is carried about by grandmother on back. It had its hair cut, and the tribal marks made already early in the morning. The *manzi* [Mallams] have come and prayed, received their money and food; they are now sitting in Ndaliman's *katamba*, all dressed in their finery. So it had turned out to be a muhammedan *Suna* after all. But not wholly so. Yesterday, after having consulted Tsadu, the elder brother (= *emitso*) and the father of child, i.e. the younger brother, have bought the beer, as prescribed by diviner, and made *laba* [libations] in the hut where Landu is buried. It was a private affair, and no witnesses were present not even Tsadu or other relatives. With this they had satisfied their pagan rituals, and today they had a *nangi* [goat] killed, and mallams make " *aduwa* [prayer]" - this is for the muslim side of the question. Actually they have done both, reminding me of Chief of Sakpe, who invited Liman for the pagan wedding of his son. Partly they want to be quite safe, partly it appears to be impossible now to perform any of these semi-public duties (wedding, Suna, funeral) without acquainting Mallams of it, and even asking them to come and do their share. As Tsadu puts it: formerly, our grandfathers only had the *laba*, i.e. the ancient customs. But nowadays people don't do it anymore just like this, but like to have *manzi* there as well, that is to say like to do it both ways. Muhammedanism, it appears, does not replace *kuti* violently, but through its very existence, unobtrusively demands to be taken notice of exactly as social facts, fashions, new values which dominate large section of population, refuse to be ignored. Younger generation "goes with the times". In this particular case the father and elder brother are not more than 30 or 35 years of age.

The combination of paganism and Muhammedanism particularly interest ing. E.g the divining for full muhammedans would have been done by Mallams, by means of " *hati* [sand-divination]", and not with " *eba* [cowrie-string divination]" !!

Suna at Jebba, on 16th and 17th July 1936

Pagan features

Muhammedan features

Collecting of herbs

by father himself,

in bush

Divination by *ebasaci*, with *eba*.

Accepting the ordered

sacrifice of beer to ancestor.

Having *manzi* to *jin aduwa*.

Slaughtering of ram, and arranging

big communal meal for relatives

and guests (*walima* - *eje*)

<- Cutting of hair ->

[formerly cut completely;

but now " mallams"

fashion to leave tuft

adopted even by real

pagans. (= fashion !!)

Tuft left on head

= Cutting of tribal marks =

Spell spoken at Laba of Suna; performed by father's elder brother:

" *Mi jin baya Soko*, (I sacrifice to Soko)

Egi na da na, (The child here,

Tsoci a ga Landu zi o. Lord, there(?) Landu had returned)

**Kuci a gwa su gbangbanyi*, (securely)

ga lugwa u ta nya ma, (don't let him fall ill)

U de rayi, la'u ze nusa. " (cause that he becomes old)

* Spirit of ancestor addresses directly quasi as a person !

Then a little beer poured n ground, rest drunk by the two men, in silence. With this ceremony ends

Funeral of girl II

Second day:

Nothing to see. In hut of mother 3 women, the old *nusako*, Tsadu's sister, and other old woman accompany mother. They cook inside, and sit quiet. But no ostentations or showing-off of mourning.

18/7/36

Tsadu and Twaki come. I expect to hear news about the man who knows a medicine which makes it possible to see witches. But the whole thing is much more complicated: one man (a Yoruba) knows the medicine, and is prepared to sell it. But he must have the bark of a certain tree for it, which does not

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

grow here. So Tsadu, resourceful as always, sent another friend of his, who is on the railway, down to Ibadan to get this done. This man has sent a messenger to-day to say that he got the stuff. But has not turned up personally as yet. When Tsadu gets the wood and hands it over to man who knows how to prepare *cigbe*, he will bring this expert along - at least that is what he promises. He says that a few people know this medicine, but they are all unwilling to speak of it!!

Speaking of witchcraft and *eshe*, he says that the Beni have *Eshe*; there is no *Eshe* in any other Nupe country. He paints the *Eshe* very black - " *u yi cigbe wangi a, cigbe dede u yi o* [there is a medicine not good, a bad medicine]. " According to him it is fully equivalent to *ega*, only for men. Interesting that here again this most similar type is referred to as existing in other area, and not in own district at all !! (As e.g. the Bida people say: Sakpa and Lemu, or Cekpa, is the witch-country !!)

We talk also about certain other medicines which make people invisible, or invulnerable... Hunters of old said to have possessed these. I ask: has Ndau Dagba got it ? Tsadu - indignant - No, he has got nothing of the sort !!

Later, in his desire to impress me that he is the only one who counts in this regard, he forgets himself a little, drops his reserve, and makes some interesting relations about the (supposed) regular co-operation between women-*gaci* [witches] and men-*baboci* (=diviner). As soon however as I try to trace it back to him personally he plays the innocent - he used to know an *ebasaci* who worked hand in hand with the witches, but they are all dead... He himself never did this sort of thing.

State of crops...

Mayi - in Mokwa etc, all harvested already !

Eci - begins to be harvested now. (I.e. first harvest)

Kpanmi [okra]- picked at present.

Yam harvest: First harvest just beginning i.e. out of every " *ewo* [yam-heap]" they dig out (*gbaci*) viz cut off (*kpi*) one yam only, namely a yam which is big. The small buds they leave in the ground for another 3 months. Then they, too, will have grown big (*sa...* intransitive), and will be harvested. No sowing till after *yikere* and dry season. NB From each single seed they expect 1 to 3 yams.

19/7/36

Trip to Bele

Small fisher village on S.W. bank of Niger. High on sandbanks. But very precarious position. When river rises he may flood part of the sandbanks and wash away good many of the houses. Actually this always happens. Number of huts obviously new, - built anew every year !! Only in the back of village, and on higher cliffs there would be protection from water. But nevertheless village built in narrow strip along the banks, not reaching inland at all.

People are only fishermen. Except for a little *rogo* and maize, no farming, and no tree-possession either. [Cute economic arrangement to compensate women for loss of own income since there are no

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

koci (sheanut trees here: namely to allow for a certain simple type of fishing with basket trap in pools and backwaters as women's work !!]

Nice people on the whole, although a little frightened in the beginning when I broach on religious subjects. Take their secrets very seriously. But Tsadu help me a great deal. He, being "almost" a native (his elder brother having lived in Bele for many years) knows all about the place and introduces me in some the secrets. Amusing that he does not allow Twaki to come along as well. Why ? " Twaki is a stranger, " he says - Twaki's connection with Bele only through his sister who is married here !! - Through talking with Bele people about their Kuti I discover certain things about Jebba as well, which Tsadu had so far omitted to mention.

1) that Gunnu in Jebba had (originally) also bush night 2) that Jebba people have a Zikin with sacred stone !

The Gunnu in Jebba had to be abandoned in its old form when " Kusa " was barred. This happened at time of occupation, when whole island was filled with soldiers.

Certain things however I fail to achieve: e.g. they refuse to " play " the bullroarer for me, because the man who alone can do it is away. On the whole they led me to Gunnu'ba and Ziba-place very reluctantly only. They themselves uncovered their head when they came near the place (Tsadu removing his carefully wound turban !), and the younger men also their dress, remaining stripped to waist. It really is a sacred place then. Actually situated in what can be seen to be a grove. In the fairly open country visible clusters of trees about sacred grove. Both *kuti* places away from main footpath, but not really far from village. One can see the trees from village ! On both places there have been huts before; but they had collapsed (viz the roof had collapsed) and not rebuilt. On the Ziba place this had the result that they were storing the *Ziba*-drums (wooden tubular drums, peg-fastening [[illustrated on Nadel's page no. 75]]) in the branches of a tree, instead of the broken down hut where they used to be kept originally.

Gunnu-place... a sort of fence towards path formed through some sticks in ground and strips of leaves fixed across. - Under a Sheanut tree (but not bearing) 2 oblong square stones stuck half-upright in ground. On top of these used to be protecting roof fixed on 4 forked poles. One of the stones has white cloth-strap tied round. In front about 10 to 20 thick wooden sticks lying on ground. Besides the usual array of cooking stones, broken pots, calabashes etc. I don't notice the two earth heaps flanking the entrance of the sacred grove (but instead, perhaps, there is the fence !)

Ziba... perhaps 50 yard distance from Gunu, nearer to town, but entrance from separate path. Only pots, calabashes etc to be seen on ground. A broken down hut with nothing in it. In the back a big tree, and between the branches are kept the drums (4 or 5). On the ground underneath lying 2 hollow trunks, as used for drums, but not skin on top, half eaten by ants. Against one tree is leaning a stick, about 6 ft long, a rope with small bullroarer fixed to end. Called *Lagba*. When I go near it and touch it they all are terribly frightened, and stare at me as if having lost their speech. But later they comfort me: nothing will happen to me! They themselves however can not touch it, only the man Shaba, who however is away at Talabu. At the Ziba certain songs are sung, which again only that one man knows. Ziba is, of course, woman tabu.

[[Nadel's p. 77 includes sketch map of these sacred places]]

At none of these cults does the chief take part.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

The Bele is a muhammedan, pupil of the (only) Mallam = Ndaliman of the place. Muhammedanism at present not very strongly progressing - Mallam has only 2 pupils, and they are his two boys. The present Mallam's father however has already been a Mallam. The fact that chief is Mallam does not seem to affect the going on of the pagan rites -not at present, at least.

ad : Muhammedan chief of pagan village !

NB A similar situation prevails in Jebba - but aggravated through fact that chief at same time does not belong to that hereditary group of *nusazi* among whom chief is to be elected !! How long pagan rituals, which have so much general social (and political) importance [Integration !!], can subsist with chief of muhammedan faith, is an open problem. But chiefs mostly the first to embrace Islam. Therefore gradual disappearance of paganism all over the country understandable from here !!.

Zikin... no sacred or secret site. On river-front, in front of Ndau's house, actually on main street. Curious. Consist of two beautifully carved poles or supports, one big, one small, standing side by side. They end with four fingerlike points. The large pole has on top, fixed between the 4 points, a black granite of almost geometrically ball-shape - looks like cannonball. Glossy and sticky with beer from sacrifices. Perhaps 5 yards to the left is put up a wooden rack, very primitive, consisting of 4 forked poles, and number of rough sticks placed across so as to form platform. On this platform are lying broken calabashes, horns of deer, jaws of a crocodile etc... Fishhooks are hanging down from one side. This replaces the horn-hut of the inland Ndau - (the house in the back is the Ndau's house -made recognisable through horn of deer put into roof!). The whole thing is an Ndau kuti, but "Ndau" means here not only real hunt with traps or guns (which is not done any more, but also fishing expeditions, specially the big fishing they do when river is up --including the expedition to kill hippos and crocodiles. The round stone ball of Bele is evidently an accessory. The curiously shaped stone, or any play of nature, is believed to contain magic power ("mana" !). Can therefore be incorporated into any cult !! (Cp Sokogba, or Takun in Katsa). The element stone and tree is obviously interchangeable. E.g.

Zikin in Kpatsuwa - tree

Gunu in Diko - tree

Gunu in Bele - stone

Zikin in " - stone Stone -> hill... other combination. Under certain conditions stone becomes " *kuti* " by itself (" *Takun* ")

Ziba in " - just grove

Gunu in Mokwa - just grove

Ziba in Gbari - stone

This same rack I see later in Kpatsuwa. But instead of these rather unique 2 poles and stone ball, there is only a tree which has a cloth stap tied round !! The horn-rack definitely culture trait of Kede Gbede area !

Childbirth When walking through village come into compound where baby has just been born. Grandmother has it on lap - outside of hut, rather cold day too !! - washing it with cloth and warm water.

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It is still full of blood when I see it. Perhaps 20 women and girls sitting round, watching or assisting. Later baby is rubbed with camwood till quite red. Quite a sturdy fellow, but ghastly to look at.

On same day they have sunu of another baby that has been born last week. When I go to salute the *nnako* [grandmother], the barbers have done their work already, and just sit in *katamba* waiting for their *eje* (But no drummers, or suchlike !) In Kpatsuwa, on same day, I see bride going down to water with her girl companions; she is still veiled, - but wedding has taken place 10 days ago; she will be veiled for 6 more days, so they say. (On the head they all carry the typical *dukun yawo* [wives' pot] !)

[[illustrations of " *dukun yawo* " and of the " *Mama-drum* " mentioned below]]

21/7/36

Visit to Island. Go to house of Ndako where the *Mama*-drums are kept. Big wooden tube-drums, exactly as the ones used at Ziba in Bele and at mask festival (*Kakayu*) at Kuta. Ndako also possesses one medicine -namely " *Wasa* " (= snake-medicine). Later, in Tsadu's house I complete my study of divining by studying the " *ce-ewo* ", shell-throwing-divination.

Food stores... Women are pounding maize, to make *Kunu* [gruel] and *Zambu* [thick paste] with it, corn being not so frequent now. Fish trade... meet a man whose mother is one of the big fish traders. (Father a cloth trader). She buys fish at Muregi, Jima, etc and sells it to Yoruba who carry it inland. Buys in big quantities, perhaps £3 worth of fish (buying price), and sells it with £1 profit. Among the fish there are big ones (for about 3/=) and small ones as well. Fish smoked by women. These women are local fishermen's wives, or women from down-river, or Hausa women. They bring the fish to Jebba chiefly. For here the big "buyers", such as this woman, reside. They bring the fish by rail to Ibadan, Oshogbo, Lagos etc, where they find their market.

Some of the Niger fishermen's wives (Bele or Kpatsuwa) sometimes market themselves their husband's fish and travel by train down to big places South.

Finally, real capitalists, have (or hire) canoes, and collect fish all along the river, selling them finally either to middle men in Jebba, or carrying them by rail to Ibadan etc...

23/7/36 Funeral of girl III

The funeral of the girl who died in Tsadu's house last week has reached the stage of "*fo gutota* " to-day.

Interesting to note that parents of girl (a grand-nephew of Tsadu) lives in *tunga*, not in Jebba island itself. Nevertheless girl buried here, and all formal arrangements made by, or on behalf of, *nusa*, = family head. Not father himself, they do not exactly live together in one household any longer. He had sent a little rice (*evo* [calabash] 2) as his contributions for the food-*sadaka*.

Fo gutota consists mainly in communal meal, and a food-*sadaka* being sent out to every compound (*nusazi*), *manzi* included. In the morning when I arrive, 10 o.cl., women busy cooking *eje* of rice and palmoil sauce and fish. Perhaps 12 women assembled, some just sitting and watching, some assisting, and the older women of house actually preparing food in big pots. They chat and joke - no funeral atmosphere about them. More women and girls arrive, some with babies on back, both relatives and

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neighbours. Some girls and younger women go out again, carrying food in calabash to various houses. After an hour or so men begin to appear, first sitting down in *katamba*, and greeting Tsadu, then going inside to eat. After they finished, come out to *katamba* again and continue talking.

Their prompt visit was partly delayed by unexpected arrival of A.D.O.

(Tsadu himself does not eat midday-meal, he says - only beer !) The men who did not come (relatives, friends, neighbours, - e.g. Mallam did not come). will have food sent to them. 10 men have turned up while I was there, more may come later. But at 12 o'cl, the house had emptied itself considerably women having gone home. They are already clearing up.

Economic arrangement. For the *eje* they were using 20 *evo* rice - reckoned to be sufficient for 40 people. Plus *eni* (total cost approx = 3/6 for rice, 1/8 for *eni* = 5/2d) [24/7 Tsadu says: 5/=]

They eat in groups of 4 to 5 sitting round one calabash. The amount of money paid to old women by the *dengizi* (non-relatives, neighbours etc pay nothing) is almost impossible to ascertain.

Contrary to Muhammedan custom as practised in Bida!!] Paid to old woman herself, men know nothing about it, and she would not talk about it before others. Tsadu promises to ask her later when people are gone. He estimates relatives who may give money at 20 to 30. But no " *tile* [profit] "; some give 1d, some 3d, some nothing. Some may also send food stuff. [[24/7 *Sadaka* money did not amount to more than 1/=

24/7/36

Go to farm with Twaki, to dig out yam. His farm is on North mainland, a little down the river.

Corn... Pretty high, on some places 4 ft high. Where the corn plant is still young, there are 8 to 10 " *sunsun* [shoots]" in one place. The farmer then tears out 6 to 7, so that not more than 2 to 3 plants should remain in one place. Otherwise they would not grow properly. This " *mu ya* " (tearing out) is part of " *nunu* [hoeing]".

Mayi... Some farmers have tried to sow early millet. It is ripe already, but not good. Had to give it up, viz to leave the plants which are very thin, black and barren. Soil not good enough, and birds eat fruit. Some farmers have planted corn in very (double) wide distance, as if they kept space in between for something else (some actually plant maize in between; maize now reaped already). They " *de kokari a* [no motivation]", did not bother about clearing it very much, nor did they plant maize in between. The wider the distance, the easier it is to clear.

NB: all leaves, stalks etc cut or torn out, left on the spot, for rain to wash into soil as manure.

Yams... growing more or less upright, along stem of small tree-sticks etc, put into *ewo* [yam-heap]. Slightly to the side, not right in the centre (in the centre one places seed-yam). To dig out yam one opens one side of *ewo*, with hands and long bushknife. Takes out all the yams which have grown so far - one, or two - and closes *ewo* again. By colour of fresh earth which is thrown up in this process of digging and re-covering, they recognise later, where they have dug already, and where not. For not done in one day, not even in one week ! Some of the yams have been dug out a few days ago; some which we dig out to-day are not full-sized; ought to stay for perhaps 10 more days, then they would be grown to full size.

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The Jebba farmers use this early yam only for food, not for sale as they don't have very much of it, and besides, as they have no other early crops (such as *mayi*). Late yam, which comes out at same time as corn, is then sold.

The yam plant, covered up again, will sprout again, and grow 3 to 4 yams in 3 month's time, when " real " harvest of yam takes place. When digging out yams they at same time remove and crack bugs. Remove also the seed-yam, which looks quite thin, like squeezed out. They call the new seed yam " *ebu* ", and the old, squeezed out seed-yam, " *nnakogi* [lit. little grandmother]" (" *ebo na nwi kuku na* [because it is very withered]") One yam cut into two is used for seed-yams (2 seeds !)

Kpanmi [okra]... pick it from shrubs; but some places not yet ripe, on others over-ripe, and no good any longer. They keep half of it, and half is sold by women (who keep half the money, and return half of money to husbands). But very little money in it. The hat-full he was picking today was worth 0.4d ! A full basket (1 load " *kasa* ") sells for 4d.

Calabash... we only have a look at them, to see how far they are. They have been planted 5 months ago, and won't be ripe for another 3 months. Not eaten. Only made into receptacles (by men). If there are great many, women sell them. But if there are few used for house only.

Shea nuts .. There are a number of shea-nut trees about. But not many of them bear. Strict property of wives of men who owns farmland. No *aro-jin* [loaning] for money. But women among themselves may allow a friend to pick some of their *eko* [shea-nuts].

Groundnuts... Quite a number on market already. This is the crop of groundnuts sown 4 months ago (i.e. beginning of rains). Fresh Groundnuts will go on now, corresponding to time of sowing, for next 3 months. In 3 months there is the big groundnut harvest, of ground-nuts sown in the middle of the rains! These groundnuts are the ones sold to the Company. But no fixed rule as to area and sowing time. Here on Jebba Island, f.e., some farmers have sown early and are harvesting now, and some sown late and will not harvest till in 3 month's time.

Cigbe of Ndau. To day I effect the exchange I was promising the Ndau, I give him vaseline (my " *cigbe*") for his rheumatism. And he will give me hunter's medicine. But he wants to know first if I am really a hunter. Not till I convince him on this point does he agree to let me have his hunter's *cigbe*. He shows me the herb it is made of, and asks if we have got this plant at home. I say: no, and so he tells me to bring him a bottle, and he will prepare it for me, for he wants me to " excel over all the hunters in my country, who have not got this *cigbe*." Also, after long palaver, he admits that he has a certain *cigbe* for the war which one sniffs, and which makes you invisible. Again I have to assure him that we have got wars. Now as previously he insists that he could not give me the *cigbe* " *ebo banza* [for no good reason]". But he agrees that I ought to become " *ekungu nci na gboka ga kpata na* [a warrior that surpasses everything in strength]." He must find the ingredients first, but day after to-morrow I shall have this *cigbe* as well. -As regards the immortality-*cigbe* *Kpada* (supposed to be owned by *Ndacezi* [hunters]), I ask him about, he scorns the idea of it. This *cigbe* simply does not exist. When *Soko* makes a man die, he will remain dead. People who talk about *kpada*, lie (*gamana*, *gamana*, he shouts indignantly). Only - they can make themselves invisible, and this may give rise to belief immortality and " second life". The invisibility itself apparently regarded as quite within range of probability and even normality. And I shall get one of these invisibility *cigbes*.

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I give him 3d towards expenses. And a few hours later Tsadu tells me that Ndau has informed him about it and shown him the money. As Tsadu is my particular " *egi kata* [child of the house]" it is only proper for Ndau to inform him about this so that it should all be done above board. - this is the true Nupe spirit!!

Mallams and farming

Mallams and Land ... none of the Mallams at Jebba has a farm. Neither they themselves nor their boys farm. Live on " *jin kata*" and the like alone!!

Witchcraft Witchcraft-Medicine

I am going to meet the Yoruba friend of Tsadu, who will get for me a *cigbe* which will enable me to see witches. How does he come to know about it ? A wife of his father's was a witch he says. And he describes very lively, that she had two horns on her head (Mission ideas ?), visible only at night, but disappearing in day-time. His father was a diviner, and thus assisted his wife in the usual way men must assist the women witches. He himself is a diviner, too, therefore knows about witches. That he is a Yoruba does not change the issue. He and Tsadu say that Nupe, Hausa, Yoruba and Kakanda have the same witches. Only the Nupe witches are more numerous, and more dangerous!! A Yoruba witchcraft medicine will therefore also help against Nupe witches! And vice versa. Nupe have of course such medicines (the same, or others of same kind). But they never tell you (says Tsadu!). But this Yoruba and Tsadu are such friends, they are like " one man" and " one heart", that he told him the secret. And Tsadu, anxious that I should be able to protect my wife from possible witches, will get it for me!

Interesting that friendship here (again!) stretches across tribal difference!!

The actual value of the medicine is that you can discover a witch, and being able to do this " *wo ze gaci wo bo* [?? you can sense who is a witch]". I.e. you have the power of witchcraft, but not necessarily her evil inclinations!! For a witch herself apparently wouldn't need any *cigbe* at all; *u wa cigbe ndoro a* [she does not need any medicine at all]; for she is a witch - and that says everything; the power of witchcraft (entailing invisibility, etc., but also evil intentions) is inherent in her.

Theoretically important:

Must witches have medicine?

It seems to be like this: (1) there are certain *cigbe benaku* which could be used in evil way (See Ntbk 8, p 13), e.g. to kill people. The witchcraft-protecting *cigbe* I am going to get may well be class ified under this heading as it enables you to become invisible to normal human beings!! One must therefore be very careful whom to give them, an evil man makes evil use of them. (That's why Ndau Dagba was so hesitant to give me the the invisibility-*cigbe* before he knew I am really going to use it for war). The effect of some of these *cigbe* may resemble witchcraft.

11) But there is, besides, " real" witchcraft, which - as such - qua witchcraft -is above the need for any *cigbe* (technical or otherwise). This latter is however disputed by other evidence.

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See the son of Wacin Yisako (son of Etsu Saba) in Jebba this morning. He just came here, by train, to see a friend of his - the imposing machine-sewer from Bida who reads printed Hausa.

Has not come to-day. - See old Ndau Dagba instead and have talk with him about all kinds of things. He asks me about the kind of game we have in our country.

Then he tells me about his early memories when Europeans first came to Jebba 38 years ago (!). He was a soldier then, and he describes it as if the King had entrusted him solely and personally to take charge of the country: "I got a gun, and went to Mokwa, and Labozi, and to Kutigi, shooting and forcing the people into submission. As far as Kutigi I was given power..." - Actually the whole talk began like this: the rumour that we had been on the farms really digging out yams, has gone all over the village. And everybody came to make sure it was true. So Ndau wanted to know the reason for this enterprise of ours: had we never seen yam-digging in our country? Had we no yams there? And so forth and so on, till we landed at game...

25/7/36

Witchcraft and Medicine

The Yoruba man with the witchcraft *cigbe* returned today. He brought with him, tied up securely in cottonwool, a tiny piece of bark which could be obtained only in Kaduna, nowhere else. Very hard and heavy. To prove its miraculous faculties he throws it into calabash of water, and it does not float! This is not the full medicine yet, but its chief ingredient (*nusa*!); the rest is much more easily obtained. He will get it easily for me to-morrow, they grow locally.

Then he will make up whole medicine for me. It can be used in 3 different ways: taken as a drink, rubbed over eyes and face; and kept in pocket. The man thus equipped will see everything: witches, spirits included. He will be able to look into the minds of men. *Nwi kpeye kpata* [he knows everything]!" Tsadu warns me that I should not be frightened - for I shall see everything, and fearful things, no doubt! But I could then make myself invisible to human beings. Only people who are possessors of same *cigbe* will recognise me - and of course witches. But even when visible, when looking at a person thus (he imitates it by staring from the side of me), this person will be frightened by my looks.

Now this brings up interesting question: I shall be, to all intents and purposes like a witch. I could make evil use of it. Should a man who sells this *cigbe* not be held to bestow it on people only whose good character is established? Tsadu agrees with the former. Evidently a *zalunci* would use it for his own dark purposes. But he bluntly refuses the latter. The man who possesses the knowledge is free to sell it. Buying or selling the medicine is a matter of money, not of morality. Who wants it and can pay for it gets it. Whether this man is good or evil does not concern the *cigbeci* [this Yoruba man is a great "*cigbeci*"!], this is a matter eba Soko, a concern of God entirely!

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Have all witches got to have this *cigbe* before they can act as witches? Neither of them wants to commit himself on this point. Who knows what witches do? They may, and they may not. They certainly are not dependent on it!! At least not women-witches.

Men-witches however are.

They both agree, both for Nupe and Yoruba that women-witches are in majority. *Gaci bagi sa nini nini da bo* [male witches only exist in small numbers]. And even in this there is the sharp difference that they are dependent upon possession of *cigbe*. In Yoruba a *gaci* is *egye*. But male witch is *bologun* = the man who possesses a *cigbe* (*cigbe* = *agu*) i.e. no difference between *cigbeci* [traditional doctor] and *gaci bagi* [male witch].

26/7/36

When we come to the Island, I learn of the death of Ejiko. He had died to-day at dawn. He had been ill for a week, *gbako la* [his stomach is broken-up], and no stool. Why did they not ask me? But Tsadu, Twaki and others have not known themselves. The Ejiko people told nobody, only tried their own medicines. In vain, as it appears. They had buried him almost immediately, this morning. His own male relatives have washed the body, anointed it with camwood, clad it in new *ede* [cloth] and pulled a white *Fula* [cap] down over his face. Then Twaki and Gara had dug grave (Ndako, the third Goro was busy at Resthouse with Agricult. Off). Finally buried him - on white new mat, cut in two. Grave is in his sleeping hut. When I go there (11.00 a.m.) the hut is closed with a mat, against which a tree-branch leans as weight. Inside heap of earth over grave not yet beaten down. Floor will be beaten down tomorrow (i.e. on 2nd day) evening, by women. The Goros have received 2/= as payment. Besides the younger brother of Ejiko has bought beer for them. The jug of beer is now standing in *katamba* for mourning guests.

The house is all quiet and silent. Lots and lots of women crowded in the small huts, or sitting outside huts with rigid expressionless faces. His wife inside hut, with relatives - supposed to be "*tigi* [weeping]". But this means here only as much as "mourn", for the wailing and crying as we heard it the other day, is absent. Naturally - they say - for he was an old man. But nevertheless very dignified, silent mourning. The same applies to men: all *nusazi* are assembled in *katamba*, Tsadu Tswana, Ejiko silently sitting along walls, round the half emptied beer-pot. More men arrive every moment - from farms, from neighbouring houses. The overflow goes into the huts next to *katamba*. Here again I see two old men sitting on ground, legs stretched from them, back against wall, silent and dignified. Even dogs, stretched out in sand, in shade, and sleeping, seem to be affected by the atmosphere of death.

No food is being cooked as yet. But tomorrow and day after, women will begin preparing *eje* for those -strangers who will come from *kpako* [far away]. *Tuci* [messengers] have been sent out already to inform them. Some of these relatives and guests will come and stay over for *fo gutota*, some will return after a day, and return again for *fo gutota* (or perhaps not return). They will not bring any presents of money now - not till *fo gutota*.

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Ejiko having been an important *nusa*, whole town " *tigi*", i.e. come to " *emisa be hakuri* [greeting for forbearance]" ... No *laba* [libation] has been performed over grave, so far, nor will it be performed till *fo gutota* - that settles the problem of sacrifice on grave!! If they have enough money or beer, they will have a proper *kuti* both on *fo gutota* and *fo shiba*. Ejiko was a *Gunnujinci* [Gunny performer] therefore it will be *Gunny-kuti* and *jin raha*. I promise to contribute beer, because I shall be unable to be present at *fo shiba*, so we shall have proper *kuti* and *dzodzo* [play, i.e. dancing] on *fo gutota* for sure!!

Problem of inheritance very interesting: The heir house and all personal property of deceased will be his younger brother who lived in same house. But the sacred office as guardian of *ti dzana*, and the Ejiko title, will go to a deceased elder brother's son! The latter however lives in different house rather a distance away. He will not inherit the late Ejiko's house, though, in which the *ti dzana* is kept. Nor will the chain be moved. The chain will remain in *katamba* where it is now, and the new Ejiko will have to go over there whenever he is officiating at *ti dzana*.

Ndau gives me one of the 2 medicines he promised me, namely the Zana (which makes you invisible). The other is not ready yet, the herbs having been picked yesterday on river, have not dried yet. Curious that both Ndau and Tsadu (in whose presence I receive the *cigbe*) can not stress enough that I am a *bagi* [man] and not a *nyizagi* [woman], when I inquire further into composition of *cigbe*, and take it over without further ado. They mean by that, that I am really not afraid of these mysterious and dangerous medicines, or of the secrets they engender. A Nupe man, who is not of the stock of the *cigbeci*, would be scared to death, dealing with these medicines just like that.

27/7 & 28/7 Mokwa

See first of all Mr Sherk, from whom I learn certain interesting and amusing facts.

As regards the Rani, f.e., he tells me that he had gone down to Raba, and slept in the mausoleum of Mal[lam] Dendo, and sacrificed 3 rams as *walima* and *sadaka* to the Mallams, in order to win his favour for his fervent wish to be made Shaba! It will not be of much avail, though, for quite apart from personal reasons, Tegetmeier was (again) saying that the Government wants to leave the post of Shaba vacant, as long as possible, so that there should be no danger of having a pretender to Etsuship who may turn out to be - ineligible to Administration (What marvellous brand of Indirect Rule, and what broad minded way out of the trouble!!)

Sherk tells me of Yan Kyedya, that formerly every man used to plant a *kuci* [the silk-cotton, *Ceiba pentandra*] tree at birth of his son, this tree would then be made into canoe for his son.

29/7/36:

Confirmed by Jebba people. General rule for all the upstream Kyedya!!

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As regards Gbajibo witchcraft case, he tells me that the chief and the young victim were always on very bad terms. Chief was very jealous of him and was always intriguing against him, so that he (Sherk) thinks it quite likely that he had his hand in it. Beer perhaps really poisoned for the other man said to have been violently ill afterwards. On other hand the victim was not next in line to inherit chieftainship!! Sherk tells me that Samaza would know more. Samaza knows Gbajibo really well: he himself has spent his childhood there as *te gi*. Also his younger sister married to Gbajibo.

NB Marriages in Mokwa stretch larger distance than other places: e.g. Samaza's in-law relations are in Gbajibo, Gbere etc: Sheshi's in Tatabu and Muwo. (due to Mokwa having been sort of "capital" ?)

Now he tells me about Sagi of Gbajibo: she is very well known as having *ega* [witchcraft]. But also she had rich knowledge of medicines for all kinds of diseases. People always go to her for medicines. This knowledge she inherited from both father and mother. But her mother was not a Sagi, although a well known *cigbeci* [traditional healer]. In this particular case the Gbajibo people went up to Bida, and Etsu told them that there was no proof of foul play or witchcraft, and they should leave it therefore (they demanded execution of Katswa Masa). Should it occur again that measures would be taken.

" Sagi" in Mokwa "

Sagi in Mokwa died 2 years ago. No new Sagi yet. Women themselves must elect her and tell Lile, who would then appoint her. There are these 2 titles only: Sagi and Tsowan Sagi. Old Sagi definitely had *ega* - nobody denies that - but was using it only for the good.

I make photographs of *Elo*-mask, *Tsoede* drum, and sacred crocodiles. I incidentally obtain interesting information about these topics.

Buildings, new. Mokwa has 2 new (very nice) *masallaci* [mosques] this year, built by two Mallams. Both Alkali and Samaza built themselves new *katambas*.

Sacred crocodile... 3 of them, 2 old ones (male and female) and young one. Ghastly looking beasts. When I try to make photograph and we go down to pool throwing a chicken in, the croc shoots out like torpedo, before we could even launch the damned chicken. They (we) climb up the steep bank like greased lightning.. I ask them: but you should not be afraid of it, you said it never attacks a Mokwa man. But they just laugh, and stick to the safe place. They definitely are afraid when the chicken escapes into the thick grass, and the 2 crocs are lying there on the shore, waiting, they threw lumps of clay after them to make them retreat. Not till then do they dare to run down and search for escaped fowl! Before we started a woman and child were washing shea nuts in water where it is shallow! These two the men chase away first, saying: do you want the croc to catch you ?! " (So the magic is not quite safe, after all). - The traditional rules about the crocodile are these: one sacrifices to the male crocodile only, viz a female (sexual polarity again?) fowl or goat, black. At the real Bukpa sacrifice, one leaves the animal on the bank further up the brook where the beasts never go to in the daytime, only at night.

Drums... The drums (*enya donci* [a drum made from a mortar]) used at present are comparatively recent acquisitions. At youth of Samaza or Sheshi- no such drums known in Mokwa: only pot-drums (Gbari manufacture), and besides also *Kalangu Enyako* (Sala-drum) and long tubular drum (*enya Mama*).-The *enya donci* with their brass *esa* (hanging bells) were used in Raba and Gbajibo only, on river places that is. Mokwa people seeing them there, asked the *egbazi* [woodcarvers] there to make

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these drums for them. Since then the abandoned the pot drums (the *donci*-drums are kept in *Etsu 'dza's* [head drummer] house). The ancient history of these drums is said to be this: nowhere in Nupeland formerly. Edegi brought them up from Idah, using them as King's drums. Left them all in Muregi, to Kuta, and the Kyedya later brought them up river to the various river places. -

Cigbe in Mokwa: no house *cigbes* and *cigbe* shrines as e.g. in Jebba. Only *cigbe* for healing, and Wasa, but this is kept just in calabash.

Laba.... They never *laba* to ancestors. Only upon advice of *ebasaci* [diviner] certain (unfixed) *kutis* or *walima* ("sadaka")!! Mallams *zun bishe* or *nangi* [slaughter chicken or goat]!!

Ordeal...

I ask the Mokwa people about the " famous" *kuti* in Muwo Ndako Leasa, which is supposed to force any thief into confession. Sherk had told me about it, and it looked from his description as if it attracted people from everywhere. The truth is that very few people in Mokwa know its name (the ones Sherk asked had to ask others, and eventually came back, telling us the name as Yasu). And no Mokwa man ever appeals to this *cigbe* for they have their own ordeals, and *cigbe* (namely the *Wasa*)

Gunnu... the *gunnu* will be performed this month (6th month - but they are not quite sure among themselves which month it is!). I obtain very valuable new data re: *Gunnu*, which partly elucidate the involved problem of *Gunnu* versus burial rites.

In this connection I try to find out what the reason was for the abandoning of the bush-night. Unanimously they say: since the coming of the Europeans it had been abandoned. Less and less young men were willing to undergo the chastisement involved in the bush night. A chastisement which stressed obedience towards older generation. This is point: young men could go away to find jobs of their own. Or they could refuse to stay longer than they wanted under their father's guidance.

Breaking up of Large families: Formerly a father or elder brother did not release son (or younger brother) work on *efako* till he had 2 wives and children. Even when son had beard, he was still a *dzakangi* [child] under father's absolute power. Now even unmarried young men work for themselves independently. They could always get redress, or force father to give them a farm of their own by appealing to Alkali. So the number of young men willing to undergo ritual of bush-night dwindled so that finally it was useless. I ask if this had been so already under Fulani, with all those possibilities for young men to go to war. They say: no, most definitely not. It is true that many young men went to fight under Fulani (Samaza and his father among them). And also that some preferred not to return but to stay in Bida. But the young men in the village were forced into obedience to fathers. *Goy* supported bushnight and the corporal punishment involved in it. A son who disobeyed his father was (in the pagan village) driven out of the village; under *Goy* [Fulani], the Egba arranged that such a son was sold as slave. Domestic discipline was very strongly supported by *Goy*!! Only when we came, it disappeared... I, summarising: so what we brought to you was all bad ? They: no,no, there were 3 things which they owe to us: nobody carries off slaves by raiding; nobody forces them to sell wives or children; nobody carries off cattle or sheep or fowl. [Rather poor reference to *Pax Brittanica* ?!] But as regards disappearance of family-loyalty, and loyalty towards elder generation, we are definitely to blame.

State of Crops:

Yam... only just harvested, owing to lack of rain.

Mayi... a week or so ago harvested. Rather poor crop this year owing to lack of rain. But fresh *mayi* now eaten generally once a day at least. Still corn left for one big meal!! Will wait for month or two!)

In meantime no *mayi* to be seen in Jebba. So little rain that, if there doesn't come plenty of rain soon, rice harvest will be gone!

No *sa wogi* (shifting of ridges) yet. Wait for next rain, till ground will be softer. When they shift ridges now, no new throwing up of ridges will be necessary next year, before sowing!!

29/7/36

Visit to Island. Find not much change. In the mourning house of Ejiko nothing is going on. *Katamba* and huts deserted. But (as Tsadu tells me) they will have a proper Gunnu on Sunday, with beer and *dzodzo* [amusement].

Ndau has not yet finished my medicine. He has prepared a very large amount of herb which is not yet dry. He is going to Buka and Gbajibo after the Gunnu, to see his sons there. They have been complaining of the poor hunting which they were having. So he brings them some the medicine (which I also got!!)

30/7/36

Ndau gives me the medicine which he prepared a pulverised herb. The chief thing is to dig a hole in the ground so that the precious medicine and palmoil in which one is to wash one's hands, should drip in to.

Yoruba man gives me a first "installment" of the witchcraft medicine, consisting of a oblong parcel of cloth lightly tied up. In it is the medicine proper -herbs which "I wouldn't know", and also the splint of wood from last time. On the outside the parcel is covered with white feathers of pigeon. The whole thing is to be sewed into leather, by *Kimpa* [leatherworkers], half red and half black. The finished *cigbe* one puts under one's pillow at night, and as soon as a witch comes near you you will see her - not in dream, but wake up and see her there, in flesh (?). Wherever I go I should take this *cigbe* along. The real and most powerful part will follow in a few days time, not yet finished. Warns me again not to be frightened. For it is a terrific medicine: one will see everything. And therefore the witches will attack you. Shows me a faintly discoloured patch on skin of right arm: here infuriated witch has caught him and bit him, But his father had a *cigbe* for this, so everything was all right in the end.

Accompanying me to river Tsadu says that Yoruba possess much more *cigbe* than Nupe. Only one Nupe *cigbe* viz *Kuti* is unequallled: the Ndakogboya. Tells me the (by now well known) story of last

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year's Jubilee celebrations in Ilorin, where Ndak. appeared, and a Yoruba man ridiculed mask, did not take off his cap, and tried to lift the cloth. " He died at once"...

A canoe is preparing to set out on canoe trip for Niger Comp[any], bringing down loads. Go up to Gaya - near french border: 3 months journey up river alone!!

31/7/36

Receive the first instalment of the witchcraft medicine all ready, i.e. covered with leather half red half black. 4 small cowrie shells sewed into it. An additional feature is that is medicine has been " treated" by a chameleon to make it strong. The chameleon supposed to possess special magic powers, as regards " seeing in the dark" - " *anfani nya le ye baziko* [the use is to see in the dark]..." Proof: this charm before it was handed over to me has been buried for one night together with chameleon in a hole in the ground - *a lele bedzo yi* [they sleep first]. And next morning the chameleon is nevertheless alive! Also he touches chameleon with the charm and triumphantly points out how it ringles its tail - proof of the strength of this magic. Now the final part of the medicine, i.e. the one one drinks, will be made of a certain herb which will again be brought together with cham., in same way. But then animal will become first black, then red (sic!) and finally die. Its magic power will have entered the medicine!!

Collect some songs of Ndaou (who is so ready to perform them at once in full dress, together with proper dances - of which he gives instantly a sample -that we arrange a full- dress performance for tomorrow, which I shall photograph.) Also Gunnu and Ndaduma songs. Interesting the discovery that some of the songs collected at Gunnu last tour (the ones referring to Niger) are not Gunnu-songs proper, but belong to Ndaduma! How these songs wander, losing their original meaning (for no-one in Kutigi could have ever performed Ndaduma!). Some of the songs are the same, but some are different.

Evil eye... To make sure once more, I inquire very carefully into this, giving them extensive examples from Hausa. They have nothing of the sort. Neither belief in men endowed with *eye dede* [evil eye], nor the fear to see their valuable things or beloved children, looked at and praised by others. No fear at all regarding these things.

1/8/36

Old Ndaou and Shaba dressing themselves in their hunter's dress, complete with gun (an old muzzle-loading thing), charms, bag, and " medicine" for killing the game. Dance a little, to women's clapping of hands. Ndako imitates the hunter's cry at killed animal. And Ndaou imitates the shooting and aiming, going down on one knee. Both being old men they soon tire and return to rest.

Ndaou unexpectedly produces a *sulke* [breast-plate] and chain-mail cap (with the iron top-plate missing). He had worn it as warrior of Fulani kings, and his father before him, as warrior under Etsu Majiya from who he got the chain mail. This family contributed most famous warriors of whole country. He wants to sell it to me, for he has no use for it " *eku da bo be a* [war will not come again]", and he wants to get money to pay his tax. (sic!)

2/8/36 *Fo gutota* of Ejiko

I arrive at *katamba* at 8 a.m. *Katamba* already all full, and overflow sitting in narrow thoroughfares. At least 50 women assembled, cooking *eje*, and filling it at once into flat bowls, other women continually going and coming - carrying *eje* to various house. A real "big" funeral. In one hut sits a man a cuts up *nangi* [goat]. All are relatives (from far as well as near), no strangers. No mallams present, nor the people of Geba. The people present have brought both money and corn viz meal, so it is impossible to estimate cost of meal - " *u yi nya za eni a* [we don't pursue a man for gravy ?]" as they say. The women are shouting, joking and laughing - nothing "funeral" like about it. Men a little more subdued, but only a little. When I arrive I hear them shouting (the beer!?) excitedly, Ndau greets me with a joke, and so does Tsadu. In middle of *katamba* big pot of beer. Everybody present, old Tswangu comes along later. 4 pots of beer are kept stored in readiness in a hut. Now we go to *laba*-place.

The *laba* is performed on wall of Ejiko's sleeping hut (where he had been buried, this was his younger brother's hut! But when they sacrifice there his successor will sleep). As there happens to be a *Bakomba* on this housewall one sacrifices on *Bakomba*-place, but this mere coincidence. Present are : Ndazo (who makes *laba*), Ndakotsu, who assists him, Twaki, Shaba Ndau, and other old men (none of the *Gunnujincizi* however is there!), and relatives of the deceased: his elder brother's son, his younger brother (who acts as host), and his sons. His younger brother lives at Fazhi, not in Jebba. Has come for *fo gutota* and will return home tomorrow. Eldest son will succeed as *emitso*!! Address at *laba*: at first referring to me (Shaba) and my wife, as having presented the beer, wishing us long life, health and children. Then goes on in usual way:

" *To, tsoci Soko yi jin sadaka ebo Ejiko na tsu na*. [So, next to God, we do *sadaka* for Ejiko who has died] *Ezi kpata u de lafiya*. [All people should be well] *Zibo u de lafiya*. [Everybody should be well] *Yi la nuwan ya we, Gunnu, yi la ya we, ebo Ejiko na tsu na*. [We lay down water, Gunnu, we lay it down, for Ejiko who has died] *Tsoci zandoro u de lafiya*. [Whosoever is nearby should be well?] *Zandoro ga tsu gbani be ma* [Nobody should die now]

All take off caps (but some the younger ones have to be reminded to do it!) and Ndau strips himself to waist. Then sits down in front of *bakomba*, Ndako to his left. One passes him a calabash with beer, he holds it in his hand and addresses the *Bakomba*: some people (Twaki, Ndako and others) now and again throw in a word or two, as reminder. .E.g. he forgot to say " *Ezitsu u de lafiya*...[the owners of the town should be well]" 3 times pouring out beer, first time plenty, 2nd and 3rd time a little. Speech only before first time. After 3rd time, he sits down, and beer is passed round. Order of drink fixed only for first 3 or 4, then goes on as they like (some even decline the beer - they had enough). Order of drinking: Ndazo, Ndau, Ejiko's younger brother, Cece, Tsowa, etc... In the small enclosure not everybody had room, some *Gunnujincizi* remained in *katamba* therefore. Now all return there, sit down again. They are given *eje*, and start eating and carrying on drinking. Nobody goes home. Till Kami Salla [*Sallah* time] when the *jin raha* will begin!!

At about 2 o'clock the *jin raha* starts. At 2.30 it is in full swing already. 3 drummers (one *enya donci*, "*Enya Gunnu*", with brass-bell hanging, and 2 *Sala*-drums) sitting in shade, opposite Ejiko's house. To his left are sitting the dignitaries, as far as they don't dance: Tsadu, Nda, Twaki, etc... Also the relatives of Ejiko, who never join in dance. To the right of drummers group of women and girls, ready to join in the dance any moment. In front of drummers the men-dancers-*gbarufuzi* (between 25 and 35 years of age), led by Ndako. But old men (Likali, for ex., is a great dancer, so is Tsadu) jump in between, so enjoying the dance that they grasp some sticks and join the rows of dancers, often criss-crossing and destroying their order. The whole place lined with spectators, women and girls, small boys sitting near men, strangers etc... Tiny boys and girls, excited by drums, try a few dance steps, with a touching mixture of native grace and baby-clumsiness, behind the rows of the dancers. Unabashed and undeterred - even when they fell when trying a difficult step, or untangle themselves in their cloth..

The men have before them a pot of beer, and new beer is brought (from other house, not just Ejiko's) during dance. Actually they are all tight already when we come, and become more and more so. Affects them very differently: Twaki is first gloomy and silent, to flare up, suddenly, and kick up a big row, making a savage and idiotic speech at me, to impress upon me the importance of occasion and of himself. Tsadu becomes a tottering old man - but he is wise enough to retire soon, and sleep out his drinks. Ndako becomes a cheerful "little boy" excitedly and proudly exhibiting his cleverness in jumps. Old Likali is unchanged. Others don't drink at all, or not more than they can stand, and remain themselves throughout feast: Nda, Ndaso, and others. Twice *eje* is passed round to old men as well as drummers, - the *gbarufuzi* get no food, but plenty to drink, and some drop out, throwing themselves on the ground somewhere in shade, to sleep. Drummers become wilder and wilder, interrupting songs with their hoarse cries. Often dancers not satisfied with their way to drum. They would shout: "*yi wu a, yi wu a. Fe wu* [We can't show how, we can't show how. Show us how]!" And the drummers would start beating the drums with all their might. Or after one of the frequent pauses, somebody would jump up, shouting "*nye nya, nye nya* [dance, dance]!" - and they would go on again. The pauses here much more frequent and voluntary than in real Gunnu. Who is tired stops... Whereas in real Gunnu the elders watched scrupulously that nobody dropped out until the word was given, and pauses are "decreed", and did not just "happen".

The *gbarufuzi* (about 10) are under leadership of Ndakotsu. They have all stripped branches in hands. These branches have been cut early this morning in *Kuso* [forest] from one *tanci* tree. *Tanci* is the *cigban Kuti*. Nobody to lead them there. The branches are called the *bulala* [H. whip] (or *sanngi* N. whip) Gunnu. Used to drive away strangers, children, (out of the "arena") and women (from the rows of men). Generally also to establish order and, in violent way, to make people realise the sacredness of Gunnu, and the propriety of its orders (e.g social order: Twaki lashing furiously to left and right, because the *gbarufuzi* did not recognise his authority as *dogari* Gunnu, he being an elder, and they only *gbarufuzi*; but he was drunk when he demanded it all of a sudden, and they were drunk when they refused to let him have the branches!)

Points of theoretical interest.

In talks during Gunnu they refer indiscriminately both to the *enya donci*, and to the Ndazo (when he dances) as the "Gunnu"; e.g. " *Wo le Gunnu ye* [Do you see the Gunnu?]" The dancing Ndazo apparently most directly the emblem of "Gunnu".

Strangers join in the dance, are permitted to join but so to speak unofficially: for when Twaki kicks up his row, he beats a (harmless and humorous) stranger who has (as Twaki says) refused respect to him; nobody tries to protect him, and he is eventually driven out all together.

Although it is a feast of *Gunnujincizi* only, Tsadu and other *ewojincizi* join in the dance. An occasional visitor from Fanga, who is a *Ewojinci*, actually begins a dance from the *Ewo* (= *Dzako*) and the drummers play it, women sing it, and all join in without anybody feeling this not proper. The dance from other *kuti* admitted, as performed in honour of the dead by visitor! NB: *Ewo* = independent *kuti* at Fanga, separable from bronze-idols, viz *Dzako*. (Cp Ntbk 8, 33) Very early in dance 2 (later 4) women join, with calabash rattle: [[Nadel's text includes a sketch]] They are strangers, too, from Kusopa country - " *Sogba* women" - They, too, are allowed to join, with their particular sacred musical instrument, in his dance in honour of the dead. Everbody knows that they are Kusopa women, who have a different *kuti* altogether. But find it quite in order. Later, in a pause in Gunnu, they even start singing their own songs (*Sogba*-songs) and, when I ask them, readily bring their second cultic paraphernalia along: the iron bell-rod, giving us a perphormance [sic] of *Sogba*-dancing, in which some local women readily join (who know the songs), and which all people interestedly watch, forming at once one big circle of spectators. (See below)

Happenings at Gunnu, and procedure of dance:

Women need much longer than men till they reach the stage of *degagé* dancing of men. Women remain in a disordered cluster sticking together. Only afterwards form group of their own: either a sort of crowded circle, dancing round in circle, one after other, but mostly remaining face to drums; or in 3 or 4 small ones, quite close to each other, dancing towards drums. Always same movement: arms undulating and shaking from shoulder blades; *Oberkorper* [G. upper body] bent forward angularly, strong movements in shoulder blades (quite distinctly visible on back muscles) and (not so pronounced) buttocks. [No "!"]. Women always much closer together than men.

1. Men (*gbarufuzi*) in single long row, Ndako on one end, supervising, dancing towards drums, branches or (elder men who join) some sort of stick, in hands; now and again lifting the arms, shaking stick, and yelling typical *kuti*-yell!! But in heat of dance often resulting in "maze" figure: Passing by each other, crossing and recrossing each other's path in undulating, complicated line, without order or rule - a regular maze. All the time shouting, singing, and shaking the sticks.

2. The Ndazo comes along, in front of row of men he performs slow, dignified Solo-dance, girls and women in their dance move into circle of men, they start somewhere in the background and run forward, right between men dancers; are driven back to this place by men with sticks.

3. The two *Sogba* women start a wild pair dance by them selves in front of drums But Ndau - for a time the *maître de plaisir* [F. master of pleasure]- orders them back into rank of rest of women . (The women are all bare-headed, but mostly covered the breasts; their head-cloth they wear like belt round waist.)

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4. Two *gbarufuzi* have, in a pause of general dancing established a *ecole de danse*; they dance in pair, elder one holds younger by arm, showing him a complicated *efogi* which the other tries to imitate to rhythm of drum. All look on, very amused! (Paedagogic element!!)

(The 2 Sogba women have been given 2 stools, near drums, and there they sit now, singing and swinging their rattles as part of "band"; later augmented by another two)

5. Old men, who have been given food, are now almost fighting over the dishes (all rather drunk)!

6. Ndau and Twaki have tried since long to get the whole thing in proper shape. Now, at last, they have succeeded. 6 (later 7) *gbarufuzi* stand in one row, all lined up, Ndako at top, giving instructions. But quite a number of others - young and old - dance unperturbed by themselves in background, and later, frequently, spoiling order of dance-line. [???] While *gbarufuzi* dance forward and backward. When this order is established Ndau says, satisfied: " *A nye nya gancin*" - at last, a proper dance.

7. Tsadu, and Ndako introduce a completely foreign element, by trying the jumps with wide legs characteristic of other Nupe dances.

8. An interesting and exciting figure: In a pause of dancing, when older men rest, women very provokingly run up against men lifting arms high, shouting and laughing at men trying almost to overrun the few young men who are dancing. (Sexual element very distinct!). Old men at once get up, furiously driving women back with sticks, beating the ground in front of their feet. Terrific noise, shouting and laughing. Women run away, but try to come back twice! Eventually men round round in circle, triumphantly shaking their sticks, though at last cleared "arena"

9. Twaki has his fit, and snatches all the branches away from *gbarufuzi*, beating him furiously who refuses to hand it over. He is the *dogari Gunnutsozi* [policeman of the owner of the Gunnu], demanding respect and reverence. Beats everybody who only as much as standing in front of him. Addresses me in proper way: " *Wo le Twaki ye* [You see Twaki]. *Jin raha nya' Ejiko da na*. [who does the dance for Ejiko] *Mitso, Twaki, jin dogari nya Gunnutsozi kpata*. [the compound-owner, Twaki, is the policeman for all the Gunnu owners] *Shaba wo le Twaki ye* [Shaba, you see Twaki]... etc" I have to calm him like a lunatic. Fighting is the result of his behaviour; he dances about all the branches in his hands. Laughter and joking everywhere.

* Whenever, during Gunnu, a younger man greets an older one, e.g. even boys coming to greet their father, they prostrate themselves flat on ground; and this prostration Twaki now demands from them.

10. By and by - the old men have retired into *katamba* of Ejiko and their own houses. For some time only women dancing. A guest of Fanga begins, after ceremonious greetings to relatives of Ejiko and me, to dance a Solo dance from *Ewo*-cult. Drummers play that rhythm, and soon others join in *Ewo* dance. Later Sogba women give an exhibition of their dance.

11. Now all are tired, young and old men sitting or lying asleep. And Ndako intimates to me that they want to finish. Which they do soon after that. Go home have a short rest, and finally go to sleep. Ends at 5.30 p.m. NB Even in case of *fo shiba*, which lasts 2 days, no dance at dark. (Very difficult to see how they could do it, with the beer they had!)

Songs sung (others than recorded already):

1. *Ndazo Gunnu*, [Priest of Gunnu]

Kuti a dzunla, the *kuti* has come out (mourning)

za na ga da la be ma this man (an ordinary person) is not to bring it (the *kuti*)

2. *Bakun kpara*, (Place of) Ample prosperity,
kuti dzunyi. red kuti. (A riddle; answer: the Gunnu: red only for something good and great!)

3. (to figure 6)

men: *wo le-ye* [do you see it?]

women: *a le y'a* [they don't see it].

4. *Eya shi* At night

a fu na kya. They all cram together

ejin raha (in the Gunnu) = *za na de wo na*, is a real man!

5. (to figure 8)

Ewo a yi za o [money will accompany the person], ... women

Ewo yi dā [Money is inside]. Men (later)

(Gunnu demands untiring attention)

Nwa gba boye (Riddle) he is insufficient in "tiredness";

Nwa kun mi ? Should he be all right for me ? (No.)

7. *Masoli mi be* My friend comes,

jin mi u da. makes (as if) he went home.

eya shi At night

jin mi u dan makes ...etc a friend who steals your wife

8. *ega jin eya nana, eya baci kuti e ji a be* I.e if you make Gunnu this year it will come again next year

Sogba dance. The two women begin a solo-dance. The elder woman carries the *sanyi* [iron bell-stick]. Makes her *entree* by solemnly walking a few steps, and then halting, pushing the stick against the ground so that bells tinkle, and then waiting for the effect to pass. After some time, she dances with staff in both hands, sometimes making the evolutions of a drum-major. The two women dance round and by each other. Eventually the head woman discards staff, sticking it in front somewhere outside the "arena". Other women join in dance movements, many join in singing. Dance movements typical women's dance: bent forward, arms shaking and undulating, hands spread flat outside, or towards each other in front of body (if not carrying rattle in own hand and shaking it). Some times shoulder "fuller". Lurching dragging movements of feet, in usual [illegible], sometimes a little faster - as if skidding forward in dust of the place. Always measured and rather dull. (See Ntbk 8, 54) [[Nadel's note on his page no. 135 :-]]

4/8, 5/8/36 Shari

Visit Chief in afternoon. General talk with him and *nusazi*. They deny any pagan cult having survived in town. Only on *lati* [bush]. I.e. the *tungas* round Shari stuck to their pagan cults, but town almost thoroughly muhammedan. Those left of pagans (e.g. the drummer Tayidi, as I find out later) join ceremonies of *tunga-tsozi*.

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Surprising number of mosques, one in every *efu*. Strike friendship with one *dogari*, who is a Bida-man. His father was one of *maiya*'s [H. war-chief] warriors in big wars against Europ[ean]. He himself, too. But has left Bida long ago.

In the morning renewed visit. Talking about "news" there is only one: lack of rain. What do they do against it? Pagans have *kuti*, but muhammedans? The mallams *jin aduwa* in *masallaci*...[pray in the mosque]

Make a few vital statistics, which show that infant mortality (at least as big as in Bida Div. - Also farm census: here again, no marked change, although tax much lower. But soil apparently not very much more fertile. Perhaps higher average of *efako* group (4 to 5 people, and *gwazunmas* [junior brothers] included!). No cotton! They got seeds once, but crops did not turn out very well, so they sold everything not keeping seeds back. Since they did not get another batch of seeds, left it. Typically Nupe, they say: "*lulu yi etun Nupe a* [Nupe won't pick cotton]"...

Some interesting statistics on bride-price. They had no legal restriction as to amount of bride-price here. Characteristically, restriction or no restriction, amount pretty much the same.

Kuti - and burial rites:

Later get visit of Tayidi, the drummer. He has been away in *tunga* Kpandaragi, where they were celebrating the *fo shiba* of a hunter who had just died. They had performed real "*egbe* [hunt]". He is asked to come and play in every such occasion, at all the *tungas*. At death of *nusa* of *tungas* only 2 types of *sagali*, according to population which is half hunter and half farmer: either *egbe*, or Gunnu (including bushnight and Ndakogboya) Gunnu obligatory! In Shari the last Gunnu performed was at death of Tayidi's father, 9 years ago. Only difference between annual Gunnu and burial Gunnu is this:

(1) annual Gunnu performed only in *tunga* Ndafa (where present priest of Gunnu lives)

(11) burial Gunnu has sacrifice in compound, annual Gunnu at *bakuti* [place of ceremony].

Says that no other ritual performed by farmers. Gunnu their *kuti nusa*. The *kuti* for *nunucizi* [farmers] (as *biki* for hunters, - see [[Nadel's]] p.150)

[[but NB Nadel's note on his page no.149 :-]]

ad: "Gunnu" in Ndafa

Ndafa as well as Bokugi are *tungas* of Shari, of same stock. Were founded when *goy* [Fulani] came. The headmen of Ndafa (i.e. Ndakogb. as well) is - classificatory - a younger brother of Tayidi *edza*. The Ndazo therefore was of Tsaragi-stock, but his branch of the family lived in the *tunga* Bokugi. Formerly Gunnu performed not in *tunga*, but in town itself, and all *tungatsozi* came to Tsaragi to watch it and join in dance. - [[Note ends]]

ad Ndafa: this is home of Ndakogboya, since old. He says that it is not the same origin as the one in Kusogi. Their Ndak. was brought by Tsoede* straight from Attagara to Ogudu, and then - when this place was left to Kede - to Ndafa. * Etsu of Tsaragi originally "Nayisa" (i.e. brass bangles). Tsoede never came to Tsaragi itself, only to Ogudu. Originally Ndazo separate, in different *Tunga* Bokungi, and annual Gunnu performed in Shari for whole "*kin*". But Ndazo died out, Bokungi itself does not exist any longer. So *maji* of Ndak. also *maji* of Gunnu. All *tunga-tsozi* go there and join in annual rite (12th month). Ndafa itself very small only 2 *katambas*. The Ndakogboya people also have a certain *cigbe*,

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called *egbo* in "pot"-shrine, which is said to be good for *gbako te* [clogged-up stomach] as well as *eti sa* [headache], and also used before donning mask of cult. Also possess *tidzana*.

Tayidi himself frankly admits to possess *cigbe* himself, of the kind one sacrifices to. Called Gaba. Its effects very much like *Wasa*, for snake bite. But has other *cigbes* besides, e.g. a *badafu* [invisibility-medicine]. I shall see (and perhaps buy) it to-morrow..

As regards his drumming (also at ceremonial occasions), only *Sala* drums. There is one *enya-donci* left, with bell-hanging. But its old master has died, and his son not yet very proficient.

Origin and Demography of Tsaragi (Tayidi) and whole surrounding country : They are all Guduci [having settled in Gudu first]. Further back only - straight from Atagara.

(Ogudu now mixed population: Kede, Hausa, Nupe of other parts and great many Yoruba.)

Visit a *tunga* 3 miles away, Kagi, where they used to smelt iron formerly. Of Tsaragi-origin, perhaps 40 or 50 years old (when present chief was a very young man, they moved there, *ebo nyangici*). One "*dengi* [kin-group]" with Shari. They are hunters, mostly, and do only a little farming. I see a tree with the ominous white cloth tied round. This is the "*Zikinta*" place. They have no Gunnu. - Their furnace (a double furnace) is deserted and broken down. Unused for at least 20 years. In this area they have abandoned the old craft of iron smelting, earlier than in Bida country, because of early and unlimited supply of European iron, coming up from Lagos. Some *edudacizi* [smelters] have actually emigrated into Bida country, they say, when work here came to an end; and others have turned farmers and hunters. - The furnace is situated just on edge of big "*Abbruch*" [G. step] on road; and there they used to cut off iron ore. Whole constitution of soil points to existence of iron ore.

5/8/36

Visit to Chief - complete farm censuses, having left out item of groundnuts yesterday.

As regards the breaking up of *efako*-work, the same situation here as everywhere: a younger brother who has 2 wives never stays in *efako*. Formerly, they say, even junior members of family with 4 or 5 wives still in *efako*. What is the reason for this? Typical answer: our advent, and the system of general taxation. For formerly - says Chief - the young men could devote their whole time only to farming. *Emitso* took care of everything else, clothing, food, tax (!) etc... Now he cannot do it any longer. Often unable even to pay brideprice by himself.. [Typical for a place with not a single commercial crop!]

Later to *edza* Tayidi, for the *cigbe*. He has just a gathering of people in his house - they celebrate *fo gutota* of small girl in his house. He has a big house with 2 horses!!.

In afternoon have occasion to watch dance in honour of Sango. The annual Sango-feast has been going on for 2 days already, the big feast was yesterday (when they carry a masked priest about). Today only big drumming (on Yoruba *bata*- drum) in house of Baba Sango, the priest's house. He is there together with the woman-priest. They wear both bead-necklaces half red and half blue. In the house a wooden big idol of woman. She is said to be Sango's wife. No idol of Sango himself exists (? only "thunderbolt" symbol ?). The idol's projecting breasts are covered with a sort of small cloak. Under the cloak they are anointed red, with camwood, in honour of celebration.

"*Bata-drums*" (There are also *Kalungu* drums there) Double tympanum barrel shaped drums: one side very small diameter, and very strong tension, so that it gives almost metal sound. Worn on string


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round neck, like Indian drums. Beaten on both sides with straps of strong leather (only a little flexible). One drum has some nicely cast (but plain) round brass bells tied round. Have come from Benin (they say). (Not true, see [[Nadel's]] p.157*) [[Nadel's note on his page no. 157 [NB his text also includes sketches of drums]:-]]

NB: smaller tympanum very high and metallic sound; wider tympanum more drumlike (low). Former played with a strap of hard leather, latter with flat hand. But on some smaller drums, drummer beats top (smaller) end with 2 leather straps, leaving bottom alone: played like this:

[[illustration]]

or this: [[]]

Some drums have a belt of skin round big end with small brass bells on it; some of these bells European; some native cast from Gbagya (near Agyashe) in Ilorin-country. Reminds me of Mal Ndayako's story that in the South (in Ado, was what he said) they have female idol whose breasts they rub with some stuff at the big feasts. The dance itself very crude and inartistic. A group of people, in one dense cluster, crowds round drummers, following them where they go. The drums play in a monotonous straight almost machine-like, rapid rhythm, like this ... always by beating the drums from both sides with the leather straps incessantly. The few *Kalungu* drums (some played by Nupe drummers *) do their best to make the same sort of noise on their instruments which actually don't allow this rapid, incessant beating.

*The close relationship of Nupe and Yoruba very interesting. Not only most of them bilingual - Yoruba more ready to admit this than Nupe, who rather make a secret of it!! But Nupe watch with interest Yoruba feasts (without knowing anything about them, or inquiring further - they just know it is about Sango, the Yoruba " *kuti*", and it is an annual feast!) Know about the organisation of Yoruba houses, know all their titles (e.g. call Balogun = Maiyaki, Bale = chief, Baba Sango - Ndakuti). The dance movements similar: mainly a swinging of arms, crooked off the elbow, forward in backward, whole body shaking with this movement. Or "swinging" from one leg to the other (not jumping). Or, finally, lifting right hand in greeting fashion (fist closed), pressing after one another in irregular, dragging step. Some of the movements may look all right in appropriate dress, but in the flowing (muhammedan) gowns they look quite out of place. Some people try Nupe dancing, to *Kalungu*, (the same we notice next day - Friday -, on market); form a row of young men, bend their body off the waist, and gesticulate with arms. Very poor imitation - and indeed could not be better to this atrocious, mechanic rhythm. The dominant element in such a dance can only be primitive muscular satisfaction...

7/8/36

Visit wood carver and buy " *zunguru*" (arm-receptacle for painting hand with henna). The Yoruba have the same thing only made of calabash, and with carvings of more pictorial character. In one Yoruba house I see carved figures (small) of twins. 4 figures all together 2 male 2 female, the latter wearing a cloak and cap, as the big idol in priest's house!! Alkali of Shonga comes to see me (he is on his way from Ilorin back to Shonga). He thanks me for the Nupe history I sent him, but reminds me that I have not yet told him name of Edegi's mother (sic!). - He has his court-records in Shonga, those of


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Shonga go back 20 years, those of Shari 2 years. There are short copies of all cases in Ilorin, where he reports monthly number and kind of cases. -

Later Tayidi Edza. Some more informatin of Gunnu, *cigbe* etc... But main point: he wants my help to recover the *cinwan* [respect] his father had, but which chief is unwilling to grant him. His father was a big *cigbeci*, and so is he. His father was "Maji" but he is nothing. The chief fears him, and did not like it at all when I asked for him, first thing in Shari. He seems extremely ambitious man, and almost burns to be recognized as great *cigbeci* here in this (muhammedan!!) town. I should help him now to *ciuwa* which he deserves... [Thus are beliefs in witchcraft created!! Reminds me of old Ndakotsu in Bida!] He has to go away to-morrow to a *tunga* where they appoint *gbarufuzi*-ranks, therefore he came to me to-day!






8/8/36

We want to see the Yoruba drum which we heard playing so incessantly, and arrange for "hearing" in the morning. Instead we are given a full dress performance of Shango-cult, with drumming and singing and all the rest of it. Very impressive and quaint:

Some of the Sango drum rhythm: very complicated because real polyphony of drums. Altogether 6 drums, among them 2 small ones, and after only 2 drumming same "part", and one "Solo" drum, just like "Vasainya, Chorus!" The monotonous equal  rhythm which I described previously a misconception owing to superficial hearing where ostinato "accompaniment" is easily taken for whole thing:

6/8 (Solo)

6/8 Solo:




    

etc

To "accompaniment" (really the main-part) of drums 4 women are singing - their songs very much like Nupe songs...

Description of Sango ceremony:

Whole ceremony very stage-like. Quite "artificial" in so far as the Sango priest often arranges the phases and features of display like a *régisseur* [F. film-director] - e.g. taking a man to the side and giving him orders, which he then proceeds to fulfil etc. - Beginning with solo concert of drums. Spectators begin to appear. Women group themselves along house wall. All people who join (except priest) bareheaded.

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After a while priest /Title of man priest: Bale Sango (often called Baba (= father)/ Sango in beautiful dress (silken ear-lap cap, big "*riga* [H. gown]" with long sleeves) appears, to his right the woman priest .
/ Title of woman priest: Yalode Sango/

Very impressive procession, he in front with long throng of crowded people behind. He carries a small staff, covered with coloured beads (with top of a vague form of human head). Holds it in two hands, lifted to mouth, looks like a bishop from far, with crucifix. Procession walks round the "arena", saluting us, then he sits down under a tree. A "*maba*" (announcer) also in beautiful dress of northern style stands in corner, shouting out names and addresses and greetings in usual way, with hoarse, unmusical voice. Sometimes coarse attempt to "sing".

Sango priest gets up and starts to dance. Slow, ceremonial dance, later getting more moved, turning and whirling himself round with more grace than one would have credited this old skeleton for - the white robe charmingly flying round his body in his "pirouettes". Later a 2nd dancer (also elderly) joins: quite irregular paces, abrupt movements of hands and legs, pushing them suddenly forward, viz stamping the ground, interrupting general rhythm. Rather like athletic exhibition, as if demonstrating how he can move his limbs independently, and how he can move (*verrenken*) his shoulder blade. Sometimes like imitation of man pursued, and - with eyes shut - like possessed by some fierce spirit, dreamlike.

Like in the theater the priest-producer designates a nice-looking woman to a Solo dance, fetching her from row of sitting women. [Some old women have sat down close to priest. Whoever approaches him, men and women, prostrate themselves flat in dust, he lays blessing hand with pontifical gesture on their heads. Continually. For always newcomers who go to greet him, or men with message, etc]. Dance of women: positive character of self-conscious artistic production. Measure, learned (!) movements, dancer obviously thinks of what she's doing, remembering and controlling herself with mind. Now and again, at well brought out figure, looks at drummers for approval. Very charming. Reminding of Java. Curious hand movements first: stretched out arms describe gripping movement from above and below (like begging), into the air in front of her - she stands almost still. The arms describe "triangles" in the air, first right arm, then left arm, gracefully first extending then dropping arm and pulling it back to body. More movement of body. Body bent forward, she moves along with easy steps, often running and then stopping; arms always stretched out, hands pointing upward, symmetrical movements with both arms. These movements have a definite meaning: dance composed of meaningful elements, like demonstrating a story (? - cp Java!). Growing into stronger and stronger ecstasies. On climax drums playing on broadside (low sound) only! Later a partner joins her, the two women in symmetrical counter-dance, sometimes with drummers as centre. Figure with the "shawl" (cloth) tied round waist, holding the ends with finger tips, gingerly, while dancing - the similarity to Java quite amazing.

All this time people have been coming. Whole place crowded. Twice or three times excitement, boys running away, along road to see the coming of Sango which was announced. Like with stage - long preparations, excitement on heat-point, dancing has ceased, drums only mechanically beating on, everybody waits for Sango.

Round the corner Sango comes, running into arena, like in circus. Big howling, yelling and greeting of crowd receives him. Followed by crowd of young men, with sticks in hand, stripped to waist, with hair let grow on head on circular patch (sign of Shango-men). He comes now (first appearance) stripped to waist, face smeared white, carrying on his head a iron basin filled with burning charcoal. In

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this attire runs round circle like mad, yelling himself, and under yelling of his suite. Meantime drummers drum, and women sing, and spectators stare at this feat in hush of amazement and fear. Some of followers prostrate themselves for old Baba Sango (priest) and then Sango makes his hurried exit.

A pause follows, exactly like in circus, a little dancing and singing. Soon Sango make his 2nd appearance. Accompanied as before, but wears brown cloth embroidered with cowrie shells, a cloth drawn over his head. In his hand a wooden sort of inverted trident (lightning ?) Runs round like mad, trying to frighten the women and children. Then he stands still in the circle, while an assistant throws up 7 sandheaps. (Aha, whisper the spectators, he is going to do the nail-trick!) In each of the heaps one sticks a small iron pin. A calabash with water is brought. And Sango puts the pins in his mouth, one after the other, and swallows them with water. Long pause between each swallowing, filled out with his standing there, staring like a dumb animal at public, (he must be under a drug: I noticed already earlier how his hands are trembling when he holds a calabash!) and letting out savage yells. Finally, his assistants look round circle of spectators for a victim. Sham-fight between women and men, women provoking and teasing men (singing all the time), an men assistants fighting them back again and again. Get hold of small boy, but women pull him back into circle, so that victim escapes - much shouting and really frightened behaviour of mother. Eventually another boy got hold of, pulled back with force when he attempts to escape through crowd. He is quite pale and badly frightened. Sits down, two men take hold of him like for an operation. His foot placed in the same calabash, and Sango extracts from his foot - with much theatrical ado and signs of triumph - all 7 nails which he had swallowed. Like in bad show, he walks round showing each nail to the excited public (They place the boy intentionally so that we, the guests of honour, should get a good view!)

Now another phase, dancing and singing goes on again. Sango, with his trident in hand, runs round circle, breaks through it in one place, disappears in town, and suddenly reappears on other place. Always running, always yelling, accompanied by his fellows, but also by a group of wild women who follow him everywhere like *menades* [Greek wood nymphs]. Women form large compact groups (men - except the Sango-companions - remain inactive!), dancing, singing, or running about (the younger ones) with Sango. All the time old and young women approach sitting priest, to ask for his "blessing". Finally Sango is tired, a mortar is brought, and he sits on upturned mortar (his ceremonial seat!). Before sitting down, he stands on it, yelling and haranguing the dancers. Women-dancers and "menades" still going on, but markedly weaker. Then Sango who is tired, makes a few final runs, out of and back into circle, frightening the people by swinging his trident, and finally disappears again where he came from, followed by his suite. Priest gets up and gives sign of finish, his procession, too, moves homeward, the dignitaries get up, then giving signal of end. Only drummers drum on, on town market, till evening. The whole performance lasted more than 3 hours.

As to local explanation I learn only this: The ritual is not a secret society, but involves hereditary membership in paternal line. Therefore wife not member if husband is member. Comprises one section of population (Connection with lightning!) The remaining section has a different cult: "Yitsa", connected with eating of new yams.

Two patrilineal clans? (Incorrect, see [[Nadel's]] p.177)

8/8/36

Some experiments with Nupe boys, from 14 to 17, showing simple one-line drawings and letting them guess the meaning. Not a single sexual guess!! Although all degages and very keen on tests - actually I had to send away more than double the number of those I tested. .

Looked for a man who could tell stories (*ecin*): find only one, a *gbaruf*. "*Nusazi cincin a* [Old men don't tell stories]". But find no time to hear his stories.

9/8/36

Drive to Shonga, but stop in Dumagi RH for night. Are received by Alkali and by effusive Shonga chief. Go through files of Alkali, for 10 years, since 1925. Have at first difficulty in finding out what is meant by *zina* [?] and what by *parka* [?] or *bata buduruwa* [?], these terms being used indiscriminately. Eventually go through detailed minutes of court sessions and realise that seduction to adultery cases in proportion of 20:1. Also get information about court practise in dealing with such cases - different from Bida Div. - Alkali Shonga extraordinary keen and intelligent. He is on reduced pay since economising campaign of 1933, and wonderingly asks why this should be so as the cases now are more than double from what they used to be (besides they had 2 Alkalies first: one for Shari and one for Shonga; now he is doing both, although of Shari only the Nupe-town!)

Talks to elders of Dumagi: they are all Guduci, who left Gudu long, long ago. Why ? Because there was too much sickness there... Remember their former allegiance to Raba, Etsu Majiyaa and later to Bida. Only when Europeans came they came under Ilorin.

10/8/36

Drive to Ogudu, and canoe trip to Tada. We had heard all kinds of different informat as regards distance to Tada, some said 3 hours, the Etsu Shonga 5 hours, and somebody else 6 hours up-stream. We nearly abandoned the plan altogether. To make sure we ask canoemen at Ogudu, they say 2 hours. So we decide in last moment to do it, and it took us actually - with 5 polers, whom the Etsu Shonga had ordered for us beforehand - 2 1/2 hours (in a very narrow, uncomfortable and leaking canoe!) After staying in Tada for 2 hours, we turn to Ogudu in afternoon.

Tada itself really worth the trouble: situated on backwater, behind little uninhabited island. Town not very large, 9 or 10 *katambas*. The chief and elders had awaited us, they too have been informed by a messenger of Etsu Shonga of our coming. Unfortunately I had to drag these 2 messengers (one had come along with us) about all the time, and their unavoidable presence may have affected adversely the readiness of the Tada chief to give full and truthful information (about so delicate a subject as the activities of the Ledu!).

The sacred shrine is quite close to bank, and next door to chief's house. Ndakotsa, or Ndatasa, is in charge of shrine. Inside hut the 8 figures arranged like in museum. Surprising cleanliness and order. The figures are women - tabu, but when I inquire if that is valid also for *nyizagi bokun* [white women], they laugh and say: no. They reluctantly take the figure out to be photographed, one by one, preparing

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first a mat on the ground and careful not to let them touch the ground while carrying them (except in case of dark-bronze figures!)

[[Nadel's note on his page no. 167 :-]]

A shrine itself :

- 1 big bronze figure in Jebba style
- 2 " bishops"
- 3 " Buddha"
- 4 Copper-statue
- 5 2 ostriches
- 6 elephant

B hut of priest, but actually only used as store room for fish traps, grass etc...

(a) an ornamented mud-column, inside it a wooden post supporting structure of roof. The square inside is covered with pure, new sand from river which is regularly renewed and cleaned.

When figures taken out for me to photograph them, care was taken to place them not on the ground, but on mat. (Inside shrine the figures 2 to 4 stand on wooden platforms! Figure 1 and the animals, being defective, can not stand by themselves therefore stand on the naked floor, leaned against house wall!

Not allowed to touch ground? In connection with their origin as King's paraphernalia?!

In style and material the figures present a surprise. Identity as regards make, style, and origin, with Jebba figures not so evident, as I supposed it to be. Herewith detailed remarks.

Figure No. 1: figure of a warrior (?), standing up-right, of very dark, patinaed bronze. Material and style quite positively the same as male figure in Jebba.

Cire perdue - probably Benin style (face-form!) wears chain mail, a breast plate on string (A) [[Letters refer to Nadel's illustrations on his page no.169]], and a quaint headdress consisting of 2 circular, richly ornamented plates in front and back of head, linked on top by means of links formed like birds. Two long rolls (like hairlocks) fall down his back. In ornamentation very realistic figures of ram (bull ?) and birds dominate. On " helmet"-plate the very realistic relief of a man with moustache, beard and 2 horns (devil ?). Probably post Portuguese work. - A little damaged so that it can't stand by itself; height 1.10m.

Figure 2: Short figure of very bright brass, most probably solid (not visible if *cire perdue*, very heavy), and not *cire perdue*. [Decadent technique!] Holds in right hand a staff very much like a Bishop's staff, and on head Tiara-like cap. Wears a cloak made of white cloth (renewed annually at ritual). face rather crude - hardly Benin high-style. (height 40 cm).

Figure 3: A very curious statue of bright bronze, very artistic and finished product of finest *cire perdue*. Represents a man sitting in unmistakable attitude of Shiva (one leg half missing!) Also dress quite unafrikan: short drawers with shawl round waist, tied in richly ornamented butterfly tie on left side. (height 60 cm)

Figure 4: Small figure of pure, reddish copper, representing standing man with folded hands (holding something ? Natives never know him otherwise). Face very crude, no " style". Wears loincloth. On bald head a hairlock (plated) very marked (*tsotso*[topknot]?) Height 50 cm, hollow.

No 5 and 6:. animal figures, one (rather lean) elephant, and 2 ostriches, one big, one smaller. All *cire perdue*, dark, patinaed bronze, as in Figure 1, very beautiful and finished work. All damaged and defected so that they can not stand upright, evidently very old. Quite possibly typical old Benin work. (height: elephant - 70 cm; ostriches - 1.50 viz 1m)

NB The figures 2 to 4 beautifully cleaned and polished. Again proof of their being younger. Natives classify all in same category - as being brought by Tsoede.

Information on Ledu brings up certain new points, not all of them however being reliable, because of apparent unwillingness of Tada people to admit that they had ever to do with the inflicting of death penalty. Certain deviations from information collected at Jebba, they try to tone down their share to a more religious office - but I rather trust the Jebba information (This also opinion of Alkali Shonga, with whom I later discuss these doubtful points.)

The *bataci* [swamp people] (like them) have never planted a tree to make later a canoe out of, at birth of son. Limited, they say, to Kede Gbede!! - Politically formerly under Etsu Bida, via Kuta who was their Egba!

On way home notice (again) quite a number of the *ezin* sort of fishtrap (of wickerwork, shape like megaphone, moored fast on banks with mouth facing downstream). Everywhere fishermen burn down the grass, to prevent fish during high water season to hide in the reed, and to be able to fix the traps. We actually run through a big bushfire, ashes and smoke blowing right into the canoe. Count 4 camps of fishermen from Ogudu - temporary shelters of grass-huts and mats on a sandbank, or cleared piece of shore. They stay on a place like this for about 3 weeks, and then return to Ogudu. Of course, between our canoe and the people ashore, big saluting going on, inquiring in full detail of every single member of that party...

Later the two paddlers in front put a plank across bow, and start paddling together, sitting on this bench, in quick, short paddling rhythm of the South. To this they sing new songs, with short, brisk, hacked rhythm, and enables repetitions of a minute phrase, typical rowing songs. Not Nupe, but Kakanda-songs which they have picked up downstream, and are copying now (" *Yi sa ye sa eni Kakandazi* [we imitate Kakanda songs]"). Not for long, for the plank breaks, and one of them nearly falls overboard. So they have to return to their own manner of rowing, and also to their own long-drawn, arhythmic, nasal Nupe chants.

Kakanda-song: [Musical example]

The text (it is the original and real text) apparently nonsensical words, just giving rhythm and indicating the particular sounds, e.g. *re, rememe, re - re, rememe, re...*

This legato phrase seems to have a real word-text.

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On way back pay visit to Kyedya island Kpakpyefu, where the Kede settled originally. Meet both Zitsu and Egba (a younger brother of Kuta) and get valuable data about this very old (time of Etsu Majiya, i.e. 130 years ago) colonising - record of Kuta - proceeding in exactly the same way as at present. Notice (already in Tada) a funny custom: to erect big masts near certain houses, and fly a flag, made of canteen-cloth, but fixed in true navy fashion, with two ropes. This is - I learn - a sign that a marriage had taken place, a custom obtaining in the whole river area here including Shonga and obviously influenced by the plenty of flag-flying of Niger C[ompan]y, they must have seen in their time! (Cp Kakanda canoe-flags!)

11/8/36

Parting visit to Alkali Shonga, get some information about the legal and general arabic literature he possesses. Also visit to carpenter where we order a carved door-weight (*kpokpogi*). - Return to Shari.

12/8/36

Visit in morning to Shari - count *Masallacis*: 8 in the town.

13/8/36

Short inquiries into Yoruba cults at Shari. Following cults practised here:

Sango - the "*nusa*" of all other cults, and largest membership

Oshoko - Yam cult

Oloya - "wife of Shango", mostly women (?)

Eyle

Yemagya

Shefa

Yifa

Egun (= *Egugu* = *Gugu*)

Ogun (hunter-cult).

Certain exogamic rules, not very clear except as regards Sango and Oshoko cult: very definite exogamy, and also no marriage among these two. Following scheme seems more or less correct:

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Sango intermarries	with	Sango	
Oshiko	"	with	Oshiko
Oloya		Oloya	
Ele		Eyle	
Yemagya		Yemagya	
Shata		Shata etc	
		Yifa	Shango
		Egun	
		Ogun	Oshiko

15/8/36 Ilorin

Arrange psychological tests with Mal Yaha of MS -translation of story and abstract nouns for Test B. Find that in many essentials Yoruba has same linguistic structure as Nupe.

Visit to 4 Nupe compounds in Ilorin. This "*efu*" Nupencizi consists of 5 compounds altogether, close to each other. But in every one of the 5 *ungwas* of Ilorin are such groups of Nupe who have no intercourse with one another. Why have they not formed an *ungwa* of their own here as they have, under own headman, e.g. in Sokoto? They say, because they did not come all together, neither at same time, nor from same area, so they settled among Yorubas here and there. Also not the same profession. In the present *efu* they are all Mallams, having Mal Schools of about 10 to 15 pupils - boys and girls, among them both Yoruba and Hausa (E.g. in one house 12 pupils, 2 Yorubas and 1 Hausa boy viz girl among the Nupe).

Children of the house, of relatives, and of neighbours who are unrelated. Besides, they also embroider gowns in Nupe fashion, and keep goats and sheep: two of the Mal has one she-goat, bought 2 years ago, for about 4/6d. Will have young soon, will sell the young for about same price - thus getting money for tax.

The man who has he-goat, gets nothing except a little corn as food for he-goat, and 3d or 2d for the lending. Have Nupe visitors now and again who come e.g. from Patigi and other Nupe areas and stay here for a while under the customary hospitality (no relation!). Friendly intercourse with Yoruba, they all speak Yoruba!! But very little intermarriage, although in one house Yoruba and Nupe live in same compound (of old!!) Have very little recollection of time of their coming to Ilorin - 2 generations ago, i.e. grandfather of present *emitso* (of about 56) or father of very old man (70) have migrated into Ilorin, as Mallams to Mal Alinu the Fulani ruler of Ilorin. (Time of Etsu Masaba in Bida). Where from? Only one remembers, from Gbodo, near Lade. They are Ebagi of origin. Have still their relations there, but little intermarriage (cp. Genealogies). Little memory of their ancestors, even only 2 generations ago (no ancestral cult!!).

See Mal Aliyu, a man from Birnin Kebbi - an old friend of Daniel's. - who can give me interesting information on origins of the Gwandu-dynasty, Mal Dendo, etc. An old man whom he brought along, gives me most vivid description of fate - "rise and fall" - of that marvellous native hero Umar Bahaushu. Amazing how far north the interest in his exploits had reached. And these new data from a Kebbi Hausa tally almost completely with data obtained previously, in Bida. -

17/8/36

Finish preparations for tests on M.S. - Talking about Yoruba and Nupe customs, the Nupe story of the incident at the Jubilee, with the Ndakogboya, is confirmed by Yoruba teachers. Even add that the Ndak. was discovering and pointing out witches among crowd, and that a well known, very rich woman, was expelled from Emir's court, because of this accusation. -

Notes on Yoruba beliefs:

Some information about Yoruba witchcraft: men and women witches; women's w. not complete without men. 100 women would be in connection and co-operation with 2 men, who are their "masters"! Witches transform themselves into owls, and when you kill such an owl, the witch will be dead, too. Proverb: the crying of the owl precedes the crying (i.e. becoming ill and die) of a baby. Besides there are sorcerers who can transform themselves into snakes and cats! - There is a secret society there, Ogboni, with both hereditary and purchased membership, which undertakes to assist their members so that their adversaries and enemies are removed by means certain of certain deadly magic!

Visit to Nupe in another quarter: Mallams, farmers and other professions - always about 5 or 6 Nupe compounds (some even now without even the round *katamba*!) in one group, otherwise irregularly distributed over half the town (not in pure Yoruba quarters, more among the Hausa, i.e. in the districts with already mixed population). Great many Nupe-strangers besides: from Bida, Lafiagi, Patigi, etc, living at other Nupe's houses (a Lafiagi-man seeks out a Lafiagi-man's house, if possible). Their profession: mostly traders! But a few are young men who come here for occasional farm labour or other jobs. They have no farms at home and do this only to get money to marry! I met two, so far, sons of a "*Saraki*" of Bida and a Mallam of Lafiagi, respectively.

5/9/36 ... Saw one of the young men on the street, the one from Lafiagi who was a watch-man for a time - he had no job. But didn't want to return to Lafiagi. Why? He could not do farmwork, he was too weak - this from a strapping young chap like him!!

18/8/36

Visit to Beadmakers and Potters:

Beadmakers: only one compound in Ilorin where they do it. Big quarter, consisting of 4 different "houses" i.e. four family heads (*Bale*: cp: *Bale* = chief). In one big working-hall one sees about 12 polishing-plates (whetting-stone for bead polishing). Here the men are working, like in a common factory room. Their work consists of one type of bead-making only! They buy lumps of red laterite (basalt) which is brought down from Busa by Hausa-traders. L[isbeth] picked up the same kind of stone at Shari. These lumps are broken up into small pieces, either round, ball-like, or oblong, cylindrical. Then holes drilled through, polished. Sold for 4d a piece.-All other kinds of bead one sees here, specially the big round, coloured beads which the women wear on their necklaces, are bought on the market. The latter are brought down from Hausa, and are rather expensive.

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Potmaking: number of places where they make pots in Ilorin. We pass by one, still inside the town, and go to see one (the biggest place of this kind) a little outside Ilorin. Another place, which specialises in the water-pots of "cooler"-type, is in the town, near the Emir's house. The place we saw specialises in big cooking and water pots. Again "factory"-system, i.e. the compound where women work is not a living quarter: these are a small distance away. The women come down here only for their work, here they have their stores of clay, sand, coloured earth etc. At least 30 women at work; in number of groups: some making the pots themselves, some polishing them, one woman is busy colouring pots with red earth, and some young girls are kneading clay, and pounding clay, and mixing it with water ready for use. Method of pottery: pot fixed on moveable basis (calabash with stand); woman walks round it; building it up in strips. Makes wall first thin, and gradually strengthening it. Then colouring it with red earth: when colour is not applied it will remain pale after burning. Eventually burning it.

22/8/36

Tax:

Talk to Grimwood about Taxes: In Ilorin where there is plenty of money, collection starts with beginning of financial year, i.e. exactly on April 1, and is completed as a rule in July. - In other Provinces (among them Niger) the praxis is to begin in September corresponding to bringing in of harvest. Present tendency is to make latter practise general. - Value of tax (theoretically) = 10% of gross income, i.e. including foodstuff, storage-food, capital value of goats etc..

First day of Experiments in M.S. (Story test with Group A).

Visit to Onion-growing Nupe near M[iddle] School. The head of the compound, Shaba Yisufa, of the family of the Zunguwa Nupe, has been an interpreter of Resident here (actually Daniel had mentioned him to me 2 years ago, but I had no time to look him up), and shows me at once his framed testimony. Very inquisitive and wants to know at once whether I am Missionary, or Government, or whether I question "for myself"... They all speak Yoruba as well as Nupe, Yoruba friends are just visiting them. One rather sumptuous Nupe *katamba* in "sarakuna" style, rest Yoruba-houses. Women mostly Yoruba-looking although they are Nupe: but their dress, the blue tattoos on cheeks, and also the filed off front teeth give them definite Yoruba looks. Men much more "Nupe" like. But then, so many Yoruba men look like Nupe in their northern dress!

Visit to the onion farm:

Onion farming:

They have brought this craft with them from Nupe. Same type of onions, namely *luwogi*, the small sized onions, of which leaves also used for cooking. Much preferred here to big onions grown by Bungawa and Hausa. Seeds brought down annually from Jima and bought (2/6). Then grown and whole yield sold!! Two plots alternately farmed with Onions - Red Pepper; till 6 years, then shifted. - Typical marsh-land farming, near water-course, with small walled square plots, which keep water within squares. Sown as a rule (i.e. except lazy farmers, of which kind I found one instance) twice a year. Four month's crop, therefore sowing and reaping - seasons as follows: Abibu was sowing his first crop 4 months ago;

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at present reaping first crop, just taking out everything. Will sow again in fortnight. - Idirisa was sowing 3 months ago, will reap in 2 weeks. Second harvest will be in December!! A lazy farmer has sown a month ago, his crop will not be ripe till November - too late for second sowing!! [[diagrams of fields of Idirisa and Abibu; NB Nadel's note on his page no.187:-]]

Evening visit to Market:

Prices of produce: Guineacorn;

one bundle (yielding 12 *kpanu*) sold for 9d to 10d (according to size); so @ 1/!=!!]]

Guineacorn (not pounded): *kpanu* @ 0.5d to 0.6d

(one bundle = 12 *kpanu*, 1 *kpanu* = 0.7½!!)

Maize flour : *kpanu* @ 0.5d (corresponding to 5 to 6 cobs!)

First day of F/C tests in Elementary School. Looks like strong indication of F type!!

Second day of Story tests (Group B) in M.S.

Divining Statistics

Get the " Statistical sheet" which I left with Tsadu in Jebba, through Miss Lance. Unfortunately not very clear. He has not grasped the essence of my scheme very well, and put his blue and red sticks all across the paper. Besides, I don't know for sure how long he has kept on doing this. Taking it roughly as 3 weeks, i.e. 21 days, the result is this:

Men: 16

Women: 9

Total: 25

Several times came	4 times	3x	2x	1x	
men	1		1	1	7
women		-		1	- 4

average per day: 1.7

24/8/36

Visit to Shaba Yusufu's house.

Relationship between Nupe and Yoruba at Ilorin:

Friendship. Quite a number of regular friendships between N. and Y. With all the services it entails. -The same applies (also the following remarks) to Hausa as well.

* Living quarters: NB The Nupe in Ilorin live mainly in the eastern part of town, in quarters where also Hausa live. (Nupe Mosque at Gambari [= " Hausa"] market!) No Nupe in western half among Fulani and pure Yoruba quarters!!

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Visits and attendance of family feasts: Where there exists friendly or neighbourly relations, one notifies each other and visits each other according to rules, at Suna, wedding, funeral, *sagali*, etc...No fix rule either favouring or forbidding intercourse.

General feasting, drumming and dancing: The same. During dry season, when big feasting is going on both in town and compounds (e.g. in Yusufu's *efu*), Nupe and Yoruba go to each other's dancings freely. Actually like (and imitate) Nupe dances (cp experience at Shari)

Ena gbarufuzi: Exclusively Nupe. Limited to single *efus*. But on small scale, only one *ena*. And no co-operation or collective feasting between the various *enas*. (Titles have not much meaning!)

"*Ecin* and *Gacin*" I ask about *ecin*... None of them can tell me any. For, they say *ecin* are told by *dzakangizi* only. When you grow up you don't hear them any more, and forget them. What, then, are the stories or tales of the adult? They tell *gacin* (proverbs and riddles!). But nevertheless they can't tell me any *gacin* either. For "not everybody knows them" well enough...

Religion (Islam): Nupes have Masallaci of their own for every day. E.g. They had just prayed there (for days!) for rain. But Friday mosque common, for both N. and Y. and Hausa.

24/8/36

On Market - Nupe fish-sellers: they buy big basketsful of fish, £5 worth, from Bida women, and sell them here on market. For 1 basket, with 40 big fish, bought for £1 (= 6d each) and sold for 7d the big ones and 4d the small ones.

26/8/36

Second day of F/C tests in Elem School. Second day of Picture tests in M.S.

27/8/36

Third day of F/C tests in Elem School. - Working out part of the picture tests - very slow work indeed. (One among the boys had been mad for some time, and only returned to school 2 months ago!). Interesting how teacher Mal Yaha speaks of spirits, and some friends of his (Muhammedans!) who tried to obtain power over spirits, as it is said to be possible in the Kuran, but, as he terms it, "their courage failed", and they have been unsuccessful. One man who had this abortive experience got mad during the attempt. Another explanation for the madness which overtakes very frequently men of middle-age (as far as I could make out chiefly hallucinations and persecution-mania), is witchcraft. There was one man in Ilorin who made a special job of curing lunatics --by flogging them(!) among others. But he became Muhammedan and has abandoned this profession ever since.

27/8/36

Some notes on Markets

A market on periphery, where country women sell their goods to traders from the town:

maize -26 traders (each a basket or big calabashful)
corn 3 "
zambu 2 " (28 pieces to one load!)

Density: @25m² -14 men and 9 women

Gambari day market corresponding e.g. to Bida day market):

Fancy goods 3 traders

Palm oil 1 "

Rice and Melon seeds and Groundnuts ... 4 Rice 3 *kpanu* @ 2d or 6 *kpanu* @ 2d

Melon seed and *Efa*-kernels [tiger-nuts] 2 melon-seeds, worth 1/=

Sugar cane 3 *Fura* [doughy balls of sorghum paste] 2 (@ 20)

Milk and butter - 6 traders (@ 4 to 6 litre)

Yam 5 traders (@ 12 heaps, 18 heaps [@ 3 each], 80 yams) maize flour .. 6 traders

Groundnuts and beans and salt... 6 traders (one sells 24 heaps @ 40 nuts)

Red pepper, greens, occra, *kuka* [powdered baobab leaf] - 5 Also 4 large platters of *kula*
"Garkuche 1"

Zambu [cooked sorghum paste]1

Firewood (difficult to count, because coming and going continually)

Kara [bean-cakes] .. 1, *Masa* [a fried cake]... 3 ; Mat seller... 2 girls (Japanese mats)

Soap 3

2 sewing mashines,

1 embroiderer

1 Hausa man selling pepper and paprika.

2 butchers.

To make it more like Bida one would have to add:

Small pots and *mangege* [a type of pot] (3 to 5 women)

fish: much more palm oil and Shea nuts *Asabari* mats

And an occasional buying and selling of cloth between two customers.

[[Nadel's page no.195 includes a sketch map of Ilorin]]

30/8/36

Further visits to Nupe compounds in Ilorin

NB The various quarters of Nupe called their origin: Kutigi'fu, Bodi'fu, Dabba. But this hardly more than a name now. The present generation knows next to nothing about their origin and has often also abandoned their original craft (e.g. mat-weaving of Kutigi people who have become Mallams!)

[[NB. Nadel's pages no.s 198 and 199 are missing]]

..him a former pupil of his (Yoruba about 35 to 40) can speak a little Nupe. [NB: Nupe teachers of Kuran very much appreciated in Ilorin!!] He himself knows also " *kpikpe* [knowledge]" (taught by Grandfather), but mostly teaches Kuran only 4 Another Mallam - formerly mat-weavers from Kutigi. No reason for migration

30/8/36, 1/9/36, 2/9/36 Ilorin

See *bori* [H. possession dances] on three consecutive days. This opportunity to see B. again, and in full bloom, is able to confirm viz correct our previous experience.

Held regularly every afternoon on an open square in Gambari quarter, in front of Hausa trader's house. His wife plays hostess. But no deeper reason. Has been so since many years. This daily meeting consists in this: 2 to 3 *Goge* [H. one-string viol] players turn up regularly at 4.30 and also 2 to 3 calabash players (playing on upturned half calabash with 2 small sticks). They get money from dancers, and audience, and occasional visitors for their play. Gradually audience collects, mostly Hausa, but also some Yoruba and Nupe who like to watch it. Very mixed audience, the regular visitors sitting round "arena" - women and girls on mats on one side, men in front of them, and all round place. Occasional spectators standing. Some *dogari* among them (from Elem School nearby, where they have evening classes), traders, small girls selling cigarettes, kola, etc...

The regular feature is that women and men begin to dance to music of *Goge*. Also there are always at least 3 announcers, of usual type, singing with their throaty voices senseless songs, shouting out greetings and praises to attract people's attention, and generally playing the fool and making a nuisance of themselves. Extraordinary the outspokenness of this playing- the-fool! Real clowns - and how many are doing it!! Enjoy obviously doing it. - One special fool - a professional clown -rather interesting: in filthy rags, with hair growing wild on head and beard. His clever trick is to imitate the real *Bori*-dancers: their cramp-like, angular movements, their vague stare, their pop-eyed look, and finally their jumping and falling down flat on buttocks (only he, of course, lets himself fall down like a sack). People laugh themselves sick over his performance. Or, he stages a pantomime fight (sort of boxing) with his small boy, with all the preparation life-like, i.e. stripped to waist, etc: he is then shamefully beaten by small boy, to the uproarious enjoyment of the audience. But they really do it cleverly. And the " fool" is quite an intelligent fellow when you speak to him out of business hours.

ad Musical Instruments

One of the "clown" announcers turned up one day with a curious shaped music-instrument, a "rubbing-gourd". (*Reib-Kabben*) in Hausa = "*koko*". A small, oval, hollow half calabash, on a halter, as barbers use it and carry it about, carved on surface. Player holds it in two hands, pressed against palms, and with fingers and nails scratches the calabash viz the carved grooves. makes a high-pitched, twittering noise which sets one's teeth on edge: [[Nadel's text includes a sketch of this instrument]]

NB: one of the *Goge* players uses a brass-bow native work, very nicely chased brass!

Now the mere dancing does not yet constitute the "real", i.e. magical, *Bori*, but is - or may be - mere entertainment. it is not sure that anybody will be "caught" by *Bori*-spirits. On the 3 days we went there, only once one young man was "caught".

Some people dance only for fun, but others dance definitely with purpose to be caught. Not all succeed. *Sarkin bori* explained to me, pointing out the different "regulars": this one has *bori*, this one has not, this one has not, this one has - etc. For those who dance and dance but are not caught, they have only a pitiful: *suna rawa banza; banza ke nan* [they dance uselessly; it is worthless]. But even those who have the *Bori* (*su na da shi*) are not caught regularly. The dance goes on without interruption and without apparent tiring, on and on. If musicians pause, they are at once exhorted to carry on, by audience as well as hostess.

Women, if asked directly, would never admit for themselves that they have *Bori*, but always "denounce" another woman. Men are more communicative, and after long uneventful hopping about, one of the women who was declared to have a very strong *Bori*, suddenly joined the dancers, "to show me"...

Dance: Figures quite different from Nupe. Much more abandoned, and less self-conscious. Rule an up and down dancing, or round in circle. "*Wechselschritt* [G. change of dance-step]" but with full flat sole. Longer, quicker steps, very elastic.

Body remains quite straight and unmoved, only moves in separate rhythm to music, by slight shaking ("Zucken") of shoulders only. [[e. arms (in women's dance) hanging loosely down, with rounded, drooping shoulders and head, or hands playing with ends of shawl which they wear round waist.

In slow dance-movements hands also certain conventional movement, turning them inside, with stiff wrists - looks like cramps!! Very gracefully. Also in pairs, 2 women, or 1 man, one woman, staring from opposite ends and dancing past each other. More vigorous variation: stamping with very strong and energetic movements, in front of "band", shoulders as in other, all "falling". This phase then goes over into an excited jumping round arena, with big jumps, heavily falling on flat sole. After having danced there will be hardly a pause for ½ hour or so, they mostly lean exhaustedly on wall, obviously with vertigo.

Now comes the real difference between the dancing for fun and the dancing to be caught by *Bori*. The latter would dance on and on, discard more and more of their dress, cap etc. Usual dress for women and men: a long cloth tied under arms, and later a shawl round shoulders.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

First of all dancing with stiff neck, head throw back, and looking up - quite stiff and rigid. Arms stretched out. Goes on and on, obviously forcing himself into "fit". May also already introduce the *Bori* jumping to try out if body rigid enough. (Once a young adept was doing it too early and master dissuaded him with warning gestures). Would, when sitting, cross legs in peculiar fashion, rigid with cramps, and thus turn round and round, one leg laid over the other while sitting. Exhausted and almost sick from the dance the dancer pauses, leaning against wall. And now he forces himself into quasi-epileptic fit. Obviously all these cramp-like movements, the vertigo, etc not to forget the monotonous and sometimes maddening music, tend to provoke this state. They would suddenly point out (when the dancer is near his fit): now the *Goge* is calling his spirit by name, at once the *Bori zai hau shi* [*Bori* ... Once the master himself was dancing -really unsurpassed in the elegance of his movements. But suddenly one could see that he got very near the stage. He did not want to be caught this evening, though, he wanted to talk to me. So he stopped and went into the house to wash himself with cold water. After a while he came out, still breathing heavily, and with a rather empty stare. He sat down, and after a time regained his "normal" stage again.

One does not pay much attention to him while he has his fit, saliva coming out of his mouth, his body all rigid and throwing itself up and down. Women cover him with clothes, and press down his body and stomach. Master sits near, unperturbed and without apparent interest. After a time fits pass, and now he starts the *Bori* itself. Everybody realised the specific *aljinu* [spirit] which caught him - in his case the Sarkin Rafi. Now, when he has calmed down, he is taken away to his house by women. Then he is dressed in ritual i.e. magic dress. He comes back, hung with charms, with 2 sword-"*Gehange*" across his chest, and 3 belts round waist and chest (on leather on). this magic dress is to fortify him in *Bori*-dance. *Suna da magani duka* [H. they are all medicines]. Also he has a brass stick with a "*Troddel* [G. tassel]" in his hands which during the dance, he holds with both arms behind head. Now he begins the characteristic *Bori*-jumping, again and again, higher and higher. The pace of crossing legs - still every pace designed to keep him in this stage. Sitting in arena, on ground, head thrown back, body leaning back arms stretched back, and hands on ground as far back as possible. Or he moves round, dragging himself along on ground, to everybody sitting there. They "*gaishe shi*" by laying hands on his back and chest. He makes it rather consciously - e.g. he does not come to us and on other hand pushes himself through ring of spectators towards a girl he has his eye on, grasps her hand and wants to draw her into arena - much laughing and chaffing at her fright. But otherwise the entertainment goes on undisturbed besides all this - clowns, musicians, and dancers carry on in ordinary way. -After time the *bori*-man is tired out and brought home. He will go to sleep now, and tomorrow he would be ready to prophecy!!

This is the inner meaning of *Bori*: the man, after this trance (or in the trance) will be able to prophecy coming events, or identify diseases etc. The *aljinu* which possessed him, speaks through his mouth in Hausa, arabic (!) and secret language.

Social organisation: I got the information (not yet complete) from the Galadima (i.e. Sarkin Bori) who is a *Yan Doka* I knew from Bida. He had been transferred to Ilorin when he formed his new "order". Yet it is not quite complete, the Magajiya is missing. Everybody who wants to become a "member", goes to Galadima and pays him money, food and kola nuts. Then he will be initiated into

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mystery. No medicine to drink. He must learn to understand language of *Goge*, and then paces of dances. NB: the *Goge*-players are also "initiates" of a sort at least, -they can not play anything else. Complete and exclusive specialisation for *Bori* When his theoretical initiation is finished, he will dance and try to be caught by *Bori*. If he is successful, he becomes a *Girke*, an initiate. Big communal meal, and a title will be given to him, corresponding to his special spirit: one has the spirit "*Kada*" [H. crocodile] one "*Sarkin Rafi* [H. Lord of the River]", etc etc....The "paces" and special "magic" varies in the different cases. The head of them all, the *Dan Galadima*, is supposed to have a special magic: stretching out cupped hands over his head, he will suddenly have his hands full of "Sixpences" or "Shillings"...

NB People who have illnesses in their house, may call the *Bori* people, to perform in their houses.

Short questions:

Can anybody become a member: no, only those who have been healed through *Bori*!!

Difference of men and women: none, except in case of certain spirits. Both men and women can become "*Sarkin Bori*"

Who recognises spirit? Every initiate.

Paces typical for spirit? Yes, according to training.

Change of spirit possible?

Or inborn and only "pulled out"? Spirits have to be identified by sort of divining. One man can have one, or more spirits. No fixed rule.

Forming an "order": In vague sense. Embraces whole country, wherever there are Hausa. Exchangability of members of different orders: yes, accordingly

Financial aspect: Money for first initiation. A good *bori* dancer will make easy money (1) dancing itself (2) prophecying in trance

Healing and prophecying: as a rule independent from dancing. Represents the moral side (moral justification) of *Bori*.

Musicians as members: No real members; "technical assistants"

Spirits and System of Religion: Spirits all well known, but not fixed. Quite in keeping with good Muhammedanism.

Good and Evil: Has its place there; they assert that only good men can master *Bori*; bad men killed by the very spirits.

Cp. Special description in Ntbk!!

5/9/36

Another Bori: the young man from last time has another "fit". Later the *Sarkin Bori* told me that he had warned him not to force it - it does not do you good to get in a trance every time - he himself tries not

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

to so it more often than once or twice a year. See some new figures: dancing in front, with head and shoulders drooping, feet behind each other, back-foot on toes, changing feet, in 1.2.3.-*Wechselschritt* [G. change of dance-step]. Hands play with ends of shawl (round shoulders or waist), throwing ends up a little and catch ing again, or swinging or rotating the " *Zipfel* [G. tip]". - This figure was executed by two girls who obviously were learning or practising: they were not very sure and were watching their feet and steps carefully. Audience very amused... Another figure - more " real" *Bori* - 2 to 3, sometimes even 4 dancers walk with long, quick steps in circle behind one another - on and on - One gets quite sick from looking at them. Almost like chasing one-another. In this figure it happens that young man gets into trance; he was holding a young woman - one of the " regulars" - by the neck, and they both fall down. With great difficulty they extricate her from his rigid kataleptic grip. She laughs, but rather frightened - .

After we leave, a number of " *iska* [H. spirit]" appear, among others the feared "*wanzauci*", and "*makeri* [H. smiths]"...

Ad: " *Ajele*"... In a Report of Daniel which he gave me to read (and criticise) on Ilorin Pol. Admin., I found that *Ajele* is supposed to be Yoruba for *Jakada*. Can not believe it and ask Mal Yaha if it is not Arabic. He says no, it is Yoruba, and has an etymology ready which is really much too much of " *post-factum*", namely *je ile* = the man who " eats the country", or "answers the country." But afterwards, with help of Arabic teacher we discover unmistakable arabic origin, namely:

Ta ajala - to dispatch; to hasten

jala - to go to and fro (with a message)

Ajalana -a messenger, someone who goes quickly to and fro

We meet a Dr Cunningham-Brown, who had been sent by the Col. Office and the B.M.A., to study the conditions of lunatics in Africa (following some questions in Parliament), i.e. conditions in which they live at present, and possibilities of improvement. He has found out quite interesting things, in the short time, about the professional alienists of N.and S. Nigeria. Says that head of *buka* [H. shop, stall], always hereditary, nearly always a mental doctor.

Lunatics mostly kept in houses, doctors and family co-operating - a method which he positively advocates for all but violent cases. (Also at home!). Difficulty of ascertaining number of lunatics. E.g. in Ibadan, to certified one, come, after proper inquiries 20 or 30.

Type of lunacy: very little actual mania. In the North comparatively more epileptic and mania; in South *dementia praecox* predominant!

Type of treatment: (1) by drugs: mostly calming or sleeping draughts, sending to sleep. Interesting observation, that the optimum moment for treatment is when madness reaches climax, really raving-madness. They don't start treatment till then. In case of " half madness" they first give a drug to force madness up to climax. And then treatment with calming drugs. During this doctor goes on walks with patient into bush where it is quiet and they are undisturbed. Then starts conversation with madmen in whispers, to test his mental state. (Appealing to unconscious ? [says Dr C-B.]

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(2) Medicinal whip. widely used in South. Must be of special tree.

I have heard of same method through Mal Yaha - used by famous mental doctor at Ilorin. He is unfortunately in Oshogbo just now, - went there for "consultation". Here, too, hereditary profession.

6/9/36

In the Morning the "Galadima" of *Bori* comes to me, and in very fruitful interview I learn the most important facts about *Bori*. - Incidentally I also find out from where I know him (and some of the *Bori*-dancers as well whom I thought I knew from Bida). He was not, as I believed at first, a *Yan Doka* in Bida, but he was at the *Bori* in Bida, and so were 2 other of the Ilorin "regulars". They went there for the *Bori*. Famous *Bori*-men always used to travel all over the country, performing their tricks, and making pots of money not only by dancing, but also by prophecy afterwards.

He himself used to travel to Lagos, Ibadan, etc...but now no money therefore he ferred to become a warder. He was a soldier from beginning of European occupation, was in most of the important campaigns, on the Gold Coast and - in the war - in East Africa. As *bori*-man he is known in Kumasi and Sekundi, in Lagos and Kano, in Jos and French country - wherever there are Hausa. He is of noble family, his father was Galadima an Emirate north of Kano, but his younger brother got the "*sarauta*" (when he himself was sick, previous to his cure through *Bori*), and he was first educated in Kuranic school, and later joined the W[est] A[frican] F[rontier] F[orce].

See Ntbk IX on *Bori*

He promised me for afternoon a nice show of *Bori* (although he said, a few minutes before, that one can never count on "*iska*", nor force them to possess a man!) Actually it was very impressive indeed. He himself performed marvel lously, he produced at least 3 or 4 among his 12 spirits. I could recognise: Sarkin Rafi, Mal Alhaji and Galadima. - Also another man performing (who some days ago, when I first asked him, denied knowing anything at all of *Bori*!): I recognise Sarkin Rafi, Makeri; Finally an old woman. Very impressive, and (I hope) good photographs. But some of the performance definitely faked for our benefit! Our friend, above all, is play acting (though very well: the autosuggestion with which they force themselves into trance is amazing: froth round mouth, dilated pupils, real somatic image of epilepsy ...). Later, for e., he discards his pose, and his rigid, grim, "trance"-face when something unexpected happens, and laughs and looks quite natural for a moment. Nevertheless it was first class!

The performances on Saturday and Sunday were not given at the usual place, out in front of the native head of the police (*Wakilin dogari*), who is a very well educated man, school education, who speaks first class english and all that. On the days off-duty, they perform in front of his house, for his special benefit, and he and all the *dogari* sit and watch. Rows of chairs are prepared for guests (for us, among others)

Big crowd.

8/9/36 Ilorin

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Food sold on market Sugar cane....

9/9/36 Share

Food and prices

Corn, *kpanu* 1 @ ½d. (Three months ago price was lower 7 *kpanu* for 3d = @ 0.4½d; this is also price for harvest).

People in Share complain of insufficient rain. Yam v. little, and corn not yet as advanced as it ought to be this time of the year.

10/9/36

Homosexuality

Had a talk with Tagidi on Homosexuality. Does not exist in this country. He is quite firm. He has never heard of such a thing, & laughs. Later we meet the 2 *Dogaris* and Bida-*Dogari* who is here on "local leave". They, too, declare that this does not exist in Nupe. The older *Dogari* admits that they do it in Lagos. - Their negative information and disbelief as to existence of such a thing seems to be quite genuine. Shortly afterwards another new man joins them. Tagidi tells him, first thing, behind the wall, of my queer ideas. They both laugh together and shake their heads.

It is different, though, with young boys who may "play" at this game. But then, they are not responsible - they know nothing. Incidentally there is no Nupe word for Homosexuality, unless one says of men as well: *a lele be dozi 'yi* [they sleep with each other].

Sexual play of children

Re: sexual intercourse of children. Here again they admit that they "play at it". But would an adult see it then they would be beaten. This sort of thing must not go on. It is shameful. But again no special term.

11/9/36

Try Outline figure tests with Yoruba boys. Not successful. First because most of them are too young -the older ones are on the farms. And second, because they fail to identify the simplest figures. Seem to be much more stupid (unintelligent!!) than Nupe.

Incest

Inquire again about incest. Tayidi remembers two cases. One, when he was young boy (perhaps 40 years ago - at a time when there was "no prison yet"). This was a very learned Mallam (Nupe) with his daughter. One did nothing. *Mallam wanciko u yi o* [He was an important Mallam]- how can you take action against him? But *Soko u yi u hukunci.: nwa na ye zumi* [God is the sentencer; he saw the shame]. He got blind at once. The child his daughter had died, and she married another man with whom she had other children. The father was left to live on in Tsaragi. Second case was a brother who

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

slept with sister - Tayidi did not see this, only heard of it. The man was bound and flogged severely, till they almost killed him. Girl married off to somebody else. But both lived on in Tsaragi. Not expelled!!

Bought a Bornu throwing knife "*Garyo*" and throwing spear (Bornu), *mashi* (h.), *zogo* (nupe), *kalo kute* (Beriberi)

12/9/36

Position of Ogudu (trade and traffic)

Night spent at Ogudu. - Inquire about river-trade now and formerly. Ogudu through being an old Kede settlement has reached its present important position recently, namely when they built motor road. Formerly Jebba main crossing place for Ilorin. And still formerly (before railway at Jebba) main traffic went across Niger at Muregi - Patigi - Lade -Ilorin. Traffic of goods (Hausa!), *kanwa* [H. potash] and horses... Niger Co. then added to Ogudu's importance .

Another, rather amusing, change in Ogudu's importance (negative change) due to beginning enlightenment of fisher-groups nearby: formerly Ogudu functioned as middlemen, buying up fish caught by small fishing villages, including the two hamlets across the Niger, on the island opposite. They then sold the fish in Ilorin. But this has changed, for the fishermen do this part of the job themselves now. They have realised that this means more money, so they have cut out the middlemen. "*A le ba ye gbani* [they see an opportunity now]" - as the chief of Ogudu says regretfully.

13/9/36

River journey down as far as Sunlati. Originally we intended to reach Patigi in one day. But we leave late, and besides we get into a sudden tornado shortly before Sunlati, and just manage (but only just) to reach the bank there. The canoemen, as usual, take it easy. Only when the sky looks really frightening, do they begin to paddle for their life. It is nearly too late. The gust of wind catches us and drives us broadside back, right into the reeds which form the entrance of Sunlati. We almost run aground twice, and we are afraid the canoe will capsize. Waves enormous, and wind unbelievably strong. Paddlers (specially the 2 young boys who paddle in the bow) lose their head and push poling sticks in wrong direction so that we get driven off even more. Our boy takes over one pole, & with his energetic help (and my shouting advices) we just manage to escape the main onslaught of the storm in main river. Fortunately we meet a man in a small canoe who acts as pilot and steers us through reeds into "harbour", for we had not yet reached the main channel through reeds into Sunlati, and could never have reached it against the storm. After much shouting and hard work we get ashore, just when it begins to pour. We really were lucky. Had this caught us earlier (or after Sunlati), we would have had no place to land - to the right really forest, to the left all swamps, reed, and backwaters for miles inland. Or might have been driven on a sandbank and lost the canoe!

[[NB Nadel's page no.5 includes a sketch map of his river trip.

Fishing

On the way up 2 or 3 abandoned Kede settlements: just beehive huts of grass, where they stay for one month and fish- Mostly Mangi-Kede. Abandoned now since some time - when water rises. The huts near Sunlati actually flooded. They are all on the low sandbanks which are flooded in the rains. They were used for net-fishing which is now finished.

Fishing at present (viz other seasons) as follows:

Netfishing (any kind) + *ekpa* [arrow /spear] - finished since 2 months (i.e. high water)

Eshe-traps - will begin in 3 months (with falling river)

Ezin-traps - on now, since 2-3 months.

* Fish spear (*Efya*)* In the high rains all sandbanks and lowlying banks or grass islands are flooded. Fish go into this grass, are speared from canoe with *efia*.

Goro (hooks) - on since beginning of rains

I.e. Beginning of rains: big nets and *ekpa*, *ezin*, *goro*.

High rains. *Efya*, burning of grass for *ezi*, *goro*

Falling river: *Eshe*, *ezi*, *goro*

Dry season. low water: Small nets, *Eshe*

Ekpa has two functions really: (a) to spear big fish in net, or trap. - (b) harpoon to hunt crocodiles or hippos (the latter only when officially permitted)

In Sunlati, at night I see them smoke fish. As it had been raining in afternoon and evening they were waiting with their work for rain to pass. Then they had to cook food. So during night (9 o'clock) they began smoking their fish: perhaps 40 fairly big fish, all bent into circle by means of stick pushed through head and tail, thus: [[Nadel's text includes a sketch here]] on "*Huterlage* [G. hat-stand]" of coarse grass (*bisan*), arranged in 3 or 4 layers. The grass itself burns, and is replenished according to requirements. Takes ½ to ¾ hour.

14/9/36

From Sunlati to Patigi.

In the early morning river full of small Bataci-canoes (in main river!!), going out to look after their angle hooks and fishtraps, viz to place new ones. Mostly 2 people in a canoe: e.g. father and boy. Sometimes only one.

Also great number of large trade canoes which have sheltered on lee side of flat island. One bride's-canoes with drummer & singing girls on board in front of us, for Patigi. (When we arrive we deflect most of the attention of the numerous people waiting for the bride on ourselves!!)

Patigi itself on hill 1½ mile inland. Riverbanks behind screen of reeds, with channels leading through. We march through fields and fields of rice-farms, all flooded now. Rice mostly 2 months old. On some

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fields not yet planted - or just being planted for the first crop *Rogo* has been removed. Rice in this district is planted in mid-rains, when soil sufficiently soaked. Usual terrace-like arrangement of farmplots to keep water on fields. Also used for onions or sweet potatoes. [[Nadel's text includes a diagram of these ridge arrangements.]]

Where solid land begins, slope of town itself, crops change into corn, etc...

Town looks clean, well kept and new (which it is!!)

Later men of Etsu (who is absent) come to greet me: Ndeji and others. Start short talk, but there is not much to find out. Either they refuse to commit themselves too much in Etsu's absence. Or they don't know themselves certain information I want. More likely the latter. But among others I find out that *Bibagi* (Bagpipe) which I so wanted to see does not exist any any longer. It is not an aboriginal Nupe instrument, i.e. the *laticizi* [farmers] have not got it, but belonged to *Etsuzi* [rulers' kin] (brought from Bida!)

Otherwise they distinguish sharply between themselves - the *Etsuzi*, and the aboriginal population -the *gberizi* or *laticizi*. They themselves don't know, and don't care, about the things of their country folk, e.g. *kuti*, customs, etc... Even Ndakogboya is never performed regularly in Patigi: only on demand of Europeans!!

Etsu f.e. had to see it in Ilorin, at the Jubilee, but does not care for it!! Most of the *Kutis* are " not performed in an Etsu's town!" " *Ejin Gunnu* (for ex.) *ezi Etsu bo a*" Why ? Because he is Muhammedan. (Only reason?) On the other hand: Ndakogboya called *Kuti'tsu*, *Etsu wun o* [The Etsu owns it]. But this does not mean that he has actually anything to do with it - they explain. The Nupe say of everything: *Etsu wun o*. It only means that Etsu has to be informed, can order or prohibit it. Possession = authority.

Are there *cigbecizi* [traditional doctors] or *ebasacizi* [diviners]? - "Yi kpe wuncin a [we don't know]", is the stereotype reply.

But there are some of the aboriginal population still living in the town (if they are still pagans or not, they don't know). Part of the town called Patigi'mi (cp. *Banin* in Bida). Their head used to be formerly Ndaceko - but last Ndaceko dead, his son alive, but very old, did not take title any more.

Blacksmith

Afternoon visit to town. Blacksmith-huts. They have come together with present Etsu's family, from various places. Take now title Dokodsa, Shaba, and Kpotun of Dokodsa. (5 *katambas* of blacksmiths altogether). Dokodsa is title of Etsu's blacksmith. Formerly only in Gbara, Raba and Bida. The blacksmiths in "*lati* [rural areas]" are called "*majin*".

Food prices

Market: very well stocked (except for yam. No yam-flour, only *Rogo*-flour). - Plenty of *Kula*.

Plenty of fish (fresh and smoked). Rice (@ 2d fresh millet, old late millet and corn (old), all @ 0.8d. No change of price was experienced here. Also sugarcane (new), but only little. Almost no "*paragi* [melonseeds]".

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Sewing machine: 1, a young man (machine only 1 year), formerly *fula* [cap]-sewer, father a Mallam in Agaie (>).

15/9/36

Visit to Blacksmith, and with him to house of Ndaceko - Little information, of limited value, because Patigi originally a small unimportant place, smaller than Lifun or Fade. And when Etsu moved thither, large influx of population from everywhere - Bida, Agaie, Cekpa, Ilorin. Also Yoruba and Hausa.

Original tribal marks: [[Nadel's text includes sketch]] Either two, or one on left cheek. But today people all mixed, and father lets his children have marks of his original country, so that I see majority-having Bida-marks, some even Kutigi marks.

16/9/36

Visit of Ndeji. Discuss Pol. Org and Law, and in particular Etsu's position. Discover some unexpected and interesting things: existence of two sacred chains, one apparently Chain of the Ordeal (referred to as *egban Tsoede*, or as *Tsoede*), at same time a general magic; and second Chain of Punishment (referred to as *Tidzana*). Also interesting tabu for Etsu to attend, or have performed in his town, all *kuti* that involve " *tiwu*" - "crying"!!

Sacred Kingship

Also finally new sidelights on *Ledu*-organisation. Established now without any doubt that it is a judicial organisation of king, chiefly to render it possible that executions are performed outside of King's town. (Sacredness of king apparently forbids executions in his presence. As he may not hear "*tiwu*" he may not see blood! (?))

But all these things rather difficult to disentangle. Certain points have to be left over till Etsu returns. They refer me again and again to Etsu, telling me to wait till he returns: he being the only one of authority to speak about these things (viz to permit discussion of these things!) E.g. they refuse to let me see the Sacred Chains, although they have apparently no sacred function any longer. But - " *zunma Etsu za ndoro de yiko u wu egban Tsoede a* [Other than the Etsu no man has authority to explain about the chain of Tsoede]."

Curious on the other hand that Ndeji dislikes discussion of things pagan, and often discourages my inquiries by stressing his Muhammedanism which forbids him "to be interested in magic". We argue a little - I say that knowledge and interest is forbidden by no religion. But he sticks to what he believes to be his prestige.

Yet when the Lifun-chief and 3 *nusa* come to see me, and I am going to discuss their *Kutis* with them, Ndeji asks me if he may be present!!

Lifu people arrive in early afternoon: chief, his younger brother Shaba, Liman, and 2 other men. Mijindadi and chief are the only ones to open their mouth. Both surprisingly open and sincere - I get

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round them, and down to brass tacks, easily. No big revelations, specially not as regards traditions - they count back no more than 7 generations. But I can now definitely establish 3 important points, and settle once for ever the doubts which arose about them..

(1) Chief allowed to see, and even joins, in *Kuti* such as *Gunnu*.

(2) *Gunnu* not generally identical with burial-rites of *nusazi* (only of chief!)

(3) No correlation of *Gunnu* and other magical rites to sections of population in way of clan-structure!!

To-day is market day in Patigi. They have 9 day's market. But more important than market-day itself is *yaragi*, i.e. the extension of market the day after. Yet rain spoils both this time.

17/9/36

In early morning women begin to appear for Yaragi. Specially fish, *kula* [locust-seed cakes] - and a butcher. Also big bottle calabashes...

See Ndeji again. Take (very difficult) Household plan, and sketch compound.

Interesting that still to-day old division of legal viz judicial authority into *jin gyarya* [lit. reconciliation] and *jin sheriya* [carrying out Muslim law] exists, - and functions!! Ndeji represents arbitration in smaller cases. Most people from country (pagans chiefly!) come first to Ndeji, in any case!! Ndeji then refers parties to Alkali, the authority of "*sheriya*", in case arbitration fails, or case exceeds his (merely moral) authority. It would be interesting to have a statistics of cases arbitrated like this - but unfortunately almost impossible to get, he being illiterate. But evidently this still functioning *nko* Ndeji explains surprising low number of real court cases recorded in Annual Return of Statistics!!

Market

Evening - Market:

Market square approx: 30 x 60; about 800 people there. As regards goods sold very little essential difference to ordinary market. Not to be found on daily market, and only on big market, are following goods:

mats,

woodwork (mortars, pounding sticks, stools - mostly of poor material and craftsmanship); also handles for hoes, and whole doors made of planks.

Pots from Rogun (rather poor work)

Fancy goods (Bida beads, glass, brass and silver!)

Yam (?)

Sugarcane (?)

Calabashes (carved bowls from Katsa; raw bottle-calabash from farms - @ 3d)

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All other goods are only more numerous, specially smoked fish, corn (same price, 0.8d per *kpanu*), maize (grains), yam and sugarcane (one for 0.1d) Proportion of amount of goods between daily and big market.:

corn 1 or 2 to 10	}	average 1:5 to 1:7
salt 4 to 15	}	
smoked fish 3 to 25		
rogo flour 2 to 3 to 5	J	

Message comes from Etsu that he will be here tomorrow morning. Send us his respects and greetings, he will come to see us first thing he is back. He has been in Kpada district, has slept in Kpada yesterday, sleeps in Rogun to-day, and will reach Patigi tomorrow.

18/9/36

Heavy and long rain in the morning most probably stopped Etsu's intended morning-track to Patigi. At -11.30 a.m. he has not yet arrived.

Bought 2 native hoes: "*zukunft*" (angular) and "*dugba*" (straight hoe). Price paid: iron blade of *zukunft* 1/=-, of *dugba* 6d; handle of former 4d, of latter (with ornaments burned in) 3d. Formerly, he says when money was plentiful he got 6d for *zukunft*-handle. I wanted to buy, viz order, carved wooden figures as I saw them in Ilorin "Museum" - but drop this plan when I learn that they were only made on "white man's" order. The Nupe never have this sort of thing. They can do it all right - but nevertheless don't cultivate it. "Only the Yagba have *zasangizi* [human figures] made of wood..." Which illustrates the value of Nigerian Museums, started by Officers keen on Anthropology.

Visit to market. Some of the special goods from yesterday still on sale - also some of the special foodstuff e.g. Sugarcane. Sellers will return home when got rid of their ware. Plenty of (cheap) Kola; brought in by *en-gros* [F. bulk] traders, and sold immediately to women who take basketful and start selling them in their turn, where they sit. In size market corresponds perhaps to a Bida day-market. -

Regular Visitors viz traders on big market come from as far as Katsa (calabash!) and Wuya. - Also Bida women traders - but they come and stay here over 3 to 4 big markets and then, having sold their stuff, return. Regular traders to daily market from as far as 1 Lafiagi, Lade, Kusogi (i.e. up to 20 miles) - and occasionally Katsa.

Etsu comes home in afternoon, and sends messenger to salute me. Ndeji was waiting for him in Etsu's compound.

Egbe [collective work] " Sa wogi [build yam-hills]"

Hear drumming from *egbe* near R[est] H[ouse]. They *sa wogi* where they had harvested *mayi*. But very belatedly, because of lack of rain. The rule is: after harvesting *mayi* one waits 3 months to 4 months, then *sa wogi*. New ridges left vacant for next year's sowing (*mayi* again).

Diet

Foodstuff on Market: (when there is little corn!)

Surprisingly much *rogo* flour. This is mixed with a little corn for making *eje*, to make the corn go longer. Only eaten like this during these 2 to 3 months, before new corn comes in. Maize flour and (little) yam flour also used for *eje*, but now unmixed, in this time of scarce corn. Every other time *rogo* eaten whole, on farm. The same as regards maize & yam (only Yoruba eat dried and pounded yam as staple food!!).

19/9/36

Visit to Muregi. Interesting place - in this time of the year half flooded; to get from one compound to the other one must take a canoe - a Nigerian Venice.

Unfortunately Kuta is away, touring his district, further downstream. He is not expected back till in a week's time. I send a *tuci* [messenger] down to arrange a meeting with him at Womangi on Wednesday. Let's hope we shall meet him. For here again I can not get certain informations without him being present. [But most of these informations are historical, and not of real importance.] Another unfortunate incident is that the man who plays the *fugba* [a type of calabash horn], the Kuta's ceremonial instrument, is also away, in Lokoja, with his instrument. He went down there on an ordinary canoe trip. Perhaps I shall meet him (find him, rather) at Lokoja.

I get certain amount of interesting historical information about growth of Kede-organisation. But very little about former pagan customs - they are strong Muhammedans now. Although they admit the existence among them of one family of pre-Kede "*Kintsozi* [owners of the land]" who were Gberizi. The present representative (a very light coloured individual) admits to have seen the old *kutis* (Gunu Zikinta) when a boy - but has forgotten all about it.

Egban Tsoede in Muregi

In Muregi an Egban Tsoede is kept in house of Ceceko. Although he himself is away - together with Kuta, we visit his house. The hut where the sacred chain used to be kept is broken down, owing to floods, so it has been transferred to hut inside compound. After long palaver I manage to have a glimpse of it - usual type. A sacrifice is still performed annually, with dance-feast afterwards - during sacrifice the *nusazi* present cry out in usual spirit-like fashion, "*tiwu*"... The sacrifice consists in ram, contributed by Kuta. But Kuta and his family not allowed to see it (cp. Kuti tabu for Etsu Nupe!!). Sacrifice annual - 12th month.

Visit to Etsu in afternoon. Etsu is a still young man, of a rather unpleasantly inquisitive type, very proud of his own knowledge of "History" - and native customs as well (customs of people to whom he refers disdainfully as *zabazumacizi* [pejorative form of traditional title]). He dislikes it immensely when I appear not very interested in his long-wound story of Edegi. But on the other hand he is equally annoyed when I ask him things about past and present which he does not know. He would say

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indignantly " but this is so long ago - who knows these things?" Or: "we don't bother about these things pagans do". Whatever I say he is apt to treat as unsound - " most probably "they " did not show you the real kuti" (or whatever it is). Rather unpleasant creature on the whole, spoilt by those history- hunting officers - he had prepared his office for me, with paper and pencil on desk, and the Ilorin Gazetteer for reference. Also an old Ms. from which some of his old men were beginning to read out "lessons" to me. Interesting how old Ndeji and others, who said that they knew nothing at all about pagan things when Etsu was away, are now fonts of knowledge - they are actually the ones who know, and Etsu appeals to them continually (Am I not right...?)

20/9/36

Second visit to Etsu

A little better than yesterday. We discuss, among others, Gunnu, and I hear some news, Gunnu-features unknown to me, which only stress the initiation character of Gunnu: e.g. the young men, after bushnight, rub face chest and arms with ash and "*eza* [camwood]" red and white; some also have caps made of palmleaf; Ndazo (who ties nothing round waist, only cloth slung across shoulder) on way back from bushnight is carried on shoulder of *gbarufu*!!.... *Gunnu* is burial rite for *Zitsu*. All other *nusazi* have general ritual called (with proper Nupe-name) *M'ba*. [For hausa: *sagali*!]

Demography

Also talk about subtribes. Opinion divided, but rather in favour of Kakanda being declared subtribe of Nupe notwithstanding dialectical difference. - Kupa are of Ebe-origin, - also Nupe.

I ask if anybody can tell me stories (*ecin*). They say: no. The Ebe and Gbedegi-country is famous for stories. There they tell stories in evenings. But here this interest has disappeared...

C.p. the disappearance of plastic models formerly used as children's toys: the children themselves used to form animals of clay; the woodcarver and blacksmiths made toy-animals for children; I saw a man here decorate his housewall (outside!) with pictures of animals - for children to look at. But apart from that philanthropic effort, this has all died out. Children today (says teacher, a Nupe from Cekpa) play only with European things: make wheels which they drive along streets, tins and bottles, models of motorcars etc ... In the school formerly they used to make animals of plasticine but now no child is doing this any longer.

21/9/36

Trip to Muregi and then -accompanied by Sonfara and some *nusazi* we go on to Nupeko. Interesting and even beautiful trip --specially second half, after crossing wide mirror-like flat of Kaduna, & suddenly diving into densest of jungle. Narrow creeks, paddling underneath trees, submerged bush, passing canoes with hardly a foot to spare. -Nupeko itself is on a creek, half submerged. Dirty and decrepit looking place, more than half of it fallen down. -they say that big proportion of population has died out. No

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emigration - only just dying out and no proportionate birth of children. *Za gbanizi a ma gi dokun ke za panyizi be a...* [today's people don't give birth like the people of before]

[[Nadel's text includes a sketch-map of Patigi-Muregi-Nupeko region at this point]]

The chief (Ndafie) I find prostrate with Rheumatism, sitting in front of the fire in his *katamba*, unable to move. So we repair to another *katamba*, because of the smoke which makes my eyes run. -As regards information -historical information is plentiful (although slightly different from the Patigi tradition), there is one man there titled "Mafuci", who is at once recommended as a man full of *etan* [history]. He himself is very generous with his knowledge and even jealous; he gets annoyed when I interrupt his flow of information with questions. But as regards "*kuti*" - less fruitful. "*Gunnu*" has not been performed for 15 years, it appears. Even then present "*nusazi*" have only watched. Then already part of population muhammedan. But I am able to piece together information about my test-questions: *Gunnu* + Burial: bushnight etc...* A second *kuti* is Tsoede, connected with *egban Tsoede*, but in the way of "*Sara*" cult, i.e. believed to be buried - not to be seen" in the flesh ", only sacrificed to it, on place in village - open space. Connected with communal meal. At present linked with Muhammedanism in this way: communal meal = *walima*; a ram is sacrificed by Manzi; and after this Manzi say "*aduwa*" on place of communal meal!!

Finally discover existence of "Lelu" who is addressed "Sonya". Take photograph but omit to ask inopportune and embarrassing questions.

After 2 hours stop we return to Patigi, where I have to undergo a photographic ordeal (photographing the Etsu who takes an hour to get dressed properly)!

* Re *Gunnu* [[See above]]: The information from many sides becomes more & more contradictory:

Etsu Patigi (describing custom at Ladi): the *gbarufuzi* when returning from bushnight, paint their faces, chest and arms red and white, and cut their hair in fancy patterns. Explanation: so that one should recognise them as *gunnujincizi* [*Gunnu* performers].

Teacher (describing custom at Koro, his home town) *gbarufuzhi* when returning home from bushnight [not on way to Kuso [forest]!!) rub face red and white, also chest and arms. Some cut hair, some make themselves caps of palmfibres. Also do their most beautiful *ede* [cloth] round waist. This preparation occupies them during bushnight. Explanation : to make themselves beautiful. - NB: on way back from *Kuso* [forest] Ndazo is carried by one young man, astride shoulder!! No drums or singing in *Kuso*. Musicians await the *gbarufuzi* in town, go together to *Gunnuba*. *Gbarufuzi* have a tree which they have pulled out by hand in *Kuso* over the shoulder and (!!) *sangi* in the hand. Tree thrown away, *sangi* [whip] for dance. - 7 days, dance only during day-time!!

Waziri (messenger of Etsu) describes *Gunnu* at Kusogi where he has seen often: in 7th month, together with Ndakogboya (i.e. just recently) : *Gbarufuzi* do nothing with face or hair!! Nor does Ndazo ride. Pull out small trees which = "*sangi*"! Seven days, dancing only in day-time.

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Mufuci-Nupeko: No real bushnight. The *gbarufuzi* sleep in hut first, then before daybreak they go out into bush

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Mufuci-Nupeko: No real bushnight. The *gbarufuzi* sleep in hut first, then before daybreak they go out into bush but not with Ndazo -he waits for them at home. They pull out small trees (= *sangi*!), & smear ash over face (only one colour: white). No music there, naturally. Return when it is light, and then usual sacrifice! No Ndakogboya. Two days, but when they go to sleep on first evening - dancing only during day-light they wash off ash. On second day with normal face!!

[Cp p...; as reported among Dibo!]

Theoretical conclusions:

Painting of face with 2 colours, & specially riding astride shoulders of Ndazo not Nupe originally. More likely Yoruba (Fertility cult?) or Yagba influence?! Koro is quite close to Yagba country, and Lade to Yoruba. - Cutting of hair - corresponds to " *Gani* "!? Symbolic for initiation novice!! NB at " Initiation " - boys start going out into bush and joining *Gunnu* when about 10 years of age!! Then do it till they are *nusas*, and their own children do it then.

Gunnu + Burial - one reply everywhere: Only burial of chief = *Gunnu*: Of every other *nusa* = ordinary sacrifice + funeral feast - called '*M'ba*', or *Emba*.

22/9/36

Trip from Patigi to Fofu. Nothing interesting on way. Fofu itself typical Bataci-village, half flooded, water reaches right up to doorways. Ledu-hut, very romantic, overgrown with vines, on its back a filthy, slimy pool. Hut stands almost on small island by itself, all surrounded by water - one understands the description they used to give of Gisagi...

[[NB Nadel' pages nos 31 and 32 include maps of riverain settlements mentioned here]]

In the evening Kuta arrives: magnificent spectacle. Huge canoe, of (to us) unusual arrangement: in front under a sort of canopy (consisting of four wooden supports carrying a roof covered with dyed cow-hide) sits Kuta and some of his Licizi, packed into tiny space. A short tent-like *rumfa* [H. shelter] in the back. In the stern again crowd of people packed tightly: *dogari*, messenger, etc, etc, and 2 drummers, sitting on platform of bows, drumming all the time (one *kalungu* and one "Tsoede"-drum). In the centre which is left free stand the paddlers - 12 altogether, 6 on each side, paddling furiously. They are singing - quite different songs from those we used to hear: short-versed, very rhythmical, real " paddling "-songs: one man leads, chorus repeats. Of type Kakanda have. Later I try to get the text from them. Turns out to be impossible - they just laugh, a little embarrassed: "how can you sing when you are not working?" Text at any rate consists of two or three words only, no meaning. Real "*Arbeits Lied* [G. Work-Song]". Still more characteristic on following day, when they start off, rowing slowly at first, and then getting speed. Songs correspond fully to this change in speed and rhythm. Obviously: this technic of singing could not be upheld with slow, heavily loaded canoes, with their two to three men . Thus perhaps this type of singing disappeared and the " modish " songs from Bida and other places found their way into canoes as well. Formerly, when these stately canoes with 12 paddlers were the rule, - war-canoes and state canoes - these songs were *de rigueur* - and useful, too.

Kuta is on an inspection tour, collecting tax. He travels in great state. They carry along his clock (*à la* Alkali and Mal Ndayako in Bida) wherever he goes; but also a wicker chair, a bicycle, food etc. The women came in a separate canoe, a little earlier. Their canoe is paddled in ordinary way: two paddles in front, and two in stern, with passengers in centre. Very elegant and very pretty women they are, perhaps 10 to 20, also small girls; they carry their loads, food, etc, on their head. They are all dressed up fine, with hennaed hands and feet. - The suite of Kuta is billeted all over the place for the night. Next morning he goes on, to Womangi, and afterwards to Katsa.

23/9/36

Have a talk with Kuta in morning, before he goes. On Ledu chiefly. On other historical points he proves of little help, since he denies all knowledge of the ancient ways...

Interesting how people receive him, almost like Etsu himself, prostrating themselves in front of him. Clearly, his authority is great. He is greeted by " *Dombashi* ". When he "sails" we witness again the impressive spectacle of his state canoe, rushing down-stream with astounding speed, under singing and drumming.

We follow shortly, and reach Baro at lunchtime. Nothing special on journey. Meet great number of loaded canoes. Type of fishing net changes: the circular, framed net of Onitsha-origin, frequently used by fisher here (south of Fofo) for catching fish during high-water-season.

In Baro we find Resthouse full, so we stop on board ship - a noisy, and smelly affair. Can't close an eye during night. One of the barges which the ship carries along is turned into a temporary brothel, where the labourers and ships crew, after one day's trip from Lokoja (!) receive the visits of their female

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

shore-friends and sleep with them - at least 20 people, in one room!! These, and related, noises, keep us awake all night.

24/9/36

Walk into Gidi. - Baro itself is referred to by the Natives as "*barki* [H. barrack]". The original town is further down river. Consists of first a Kede-quarter, second, a Hausa quarter, and finally, a "aborigines" quarter. Here the V[illage] H[ead] lives - the Etsu Gidi. Small quarter, of 3 *katambas* only. - They are Dibo, politically under Agaie. "Always have been "... All muhammedanised. Three of the older men have seen Gunnu, in one of the other neighbouring villages. But even in these villages Gunnu is not practised any more.

Gunnu 2 see [[Nadel's]] p.28

At Gunnu: They have bushnight and pulling out of slender trees. But *gbarufuzi* paint nothing on their faces. Only they have "*ede wangi* [fine cloth]". Gunnu also attended by chief. Performed at his burial. Other *nusazi* buried with "*Mba*" .. Never had Ndakogboya!!

At Religion (general): Gunnu has disappeared. But in these small *tungas* people have nevertheless not become muhammedans. Reason for disappearance of Gunnu (they say) chiefly economical: no money, and not enough food to celebrate G.

Disappearance of Gunnu

With this the only *kuti nya za kama* [ceremony for the whole of the people] which they had, disappeared. But still today there remained individual (= ancestral) *kutis* of single houses viz families. Mostly represented in *cigbe* of *Egbo* (shrine) type, or *Bakomba* [twins]. *Cigbe* - Gidi people themselves have only *Wasa*, as ordinary "treating" medicine, not as sacred *cigbe*. Interesting reversion from communal rite to individual (ancestral) magic.

Remarks on Bassa

Meet a young man from Basa (Mission type). Learn a few things about Basa. Two groups: larger group, living on Benue - Basa Komu. Small group - on Niger round Lokoja, both banks, amongst the Gbira - the Basa Ngei. (*Ngei* means "a wo[they hear] -? ") The latter are the Nupeized ones. Nearly everybody speaks and understands Nupe. Besides, their dialect very much like Nupe. Not related to Basa Komu who speak different dialect, impossible to understand for Nupe. No intermarriage, but trade relations. Basa Ngei both farmers and canoemen. Used to have Gunnu - but have abandoned it now. (Basa Komu still have it!

Nearest Basa Komu town (on Benue) is a little beyond Mozun (a Gbira town), called Dogbo. Basa Ngei- towns are: Kpata (where Mission is), a town of approx 7 *katambas*, 3 miles inland, on East bank of Niger. - Tekefe (15 *katambas*) beyond Kpata, on main road: town of present chief. - Gbobe, 10 *katambas*, town of former chief, also on E. bank. Ganaza, small village on W bank near Lokoja.

Remarks on Kakanda

Kakanda:

have only 3 big towns: Budon (on W bank), Muye and Dere (on E bank - belong to Lapai). * Rest are small *tungas*.

* Gbari of Lapai called " *Gbari goy* "...

In afternoon we move to resthouse, which had been vacated in meantime. What a relief!

25/9/6

State of farms

In the morning I visit farms: on guinea-corn farms the transplanting just taking place - belated, though, because of rains. - Meet number of Nupe, from practically everywhere, near station: Mokwa (who knows me), Egga Bida Wuya etc... They came to Baro partly to work on railway line, partly bringing down on canoe (for Canteen), or selling themselves, Sheanuts. Finding them all assembled like this - all men or boys who have farmed themselves, or come from farmer-stock - I can ascertain some doubtful points on Agriculture: namely Transplanting (time, kind of crops transplanted), Interplanting, and " *Sa 'wo gi* [the farm-ridges are sprouting] "

Kakanda-canoes in Baro: bring up yam and calabashes. take down: rice, corn, onions.

Difference between Nupe and Kakanda canoes? They say, Kakanda canoes can take more loads, and are quicker (easier to manage). But Nupe canoes last longer and are stronger.

25/9/36

In the morning 2 Kakanda-men from Budon visit me. Take down a few notes. Some surprising facts emerge: a Jukun dynasty in Budon; originally definitely non-Nupe, but largely Nupe-ized as well as (completely) muhammedanized now. Nupe apparently acted as muhammedan missionaries to Kakanda. Relations of tribes, as they see it:

One group comprising (with related languages, and partly origins): Gara, Basa Nge, Kakanda, Kyedya (!?). Another: Gbira, Gbari, Basa Komu. (?)

See again the Gidi-Nupe. Ascertain sowing and harvesting times of groundnuts.

Gunnu see [[Nadel's]] p 28 & 36

Final information re: Gunnu.

In Dibo country, Koroko & Ribu (near Gidi) as well as Vatsa (near Gulu - which is itself mostly muhammedan) Gunnu was a triannual cult!

Bushnight began at night (evening meal first). No drummers go out into *Kuso* [forest]. *Kuso* itself no fixed place, but changing every time. In *Kuso* they just talk and then sleep. Before they go to sleep they pull out trees: real, big trees, with roots and leaves and all.

These big trees (arm-thick) pulled out only by the eldest *gbarufuzi*, perhaps 5 or 6. Rest (altogether 40 to 50!) pulls out small trees, or branches only. At dawn next morning dress beautifully in *ede nyizagizi* [women's cloths]. Then go back into town: the 5 eldest run ahead, they have also " whips " (*sangi*), they " *tiwu* [cry out] " and lash about whenever they meet people. The rest follows in single file, slowly. All have trees viz branches across shoulders. Ndazo goes with them - slowly. They sing the Gunnu-songs. Go straight to 'ba Kuti. There *nusazi*, *zitsu*, and musicians await them. After sacrifice dance: first with trees still across shoulders. Then trees thrown away on to sacrifice-place, they retain " whips ", and dance with them. Rest of ceremony as known. (NB: not performed in Vatsa since 6 years - i.e. in 1933, when should be performed again, not done. Economic reasons - at least so they say!!) In Koroko not performed since 10 years!

Old Ndakotsu who is also present, describes Gunnu which he has seen in Paiko and other Gbari places: there annual cult, and *gbarufuzi* pull out (viz break off) only branches of one tree.

26-27/9/36

River journey Baro-Lokoja

Rather dull in beginning. Interesting near Budon when quite unexpectedly hills and mountains become visible and come close to the river. Great number of wretched small river hamlets all along - Dibo villages. They all seem to use the upright frame-net, "*danbe*". Their houses are of the type seen in Fofu reminding a little of Gbari *katambas*, i.e. not so many small sleeping huts as big *katamba*-like buildings.

[[Nadel's text includes an illustration of these buildings]]

The further south we get, the more square huts appear. Some of these places stand on ground washed away almost completely. Frequently only half a house left, with the structure of the roof still more or less projecting over cliff where rest of house used to be. Such huts are just left, and a new hut built close to them.

Our skipper is a Gara who speaks: English, Gara, Kakanda, Gbira, Nupe and Hausa. You hear him conversing with people in all languages. -

No doubt that Nupe is here the *lingua franca*. Everybody understands and speaks Nupe!!

We stop in Deri for half an hour, and all the natives on board buy yam - huge yams - to take them to Lokoja. Regular trade: the yams come from inland, from Gbira country, the Kakanda act as middlemen and take them down to Lokoja. - The village is on an island, almost completely flooded. On one side I notice big tinne-roof house - is pointed out to me as house of a famous Mallam!

About an hour later, near Koton Karfi (right among hills) we run into storm and stop for the night.

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In the morning, at 6 a.m. we go on. Now we are in Gbira country, and the fishing villages we meet are all Gbira [more exactly Gbra!] places, with badly thatched square huts and vertical nets!

Lokoja itself is extraordinary pretty, lovely hills surround it, all fresh green, & to all that the wide expanse of shining water.

Arrived in Lokoja we are given an excellent bungalow & recognise in everything the protecting and recommending hand of Kaduna. Fortunately everybody is just away - at Sports in Okene - so we can settle down in peace first of all.

Try to obtain certain information about lay of the country through at random asking people - but most of these informations (as to tribes and villages) turn out to be all wrong next day. Again realize that Nupe is the generally spoken language here. Later see in statistics that Nupe are third of permanent population of Lokoja, slightly smaller than Hausa.

29/9/36

Get hold of a young and very intelligent Basa from Kpata (Ankpilo) who gives me, together with other informant, a farmer from same place, interesting and reliable information. It appears that Basa are extraordinary like the Nupe, except for details (e.g. cross-cousin marriage forbidden!). Historically perhaps to explain as split-off part of Nupe: their original location was in what is today Aworo country, i.e. southern neighbours of Nupe (Kupa). [Unfortunately] today all muhammedanized. But used to have Gunnu (which they call Bunu) and Ndakogboya!

Visit to market shows so very clearly the mad mixture of tribes which exists here, viz comes to Lokoja regularly: Hausa, Nupe, Kakanda (both as canoe-visitors and regular traders; e.g. the owner of one of the biggest [real] shops in town is a Kakanda woman), Aworo, Gbira, Gara, Basa Nge, and Basa Komu: the latter mostly women - come down from Ginna on Benue, sleeping here and going back again, or even returning within the same day: sell here yam and " *kula* [locust-bean cakes]".

* Aworo see [[Nadel's]] p.47 Very primitive looking women, ugly as hell, very much like Gbiri. Look almost like men: sturdy, thick boned, with fat, round stooping shoulders and neck. Close cropped hair. Wear only indigo cloth round waist, - looking like a dirty black (they as well as cloth). Very few & cheap bangles of black leather-stuff. But are very friendly. Speak a little Nupe, nothing else. Don't understand when I address them in Gbiri.

Profession of Lokoja Nupe - as far as ascertained: mostly traders, many are clerks or otherwise in European service, specially Marine Dept. Also barbers, many Mallams. Come from all different places - many younger ones born here already. Others have just come here 2 or 3 years ago. [Different are the regular traders etc visitors].

Sort of statistics of Nupe I met:

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Mechanics	storekeepers	Marine store clerks	Traders on market	Farmer	Mallam
2	3	2		1 (Old man)	2
1	1 (Interpreter)	1	5	1 (Basa)	2
1	2	2	6		5
(Many of them <u>very</u> <u>great</u> teachers -adult students of <i>kpikpe</i> [knowledge])					

Among " alien " visitors:

1 - young man, came down here to study Kuran with famous Mallam.

3 - traders from Katsa: 1 cloth and straw hats 2 bring down melon seeds or calabash according to season *^{iv}.

Then return (buy nothing here) 1 - young chap, a " promising " trading talent: brought down 2 Bida-mats (bought for 1/= each), sold them here in one day, for 1/6 each! Will return and extend his trade this time. (Came as " passenger ")

2 - women traders, regularly travelling between Bida and Lokoja, with beads, Masaga and silversmith's goods. Good business - they say.

1 - man from Masaga, coming into Lokoja every 2nd month, selling glass bangles (also sewing)

1 - blacksmith, here since 10 years. Occasionally visiting Bida (comes from Tswata Mukun). 3 times during this period.

1 - a former farmer, later " Interpreter " at Koton Karfi from Gulu. Son came here 2 years ago & became motor mechanic.

30/9/36

Have my Basa boy again, who brought along two Kakandas, very intelligent, too - take down Kakanda Vocab. and Grammar. Tomorrow they will bring three more friends for phonographic recording of their canoe songs. They say however that in their songs they mix Nupe with Kakanda, and also that the songs are the same. Stories (*Ecin*) are also the same among the Kakanda and Nupe...

Kakanda Canoes - not made locally, but imported from South --Warri and Patani!!

Tribal Marks

^{iv} * Rice is traded by different people - Bida and Patigi men chiefly. Cp. 2 Kakanda canoemen buying rice at Katsa, selling it in Onitsa, and bringing palmoil up to Katsa. Regularly.... They stop for 5 days in Lokoja on way up.

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* On Market I tried to distinguish the different tribes by means of tribal marks, but fail. And so do my guides: we mistake Gbira for Aworo, or Aworo for Gara etc... Today no significance attached any longer to tribal marks.

E.g. the two Basa who have been here had the following marks:

[Sketch]

But they say, these are marks as made from time of advent of Europeans (!? - More likely imitation of Nupe marks). Original marks were cuts down each cheek

The two Kakanda men are marked like this:

[Sketch]

2/10/36

My Kakanda men who proved so good informants for language have not turned up today. They had gone home earlier than they said. - Have new men, 3 men and 2 boys but they are extremely stupid. I lose my temper frequently; and besides, they also will go back to their town (Muye) tomorrow, so I shall have to change informants again. -

[[Nadel's page no.49 is a sketch of *Dambe* fishing net]]

Visit to town in morning - lots of Nupe of all types: Dibo, Kupa, Bida, Egga - of all professions.

Tentative statistics (see [[Nadel's]] p.46

Barber	Tailors (Mashine and Hand)	Black and brassmith	later Interpreters, messengers etc, (old men)
	5	3	4
5	6-8	1 (Brass?)	1
	2		

See state canoe of Etsu Budon - funny thing, imitating the double storey arrangement of steamer. With light on foremast. Three sons of Etsu Budon have come to Lokoja for a few days, not on trade, but only to visit relatives.

2/10/36

No luck again, with Kakanda informants, have to break off - impossible for language.

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My second Basa informant, however proves a very fruitful case indeed. As it turns out, he was only offended last time, because I had invited him together with a young man. And an old man cannot talk when a young man talks, is it not? A young man to correct or contradict, an older man - is this proper? - No...Today he opens his heart. He is son of a former chief, who had been appointed by Wallace (Niger C[ompany]), and who reigned in Kpata Kpale. But when his father died the chieftainship went back to original family of Bukolo, and he being without father or mother and nobody to care for him, went over to Lokoja and settled here as farmer. But he still keeps up contact with Kpata.

As regards origin of Basa Nge he confirms the tradition I learned from Resident: namely that they came from Gbara, driven out by *goy* [Fulani], and settled first on right bank (first in Aworo country, then on hill near Lokoja) and finally on present site. They are therefore Nupe proper - although there are small dialectical differences.

Marriage customs, see [[Nadel's]] p.64. 65

I discuss marriage customs - almost identical with Nupe. Two essential differences, though: cross-cousin-marriage is forbidden [used to be allowed of old!]; and in addition to brideprice (money) no gift of food, but annual *Egbe* --farmwork for prospective father-in-law.

Religion: as it turns out, there are still pagans left. The "*laba* [libation]" on Kuti-place, viz ancestor's grave, is referred to as quite a normal thing! Last Gunnu was performed 5 years ago - Ndakogboya-mask still in existence. Other cults have partly names which I don't know (*Eka* for *kakayu*?), but appear to be identical with old Nupe and partly Gbari cults! On the whole Basa country looks quite a promising field.

Later, on market, try to speak to some Basa Komu through interpreter. They smoke long pipes with quite nicely cast brass bowl. Both men and women farm. Inheritance in male line. They call "*Kuti*" .. "*tuwa*". All Basa Komu have Gunnu! " Always had it " (Basa Nge man says: they imitated Nupe Gunnu!? They did not however live in their present place long, but have come from Kassar Kpoto (near Wukari?), driven out by war (Jukun?) *

* Correction. **5/10/36** Not Kpoto but Koto (says Muhamadu Karfi - see [[Nadel's]] p.55). I.e. originally Basa Komu south of Dibo and west of Gbari, actually interlocked with the two. Nupe-Goy drove them south, and they, in turn, drove out Gara, on whose place they live now.

3/10/36

Visit to town. Visit houses in which Nupe live. Those near water all of quasi- european pattern. Very dirty, small and unhealthy. Much smaller and less convenient than proper Nupe houses. A Nupe man from Bida, f.e., lives in a house 8 x 12m., with 3 bigger rooms together with 2 wives, and 2 sons. He himself admits that these houses can hardly be compared with Bida houses. But then, there is no space here! When he came from Bida, 25 years ago, he lived first in the grass huts on waterfront in which still today Kakanda and Nupe live as in a semi-permanent abode (flooded at high water, and stinking with

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

refuse at low water). Only 4 years ago did he build his new house. In the back of the town houses are more in " native " style, with *katambas* etc but very much smaller than in Bida. But people (chiefly Yoruba) here are sometimes living in abandoned storehouses, a dozen in 3 small rooms, dark and without any air! Filthy life. Side by side with these hovels one sees nice brick-houses, often painted imitating store-fronts, with proper shutters, doors and windows - house of " captains " i.e. of the steamer skippers (Gara, Gbira, Kakanda and Nupe), retired or otherwise. They are, it appears, the *haute volée* [F. upper stratum] of Lokoja.

Meet Kupa-man, and engage in discussion of Kupa language- and -origin. He takes me to Mohamadu Karfi, a former chief of Lokoja town - a Kupa man, the " *nusa* " of all Kupa men living here. He is an imposing figure. We do not yet talk in full - properly some other time. (He only just confirms the tradition I had learned previously, that Kupa and Ebe are of one "*gbere* [stock]").

Great deal of mallams in town: some highly educated amongst them, who teach "*litafi* [book, i.e the Koran]". All nationalities: Hausa, Nupe, and Fulani (from Gombe!) [he still speaks Ful[fulde]!] Book traders are a very regular and frequent sight in streets and market of Lokoja.

4/10/36

"Kupa"

Visit a famous Kupa man, Muhamudu Karfi, former chief of Lokoja town. But when we start talking he denies (or tries to deny) his Kupa origin. First admits only that his mother was a Kupa, his father came from Katsina. Later he qualifies this: his grandfathers (ancestors) came from Katsina, but his father was born in "a town in Nupe". After some hesitation he names this town: - Bida! But, he admits, his father had lived for some time in a place called Mami, & understood Kupa - " but only a little"... This old rascal is ashamed to admit his country of origin - but on other hand wants to show off his knowledge of all Nupe territories, thus placing himself in difficult position. He is much more keen to tell me about his European friends, chiefly missionaries, from the oldest times of Lokoja, e.g. he knew Canon Robinson, Bishop Crowther and others. He also surrounds himself with men who had the same connection with the " glorious past "of Lokoja: there I meet a Yoruba who was the boy of Sir William Wallace, a Woro who was his interpreter - etc etc... He himself, Muhamadu Karfi, appears as the one-and-all, the friend and factotum of all Europeans. But he is an intelligent fellow, humorous and witty - only very conceited and proud of his historical knowledge of Nupe, which turns out to be all second-hand knowledge which he had collected for Europeans and therefore thinks unrivalled. Basa Komu Interesting is only what he says about the Basa Komu having been driven south from their original territory - right among Dibo and Gwari - by Nupe-Goy-raiders. That explains their Gunnu (?), which however appears to be a little different. One Woro man describes it:.. no bushnight, no tree-plucking, no "*Ndazo*". But young men adorn themselves in *Kuso*, then also sacrifice, they paint whole body white (patches? ornaments?) and then dance to pot-drums. -

" Kupa " Of Egga-people he says, that they lived on island nearby first, and then crossed over to present site. This was at time of Etsu Usman. They were hunters. The Kupa had then a chief of their

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own, called Mala*, who resided at Mabo -a town later destroyed by Nupe. But Kupa themselves had come there from Ebe country, driven out by Goy.... (?)

* Not correct. Title was Etsu. But first Etsu remembered was named Etsu Mala. (see [[Nadel's]] p.64)

Same day, earlier in afternoon, my Basa friend came along with a Kakanda from Muye. We just talk a little about Kakanda customs and traditions. At any rate all is completely Nupeized now, in marriage (brideprice plus a little farmwork for father-in-law), burial etc... Religion: originally, he says, they had Gunnu: with pot-drums and sacrifice. The priest who makes Gunnu, i.e. sacrifices blood of fowl into a "*kwalaba* [bottle]", at same time chewing and spitting out "*ewo*", = fruit of *cita* [H. chili pepper] (?).

Permit ortho-cousin marriage!!

5/10/36

Walk to town to get hold of Ndamaji of Kuta - his singer and *fugba* [ceremonial horn]-player. But very elusive personality, apparently. Seen on various places, but nobody knows exactly where he lives, nor where one finds him. My Kakanda friends, in usual lazy Nupe way, first say: yes, they have talked to him, but he refused to come to me. Afterwards it turns out that they don't even know who he is, nor where he lives... What liars they all are!

Ask about "morals" - It appears that there is a special quarter of town in Lokoja (within "Township") where the "prostitutes" live - called in Nupe "*sha(n)kala*" and Kakanda "*kanuwa*". They are all married women, who have left their husbands for good. ("runaways") Some even have their babies along. Apart from those professionals in one quarter, there are also women of this type in the semi-temporary quarters on riverside. The general criterium is: "those who have no husbands". Their fee varies, but is very cheap: 2d to 3d. (!) During daytime they trade mostly on market. There are amongst them: Nupe, Hausa, Kakanda, Gbira and Basa Nge. Nupe are in the majority... The moral attitude of Kakanda and Nupe is not easy to ascertain: my 3 young Kakanda friends declare: these women are bad, thoroughly bad. Were they good, then they would return to husbands and stay there. One Nupe is not so sure, in the beginning he says: they are all right. Later he qualifies his attitude saying: they began all but right later "fell". But they could still drag themselves out of it by returning to husband. I: would husband take her back if he knew of her life here? The Nupe: yes, I should take her back. This is also view of one other Kakanda. Another Kakanda says: I should give her a good hiding first. Again another: I should never take her back, but obtain a divorce....

In afternoon Kakanda come along, take phonographic records of canoe-songs. Unfortunately the Phonograph plays certain tricks - dodges grooves and scratches, too. The songs are very nice: a singer and a chorus ("*mi koni, ta na ke na ego*" [I sing, reply?]) Tune of chorus nearly always the same, but text varies -

[Musical example]

The contents are poor: one song (on " Fatima ") praises in a few words a girl. Another ("bucketi") abuses a Kakanda woman who had gone to Onitsa, and taken money from everyone for trade goods and never returned, neither with money nor with the goods. The worst abuse they have for her is in this song: *u de 'wo, ama u de 'ba a* [She has money, but she doesn't have a husband] (she could not find a husband). Rather interesting reflection, read in conjunction with remarks on morals. For in " real life " everybody (including the singers) takes the existence of prostitutes for granted. Even have their regular " friends " who they never swap each other away - applies also to married men!! But as regards song - they say that every Kakanda would at once recognise this song and regard the particular woman (who, incidentally, is dead now) with corresponding moral indignation...

6/10/36

In morning try - in vain - to work on Kupa with a wretched idiot from there. Had to give it up. But some of the misunderstandings were very typical (only a little stronger than usual): e.g. whenever I ask for a simple sentence " his leg is broken " or " this is his house " or " he is a stranger " - he would conjure up the whole situation with all details in which such things could be said, e.g. ah, this man has broken his leg: or: this man over there is obviously a stranger etc... It became more complicated, of course, as soon as my-your-his etc. came in. E.g. I asked for this: " your hair is black " Reply: " my (the native's) is black ". I insist on the " your " - in vain. Finally, to get him round, I suggest " My hair is black ". Reply: " no,no - I can't say this, yours is a white man's hair...

Psychology

In principle all very interesting. Evident impossibility to grasp categorical systems, and the relational aspect of things,; always tied down to concrete (imaginary or observational) situation. In lesser degree this is true with regards to any native (i.e. informant in linguistic matters). Takes them very long, and eventually comes up as " Aha! - experience, to realize categorial aspect of personal pronouns scheme (I-you-he-we-you-they)! Thinking of putting this to an experimental test. Perhaps like this: giving example of number of pictures arranged according to certain relational scheme. Other groups of pictures are to be arranged corresponding to the example-order.

E.g. Example	Small	Big	horse	horses	other
_____	horse		horse	man	animals
Test pictures:	Small		Large	Man in Town	Huts
	house		house	house	
	cycle		cycle	cyclist	cycles motorcar
etc					

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Or this : One or two sentences to be formed embracing number of pictures which were arranged according to certain schemes of interconnections from mere situational interconnection to abstract categorial " belonging-together ").

Went to see Muhamadu Karfi. Of the old men whose coming he promised there was only one - a 90 years old Nupe from Bida who used to be canoe man (he is a native of Gbajibo) of Etsu Masaba!! Knows all about old Nupe. When he was a boy Umaru was being executed in Bida. Bida was then - mere " *Kuso* ". At that time the Basa had not yet come to Lokoja. And the Eggan people lived near Bida (" Womangi ") and were later going down to their first settlement - Womangi, on the Niger. The people of Jebba ruled over the Niger and extorted money from all passing-by, by means of their powerful *Kuti*. The Kupa, with their head town of Mabo, were raiding the river area, and driving the Muye Kakanda from the land so that they moved on to island.

Certain interesting facts stick out:

(1) Religion... At Lemfa Kuso where canoe of Edegi with all its *dukiya* [treasures], is sunk, special cult of people there. Always very small place. Its *zitsu* [headman] (no other title (?)) was guardian of a sacrifice and ritual there. He - and all people there - were supposed to be able to see canoe once a year (12th month). In ancient times the chief ruled only 3 years. After this, he died, viz was killed, and buried on certain place. No chief longer than 3 years. Besides, every year when chief sacrificed fowl to Tsoede, (they have chain there!) he also scratched his arm with needle, and let blood drop into river on sacred place. Does not know of any reason - but Edegi established that. Does not know of any other place in Nupe where this ritual king-killing is practised. Later this practise was abandoned and a ram slaughtered instead - again triannually. [Connection with curious triannual cults of Nupe?]

Kupa Pol. Org.

(2) Pol Org... The old *ezi nusa* of Kupa was Mabo. But rulers there were not Kupa, but Agabi - i.e. *gitsuzi* from Gbara. They had gone out there and established a small provincial rule of their own, under the Etsu of Gbara. They went out there at time of Etsu Dzuru! Like Egba's, collecting tax for King. Later, under Fulani, Mayaki was Egba of Kupa, and also one time Makun (of Katsa).

How did Egga become so powerful and Mabo disappeared? - Mabo was raided and destroyed by Etsu Masaba. At one time it was said to have contained 500 houses! Egga, on other hand, was small village. But it became big as an important market: in days of Europeans, when Niger company established its headquarters there, traders from all over the country (with ivory!!) flocked to Egga - and it became the centre. Magi also grew like this...

(3) Marriage

(a) Cross cousin marriage - always practised by Nupe, in the most ancient days!

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(b) Farmwork and Brideprice - annual *Egbe*-work, once a year, for prospective father-in-law during court ship obligatory formerly! Now only voluntary!

(c) Widower marrying wife's sister - never. Widow marrying husband's younger brother - always (obligatory). Ortho-cousin's marriage - forbidden!

(d) Intermarriage: between subtribes originally unheard of. *Dzomanci* [cousinhood] existing between Ebe-Kupa-Gbari not entailing permission to intermarry! - At present in Lokoja intermarriage quite free: Nupe-Yoruba-Gara-Hausa-Basa-Kakanda-Gbira. The other day a Gara from Idah married Nupe woman. A Kakanda from Dere a Jukun woman. A Nupe man a Gbira woman. General mix-up. - But as a rule Nupe don't like to marry Hausa or Yoruba women, because they " always ask for money"! "You see - a Bida man was explaining to me - we don't give our women money every day. Only now and again, and they have to manage. But a Hausa woman would come every day asking for more"

KPATA (Basa)

9/10/36

Kpata is situated on a easy slope, rising from river. In background the hills. Behind hills only 2 Basa villages, chiefly Gara country.

Well cleared and cultivated coutry. But no marsh-farms - they belong to Gbobe - a Kakanda place (also Gbira) near river.

The town is loosely built, no walls, neither round town nor compounds. Only a few *zana*-fences here or there. No grass, and almost no trees, grow outside the town, on the bare clay there, -a few rocky spots, big flat slabs are dotted about. This is the most marked difference from Nupe villages -the lack of vegetation. This and the form of the houses. One sees a few round huts, still, most of them however dilapidated, and not a few deserted and ruined. They say that originally they built their huts round, but now they have adopted the Gbira method of square huts with a very primitive thatch -just sort of thrown over, not even the technic of Yoruba thatching.

Actually they say the difficulty of building and thatching proper roofs made them abandon round huts. No " *katambas* " any more: only chief and Shaba have separate *katambas* as entrance halls (square ones!)

The usual type of round huts still visible is the Gbari-type for bigger huts (the same as also in Fofo and the Dibo villages south of Baro) i.e. hut with project ing roof over " verandah " (a) [[Refers to Nadel's sketch of this type of hut, on his page no. 67]]. Sometimes this " verandah " has real high walls, so that a sort of twin house results. (b) [[again refers to Nadel's sketch]]

NB They don't know how to finish off top; just fold grass over top and tie it up.

Both men's and women's huts look like this; some women's sleeping huts simple round huts without " verandah ".

(c) Another, formerly very frequent, hut-type of Bassa! [[sketch follows...]]

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Dome hut, with or without Verandah: inside hut a tall circular mud-dome, closed on top, to store valuables in it - protection against fire. Top of dome works as central support for rafters as well. Now not built any longer.

A compound often not easy to recognise as such because of lack of " *kara* " (wall).

[A large sketch crossed out]

E.g.

1. younger brother

2 elder brother (= family head)

3 broken down; used to be hut of 2's wife (" run-away ")

4 " kitchen " (viz " grinding hut ") for rainy season.

Two women just pounding indigo). 4!.. cooking stones -used during dry season

5 wife of 6

6 a " younger brother "

7 1's wife

8 ruined, without roof. Used to be father's hut

10 stable for pigs (2)

9 granaries

The granaries are made of *bisan* [a coarse grass]-mats (*zana*), thatched , and raised: timber floor over big stones.

The people look very primitive indeed - they reminded us of Gwari. They are nice and frank, and easy to make friends with. They understand every word I say, but I have sometimes difficulty in following them. -[E.g. - when I ask a teacher (C.M.S.) here to "teach me Basa ", he says: but you know Basa perfectly!?] The Chief, it appears, has gone on tour. But the Shaba receives us. Yesterday we made short walk through village - not much to see. One big round *masallaci*, to which they refer with pride as being " copied " from Bida mosque!! " (They don't look muhammedan, though -and they eat pork!! Lots of pigs running about. Call them " *agoro* "). Find hunter sitting in front of house and smoking long pipe with clay bowl. Formerly they used brass bowls, they say, but now only clay. Great smokers - A man whom I saw this morning on farm, finishes his work off saying: " I'll go home now and smoke a pipe, and then return and finish my work! " In front of other hunter's hut we see a big stick and a strip of white cloth tied to it - to " acknowledge the coming of the (belated) rains ". They insist that this is not a *kuti*, only a " custom " (*ezi*). In roof of hunter's hut a dozen arrows have been stuck the poison on them drying off.

Tribal marks

Very mixed. The quite old men have them thus:

[[sketch follows in Nadel's text]] big ferocious looking slashes

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

A little younger people (perhaps 30 - 40) are marked thus: [[sketch follows in Nadel's text]]

The youngest generation (young men of 20, 25 down to small children) have the Nupe (Bida) marks - they say " *etsa nya nasara* [white man's marks]! "

The marks are cut by Nupe and Hausa barbers who come across occasionally from Lokoja.

The older men have filed upper front teeth:

[[sketch in Nadel's text]]

Say this was the custom of their *ndakozi* [grandfathers](?) Young men from about 25 have no filed teeth any more. (But those old men also born here, in Kpata!) According to what they say no ceremony connected with filing off of teeth (or sometimes knocking off). Nor was it done for all boys together. The age for this operation seems to have been about 10. Performed by blacksmith, for a small payment.

NB These blacksmiths were not Basa, but people from Shosho country - Okene- Gbira. [Among whom they formerly lived?] But they have died out. Present blacksmith have " become Basa " - and only speak Basa.

Other crafts: Matweaving:

Basket-making: (as used to keep chicken in): sold for 0.2d on market, a man can make 3 a day.

Clay-pipe making: made by people in other villages -chiefly in Ecewu, and sold on the market there (@ ½d). The tube is made by the smoker himself.

Woodcarving: died out. Used to make stools. But abandoned now. - Nobody can do it any more.

Farmwork:

state of farms

(1) State of farms: Yesterday and today farmer were just transplanting *kpayi* [millet] (here called *ahayi*), on to new plot nearby, where nothing had been sown previously.

A number of rows of mounds remain empty (recently thrown up): here they will plant *rogo*. *Kpayi* still very small; on some farms not older than two months. - Corn (grown mostly far away from village, near hills), big, but no head as yet.

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

(2) Farm-scheme - a little different from Nupe. No *mayi*, and no *gujiya* [groundnuts] (the latter only near hills)

<u>Crop</u>	<u>Sown</u>	<u>Harvested</u>
<i>Eyi (Ayi)</i>	2nd month	10th month (On entirely separate plots)
<i>Kpayi (Mayi)</i>	5th month	
<i>Eci</i> [yam]	10th month	(1) 5th (2) 8th (9th month " <i>ewo woro</i> ")
<i>Rogo</i> [cassava]	always sown between ridges of <i>kpayi</i> & <i>mayi</i>	
Rice	5th month	
<i>Ezo</i> [beans]	8th month	

frequently 2 plants in one "*ewo*" [ridge]

+ +

+ +

+ +

See newly planted Banana-plant, a little distance away from banana grove: sticks stuck into ground round very young plant, to keep pigs etc from it. - Near it a newly planted mango-tree: under a basket!

Silk cotton tree [*Ceiba pentandra*]: male tree: branches always cut off, to get new leaves (for *Kuka* [baobab]!). Female tree: bears *Lembubu* fruit! The "*eje*" is dissolved in the water with which one makes *Kunu* [a thin gruel].

10/10/36

Visit to town. Look at hunter's house and express my interest in bow and arrow, and that I want to buy some nice weapons. Very soon whole town is astir bringing me bows, arrows, spears etc - some broken, some quite good. All prices. They always start by saying: "*panyi panyi* [in former times]" it costed so much - wait for what I would offer. They seem very poor and are ready to sell a nice spear for 1/6. Buy nice bow: bow made of *jiba* tree: string (*igbe*) of antelope-leather; skin of antelope legs drawn over bow as ornament.

The Shaba shows me a spear all iron, very old, from time of Etsu Maiki, which now is kept stuck into grave of Maiki. But this staff-spear - belonging to chief - is not for sale. [Is this the all-iron staff of office the Dibo were telling me, with "*cigbe*" in hollow of tube?]

In house of Shaba they show me grave (*koshyaba*) of his father. Today Shaba's elder brother sleeps there. A round grave, with a mound of earth heaped up over it, and a calabash sunk into top - exactly like Ziba place at Kopa!! These graves are the graves of the "*nimsayi*".

Nadel Fieldwork diaries: text

Interesting the old layer of paganism under this Muham. and Christianity!! When Shaba and elders come to see me, we talk about various subjects - and come to religion. To certain practises they say - we don't do that since we become Muhammedans (none of them, though, has learned even Kuran!). Others - they say - are Christians. So I say: I suppose, you don't have any *Kutis*, then? Shaba (with most natural tone): " *yi jin kuti mana* [indeed we do ceremonies]! " What keeps them from performing their old rituals is chiefly the dearth of money. For a *kuti* costs money (for beer, etc..) This also explains that they have so few feasts, dancings, etc... But nevertheless, as it turns out later, *Gunnu* (*Igbunu*) was performed regularly every year so far!! Although number of old men who " know all about it " is reduced through death every year and young people partly flock to church, partly to mosque. (But yesterday was Friday - and I saw nothing much of practised muhammedanism!). They are very ready -surprisingly ready! to talk about *kuti* and show me everything. E.G. Shaba himself drew my attention to grave of his ancestor. Also to the *Bakomba* [twins]-sacrifice place [his younger brother had twins] in his house. It looks as if they felt relieved that somebody took an interest in their " *Kuti* ".

Not so easy was discussion of their history and polit. Organ. - What had happened before they came over to present-day Kpata they don't know - and don't care very much, either. They lived formerly on other side of river, behind hills, in country which they refer to as " Bassa " (!! - Bassa is everything across river!). That is the only thing they remember. They know names of 5 or 6 villages they had them - but no names of chiefs are preserved. Their history begins with foundation of Kpata. And this only very vague - names and order of chiefs often confused, corrected, left out, etc etc... Not a tradition which is really alive!! They have never heard of Edegi or Tsoede. Their *ndakozi* [old men] have only told them that *panyi panyi* [a long time ago] the country of Bassa and Nupe was the same!!! Still today *dzomanci* [cousinhood] and hos-pitality (also intermarriage) with Nupe!

Much better is my linguistic informant. He was teacher of C.M.S. school for 35 years!! He is a Bunu, originally -he was made a slave when Nupe (*goy*) raided his country and sold to Etsu Maiki of Kpata. Since then he lived here - has become a proper Bassa. Very intelligent. Knows lots about old customs, *kuti* and all. Laughs when I tell him I want to see Gunnu. "They won't do it" he says, quite insists on this. Why not? Because Gunnu is celebrated only (a) at harvest-time (b) when Ndakuti dies (c) when big theft is committed - on expense of thief, as sort of fine and expiatory ceremony rolled into one (he stresses the fine aspect: "Oh, they make him pay!"). This explanation however is "on second thoughts". First he says, they don't know how to do it, all old men are dead. But he has to admit later they still did it last year.

Accidentally I met old Ndakuti on the road: he walks about with a nice ceremonial spear, i.e. the blade is not sharp at all, made of soft metal! Round neck he wears a heavy iron chain -this is his *cigbe*. But he does not allow me to look at it. He speaks unfortunately the most unintelligible form of Bassa, partly because he has no teeth, and partly because he indulges still more than the others into contracting and leaving out half his syllables. The open e and o make quite a familiar words sound strange at first. In front of this house there is a big tree. Between the roots he has piled up stones of all sizes: he did this to make tree fall down!! It obscured the view from his house and the free access to road! (Sympathetic magic?)

In the morning about 9-10 young men from Kpata went out hunting -or rather on a first exploration. They were meeting hunters from other villages, all together they would be about 20 in the end. No sacrifice etc before they went out. But when they come back and bring back game, there will be a feast. - So far, till evening, they have not returned.

11/10/36

Visit to Shaba - try to get him to tell me about Pol Org. Very difficult, he is a fool, and in the noise the children make, and with all the people from house and village standing round gaping, I can't get anything out of him.

Hunters come to see me. They have returned late at night, but there was rain, so they did nothing yesterday. They have killed nothing. But they found trace of buffalo, and they are going out tomorrow to hunt. Now the usual procedure (i.e. if they had money - "*ewo saranyi*-" [beautiful money] at least 3/!=!) would be this: they tell their *nusa* [elder] today that they go out on big hunt tomorrow. Then he sacrifices for them, and they have a hunter's dance, till evening. Next morning, thus fortified, they go out. When they come back and bring home game, they have a big feast at once - though it may be middle of night. The bigger the game, the bigger the feast!! They go out again next day, for about 5 days. Then, for a rest, they farm for again about 5 days. But sometimes they go out hunting very far - in hills across the river, and may be away for a week or so. Specially important sacrifice then! In every house there are hunters! They have a common head, the Ndace. There is an old Ndace, a leprous old man, who just sits at home and smokes his pipe. He is ex-Ndace, since he has been sick and can't go out any more, and another *nusa* (in another house) is Ndace now. He is to perform sacrifice.

11/10/36

Kuti'gbe = Hunter's feast.

The preparations were carried out during morning: i.e. they went into various houses where beer is brewed regularly and bought sufficient amount (beer is never sold on market), altogether 2 big pots, for 2/6.

Midday the preparations were finished, the drummers sat down under a big tree in *efu tifi*n [upper quarter] and started to drum. Some people came from everywhere, old and young. It hap pened to be a Sunday -and after the service even the Christians came along and stood there for hours in the dense crowd of onlookers. Among most eager dancers I saw men who had professed to me only yesterday to be Muhammedans!

Music : Two drums. One a big pot drum, with lizard hide sewed round (string fixture). Player "rides" on it and beats it with hands. Second drum small called "*agbele*" -plug fixture (with additional string tied round) beaten with 2 sticks:

[[sketches follow in Nadel's text]]

The players are both hunters - one is going out tomorrow on the track of buffalo discovered day before yesterday.

When we arrive the old men - 15 to 20 are sitting on one side of cleared place, some on chairs, others on ground. Drummers sit under tree. Near their place a young man in front of 2 pots of beer ready to dispense beer with calabash spoons. On other side on ground a collection of horns - buffalo and antelope mostly, heaped up. Later the special hunter's "*cigbe* " is brought along by other man (who had it on "loan") and piled up in same place. Remaining place crammed with onlookers -women and children. Often they press so far inside -shouting and threatening being of no avail -that *cigbe*-horns have to be moved further inside to gain the necessary empty space round them.

Situation plan :

[sketch]

horn "*kuti* "
old man
we
spectators
the Ndace

The old men who are sitting have all cow-tails (fly switches) in hand which they never leave, using it in all dance-performances. The fly switch is for the hunter an extraordinary important and indispensable instrument: used to ward flies off while he is stalking and watching his game in the high grass, noiselessly.

Beginning of ceremony : a man - a sort of professional singer (an "*edza*") who is present at all such parties -jumps up and starts singing. Drummers have played all the time. The man dances round horns, swinging his switch close to horns to and fro. He goes back and intones another song. While they sing drums silent. He sings beginning -walking up and down row of old men while singing, like a professional "street singer" -and men sing chorus. Dancing resumed. After a while Ndace himself jumps up and dances round horns. Pause again. Now beer in a calabash is handed to Ndace who had been sitting down again. He gets up, goes to horn-*kuti*, pours beer over it saying:

A lo 'go nin (They go into bush [lit. grass])

a de naka wu (They may find game to kill)

Twice repeated - otherwise sacrifice itself very short and unpretentious. He drinks rest of beer, then beer is handed on to all the rest of old men, 2-3 calabashes at a time. Each drinking one, and pouring out rest on ground before returning it.

They are all sitting now. One man brings a huge tobacco-pipe. It is lighted and first smoke goes to Ndace. He pulls a good pull, and one after the other gets hold of pipe for one pull. Smoking and drinking - drum intermittently playing. *Edza* again starts singing. Solo and chorus.

Now another man gets up - and two men dance round *Kuti*. Dance : Nupe *Wechselschritt* [G. changes of step], swinging of buttocks and "*Deuschtanz* [G. German dance]". But body bent forward almost rectangularly. Play of hands - holding the "*tipfel* [G. tip]" of their *ede* [cloth wrapped around waist] (they mostly stripped to the waist) low down over ground almost womenlike movements. A quiet graceful sort of dance. After each turn the crowd cries out its applause, shouting and laughing at a specially nice step --like theatre.

The "*cigbe*" [medicine] had been brought in meantime and placed on top of horns: it consists of a bag of antelope skin into which are crammed various things: two leg-bones of antelope, horns, spear-heads and arrow-heads, iron charms etc... The skin is smeared with blood. Its use is as follows: when they used to have plenty of money they killed a ram or fowl (contributed by Ndace or Chief) at these preparatory sacrifices and smeared the blood over *cigbe*. The hunters then took *cigbe* out, in pocket, to assure success, and when they kill they again pour blood over bag of *cigbe*. Later Ndace sticks his arm-knife into *cigbe*. And another man (Tsamde) places a kola nut on horns. This leads to interesting episode -they were all eating kolas, and a young man who had none left went and took kola off horns: a big shouting & crying ensued, the old men protested violently and ordered the kola to be put back: Tsamde wrought it from the hand of the wretched "sceptic" and replaced it. Later again 2 bow & arrows placed over *kuti*.

This Tsamde had become protagonist already earlier. He is the *ndakuti* [ritual leader] of the ritual Eluwula, and also "assistant" to Ndakuti of Gbunu. He is fairly young (48). He knows all songs and dances and he was leading now the chorus. The first *edza* -an old man -was tired and half asleep from beer. So were many, and as time wore on they returned home to sleep out their drinks -except the indefatigable Ndace.

Several dances of one or two people follow, always including the swing of fly switches over *kuti*. Women or men yell at this the typical "trilling " yell of *kutis* -woman beating hand over mouth to effect this yell. In some dances jumping over *kuti*. In between singing. They all grow more and more intoxicated. When Ndace gets a second helping of beer he gulps it all down - giving nothing to *kuti* -but before drinking he repeats 3 times his "spell " almost silently, only just moving his mouth. It looks very funny - and many people watching him, laugh out right. No solemnity in this ritual act -but he means it sincerely enough -only they are all half drunk, and heat is deadening.

Now comes most important -and most exciting -phase of ritual. Tsamde and Ndace are the actors. Tsamde brings some burning grass and ashes (which was used for tuning the small drum, and also for lighting the pipe). He places it near the *kuti*, and blows upon it to make it flare up. Representing camp-fire? Ndace has jumped up suddenly, divested himself of all clothing except cloth round legs, and made a cartwheel across *kuti* (he is, if anything, 68!). Now he starts most excitingly realistic performance of an animal in bush -not quite clear which: most probably antelope, but sometimes more likely a leopard. He crouches and crawls round on all four, sits back on his "hindlegs " licking his "paws", lies down, rolls his eyes so that one only sees the white. He jumps and crawls. He stretches his hands like claws towards onlookers (us amongst them) rolls himself on one side - like sleeping deer. Always round *Kuti*. Tsamde has picked up the bow and replacing a straw as mock arrow on bow string he pursues his "game" with very artistic imitation of stalking hunter in high grass. Animal seems to draw closer and closer circles round "campfire". Finally he has reached it, crouching on all fours he pulls with his teeth the "*cigbe*"

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down from heap of horns. He pulls and pulls, plays with it almost like animal (leopard?) with its prey. Hunter is quite near. Then when he has nearly pulled out "*cigbe* ", hunter reaches him, shooting at him, and the "game " with one terrific jump falls down flat on ground, throwing - in this last jump - a pair of horns over his head, so that they come to lie exactly where his head is. A short performance of death-agony -and tremendous, clamouring applause greets the end of this remarkable performance. Ndace jumps up and proudly comes to us, shaking our hands, and shouting out all his english vocabulary all in one - consisting of "come on "and "quick quick "!

After this he sits down - and singing and drumming starts again. The climax having been passed, the showfalls off a little. Songs and dances get mixed - i.e. taken from everything, not exclusively hunter's songs and dances. E.g. one man performs the characteristic Gbunu dance: a solo dance, quite erect, with short, halting steps, swinging hips, arms stretched out and hands turning in wrists. Or another dance, reminding of "Mallam dance ". Etc, etc. We go home at 3.40 to have a cup of coffee and a little rest. I return after an hour: very diminished auditorium. Most of the old men have gone home, only younger men carry on -excepting Ndace. Very little beer left, dancing and singing a little shaky by now. They are mostly drunk, but still enjoying it tremendously. The auditorium has dwindled. It goes on for another hour -with gradually evaporating energy. Then they suggest finishing and going home for a rest. Drummers try to get more money out of me. This failing, they lose interest and the whole thing dissolves itself.

Tomorrow morning they are to go out into the bush. If they bring home game - big game! - another feast of welcome will celebrate this event.

12/10/36

Walk through village - Meet Ndace who goes back to look for nice *nangi* [goat] to kill for hunters when they return tonight with game.

As it happens they were to come home tomorrow -they have found nothing. They have gone almost to Dekina pursuing their buffalo -in vain. They will start again on next day.

Work with Christian teacher who is a v. good informant.

13/10/36

The son of Etsu Mapa, who has returned from Lagos and stopped here on his way to Dekina where he lives, comes to salute me. He is a nice quiet boy of perhaps 25 who gives me very valuable information about Gbunu as he remembers having seen it, and performed it himself. Also about History and Nupe connection. Although he is almost Nupeized in education and early training, he has never been told by his father of Edegi or the " Gbara " version of Bassa origin which Capt. Fisca gave me. I suppose this was just imagination and vanity of an informer who wanted to appear to be of pure Nupe origin. (Cp. Kupa and his "Katsina" story!)

In afternoon phonographic recording of Bassa songs: Tsamde as soloist and 3 hunters as chorus. Most of hunter songs, and some other, recorded. Remind one of the type of Nupe song heard at Gunnu and *Elo* [Mokwa masquerade]!

14/10/36

Visit to Ecewu market. Very big market, attended by people from all round, and also from across river: Gara, Gbira, Bassa, Hausa, Kakanda, Ibo, etc... Mostly purely commercial. I.e. people after having bought what they wanted, return home. E.g. Kakanda canoemen, their canoes full of pots, or basketsfull of okra. But some people definitely go there for fun. There is a drummer, and young men under a tree execute Nupe dances -rather clumsily. I find the Ndakuti from Kpata there, sitting in the booth of a machine sewer doing nothing, just watching crowd. For Kpata the 5 day's market at Ecewu certainly a big "change" and men and women go there partly to enjoy themselves. An almost constant chain of people filing into Ecewu from Kpata between 9.30 till 10.30. At about 2.30 to 3.30, till late into night, people are returning.

Foodstuff market enormous: chiefly yam. Sold in bundles to 10, @ 6d (by professional women traders who bought it for 5d). Also fresh rogo [cassava], beans in big bags, okra, red pepper. Surprisingly much corn, and also some early millet. Salt in large quantities - sold in small cones. Palm oil in Kerosene tins. Banana and plantains. Also Livestock. Igbira, and Nupe and European cloth. 3 sewing machines. Pots, bamboo and grass for weaving rain caps. Rain caps also.

Blacksmiths (they are Ibos) sell spear- and arrow-heads. Buy interesting thing: a small iron charm, modelled after the "Tsoede-" fetters (cp golden fetters from S. Nigeria in Oxford!) Tied round waist of a baby which does not grow properly ("backward"). Also tiny tongs: for picking thorns in foot (?).

State of Farms

On way to Ecewu see number of newly laid farms, on some rogo is just sown. On other there are beans (two to the mound) two months old!

Near riverside at Ecewu there is a new compound of huts built of grass. Here lives an Ecewu man with two wives who has a farm nearby. Has only recently come out here. His compound is very frequented on market days. The Kakanda leave their paddles here in his care when they go up to market, and on their way back often stop for a drink of beer. In centre of compound a big staff with white cloth on top like flag. He says has no meaning except indicating that there is a compound here (European viz Kakanda influence?)

Medicine- Tree. Close to it is another, shorter, staff of a bare tree: a "cigbe". It will be changed tomorrow (new moon!), i.e. the same sort of tree will be brought from farm, a young sapling of "Abecin" tree and planted here. When it sprouts the leaves will be used for making medicine & people will come and buy it. Good for stomach. When it dies it will be replaced again. The present tree was planted in 3rd month. I.e. as it appears changed twice a year in 3rd and 8th month! No *kuti* or *laba* connected with it!!

16/10/36

Shaba comes in morning. Discussing inheritance, burial, hunter's customs etc. Find him more receptive than usual. Since we had to postpone the "Eka " owing to rain, we fix it provisionally on Sunday - when there will be moon.

I ask him about the possibility of performance of Gbunu, if I pay costs. They seem quite well disposed to it really. Perhaps they think it a good opportunity to get some of their *kutis* working.

Rain-magic

A most interesting experience the other day: discussing the *Elu wota* (a rain- & illness *kuti*, with no fixed date) with the priest who performs it. He described to me how they have been performing it 3 years ago and then 2 years ago, and finally this year -when they had this drought. But it seemed not to work. Quite realistically describing how the old people discussed it and reflected: it has always worked; why does it not work now? They even asked an old man in Ecewu about it. But he could not help them either. [This is how cults die out, once the doubt sets in, and there is no possibility of reconditioning the cult, e.g. by adopting foreign - "stronger" magic. They were apparently all ready to do it, asking that old man, as they did!!] I suggest, perhaps if they had performed it twice. Yes, that might have done the trick, they admit. But then, it never used to be necessary... I suggest, would they do it again now, for me to see it. No, no - they could not do it, now rain has been falling already. - I say that I shall go down to the *kuti* place some day, to have a look (it is where the curious men-like rocks stand, three rocks, piled upon each other). I better wait for priest to go with me - they suggest - for there is a terrible spirit (*Kuti-aljenu* here), and it would be very dangerous for me going alone!!

Hunters

The hunters have come back last night, again without game. The rain had driven them home, although they saw a buffalo. Only old Ndace had a little luck, having killed a bushfowl (? *kutsun* [A type of bush-rat]) They will go out again next morning on their interrupted track.

17/10/36

Blacksmiths

Blacksmith just working on small knives. Where do they get their iron from? Formerly used to buy it from smelters in Nupe, *tifin* [up there] (Bida and Cekpa). Never smelted iron in this country. Now of course all European stuff.

Their workshop and furnace slightly different from Nupe:

[[plan of workshop follows in Nadel's text]]

17/10/36

Visit to Shaba's house

Twin sacrifice

On the sacrifice-place for "*Bakombagi*" [twins] I see that sacrifice had been performed. The 3 *mangegis* [a large narrow-necked pot] are filled with beer and blood of fowl. Straps of new white cloth are tied round neck of jugs. White cloth also stuck to outer wall of sacrifice place. Also feathers of white chicken stuck everywhere. The sacrifice had been performed yesterday (beginning of new moon - 7th month in Bassa counting!). Why? - A man who stands there starts explaining: the mother of the twin is ill, has a bad foot, so she sacrificed. It sounds all so very plausible - but suddenly another man who had been listening to our talk rushes in, pulls the other back, and says: that is all nonsense, this man was away yesterday when the sacrifice was performed, he knows nothing about it. Shaba himself, who arrives now, confirms this. And what is more, this self-appointed & misleading informant is the Egbunu, a stranger living in Shaba's house, not very well acquainted altogether with the family affairs of this house. The truth then, is this: it was the annual regular sacrifice of one twin to his dead twin-brother. No special meaning, except general health, growing strong, etc The small boy who had performed the "*laba* [libation] " - about 6 or 8 years old (he is the Bako, the *bagi* [usually means 'boy'] [in this case a girl!] had died) -sits near sacrifice place, quite realizing that he is the point under discussion. Looks quite proud - though a little embarrassed.

Later Shaba tells me that he has already discussed the possibility of performing Gbunu with the other *nusas*. They say, they can do it - but he warns me: "*kuti gbako yi o*" [the ceremony has a big stomach]... Which most probably just means that they will need big money! Tomorrow we shall discuss it again.

Fire-making I

In other house I ask how they make fire. Still today, it appears, they rarely use matches in the house, and never when out on the farm. Only flint and steel. Only *nusazi* however are able to do it. In this case, of 3 adult brothers only the *emitso* [household head] can strike fire in this way. He cannot demonstrate if today because of the rain, but will how it to me as soon as we have sun. As "*zunder* [G. tinder]" they use the fibre-stuff scratched off palm-leaf-stalks!

18/10/36

Medicine-tree

Inquire about medicine-tree further (Informant Shaba and Christian teacher) : this tree is famous for its "medical " qualities. Bark, leaves and fruit equally suited as medicines. Therefore planted in some Bassa households (transplanted, to be exact, from farm) and left as long as it lives. No fixed time for uprooting it and changing it!! - The big "flag-staff " has different meaning in different cases. Some people just put it up as sign that there is their compound. Others put it up as "*sadaka*" [H. alms] - i.e. ordered to do thus by *ebasaci* [diviners]!! (i.e. like any other sort of observance, sacrifice etc...)

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Shaba tells me that *nusazi* have agreed to perform Gbunu for me. But he asks first which Gunnu I want: black or white Gunnu; "white" Gunnu or *Gunnu nya tsa* [Gunnu of the marks], called so because of white patterns painted on body. We agree to the latter (which implies appearance of Ndakogboya). There is another cult here with a spirit appearing in shape of Ndakogboya - but with "*ewo*" [skirt] of grass!! (or leaves). I wish to see this mask too, and as this is a *kuti* which falls into 8th month, and a triannual *kuti* due this year, the arrangement is arrived at easily. The money they would need for a real Gunnu is £1 to £2, they say. But this abridged Gunnu (no touring of surrounding villages, for example), will cost me only 5/= for food and beer both for sacrifice and the communal meal. (Of course they expect more in form of tip to drummers. etc.). The date of G[unu] is fixed on 6 days from today - i.e. Friday next. - Day after tomorrow the "*Eka*" is due - there will be sufficient moon by then.

Calendar

I was puzzled lately about the counting of Bassa-months. People themselves seemed not quite sure whether this is 7th or 8th month (according to our counting in Nupe it is 9th month!) The solution is this: at present is actually 8th month. I.e. the year has begun in mid-March. The Bassa count their 12 month through, and then go on counting 13th or 14th month, till first rains. The month in which the first rains fall is the first month and beginning of the year. This explains the deviation in counting of Nupe and Bassa. The Bassa "central authority" for the decision of this sort is vested in the old men, chiefly the priests of *kutis* who of course must be quite clear about the date of their various rituals. The regularity of these rituals having been lessened, the common knowledge of the calendar has also been impaired!

19/10/36

Visit to MaKpale. - They have a woman chief - an old, ugly woman, looking like a witch, with huge swellings all over her body and face. But she is very nice and friendly. Establish principle of their system of succession and inheritance..

Bring talk on the mysterious "*nya fin*" - the iron (?) toy-like images which used to be placed on a *nusa*'s grave. Ask whether they were perhaps of brass - not of iron (although they use "*nyankpa*"). But apparently they don't make any difference between brass and iron, and, to clear up this point, they are going to show me ancient foot-bangles still existing in chief's house of same material as those figures. They prove to be of brass - only black from age & dirt. I have established, then, that figures are of same type as Bida brass figures. They were never cast by Bassa, or their blacksmiths themselves, but came from *tifin* [upstream], from a town called Ikiri in Bunu country!!

None of those are left. It is more than 30 or 40 years since this practise has been abandoned. Shaba has seen them, but never used them! - Instead they offer to sell me the 2 brass rings. They were £1 worth in the old days they say. Wore on two ankles. They are very heavy and too wide for this, I should think - 6 to 7 in. in diameter. Simple, round things, but in circle - obviously cast in mould:

[[sketch follows in Nadel's text]]

Problem remains: what did those figures represent? In lieu of life sacrifices?

"Ewuna " Kuti

When we arrive at Kpale there is a funeral feast somewhere - some old man has died, & my companions salute an old woman *oku be hankuri* [greetings on your forbearance]. But it is not a real funeral feast. Still - it comes in handy. For when I want to see the special drums "*egba*" - which have been lost in all other villages and are preserved only in Kpale now - they start a whole ceremony without my asking them to do it. Three drummers assemble first, then a man who drums with two sticks on an old petrol tin. Chief sits in centre, lots of people have assembled, one bring huge pot of beer one young man behind it starts dispensing it. A few women start the typical exciting "trilling " cry -and at once the atmosphere is there. The chief and other old women constantly exhorting the "auditorium " to join in the actions. One of the drummers starts singing, the others fall in - tentatively at first (it all was so sudden) and more energetic after a while. The old women start dancing - Chief himself joins - then men of all ages. The women clap hands and sing the chorus, the drummers carry on full heartedly, in short, it is soon the "real thing " (helped by the present of 1/!=!)

I am entitled, I think, to take this as a real ceremony. For when talking about the Ewuna burial ceremony, they always stresses its main feature: the *egba* (drum). Often called the whole Kuti "*egba*". Still there is a *ndakuti* [master of the ritual] there - I don't know however what his function is. The ritual appears to consist mainly of the special drumming (c.p. the Nupe describing certain funeral rites as "*Gunnu* " because Gunnu-drums were used!!), perhaps special songs and dances - the latter in a grass costume, I believe.

Drums

The dances I witness are of two types: the same dancing with body bent off waist rectangularly as during Hunter's feast; and Nupe-like dancing with quick *Wechselschritten* [G. change of step], more or less erect, and jumps - lifting and stretching legs as far as possible. The woman's dance is the usual "pushing and dragging " round circle, arms swinging for- and backward, head and body bent lightly forward. - Most of their dance movements consist in one short round, & afterward a kneeling down, head bent down, in front of chief by way of salute.

Egba-drums

Hollow-tree-drums, tubular, with one diaphragm; 3 "feet " carved out on bottom. Played with both hands, players sit, legs crossed, one knee slightly raised: drum lying beside him, over knee, so that diaphragm comes out under left or right arm, in comfortable distance from hands.

Remarkable the fixture : string-fixing with 3 big plugs for tension: [[sketch in Nadel's text]]

Our "medical work " expands rapidly. The other day they brought us a blind man who walked on a stick, and an stone-old [sic] half lame man who complained of "rheumatism! " But when I said I can't heal age, or blindness - they took it with good humour, and chaffed the old lame man. - Most of the ordinary ailments seem to be due to lack of vitamin! Rashes, diseases (almost rotting away) of gums, eye-inflammations, are the main cases. Of course there are lots of other things besides: fingers cut off, an ulcer or two, etc. But healing is very bad, all kinds of excemas come to the original disease. Obviously blood in poor state. - A curious disease was shown to me by Shaba: his 2 little toes appear sort of [illegible]; i.e. the flesh round the joint has rolled away and is now so contracted that bone is quite free. Rest of foot and toe seems all right. No inflammation, etc!! They say there was a man who could cure this; but he is dead and his *cigbe* with him. They call it:

It is said to hurt v. much. Courageous people, they say, cut the afflicted toes off with knife. I prescribe hot foot-bath!

20/10/36

Gbunu I

In the afternoon Sarkin Barki comes to tell me that Gbunu will be celebrated to- day and tomorrow. So I go to Shaba in the evening (about 6 o'clock) to get information. I learn the following: tonight the first "act "of Gbunu will take place. I.e. they will go out into *kuso* [forest], sacrifice, and "*jini wahala saranyi*" [do the business beautifully]. Also includes the clearing of bush under the big tree where they are going to dance afterwards! This means, they will be marked with sacred "*etsa*" [markings]. In this latter regard he always contradicts himself: sometimes stresses the hard work of painting all the men who join the ceremony, and getting their complicated dress fixed, and then again tells about the fearful experience of the "*Nnagbunu* [mother of the Gunnu]" which will appear during the night to paint them while they are asleep and lie on the ground seeing nothing. The "official version" is this: in the late afternoon some of the *gbarufuzi* (no initiates and not yet the priest) have gone and cleared the place; [they have brought out the drums - started drumming, on sacred Gbunu drums right away. Also 3 jugs of beer and food for the night-watch. At midnight - tros gudu [?mistranscribed]- the rest of men will follow. Shaba and priest (Tsamde) with them; Tsamde had already put on a heavy Borgu-stone armlet which is his priest's paraphernalia] round tree; 3 jugs of beer stand ready to refresh them. Drummers drumming all the time. After that they return home and carry on as usual. After their evening meal they go to sleep. About 3 o'clock or 4 o'clock in the morning the drum sounds again. Now all the people who are doing Gbunu (*gbarafuzi*, *nusazi* and initiates) meet on this place and then march together into *kuso*!! No drums, no beer, & no singing in *kuso* !!The priest is Akimo (Shaba's elder brother): he is with them. When they go out the initiates will throw themselves flat on the ground face down -not to see any thing. The initiates will not be taught the dance steps and songs there. They learn them by themselves from watching the others at previous ceremonies. First of all however Akimo will sacrifice beer to Nnagbunu and address her thus: "*Soko u la Nna dzun be* [God will bring the mother to appear]". The White man has asked us to perform Gbunu. Gbunu we ask thee to appear... See Ntbk 9, p.90 (He promises me full text tomorrow!) Then, while the novices are lying face down, suddenly Nnagbunu will appear. She sings in her old, mysterious way, emitting "trills " - spirit like - from her throat. But nevertheless she is not a

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spirit!! Thus she communicates with her flock. Nobody of the younger ones will look at her; she will then paint the sacred marks on their bodies and arrange their dress. The elder members also arrange their headdress, *ede* [cloth] etc. This takes very long indeed!! In the morning then the Nnagbunu gets up, and followed by elder *gunnujincizi* [Gunnu performers], goes into town. Ndakuti hurries the novices (who have seen nothing) after her. When they reach town the "second act" of the ritual will take place.

Remarks to Gbunu - "bushnight"

The Nnagbunu has not appeared now because it is not the right time; she only appears during *gbanfere* [dry season]. ("When wind makes *putu putu putu*). Nevertheless they insist that Nnagbunu has painted their bodies without their seeing her -

Moral element involved : if among the *gunnuzi* and initiates there is some "*rokotoci* [tattlers]", then the Nnagbunu know it, and the Ndakuti is told to whip this evil fellow, till he cries out for forgiveness. The boy whipped does not look up and therefore does not see the Nnagbunu.

During dance under tree Nnagbunu stands still, and they dance round her. She does not move from her place. Only "*lewu*" (= *tiwu*) [crying out]. When she appears in *kuso* and cries out, people in the town hear it. And when *gunnuzi* go over to other villages. e.g. Ecewu, the Ecewu people hear Nnagbunu "*lewu* [buzz]" in Kpala. She stands there for 5 days, till *gunnuzi* return from their tour, then, at night, she returns with them to *kuso* [forest].

However they absolutely refuse to let me go with them to *Kuso*. They invent again and again excuses (quasi in my interest!), why it is impossible for me to go there: I would not like to be painted, I should be terrible afraid of the *aljinuzi* [spirits] which haunt the place, and the Nnagbunu when she appears; I have no *ede* [cloth] like theirs and I could not go with my own dress; I should not like to sleep on the ground - etc etc. But my denying all these charges does not help. Eventually they say, and stick by it unshakably: the Nnagbunu would see me and refuse to appear. And being an intruder the priests would have to flog me!! They would all be punished terribly if they don't do that... they point, by way of proof, to others, i.e. Bassa, who nevertheless cannot go there: people who have embraced Islam, or strangers. I have to leave it at that. We arrange that when they return from bush and the second, public, part of their ritual, begins, I shall see all. And day after tomorrow I may go to *Kuso* to have a look at the sacred place!! - Incidentally he asks me for more money: the 5/= are not sufficient. They had to have 3 jugs of beer on sacred place under tree (= 3/=) and 2 more on meeting place in town...

21/10/36

In the morning 8 men come to our house to make a (futile) show of cutting grass. They stay for 10 minutes & declare then that now they must go to Gbunu place: all others have gone ahead already (*Gbarufuzi* and *nusazi* including priest went at night!). The Shaba also gone already - he went at night - but had returned for them. He is waiting for them. I try all my tricks to be allowed to go with them - in vain. "*Se yi a zhin*" [until we return] is the only reply I get.

At noon the *gunnuzi* (as they are called) return from *Kuso*. They come in one long file through the grass, the elder ones have small brass bells in their hands, and their ringing tells everybody that they have arrived. On the dance-place the drummer drums away on his pot-drum (different from Hunter's drum,

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but same type. Also there is a big cast bronze bell which however was not used at all!!) The *Gunnuzi* first dance (or make their procession) round town, and through the various quarters and then return to the cleared place. Where they went all the onlookers - men children and women, christians as well as pagans or muhamedans - crowd the path, looking, shouting, laughing, and enjoying it. Children and grown-ups run after the procession - often trying to overtake it by shortcut - as street boys after a changing of the guards. Eventually they reach the dancing place, they dance round the tree in front of which drummer is sitting. Most of the "notables", old men and onlookers have arrived by now; they are sitting in a wide circle round the "arena" ready to watch. Beer is arranged under tree. When *Gunnuzi* and all other people who belong to the Gunnu [excluding only christians and suchlike - i.e. mere onlookers] do not sit on the bare ground, but place grass and branches where they are sitting (taken from the plenty of grass which had been cut when clearing!) This is one of the Gbunu-rules!! But no explanation, and no definition what may happen if this rule is not obeyed.

The dancing place is a circular artificial clearance round big *Egun*-tree [in Nupe = *Igun*]. Drummer in front. The number of *Gunnuzi* (= masks) is not very large. I count 6 small boys = Initiates, between 12 and 15; 5 *gbarufuzi* with headdress made of branch of "*amiso*" wound round head; Among the boys I find many of our young friends. Also the grandson of Mbama -our first "out-patient" whose eye-inflammation we cured so well!! and 5 elder men with a headdress made of a white (or coloured) strap of cloth, tied round head, and feathers of fowl or other birds stuck into it. [No fowl etc had been killed for Gbunu!! Feathers taken from any old fowl, guineafowl etc.] I.e. together 16 "*gunnuzi*". Auditorium however very large, and still increasing.

NB: certain (pagan) farmers and old men I know are not present: the former explain later to me that they did not want to leave their farms alone - but this does not reflect on the "out of season"-performance, but on the fact that they have no children, and therefore no immediate interest in this ritual. E.g. old Ndace - one of the notables of Kpala - only appears very late, as a silent and not too keen a watcher. Other old men stayed at home because they are too weak to walk and stay in the sun. They are beyond the age of joining Gbunu crowd.

The dress of *gunnuzi* consists of following: stripped to waist; trousers underneath - beautiful ones!! Over these a skirt, open in front, has been sewn out of brightly coloured cloth. Into it are tucked 2 or 4 long scarfs hanging down in front and back, and possibly to left and right. Round waist great number of charm-belts, but also women's beads! From belt dangling mirrors (European) and all sorts of knick-knack. NB Among the eldest *gunnuzi* I find my friends: Tsamde, the 2 basket weavers, and others. All between 35-40 years of age. Round neck again several women's beads, chains, etc [Tsamde, very fittingly, wears a watchchain with cross on it!]. Round wrists tied one coloured scarf on each hand - flowing like flag.... Chest, arms, and back painted white and sometimes white and red, in form of a network of squares or triangles. (Ndakuti has only big white strokes across chest and back). Face painted entirely white, with red strokes and rings round eyes and mouth and from ears to eyes and mouth. The lips protrude funnily - look like a crossing between chalky ghosts and painted whores (with those red eyes and mouths!) The face paintings are the same for all 3 groups of *gunnuzi*.

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[[Nadel's text includes a sketch of face painting]]

Some initiates have also hair cut in fancy patterns (cp. *GANI*)

On the whole impression very strong that they resemble women. This is endorsed by their own definition - *a zhe nyizagizi nya Gbunu* [they become women of Gunnu]. They appear to be both *yawozhi* [wives] and *egizhi* [children] of the Nnagbunu!! (The Nnagbunu again both a male deity [or ancestral spirit] and a "mother " deity!!

This is how they walk in procession:

A single file is formed, one after other, according to size, tallest in front. In front goes a sort of "guardian " with stick in hands making room for them and pointing the way; to each side run other guardians fanning them, shouting, also with whips and sticks in their hands. In the rear follows Ndakuti with big branch in his hand - hurrying them on, driving off the onlookers who come to near, and always emitting curious high-pitched little cries like a bird. NB As regards the sticks: before returning from *Kuso* the elder *gunnuzi* pull out small shrubs & long "*Stauden* [G. bushes] " and carry them in hands as "whips ". The Ndakuti pulls out veritable small branch of *ageci* tree.

In this procession they suddenly stop (whenever they want to salute), the first stops first and the others one after the other, pressing lightly after each other like Harmonica. Now they stamp the ground with their feet in "*Grätschen* [G. the splits]", they push belly out and pull it in rhythmically; lift the arms and stretch them out horizontally swinging them in small circles. To this manoeuvre they cry out rhythmically: "*Woyi, woyi, woyi, oh --* ". [no meaning] With the last "oh -" [This is said to be the salutation of Gbunu] they throw themselves forward "bowing" rectangularly off waist, again beginning with first, one after another like the well known music-hall trick of still "soldiers" following one after the other. The movements of this long chain, pulsating and moving like one live thing, remind one of a theatre-dragon, moving according to composite movements of the many men hidden in it. This movement is the main element in the typical Gbunu dances (also used as salutation!) I shall call it "Dragon-figure ".

1. Phase : dancing into clearing and here round tree in single file with typical pressing after each other, belly-pushing and bending forward ["dragon "figure!]

2. Phase : Pause. They all sit down, the initiates in background, the elders- dancers near the tree. Sit on grass, not on bare ground! Big pipes are handed round and they smoke - *gunnuzi* as well as watchers. - Interrupted by singing (the old "*Vorsänger*" [G. cantor] from hunters feast again leads, they join chorus - sitting. Chorus consists mostly only of an "eh - " on one note!)

3. Phase : Solo dances take place. One after another *gunnuzi* get up and dance "a round". Shaba (who is unmasked!) dances first thus giving signal to others. He only dances round tree, 3 times in circle - he has stripped himself to waist and taken off cap -. He moves in long, swinging strides, in rhythm of drum, arms stretched out (but not quite horizontally). While he dances two *gunnuzi* accompany him, ringing

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their little bells over his head. Then he sits down again. Others start. Always only one at a time. Once a dancer was not performing too well, & another, eager to show his own accomplishments, steps into clearing before other had finished. A big uproar ensues, everybody shouting at him, and his neighbours pulling him back into row of spectators. The dance has many elements of acrobatics: ~~[[illegible]]~~, etc - specially attitude of public is like circus: applauding and cheering the good dancers, and laughing at blunders -or remaining silent after a mediocre performance. -

4. After some time beer is brought and food. The dancers stop and sit down again. The food is placed before the novices who fall over it like wolves. Grown-ups drink beer - and later eat some (only little) food. Shaba drinks first, and before putting calabash on his lips he pours some on ground (from place where he sits) murmuring some sort of spell. - During this rest some of the *gunnuzi* rearrange their headdress and dresses - using the mirrors for their toilette.

Ad public : Their number has greatly increased. Women, men, children, christians (the teachers and their families!). They press more and more into circle. From time to time Ndakuti and other "stewards " shout at them, and beat them away with their sticks. After a short time they are back again. An interesting argument occurred once: Ndakuti in a hoarse voice addresses Shaba with complaint that all these people who are always disturbing their arrangements, are really intruders. The christians have their school, the muhamedans their mosque, now when they come to watch our *kuti* they ought to behave themselves. (He even says something of the proof that the *kutis* are still the biggest magic!!) But nothing comes of it. -Later another old man -two or 3 in fact -start shouting and complaining, that in their time women dared not come so near the *kuti* place. Thereupon a persecution of women takes place and they are directed to stand further away if they want to watch. But it only helps for a short time.

The only effective thing is to throw sand on them. This makes them really afraid. Sand-throwing is practised every now and again: to salute newcomers, (performed chiefly by Ndakuti), to show one's elation (done by everybody); during procession through village Ndakuti and "stewards " throw sand on all onlookers - who promptly give way and make room!

5. After eating and drinking, singing again, led by the leader - but also oc casionally by an old man throwing in a "sing ". After most of the songs a few men dance "rounds " and the *woi-woi-woi* is shouted. Then they form themselves into procession and go through village again. Throughout the procession they are in a hurry, driven on and on by their stewards and leaders. They visit every part of town. In front of the houses of Chief, *nusazi*, former chiefs and former Ndakutis, they stop and perform the dragon-figure and salutation. This they also perform frequently somewhere on their way - quite unexpectedly; it almost looks as if initiates were to be trained to meet this unexpected situation. - NB. Initiates, throughout procession, walk with head bent down. This is because they are small and have to bear in mind that they have to be humble.

The bowing-down in dragon-figure suggests that they have to walk through some sort of low opening [cp. many Initiation rites and idea of Rebirth]. Now this is denied. But as a fact, walking through village they are led through the most narrow thoroughfares, through narrow gaps between huts (we, together with onlookers can not get through

there, but have to make detours), and through low gateways into, and again out of, huts and houses. Looking at this winding snake of men, bowing through these openings - and watching the "guardians " of the dragon, or snake stand by with sticks, whipping everybody who fails (e.g. a boy who unfortunately stumbled -but dared not stop or cry!!), and driving them on and on -I come to think of the fertility and initiation ceremonies à la Golden Bough - and with idea of rebirth and labyrinth-motif. This latter is made still more suggestive through characteristic way in which the single file of *gunnuzi* ringles [sic] itself round tree when returning from village. Thus:

[Sketch]

Final position, when	
sitting round drummer,	tree
saluting him	village.

After return from village they first make their typical round-dance ("Dragon") and then group themselves in front of drummer and salute him. Then they disperse and sit down on their various places. - Pause. More beer is drunk. They are all a little drunk. Much shouting and yelling. Singing and drumming goes on and on. They smoke, drink, eat and go out [actually less and less far] to relieve themselves. Their dresses and paintings are more and more deranged.

6. Now again Solo dances. When no voluntary candidates, the eldest *gunnuzi* point with sticks to those who are to step forward and give a "round ". Now it is the turn of the initiates. Some are shy and afraid, some are bolder, but they are all forced to show what they can do, one after the other. They dance round tree, 2 to 3 rounds are sufficient, and try to imitate the dance figures of the seniors as best as they can: cartwheels, the "belly-dance", dancing round in long strides with stretched out, flapping arms, etc. Good humoured laughter and chaffing follows a blunder, loud applause and cheers a good performance. Most appreciated is their courage and readiness to try; really blamed and threatened with sticks are only those who are cowards and have to be forced. - After initiates are through, grown-ups are in for it again. Their figures become more and more complicated, one tries to emulate the other in his daring and difficult figures showing his own "special " tricks.

NB The boys have never actually learned these dance steps. Only from watching the grown-ups dance it. Very amusing to see parents (not masked) call up their boys to show what they can - mothers proudly applauding - and fathers approving and being almost congratulated by their neighbours.

Thus it goes on and on. A common round-dance follows, and then they all throw themselves down, very tired and drunk. It is almost dark. Food is brought by women. Old men return home, only *gunnuzi* remain on this place -for they have to sleep tonight under tree. At 9 o'clock they are fast asleep.

Dance figures of Gbunu :

(1) *gi'shin* ["eat" the buttocks], consists chiefly in "[illegible]" i.e. pulling in of belly and pushing out of buttocks, rhythmically. The more one can pull in the belly the prouder one is. While they do it - almost like a gymnastic exercise - they may stand still and hold hands and fingers pointed to navel to show depths of pulled in belly. The body actually bends like this [[in Nadel's text an illustration follows]]. - Also buttocks are swung from left to right. - This is all done rhythmically, to beating of drum. [Often accentuated by single beats ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ [musical example]. But foot-movement varies. Thus different forms of *gi'shin* exist. E.g. almost standing still; legs firmly on ground with flat soles, the feet are pushed along on ground.

[Illustration]

Another way is to jump with closed legs forwards a little (like sack-jumping) with every *tact*.

A third way to do it combines the *gi'shin* with a "[illegible]":

(2) Cartwheels

(2a) " complicated through doing it with one arm and then falling on elbow of other arm. Mostly combined with

(3) body stretched out & supported on one elbow, face down; then body thrown over axis, falling down face up on other elbow. Repeated. In equal rhythm, very fast. [Illustration] This figure is called "*cigbede*".

(4) Jumping from one leg onto other, on spot -very high!

etc...

NB When the experienced dancers start they place themselves first in front of drummer, in almost a boxer-position:

Initial position:

Then they wait for their "cue" in the music, and start off. Often, after one round, they return to this position, and start off on different step. - Altogether they often behave like "artists" - in dicating by lofty gestures to drummer when he ought to start, what "music" they want, and when they have enough. As a rule when leaving arena they lift their fists up as thanks and salute to drummers. If they have done well then the same salute awaits them from their colleagues. Some keen dancers perform 2 or 3 times!!

22/10/36

In the morning Shaba comes to announce that Gbunu will be continued today. This is rather surprising, because they only performed it for me at first, and warned me it could not be the real Gb[unu] and would last one day only, because there is not enough money and they cannot spare many more working days. Their change of opinion proves that the impetus of such a big ritual is so big, and the satisfaction arrived from it so strong that it is carried on "by its own momentum" to its proper end - although it may have been staged in the beginning. Two other reasons for carrying on reveal themselves further: (1) the attendance was very small yesterday. This makes them feel ashamed and dissatisfied (-

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not at all for my sake, but for the sake of the *Kuti*!). Therefore for the repetition. The 2nd day has a huge attendance. And everybody, actors as well as public (quite at random witnesses) repeated to me again and again that this was "the real Gbunu " at last. It appears that yesterday they could not get ready the various dresses, ornaments etc... (2) But at least as important was the fact that today is market-day at Ecewu, so they don't want to miss the opportunity of going there, and receiving the customary gifts of food and beer. Notwithstanding the out-of-season-ness!! *Kuti* remains *Kuti*!...

At night they go in to bush again - all people, old men, *gbarufuzi* and *dzakangizi* [small children] - to initiate the additional novices, and paint the additional *gunnuzi*. This is exceptional: in normal Gbunu they never go twice to *Kuso*, but remain in town. A storm with rain however drives them home again. So in early morning the drum is sounded again and they go out again into bush. At about 11 o'clock they meet again under tree, dance round it, dance through village, and on to road to Ecewu. One hears them singing and tinkling their bells a long way ahead. They come to greet us in usual way ("Dragon") and make off for Ecewu. The drummer walks after them: his drum has remained in Kpala, he will find another one in Ecewu.

Attendance today is as follows:

Initiates: 32

Gbarufuzi, but with no head dress - i.e. unmarried ones (this grouping was not represented yesterday)
- 15

Headdress-*gunnuzi* - 27

Total 74!

Plus: Ndakuti, "Vorsänger [G. cantor]", the various "stewards " (self-appointed or not), and a large number of sight-seers following them and accompanying them to Ecewu. The *nusazi* remain at Kpata. Thus, in usual formation they walk to Ecewu in blazing heat, a 2 hours walk, and the crossing of water to be engineered -all for the *Kuti*.

They don't stay long there. At 3 o'clock they are back, little worse for it - just tired. But near the village they buck up and their usual procession through village, winding snakelike through huts and thoroughfares, shows no tiring. This huge snake of people - arranged strictly according to size -is really impressive: the head far ahead stopping somewhere, and performing its salute figure while the rear is brought up, still in quite a different part of the village, hurried and driven on by Ndakuti and helpers. When they stop for "salute " the initiates fall flat on ground, with face down, not to see anything that happens: and the "stewards " with raised whips are ready to punish any laxness.

Hundreds of people watch the procession run along over stones and pits "*Stock und Stein*" [G. stick and stone] to overtake procession, or get a glance at it from a vantage point. Eventually they go to Shaba's house to salute him, and then file into clearing round tree. The rolling-in of this snake, in its

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maze-like spiral-strings, led by an old man, branch with leaves still on it, tastes definitely of Golden Bough. Really a fine sight, unnerving and powerful.

The program is the same as yesterday: the initiates throw themselves over the food given to them as if half famished, and feed like wolves. They will have a good belly-ache tomorrow!! Smoking -beer drinking - singing. Then the usual round-dance, and Solo dances afterwards. After a break another procession through town, and after returning, the performance goes on. Everything on a little higher pitch than yesterday. The performances more acrobatic, the general "*Stimmung* [G. atmosphere]" on higher-tension. Quarrels with loud shouting breaks out frequently, but soon show signs of weariness. There is not enough food for the men, and they shout with women who can not bring enough food. At 7 o'clock they are very tired. They form another short procession through town, then return to a final dance round tree, and then disperse. Everybody goes home and washes off paint, eats and goes to sleep. I can test this because at ½ past 8 o'clock one of the masked & painted *gbarufuzi* who had hurt his big toe came to the Resthouse for an ointment and dressing: he had washed off the paint, and was in a nice dress ready for bed.

23/10/36

I had opportunity yesterday and today to discuss with some people the difference between Bassa and Nupe Gbunu. My informants were (A) a Bassa man who had seen Gunnu and Ndakogboya of Kutigi and Shebe, and (B) a Nupe (Bida) carpenter, who lived in Kpata since 30 or 40 years, but had travelled all over Nupe as embroiderer before Europeans came.

(A) says that Ndakogboya = Nnagbunu. But the Gunnu which he saw was only the "*Gbunu ziko* [black Gunnu] ", i.e. without the white paintings.

(B) says that he saw Gbunu both in Dabban and in Doko. It was the *Gbunu ziko*, but the 5 (?) elders and the Ndazo had their faces smeared with ashes and white sand (!!) so that they were quite white. The other "members " of Gunnu had no paintings whatsoever, nor any head dress at all!! They both had bushnight, and Ndakogboya!! What he noticed as biggest difference was that women in Bassa are allowed near sacrifice place (- under tree) whereas in Nupe they are not!! But all these former practises have disappeared in Nupe now. But what one finds among the Bassa now has been originally Nupe - for Bassa and Nupe are one. (Cp. his remarks on their origin Ntbk 9, p.60)

On other hand many people told me that at present also Gbira and Gara make a ritual which they call "Gunnu" -It is quite different; they have no Ndakogboya, and their initiates stay in the bush for 3 days [sic! Initiation-idea in full force!!] Nupe influence with its pagan *kutis* must have been enormous - in the wake of early political expansion - this is the explanation the intelligent Bassa have for this! Applies still stronger to Bunu (a Yoruba section with almost exact Ilorin dialect of Yoruba) which must have stood in strong and continuous contact with Nupe (and Bassa).

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The old teacher says this - he is a Bunu. He says that originally Nupe-Bassa (a Nupe section) and Bunu were neighbours and "like one". Intermarriage and mutual understanding. Actually I find Bunu *Kutis* and spells in Bassa. They seem identical with the Yagba spells I found in Lemu. Yagba close neighbours and relations of Bunu -this is the explanation. The Bunu were always famous for their wealth of *cigbe* and *kuti* - the Nupe made use of it, and vice versa!!

Demography of Bunu : live behind Patigi. Their main towns are

Akpa
Akutukpa
Keki. -

Nb They have father-son inheritance [brother plays no role]. (Influence on Bassa?)

23/10/36

Divining

Visit to Soothsayer and *cigbeci* Zeko. Teacher takes us there. He knows all about it, converses with *cigbeci* like real initiate, sings the *kuti* songs - quite amusing seeing him behaving like that. They all like him and treat him rather like one of them.

The divining is done in Yoruba fashion - apparently. I.e. he uses 4 strings only. He has two kinds one like Nupe type, i.e. short, with small kernels, (*ero*-fruit, therefore called "*ero*"), and a different type, [as also used by Gara!], very long strings with big fruit kernels of "*Ayigba*" (*Egba* [*Ficus* sp. in Nupe]). -For the usual salutation of strings he uses a fish-bone. At the end of each *Ayigba*- string is fixed a collection of dirty cloth-straps, leather etc; among it certain special "*cigbes* ": a small iron bell with a cowrie as tongue (to make it good!!); animal skin and a tuft of hair of buffalo - this is for hunters [hunters are the chief customers of *ebasacizi* [diviners]!]. Finally on one string there is a piece of calabash with the "figures" of divining carved in. It helps everybody (he says) to read the meaning of the strings. They all have different names, quite as Nupe: man, woman, figures among them. But the old man speaks a mixture of Gara and Bassa, is toothless and a little tottering - so I have to abandon more detailed information. This piece of calabash into which he himself has carved the figures looks as follows:

[Illustration]

When divining he places a certain *cigbe* at side of it. "*Ero*" ". Consists of various bones, cowries etc, tied up in dirty bundle - supposed to give *kagbo* [strength] to divining!

The divining apparatus itself:

[Illustration]

His "big *kuti*" is called "*Nyama*" (a Gara name!!) It consists of small jug with *cigbe* in it, placed on ground; nearby an "*akpara*" (= thunderbolt). Behind it a forked pole with 3 branches (called *abo*) perhaps 2-3 feet high. On top a "*guru* [horn]" (= "*Kasa*") in which there are rests of many a sacrificed fowl, feathers, bones and skin. Tied to branches are a dance-rattle ("*Dyemde*" - as used in *Dyemde*-cult of women, and an iron belt with small stick, to beat it with. The whole arrangement of a private *cigbe* and *kuti* is called in Bassa "*awo*" (Nupe *Egbo*?)

Besides -whenever house and family sacrifice is wanted (wedding, *suna* [H. naming ceremony], etc...), he sacrifices to this *kuti*. Finally on demand of people who seek his advice also sacrifice. He first divines which "*sadaka* [H. alms]" or sacrifice etc it is to be. If Nyama is indicated by divination, then he performs it in hut: only he himself and his younger brother may enter it; the supplicants sit outside. Then he sacrifices, takes *dyemde* and [[c.: sings]] addresses *Kuti* in following song:

This is Gara language and means "*Kuti nya emidzuru* [*kuti* of the palm-oil]". (but NB: lightning in Gara = *kpo mana*). He also strikes bell. The power of this *kuti* is (1) against any kind of illness; (2) for childbirth of barren woman. [i.e. does the same as *Eluwota*]. In the latter case the child born is called Nyama, and at his *sunu* a big feast is performed by parents and relatives, another sacrifice takes place, and the *demde* woman come and sing in honour of *Kuti*.

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Dyemde-[women] *kuti* today disappeared. But never all women of Kpala "members". Only number of them. Old Zeko was their head. Whenever anybody of them died - or a relation - e.g. also when Zeko himself dies - they performed their dances. When they had children they send one girl to Zeko to be "trained" as *Dyemde*-woman, and carry on tradition. The original situation of have's and have-not's with regard to this *Kuti* is explained thus: it is originally a *Bunu-Kuti*; some women brought it along from old Bassa country where they were neighbours of *Bunu*; and some did not. The former may even have been of *Bunu* origin themselves -for Bassa and *Bunu* used to intermarry. [Actually the most plausible explanation]. These *demde* women themselves however "never learned it new - they had it from *asali*, *asali* [H.originally]..."

In the sacred hut (which is also sleeping hut of Zeko) two more "*atso* [carved wooden pillars]" posts with *cigbe*-calabashes: Awore and Etu: they are *cigbes* for hunters who come regularly before going out on hunting expeditions; later they bring back meat, bones, and feathers or bits of skin as gift to *cigbe*; that is all put into calabash on top.

Eka ceremony

In the evening they inform me that they will make *Eka* to-night. Usual time is when moon is full; but there is light enough today. There are two *Ekas*:

(1) a small *eka*, performed every year: consists of masked dance, performed by *dzakangizi*. They make their simple grass masks themselves, on the day before *Eka*. One sees them going out on farm, or sitting at home, weaving their masks of leaves of guineacorn or grass. There is no special training: the elder boys just show the younger ones (who have seen *Eka* several times already!!). They don their masks at nightfall on farm nearby, and then come into town to dance in various places. Severe secrecy is kept as to [who] is inside masks - I can not get them to tell me the names!! - Main thing: frightening girls and boys. No other meaning. - There may be 5 to 10 such "*egizi* [children]" dancing.

(2) *Eka wanciko* [Great Eka]. Only in *Gbunu*-year = every 3 years. And only one *nna* [lit. mother] [[r.m.e.]] This was the *Eka* we have seen. Again one could see the boys weaving their grass dress today. But as soon as I looked they hid it. Or one could see boys in evening walking out to farm [where they were going to be dressed] something hidden under their dress: the mask for tonight. At about 9 o'clock, drumming and singing can be heard from far. I go into village and find *Eka* in Shaba's house, where they have gone to first to salute *nusa* of town. There is a *Kalungu* [H. hourglass-drum] drummer and 5 or 6 young men who beat iron double and single bells with little sticks. Huge crowd has gathered. Women and girls press from all side to get a glimpse but there are again "stewards" about who beat them hard with sticks and branches, and drive them away to teach them respect for *Eka*. *Eka* itself consists of big grass-mask, as big almost - and of same shape - as a roof. NB Masks of *egizi* are in every *emi* [compound]. "*Nna*" only in one *emi* - at present in *Emi Lifi* (= Shaba's house). This is what one sees at first. But they say: this is the mother - there are "*egizi* in her *gbako* [stomach] ". "*Nna da o na, ka degi u magi* [This is the mother, in a short time she gives birth] -

[Illustration]

NB I remember that the Kakanda informants were telling me one about an ancient *kuti* having been practised in Kakanda in which "something like a grass-roofed hut " danced and represented the *magi*. Obviously the same sort of thing. Perhaps they even mentioned the same name "*Eka*".

Soon the big mask moves on - shaking along heavily and clumsily over roads. Goes inside village for the customary salute. Then out on road again to R[est] H[ouse], to salute us. On every open space stops and performs a short dance. Accompanied by crowds of laughing, cheering and shouting young people, children of both sexes. Girls form groups running ahead of mask, singing the *Eka* songs, (solo and chorus) and clapping hands.

Sort of race between girls who run ahead, and then wait for *Eka*, and the mask which turns up suddenly and pushes girls on, the "stewards " driving them away with whips. The old play of attraction and repulsion of sexes demonstrated again. When reaching clearing, mask starts dance. People form dense ring round. Fathers have brought babies along and lift them on shoulders to see, mothers with babies on back. Huge excited crowd. Some shout out to me: "we have not seen such a marvellous *Eka* for years ". Only because you came have we the opportunity, adding the Bassa equivalent of "God bless you ". +Chorus sings -boys & girls, men & women. Number of side shows: boys producing their jumps, cartwheels etc; "stewards" enjoying their authority to whip, flog and threaten girls. Girls half curious, half afraid, press in towards the mask and rushing away, scared.

The dance of the mask is simple: the *mma* [mother -but here for mask] dances heavily round, shaking her "composite " body, and dipping with her head. Then suddenly - she releases the *egizi*:. two "baby" masks, one after the other, creep out from under her roof and give a display of their own simple dance: just toddling round a bit, bent forward, jumping from one leg to other. They are really small and must be acted by smaller boys!! This scene is greeted with tremendous crying and shouting: *u ma gi, u ma gi* [She has given birth]. She gives birth to children "in public ". Later children return to mother, and one says: now she takes them to her breast to give them milk. This procedure is repeated several times. They say (and believe the [unintelligible] songs to mean the same): the children are very small now: but they will grow. Actually every time the children creep out they walk more erect giving impression of growing.

All the time the mother is either speaking (e.g. addressing me) or singing. Speaks through leaf (sounds like speaking viz. singing through comb) to make it sound "un-human ". A *goga* interprets the meaning. When singing, gives first verse and tune, public follows in chorus. This goes on for about 1 hour, then returns to village followed by whole crowd, and it goes on till moon goes down.

It is curious how these people can watch absolutely the same thing, repeated for hours and hours, without tiring. There is really no change in the "program " - it is absolutely dull. But for 4 hours they enjoy it, and carry it on with rising enthusiasm.

Meaning of Kuti? First of all a secret of all grown-up and half-grown men which keeps them from women! Intended to frighten women! Then ritualising and symbolizing the act of birth. As it appears:

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rob women of their only prerogative by making it a public affair of men. Initiation = meaning, but besides terrifying women.

Women's point of view

Women came to it as spectacle. But women who I ask all say the same: they don't know what is inside the mask. They are afraid. A girl says: she has only seen small *Eka* so far; she was not very afraid. But yesterday she was absolutely scared. What scared her so? "*Na u ma gi na* [that it gave birth]" - the exhibition [almost realistic!!] of this mysterium of womanhood!! Man beating women with her own weapon!!

Theory :

Man's reaction against women's sexual power!?

24/10/36

Go to see Shaba, to ask him about promised Emitwagbada. But he has gone away - to escape me? This really seems the only escape natives have to counteract the white man's demands they are unable to fulfil: to go away, and to lie (flight & lies). I am angry - but it is really my fault and they are not to blame.

25/10/36

General talks :

That people enjoyed Gbunu and *Eka* so much had the reason in the fact that they did not expect to have a *Kuti* this year. They had it 3 years ago. But then missionary (Miss Matthews) told them never to do it again. It is all nonsense - *u de amfani ndoro a* [it is of no use at all]. Rather they should go to school instead of spending money on such nonsensical mischief!! (sic)

Talk to women about Eka and Gbunu :

They all liked *Eka* tremendously, but they were afraid of it! They insist on knowing nothing about what happens "behind the scenes ". It is a man's *Kuti*, and "*nyizagi mi yi o, u kpe nyandoro a*" [I am a woman, I don't know anything of it]. This is the stereotype reply. Of Gbunu, on other hand, they are not afraid: they know their sons, brothers, etc under their painting: it is a dance they enjoy looking at. But when it comes to what happens in *Kuso* [forest]: no, they don't know nothing about that, - and refuse to be told. This is a man's affair. When I offer a girl of 14 or 15 (an out-patient) to tell her, she cries out quite frightened: don't tell me!! Why? Because if I tell her, the Ndakuti is sure to know; he will come and ask her about it and she will have to confess. Then he will beat her terribly and fine her!! It is better not to meddle with the men's mysteries.

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In Kpata I see much more men sitting side by side with women than ever in Nupe! E.g. they sit together on "verandah"; man works, and woman watching him. (e.g. a younger brother and elder brother's wife - ie. they are *dzomanci* [cousins]!) Or in evening, they sit outside hut and talk together (sic!!) Partly certainly due to fact of lack of room: woman's sleeping hut often = kitchen, man's sleeping hut = workroom; no *katambas* [entrance-houses]. But besides sexes evidently less rigorously separated (although they take food separately!).

Also remarkable is the number of small children (chiefly boys) up to 10, 12 and 13 years who are seen in the village every day, playing, dancing, chatting, or just doing nothing. In Nupe, these boys would all be on the farm! Here, apparently, with so small farm-holdings, they are not needed... Girls, on other hand, are always seen carrying loads and accompanying their mothers to markets (e.g. to Ecewu).

26/10/36

For today they had promised me the *Emitwagbada*. It is actually the proper month for it, but normally they would perform it a little later in the month*, when moon would be full. It follows about 1 month after *Eka* - and the two *kutis* definitely belong together and supplement each other.

* Dates: end of 7th month (= beginning Oct) - *Eka*
 " 8th " (= " " of Nov) *Emitwagbada*.

[[NB Nadel's p. 148 shows a sketch of a scene from the *Emitwagbada* ritual, dated **26/10/36**; his p. 149 is blank]]

But in the morning I am not yet sure whether they are going to perform it. Shaba is away, and without the chief, or his representative, it is impossible even to discuss these matters with the people. - There is no *ndakuti* for *Emitwagbada*. It is a *gbarufuzi*-ceremony. But Egbunu, the hunter nephew of Shaba, seems a big noise in this *Kuti*. [[rest of Nadel's p. 150 includes a sketch of an "*Anagbambo*" mask]] With him I discuss it, and he promises me to tell Shaba, and to arrange for performance as soon as Shaba is back. It being a night-ceremony, we have ample time. Actually he comes in the evening, about 8 o'clock to tell us that *Emitwagbada* will be performed - that it has already "appeared in the *Kuso*" and will reach the village in short. Already earlier in the evening we saw young men and boys wandering out into the bush, carrying mysterious bundles, and one boy carrying two long palm-branch poles over shoulder: the pole for the *Emitwagbada*-mask. When however I enquire about the mask of E. ("*ewo* [dress]") they quite firmly declare: there is none. There is no man+mask (or inside mask) business about the *Emitwagbada*. It is simply a *kuti* [= materialized magic (no ancestral spirit idea connected with it!!)] which appears or not. Lives in *Kuso*, and appears only every 3 years when Chief calls it. *Gbarufuzi* are his servants. The idea of masking oneself in *kuti* is fiercely repudiated, both for *Emitwagbada* and *Eka*!! When I point out that *Eka* made a very human impression upon me, talking to me and asking for cigarettes, they laugh and say, I have misunderstood it: its "guardian" or "servants" wanted cigarettes, not the *Kuti*. The *Kuti* has no human voice and no human needs: does not smoke, nor eat or drink.

Eventually the *Kuti* turns up, and we witness a most impressive and exciting ceremony! Unfortunately it does not last very long. The masks have first made their usual tour through village, stopping at every (late) chief's or *nusa*'s house to salute. We hear the songs across to R[est] H[ouse] - very pretty music, which from the distance sounds like deep flute-music. This strengthens the impression that the tune as such made upon us: of being related to Gbari flute-music. When the two masks make their appearance finally in front of R[est] H[ouse], they just perform their dance and go home again. I follow the masks, because they are supposed to visit a few more notable's houses. But when we arrive at village, i.e. Shaba's house, there is the accompanying crowd of women, girls and others, standing and staring and *Kuti* has surprisingly disappeared. They really don't know whether it will come back again or not, some discussion is carried on. But one hears no singing, so finally we must admit that *Kuti* has gone for good. Some senior *gbarufuzi* [=young men] declare "*u jin fushi*" ['he was angry'] and therefore run away sooner - because there were no *nusazi* to greet it, and to present its "servants" with kola, beer and food, as is customary. Actually many *nusazi* had gone to bed, not knowing that Em. would take place and I saw some just coming from their huts, in their night attire to see something of Emitw.

Still, I have seen it, and realised two important facts: (1) here we definitely have the "*Urform* [G. original form]" of the Ndakogboya.

(2) It is definitely phallic in origin, representing again a "man versus woman" ceremony, frightening (dominating) the women by means of a symbolic revelation of the sexual mysteries.

This abundance of such rituals among Bassa, putting women on their place, - is at curious variance with the general closeness of the sexes in Kinship, matters of inheritance and daily life. The lack of sharp sexual separation or apparent antagonism in ordinary life compensated by this ritual antagonism? The repressed sexual enmity symbolized and reacted-off in the sex ritual?

27/10/36

Gbunu Ordeal

A very illuminating incident happened yesterday: cook and Sarkin barki had a quarrel about 4d which cook says he had paid already (for eggs) and Sarkin barki maintains not to have been paid. After long arguing cook offers to put the 4d in question on Juju-place (Gbunu-place - he knows its name and everything!) And he dares Sarkin barki to take the money if he feels innocent. But S. Barki refuses to allow this, and so does Ndakuti, saying as neither Chief nor Shaba are present at the time the *Kuti* can not be approached without their authority. Cook however refuses to wait, he believes that this is a manoeuvre against his integrity, and if he does not prove his innocence to juju, the juju will "curse him". So he comes to me, I should arrange it for him that Ndakuti should accept this arbitration through magic: I ask him why he is so keen on this: because when he pays his 4d and Sarkin Barki will not dare to take money away from juju-place knowing himself guilty, the juju "will kill 'em" ... which seems to satisfy cook immensely. So next morning when Shaba has returned, I put matter before him: there being no witnesses, what shall we do? Shaba says: considering it is my cook, he will dismiss the case. Cook not

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satisfied, because this makes "him bad name ". Demands his right to depose money on *Kuti* place. Eventually the Shaba agrees (not very easy in his mind, I think) and cook and another *nusa* march off to Gbunu-place to have money there, and so does S. Barki.

Stop in Gbobe (Gbebe) for short time. It is a mixed village: Kakanda, Gara and Gbira. The Kakanda and Gbira are fisher- and boat-men. Fish with fall-net (*danbe*) and circular throwing net. Also "weirs " [traps] of basket-like work, in backwaters. *Dzakangizi* [children] use fish-hooks with worms on it. Gara are farmers, Gbira half-farmers.

Number of really first-class native architecture in village: 2 houses of rich Kakanda merchants - with pan-roof, cement-columns, etc... - and one mosque. One house with really beautifully ornamented and painted walls. All Nupe work. The village-chief (Gogo) is a Gbira. But the former Etsu of Bassa, the Gara-man Anaja, has a large house here, although he lives here as a private man, actually a deposed chief.

Women-cults : I look for rests or documents of the old "lightning " magic of women (*à la* "*Sokogba* ") find very little: there used to be a *Kuti* here Atekpa, annual ceremony performed in 7th month, where women, beating the *demde*-rattle, played an important part. But men also took part. The head of this cult was Anaja - in his house I find in fact a broken "*sanyi* [iron cult staff]", thrown away on a dump heap, which used to be the main paraphernalia: Anaja held it in his hand during dance shaking it (?) But Anaja himself is away, and nobody else knows anything about it. I want to buy the *sanyi* but the owner not being there they refuse to discuss it. The people who did it are all dead, the *Kuti* practically died out (quite likely, considering that the sacred implement was found, broken, on a sort of dung-heap). They are all Muhamedans now!!

On top of pan roofs I see curious hand-shaped ornament - the builders put it on (Nupe?), but nobody knows what it signifies:

[Illustration]

"*Sanyi*"; but they themselves have only the name "*alekpa* " for it. No apparent connection with lightning though. For "lightning " in Gara = *Akpambana*

Want to buy one of the typical paddles of Kakanda or Gbira. But find no good sample. They are not local work, but made by Nupe and brought down from Katsa and sold on Lokoja or Ecewu market:

[[illustration follows in Nadel's text]]

26/10/36 Lokoja

Meet Rondale, the new Resident. A charming man, very intelligent and very interested in scientific (really scientific) problems. - Tells me that he had tried without success to get the Bassa Nge self-administered (at present they are under Gara D.H. at Dekina. This was declined by Secretariat on

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grounds that the Bassa voluntarily submitted to the authority ("suzerainty") of Eda when they crossed the Niger and settled in Attah's territory in the days before the advent of Europeans! But of course there was not much "suzerainty" then, nor were they quite aware of the fact that 100 years later they would be held down to it by Europeans!! -

28/10/36 Drive from Lokoja to Ilorin

Lovely and romantic country around Kabba. Huge rocky hills (granite!), then villages in the valleys - no habitation of hills. The villages all look very clean and proper (compared with typical Yoruba villages!) They are of different build. Single square huts, a number of them clustering together forming one compound. Sometimes 2 or 3 of such huts interconnected by walls. The style of huts looks almost european, and actually the transition to really european house is very easily attained by adding pan-roof [a roof of zinc sheets], proper doors and windows with blinds (the typical "*Schiebefeuerter* [G. louver panels]" -type of the Yoruba). The Yoruba are really excellent builders. Some of the houses are very pretty indeed. We see quite a number of two-storey houses with a big gallery on the second floor - really excellent. Also one sees - as everywhere in Yoruba - lots of empty houses, completed only a short time ago and waiting now for the tenant viz. owner: work of building contractor.

Type of Kabba house:

The other type of Yoruba house - the large square with courtyard in centre does not appear till near Autun. - On other hand we see round Kabba another compound type: one long row-hut, with many compartments in it, corresponding more or less to one side of the typical Yoruba courtyard house. E.g.

[Illustration]

Demography

Soon after one leaves Lokoja the country is very sparsely populated. Very few villages - one every 10 miles. From Kabba onwards much denser. And the nearer we get to Ilorin the more dense it becomes. From Antim we run through villages practically all the time!!

Between Lokoja and Kabba there is the "Ibinu"-(Bunu) section of Yoruba. Round Kabba there are the "Awe"-Yoruba. - Then we come into area of Oshogbo and finally Ilorin Yoruba. They all speak Yoruba of almost the same brand.

Religion

We see a few interesting specimens of religious organisation on the road. In Bunu-country everywhere, in every village or hamlet the long sort of flag-mast with a white cloth tied to it (as I saw in

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Bassa!). Sometimes also a forked wooden post in front of the house with a pot or calabash on top filled with fowl etc ...

Round Antim we see small, low grass roofs erected over something that looks like an anheap of earth heaped up like on a grave. I ask a young chap on the road what it is. He in the true style of his education: "Oh this, this is devil's hut ". - Also we see at Antim a curious thing: a huge conical grass roof, perhaps 15 to 20 ft high, ending in a point on top, over a mud column (?) -at any rate there was no door there. This was also described as "devil's hut". Phallic symbol? Both "jujus" stand there quite open, close to the road, and near what looks like a market place. Here certainly there is no secrecy about them!!

[[Nadel's text includes a sketch of this "phallic " monument]]

In Autun live the brass smiths who work the brass bells for the Sango- and other ceremonial drums. They live in the part of town where the chief lives!

1/11/36 Ilorin

State of farms

Late millet is quite big already. Corn is already out mostly, but not yet coloured. Maize about the same stage: cobs just beginning to be visible.

NB Maize grows practically everywhere we had been. The guineacorn however not very far south of Ilorin!!

Round Guineacorn the new ridges have been re-dug (*sa wogi*), not more than a month ago. Single heaps having been changed into long ridges.

There is new *Rogo* [cassava] here - perhaps 2 months old.

At present people are busy clearing new ground and hoeing it up - ready for next year. (For ground is still soft from rains, but not much grass will grow now any longer!)

3/11/36

Mr Daniel tells me that in a Yoruba village in Egbe district (Yagba!) he saw tiny forged iron objects on a hunters shrine: small tongs, small fetters (sic!) and a small axe.

4/11/36 Ilorin

Daniel tells me about unrest in Ilorin Emirate: two of the original Yoruba noblemen the Magajin Are and Baba Kekere, have for some time claimed districts for themselves, contending that they were holding large fiefs before advent of Fulani, and that Government had wrongly deprived them of these fiefs. They also wrote in a long letter to Daniel (while he was on tour) explaining this claim and basing it on a long

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historical discussion of the Fulani conquest (which they refer to as hospitality having been given to the wretched persecuted Fulani mallams who later behaved like the proverbial snake in the bosom). But lately they have taken law into their own hands and gone down to "their" "districts", levying "*dzaka* [H. Muslim tithes]". Emir was quite upset, and large anti-Fulani outbreak was feared. - The situation is actually as follows: the very rigid system of hereditary "fiefs" as laid down by Hermon Hodge, excluded these Yoruba from D[istrict] Headships. But they were given jobs (more sort of make-believe!) as official representatives of Emir when travelling with D.O. Unfortunately other problem comes in: both very old, quite uneducated, and only speak Yoruba, which makes co-operation with officers very difficult. Finally, their salary has been reduced - as everybody else's in N.A. - which they resent.

Daniel suggested a council meeting with Emir. Then learned that council had not met for long time because of refusal of these two to co-operate with Emir. Refused actually to go to Emir's house for fear of being poisoned. So finally Daniel had them all in his office, and gave them piece of his mind. Fortunately (for him - as he admits) they have laid themselves open to severe blame by acting as they did, levying unlawful taxes. Otherwise they would have had the right on their side!! [I remember G.S. Browne's wonderful invention he was telling me about of satisfying claims to share in rulership which could not be allowed by creating "mock" offices - with much honour and no power; would not work with Yoruba it seems!] So Daniel threatened them with expulsion. Left them free to appeal to C.C. - Considering that some years ago severe riots broke out for same reason he had police under European Pol[itical] Officer sent down from Kaduna. Town really in uproar - hundreds and hundreds of people assembled round Emir's house. He himself is frightened and does not dare leave his house. But personally the Yoruba are all pleasant and nice: meet huge procession coming down from Residency (men and women) and some of my friends *baloguns* [Y. rulers] of districts we used to visit) greet me pleasantly --

But that much seems clear: it is not Yoruba anti Fulani ; only dissatisfied gentry against rulers, more especially Emir. Not against Europeans at all!! Typical case of too rigid a Native Administration.

Daniel and Douglas ask me for information about Slavery-problem, in connection with inquiries from League of Nations about number of "household" slaves who did not avail themselves of manumission, viz reasons for it...

16/11/36

NB In Agege a Nupe man asks me if I had heard the news that in Ilorin people had quarreled with Emir, and that Europeans had brought down soldiers; now all is quiet he thinks, because everybody is frightened of soldiers.

5/11/36

Stop at Oyo, to see D.O. Simpson. He had been in Ilorin some time ago and inquired after me. Wanted my help or something in writing an anthropological report. - Find him at Oyo. A keen and interesting officer, comparatively young. He is engaged in Intelligence work, i.e reorganising Oyo Division. Has reorganised, as it seems, with excellent results, Benin. Has found great many similarities

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between Benin and Oyo organisation and my Nupe state. Therefore he wanted to discuss certain parts with me.

(1) Legal : he wants to separate administrative from judicial authority. Believes that this type of specialization must come inevitably one day. I make clear my doubts. He refers, perhaps a little too much, to the "original" custom [c.p. the Oyo had also a King's executioner, called Tetu!] which he is apt to treat as rigid, and much too definitely organized. But agrees: structure of native Organisation - chiefly political Org. - must be kept as fluid as possible, to have space for modern developments. Comments unfavourably on rigid structure of Herman Hodge's Ilorin constitution (and right he is!!).

(2) Political : he had same original feudal structure as I described. He chose interesting organization: the fiefholders remain in capital. Not turned into District heads, but remain the "patrons" and confidants of country population in town. Districts themselves organized in village-groups: Large number of councils (56 altogether) necessary because of lack of contact between villages. Only contact through the person of representative in town. Each council consists of number of village chiefs who "belong together" either as villages of same origin; or villages under same fief-holder. In Benin town itself 16 different town wards, under "natural" head. Lets them [[c.: elect their]] group themselves under their original patron. Tax administration which never used to work under former town organization (4 geographical wards) now works perfectly.

(3) Educational : wants to see in planned new Government Middle School a special class for Sons of Chiefs in which they should be trained in all matters bearing on administration.

Ad (1) : Is quite in favour of my idea -has actually tried this for long time himself - to establish a collection of case-law ["precedents" of typical cases] as basis for native Law - sort of Yoruba (or such like) Common Law, used as guidance for Native Courts.

Ad (2): discussing the Northern system of District Heads, he calls them simply Assistant D.O.s and finds that system much more direct than his own; because his fief-holders can give no orders in name of D.O. but only report to King, and act as his advisors in local matters. [True to certain extent; D.H. actually only tax collectors for D.O.!!]

6/11/36 Ibadan

Experiments with junior groups in College. - On road we see Hausa-people, and inquire after Nupe. They show us new site of Nupe-settlements. The mai-ungwa [H. chief of quarter] is an Agaie man, very well educated and an excellent informant. He is an elder brother of Mal Naba of Agaie.

Through him get informations about the Nupe population. Not only the more recent ones, but also the old pre-European -Nupe slaves who settled here.

To get at their head it is however necessary to work through the old Bale (or Olubadan, as his new title is). For they seemed to have belonged originally to his private staff of hunters etc. Also he is in authority over their old Kutis namely the Ndakogboya, which they used to perform annually in 12th

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month. (But only as mere traditional magic, knowing nothing of its mythical background, its moral aspect, connection with Gunnu etc...)

We find Bale in Council Hall where he just holds court: i.e. all the chiefs come into Ibadan today with taxes ("tributes " as native policemen calls it). He is an interesting old fellow. Lots of richly clad chiefs and notables sitting around - look like Tibetan monks some of them. They greet Bale by throwing themselves flat on ground, touching floor first with one then the other cheek, and finally kissing floor (the highest notables included; those in European dress make essentially the same only a little [illegible], supporting themselves on arms & not touching ground with face; my Nupe friend greets in Nupe-fashion, i.e. kneeling down, bending head low down and folding arms when sitting).

Bale sends one of his "friends" (*eyatsu*) along with us who lives near the *emi* Garba, i.e the house of original Nupe inhabitants, viz who is their ward head. We find very interesting mixture of Nupe and Yoruba there, nice people all astounded to meet European who speaks Nupe.

10/11/36

The Etsu Nupe of Ibadan was telling me that there are Nupe in Agege (8 miles from Lagos) and Abeokuta who still practise Ndakogboya. The Agege Nupe regularly come into Ibadan, and then never omit to salute Etsu.

So we stop in Agege on the way. Large "modern " town, with masses of Hausa swarming all over the place: mallams, machine tailors, traders. Chiefly Kola-nut traders. Big centre here for Kola nut trade!! Through Hausa I find - as usual - Nupe. One compound where they live together with Hausa. They live here since many years; came from Bida originally. All kola traders. But there are also other Nupe here, who are here "from *asali* [ancestral times] ", pagans who perform Ndakogboya. They live on "*lati* [in the bush]". I fix an appointment with them for Monday, when I shall come down again and talk to them, and also to those other, pagan, Nupe, whom they promise me to collect for me. - Nupe travellers naturally stop in this house. There is a man from Kutigi who knew me, and at once asked after L[isbeth] and our dog. Recollects -and relates, to intense amusement of everybody -how I saw Ndakogboya in Kutigi 2 years ago!!

12/11/36 Lagos

Find Nupe quarter in usual way, through Hausa. The latter all sit in front of big Friday mosque, selling shoes, chiefly.

Find original Nupe quarter, the *emi Tsoede*, in a street called Osodi street. All very public etc.
First lecture in Yaba.

13/11/36

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First visit to old Osodi. A typical Yoruba to all intents and purposes although he proudly calls himself a Nupe. He lives in a house stuffed full with huge stand-clocks, photographs, calendars, couches - like a "*Hausmeister*" in Vienna. Very proudly he shows me large framed photograph of his ancestor Osodi who has come to Lagos before Portuguese (as he tries to impress upon me, for a moment; in the end he admits that there may be some miscalculation in this). He goes to fetch a Yoruba history of Lagos (C.M.S.) in which he points out the photograph of his ancestor and the other ward heads of Lagos (referred to as chief of the "countries" of Lagos). The troublesome thing is that whatever I ask him with any reference to historical facts, he insists on consulting this book of his, instead of telling me what I want to know. Impossible to get direct information. About certain things (his religious prerogatives!!) he is secretive and will not tell me anything about them, even "if I pay him £100!"

Second lecture.

14/11/36

Emi Tsoede again. Not much headway. Some of the younger people are more reasonable and better informers. But I am reminded continually that "nobody talks to *dzakangizi* [children] when there is a *nusa* [old man] to talk to..."

Want to photograph the old man. But he is not ready - he will dress properly on Tuesday, fit to be photographed. So we fix Tuesday for next appointment.

Midday: discussion about fieldwork tomorrow.

15/11/36 (Sunday)

Fieldwork in a fisher village about 3 miles from College.

16/11/36

Visit to Agege.

Find one Nupe waiting for us, as arranged. Mal Muhamadu (the leprous kola-nut trader from Kutigi) asks me. "what is the trouble they are having in Ilorin?! They have sent soldiers down even!! "

It is *etswa azon* [month of fasting] already, and they all fast, and many (Mal Muhamadu among them) are sitting and reading the Kuran! He actually hides in the house because of his disease.

Walk to Egba, 2 miles away, the place where the old Nupe settlers live. - The female chief receives us, calls all the women, and is terribly unhappy that she did not know beforehand of our coming. She is frightfully friendly, and insists on making us a present: gives us 2/= to buy oranges with!!! Is very upset when we refuse. Wants definitely to make an appointment with us for next year, when we shall be back

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again. Also wants to come and see us in our house. Difficult to stem this (really very charming) flow of friendliness and love. She is said to be the richest woman in this whole area - as our Nupe guide explains. The house is very clean, and stuffed full with most impossible china and crockery, like a store. Difficult to combine this picture with the other fact, that she also "owns" the Ndakogboya there!!

17/11/36

In the morning come to see Osodi as arranged but hear that he is in Court. He will be back in afternoon.

On way home held up by huge crowd in front of a house: there is a giant there (an Ibo) who is shown for money to the people by his brother. Ask for 5/= to see him. I give 1/= and they extort another. The crowd is simply in frenzy. See a native reporter inside who takes notes in his notebook, quite in style.

Third Lecture.

Afternoon again to Osodi. He sits in front of his house. Does not even stand up when I come. Stretches out his hands, very much the *grand-seigneur*, and orders somebody to explain to me that he has no time for me this afternoon because he must go and see Chief. I am furious and leave at once. Impossible to keep these people interested for more than 2 days!

18/11/36

See Thorpe to discuss plans of extending course through medium of publications with him.

See Bieneman and McGowan. He is very nice and interested in my experiment. Thinks College Magazine would be proper forum for my suggested extension. Wants my suggestions in "tangible form". Also wants to be sure that their contributions should be first examined (censored) so as to make sure that they "won't make a nuisance of themselves". In short is afraid of Bolshie tendencies coming out. Asks me if I believe teaching them Anthropology is of value! Agrees to my point of view as regards (a) aloofness of educated natives from their own society. (b) That merely "curio" interest is the worst of the lot. But then, present policy, so much more concentrated round "improvements of community life" - it seems [illegible] Vischer's spirit!!) On the whole, very satisfactory interview.

Afterwards see Commissioner of Colony, about tribal statistics. There are none, and even the general statistics are not very reliable. Come to talk about "detribalized" natives, the increase of Lagos population being due to system of taxation here: professional taxation, under £30 p.a. free of tax - till few years ago no taxation at all, and still large numbers don't pay tax at all. Touch grave problem of Nigerian "black-coated unemployed" - he thinks "Education has over stepped itself". Nobody goes back to land. But then, there is the attraction of the very high wages Lagos pays to labourers as well as clerks! (The latter start with £40, go up to £120 almost immediately; and highest salary amounts to £350!!)

Then visit Osodi's quarter again. Not himself, but two of his men, who agree that he has treated me badly and told me lies. They agree to come with me and tell me all about Gunnu, if I promise not to

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betray them to Osodi. So we go home together, and I get a very good description of Gunnu as practised here. (It is the same, says one informant, as in his mother town, Lafiagi and Shari!) Discuss possibilities of showing me Ndakogboya. They could not do it in town, for fear of old Osode. But offer to show it to me on *lati* [bush] of one of the men, i.e in fisher village Bariga near Yaba. I only want to see it and that is all? They make sure first. I may photograph it, but they don't want me to distribute the pictures afterwards in Lagos. Finally they ask for £4!! Which I decline, and leave them to discuss between themselves whether they will do it for 5/=

19/11/36

Meet my two informants, as arranged at Ido bridge. We go and look at "*Kuso* [forest]" viz "*Gurumba*". Unfortunately the door to enclosure is locked, and old man has the key, therefore impossible to obtain without his knowledge. Funny seeing is corrugated iron fence and ramshackle hut called "*Kuso*" and "*gurumba*".

We arranged to go out to Bariga together to see the fishing; but they don't come to place we fixed for appointment, so this falls through.

Final lecture**b**

[The final pages of Notebook V contain an index]

APPENDIX 1 [NOT COMPLETED]

PLACE-NAMES IN NADEL'S FIELD DIARIES

1. National

Toponym	Date first mentioned	Type	Location
Ibadan	15/11/35	Town	
Benin	15/11/35	Town	
Yaba	15/11/35	Suburb of Lagos	
Kabba	15/11/35	Town	
Onits[h]a	15/11/35	Town	
Ilorin	18/11/35	Town	
Kaduna	18/11/35	Town	
Yerwa	27/12/35	Town	
Lokoja	10/01/36	Town	
Kano	12/01/36	Town	
Katsina	30/01/36	Town	
Koton Karfe	30/01/36	Town	
Lagos	31/01/36	Town	
Borgu	31/01/36	Region	
Toro	03/02/36	Town	

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2. Regional

Toponym	Date	Type	Location
Bida	18/11/35	Town	
Raba	18/11/35	Town	
Shonga	18/11/35	Town	
Pategi	18/11/35	Town	
Jebba	18/11/35	Town	
Mokwa	23/11/35	Town	
Bussa	23/11/35	Town	
Wuya	24/11/35	Town	
Kutigi	24/11/35	Town	
Lavun	05/12/35	Town	
Muregi	05/12/35	Town	
Kontagora	05/12/35	Town	
Badeggi	08/12/35	Town	
Wushishi	27/12/35	Town	
Labozhi	28/12/35	Town	
Laleni	29/12/35	Town	
Nuwankota	02/01/36	Town	
Abuja	16/01/36	Town	
Paiko	16/01/36	Town	
Kuta	16/01/36	Town	
Eggan	19/01/36	Town	
Agaie	23/01/36	Town	
Katsa (=Katcha)	27/01/36	Town	
Wari	27/01/36	Town	
Lapai	27/01/36	Town	
Gulu	27/01/36	Town	
Gidi (=Baro)	29/01/36	Town	
Kusogi Danci	29/01/36	Town	
Wunangi	30/01/36	Town	
Kipu	30/01/36	Town	
Ebugi	30/01/36	Town	

3. Local

Toponym	Date	Type	Location
Jima	26/11/35	Village	
Lavunkpa	03/12/35		
Faucita	05/12/35		
Eshoshi	06/12/35		
Kuci	10/12/35		
Zhigi	19/12/35		
Towa	20/12/35		
Zanchita	27/12/35		
Batati	27/12/35		
Lumanla	27/12/35		
Lemu	02/01/36		
Gbagba	02/01/36		
Paci	07/01/35		
Katangi	16/01/36		
Sakpe	16/01/36		
Baka	01/02/36		

APPENDIX 2

Index of Ethnic Groups referred to in the Text

Nadel	Modern Form
Bornu	Kanuri
Bororo	FulBe na'i
Dibo	Dibo
Ebe	Asu
Fulani	FulBe
Gbira	Ebira
Gwari	Gbari, Gbagyi
Hausa	Hausa
Ibo	Igbo
Kakanda	Kakanda
Kamuku	Kamuku
Kede	Kyadya
Kupa	Kupa
Tuareg	Tuareg, Tamachek
Yoruba	Yoruba

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APPENDIX 3

Government Officials and other Europeans mentioned in the text. Short biographies may be given in the introductory material to Heussler (1968).

Surname in text	Date first occurs	Details
Alvarez	23/12/35	T.E. Alvarez, Church Missionary Society, Bida
Bienema	03/02/36	
Bourdillon	22/12/35	See Heussler (1968:xvi)
Browne	03/02/36	See Heussler (1968:xvi)
Bulger	25/01/36	
Daniel	15/11/35	See Heussler (1968:xvi)
GJB	22/12/35	
Harris	04/01/36	P.G. Harris (1894-1945) See Heussler (1968:xvii)
Holmes	22/12/35	
Hussey	12/01/36	
Lance	22/11/35	Miss Lance, Missionary at Jebba.
Maund	25/01/36	Captain Maund.
McBryde	22/12/35	
Mooring	04/01/36	
Mortimer	15/11/35	
Sherk	22/11/35	Rev. I.W. Sherk, United Sudan Mission, Mokwa.
Shillingford	06/01/36	
Stubbs	01/02/36	
Tegetmeier	25/01/36	P.A. Tegetmeier. See Heussler (1968:xx)
Vischer	01/12/35	Sir H. Vischer. See Heussler (1968:51)
Wilkinson	25/01/36	
Wood	01/02/36	Rev. Wood

Nupe Titles appearing in text

Title	Gloss
Etsu	general term for ruler,chief. 'The Etsu' usually refers to the Etsu Nupe, ruler of all the Nupe
Kpotun	third-in-command to the Etsu
Shaba	second-in-command to the Etsu

Nadel's Common Acronyms

D.H.	District Head
D.O.	District Officer
M.O.	Medical Officer
N.A.	Native Authority
R.H.	Rest House
V.H.	Village Head

Common Nupe Terms appearing frequently in the text

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Nupe Term	Gloss
<i>cigbe</i>	medicine, charm, remedy
<i>kuti</i>	magic, ceremony, ritual, masquerade
<i>tunga</i>	outlying village, originally populated by former slaves