

WATER AND IRON PHASES IN THE HISTORY OF SUKUR

Nicholas DAVID

University of Calgary

and

Judith STERNER

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

1. Introduction

This paper represents a first attempt to synthesize parts of fieldwork carried out at Sukur between August 1992 and February 1993. Sukur (*ca* 13°33'-13°37' E.; 10°43'-10°46' N.), now in Adamawa State (Nigeria), is located 25 kilometres due west of Mokolo and 17 kilometres south-south-west of Madagali. Sukur has long been a name to conjure with (see for example KIRK-GREENE 1960 and MOHAMMADOU 1988), but before our stay was in fact little known. It had been only occasionally and briefly visited and reported on by officers of the colonial powers (STRÜMPPELL 1922; SHAW 1935; MACBRIDE 1937; KIRK-GREENE 1960), a missionary, KULP (1935), on whose account most others are based, an archaeologist (SASSOON 1964), and historians (BARKINDO 1985; PONGRI 1988). Statements below unsupported by references derive from our fieldwork; we emphasize that this paper results from preliminary reflections on our material.

2. The power of rain and of iron

Chiefly power in the more hierarchized societies of the Mandara mountains is typically associated with the ability to make and to withhold rain (e.g. VINCENT 1975, 1991, and this volume). Sukur has been known since Barth's (1857, 2:397-398) time as an important polity, though the authorities cited above have categorized it variously as a chiefdom, a kingdom and as a divine kingdom. It is therefore doubly paradoxical that the *Xidi*¹ (chief) of Sukur had and has no control over rain, and that, although *Xidis* were and are not divine kings, yet they were frequently deposed or killed. This paper attempts to resolve these paradoxes

¹ The following conventions have been used in writing Sukur (Sakun) words:
ḡ – voiceless velar approximant (as in German '*nach*')
dI – voiced lateral fricative
tI – voiceless lateral fricative

and offers an alternative analogy to assist in the interpretation of Sukur politics and history.

For its rain Sukur relies on a rainmaker from the neighbouring Wula. A legend describes how the founder of the present chiefly dynasty, while on the way to Sukur from Mpsakali², which is to many Mandara peoples rather as Rome was to the Holy Roman Empire, was tricked by a younger brother into giving him the '*kafay*'³, a rainbow generator that stops the rain, and on this occasion was used to obtain dry passage across a river. The younger brother remained in Wula to found its current chiefly line. This is only one of a set of oral traditions that – in large part because each seeks to explain different aspects of Sukur society and its relations with neighbours – embodies many contradictions and inconsistencies. Today the Wula rainmaker is of another clan.

In fact political power in Sukur has long depended upon a quite different base, neither sacred nor military, but rather industrial and commercial. While it is true that *Xidi Sukur* played and in some cases continues to play a role in the installation of neighbouring chiefs by sending an emissary to dress the hairlocks that symbolize their office, this is not because he is a personage endowed with superior religious powers, but rather a matter of respect for an elder brother (in the case of Gulak, whose dynasty is of Sukur origin), or more generally for a society, and thus its ruler, longer established in the region.

Sukur was never a military power (KULP 1935 *contra* KIRK-GREENE 1960:73). The only long distance – and that only to the vicinity of Mokolo – raid documented from internal sources ended in defeat and has been forgotten since STRÜMPELL's visit in about 1907 (STRÜMPELL 1922, in MOHAMMADOU 1982:26). We elicited no coherent Sukur traditions regarding a cavalry, and, while there are said to have been ponies at Sukur, memories of them are vague, and they are known by the compound term 'horse of Mecca', which does not argue for their importance. Where oral traditions have been recorded describing Sukur as a raiding and slaving polity (e.g. MOHAMMADOU 1988), these stories come not from its neighbours, the societies most likely to have been disrupted by Sukur predation, but from those some distance away. We suggest that they represent reinterpretations of the past in the terms of Fulani and other

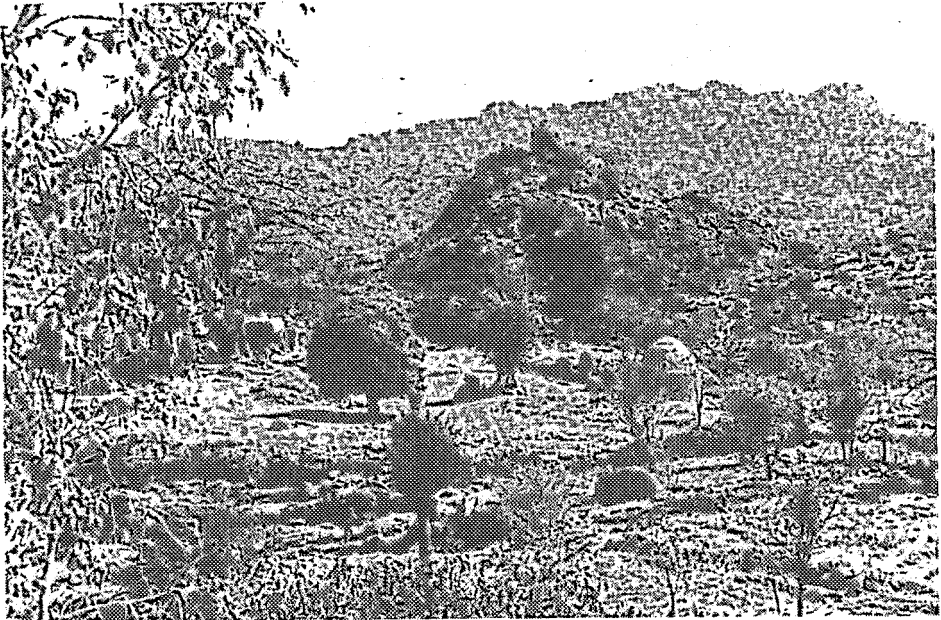
² The Sukur claim to have migrated not from Gudur but from Mpsakali, a toponym possibly related to Masakal, a massif on the edge of the Diamaré plain some 10 km east of the Gudur massif. We will discuss the relations of Sukur and Damay with Gudur (JOUAUX 1989, 1991; SEIGNOBOS 1991) elsewhere.

³ *Kafay*, which generally means 'sword', derives presumably from the Fulfulde *kafahi*.

imperialisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bana (MOHAMMADOU 1988), Kapsiki (VAN BEEK, this volume), Mafa (e.g., SEIGNOBOS, this volume) and others' claims to Sukur origin find no support within Sukur, where only Gulak is acknowledged as a daughter settlement. They should rather be regarded in the same light as the claim, very common in West and Central Africa, to Yemeni or Meccan roots, or for that matter Vergil's attempt in the *Aeniad* to establish Rome as the inheritor of Trojan greatness.

Sukur never achieved political control even over the 30 square kilometres of its own plateau (Fig. 1). Thus, while the people of Damay – an hour's walk from central Sukur – speak Sukur⁴, and oral traditions tell of a period when certain of their clans resided in Sukur, there is no evidence that Damay was itself ever a subject settlement. The same is true of Kurang, a mixed Sukur but predominantly Kapsiki community on the southern end of the plateau and an hour and a quarter's walk from *Xidi Sukur's* house.

Figure 1. Part of the Sukur plateau, looking north across the ceremonial area (*Patla*) and the mountain shrine of Mixyrux towards the Damay peaks.



⁴ The people of Sukur refer to themselves, the mountain settlement and to their language as Sakun.

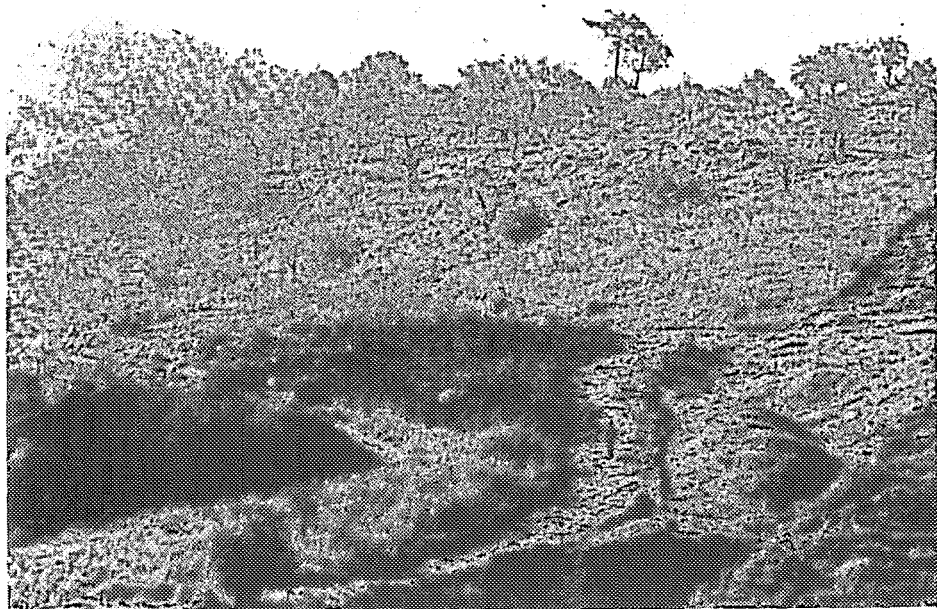
Despite its minuscule geographic extent and a population that, under normal circumstances and before a move to the plains began in the 1930s, is likely to have ranged between 4000 and 6000, Sukur was a major exporter of iron until the 1950s. At that time postwar development led to a rapid replacement of bloomery iron by metal scrap, leaving some local producers with a stock of dozens of unprocessed blooms that they keep but have not used in recent decades. When SASSOON (1964) visited Sukur in 1962, he was privileged to observe the very end of the smelting tradition. Provisional calculations⁵ based upon our recent fieldwork suggest that in normal times the average quantity of iron annually exported would have been sufficient for the forging of over 60,000 hoes.

The *Xidi* played a pivotal role in this trade. He negotiated through intermediaries with neighbour chiefs – Higi (of Nigerian Kamale), Margi (of Maiva-Palam and Dzu, Hyambula and Vapura⁶), and Waga – offering them iron in return for permission for his people to gather ore and burn charcoal on their lands. Relations were especially close with the Higi of Kamale who, although they must have had access to smelting technology, preferred, despite the local availability of both ore and wood for charcoal, to barter foodstuffs and craft items for Sukur iron rather than smelt themselves. The *Xidi* was himself a furnace master and a significant producer of iron; he received tax in the form of iron bars and hoes, and was patron of the Sukur market held on the mountain and served by the famous paved way (Fig. 2). This market, specializing in iron and held weekly throughout the year, was attended by neighbours, and, except when rains made transport difficult, attracted long distance Bornoan traders of various ethnicities, collectively known to the Sukur and their neighbours as '*Vuwa*'. These are remembered as having supplied Sukur with smoked fish, onions, and with many of its luxuries including beads, cloth and probably brass.

⁵ Our estimates of production are based on testimonies relating to productivity in the late 1930s and the 40s, a period when population was still recovering from the depredations of Hamman Yaji and from the locust plagues and famines of the early 1930s. Population estimates are less specific as to time and are loosely tied to oral traditions, observations regarding carrying capacity and the evidence of abandoned houses. KIRK-GREENE (1960:68) states that in 1953 the combined Sukur and Damay population totalled 5033.

⁶ Vapura, sometimes known as Mildo, was the original Marghi chiefdom with a single chief or *Ptil*. It is now divided into Mildo Vapura and Mildo Shelmi.

Figure 2. One of the best preserved stretches of the northern paved way (*civimungan*) near the former iron market.



3. The antiquity of the iron trade and of the Dur dynasty

In January 1993 a test excavation directed by M.O. ADESINA (National Museum, Yola) and N. DAVID was carried out at a midden site located in close proximity to the *Xidi* house in Sukur (Fig. 3). This, the first archaeological site ever dug in the central or northern Mandara mountains, revealed over 3.5 m of stratified deposits (the bottom was not quite reached) that contained quantities of pottery, beads, iron, iron slag, bone and charcoal. The pottery is throughout clearly ancestral to modern Sukur wares, while artefacts of iron and bone were confidently identified by Sukur onlookers. The midden has not been used as such this century and its antiquity will soon be established by radiocarbon dating; we suspect that it goes back at least to the 16th century A.D. though it does not appear to predate the first (13th or 14th century?) appearance of cowrie shells in this part of Africa.

Figure 3. The midden site (centre right) from the north. Part of the house of the *Xidi* can be seen immediately to the east (left of picture).



Since the entire midden relates to a single precolonial phase of Sukur culture that its contents and other evidence associate with the iron trade, it is virtually certain that Sukur's industrial specialization in iron making goes back several hundred years. Sukur's industrial economy is, we would argue, inseparably linked with the geographically restricted but nonetheless powerful chieftaincy once capable – though at no time in the 20th century – of mobilizing labour for major public works such as the *Xidi* house (Fig. 4), the adjacent ceremonial area (*Patla*), with its megalithic structure in which the *Xidi* presides at certain ceremonies, and the paved ways. These are all so ancient that their construction is now attributed not to men but to giants and shamanic helpers.⁷

In the absence of evidence of a succession of Sukur dynasties associated with the iron trade, we hypothesize that a simpler and less hierarchized form of society much more typical of the Mandara region in general was, no later than the 16th century, transformed into an industrial chiefdom ruled since its inception by the present chiefly clan, the Dur.

⁷ According to KIRK-GREENE (1960:73), the paved way was said to have been built by 'countless gangs of slaves'.

Figure 4. The house of *Xidi Sukur* looking west from Mungwolay hill. The main wall encloses an area of about 0.65 hectares. The midden site is visible directly above the centre of the house.



4. Phases in the history of Sukur

Although the use of a political terminology borrowed from Western institutions distorts Mandara reality, we have no alternative but to use it. In all Mandara societies the elders of the various patrilineal clans constitute some form of 'council' that is 'chaired' by a personage whose powers vary from minimal to very considerable on 'magico-religious' and 'secular' axes, and whose title is variously glossed as 'chief', 'priest-chief', 'prince', 'king' or 'divine king'.

Seniority, both in terms of age and of priority of settlement⁸, is the first principle of Mandara politics. The second is that seniority can, albeit rarely, be overturned by superior power, ultimately based either on main force or on monopoly of a resource. We may speak of 'hierarchized' societies in which a chief possesses considerable secular authority that is supported by an apparatus

⁸ Priority of settlement is itself usually expressed in terms of privileged relationship with forces of nature, conceived of as *genii loci*.

of power that includes some form of social ranking (so-called 'nobles' versus 'commoners') and officers who represent the chief and execute decisions. In contrast, the chiefs in 'unhierarchized' societies have little or no temporal power and function mainly as priests on behalf of their community. There is however little or no structural difference between a hierarchized society such as Sukur or Duvangar (VINCENT 1991) and unhierarchized communities such as Mambeza (VON GRAFFENRIED 1984), Magoumaz (MARTIN 1970) or Gousda (MÜLLER-KOSACK 1991). All are suffused by the same 'hierarchical ethic' (KOPYTOFF 1987:36), though its expression depends upon the size of the group and other factors, including, in the present instance, *Xidi Sukur's* at least partial control over the iron trade.

Oral traditions and the evidence of public works indicate that in precolonial times the *Xidi* of Sukur possessed considerable secular power and was at times able to mobilize labour on a very large scale. He had no monopoly of force, and his rule was ultimately based upon his ability to retain the support of his own clan, the Dur, and the consent of other clans. Nevertheless Dur is the largest clan and the *Xidi* could call on his clan brothers (and his sister's sons and often numerous sons-in-law) to defend his and the Dur's prerogatives and interests.

Xidi is advised by his people and especially by some 25 title-holders, for the most part hereditary and the senior men of their lineages. The titles are widely distributed among the 23 clans (Table). Our analysis of oral traditions, of the distribution of offices and their respective functions among the clans, and especially of their roles in the *Yawal* ceremony, have led us to the following construction of Sukur history in terms of three developmental phases.

Table. Sukur clans⁹, titles and holders' functions by inferred phase of cultural development. (H) indicates that the title is inherited within a patriline (potentially reverting to the clan), while others (obviously excepting the *Xidi* himself) are appointed by the *Xidi*.

Phase I – First settlement

CLAN	TITLE	FUNCTION
Tuva	<i>day Kurfa</i> (H)	Smith who buries the chief ¹⁰
Tuva	<i>Xidi day</i> (H)	Senior funerary smith ¹⁰
Dumsa	<i>Tlæduv</i> (H)	Sacrificer, assistant to <i>day Kurfa</i>

Phase II – Pre-dynastic (Kulusægi phase): primarily title-holders with ritual duties and members of the chief's 'household'.

CLAN	TITLE	FUNCTION
Kulusægi	<i>Dalatə</i> (H)	Chief of the sacrificers
Gadə	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer
Habga Oy	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer
H. Ghumtuva	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer
Xwatlə	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer
Rəvay	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer (not a smith)
Rəvay	<i>Tlagama</i> (H)	Chief's barber and drummer (a smith) ¹¹
Yenna	<i>Tlamburum</i> (H)	Chief's 'ear' in lower Sukur ¹¹
Gadə	<i>Tlufu</i> (H)	'Chamberlain' to the chief ¹¹

⁹ Three clans, Bakyang, Burdlung and Meadow are no longer represented on Sukur mountain. The *Midala* title used to be vested in Bakyang.

¹⁰ The *day Kurfa*'s section of Tuva appears never to have been charged with burials other than that of the chief. The last *Xidi day* died ca 1985. His Tuva section no longer carries out burials for others.

¹¹ While these clans were present during the second phase, these three titles are obviously connected to the third.

Phase III – Dur dynastic, title-holders with duties that are primarily secular and/or closely tied to the person of the *Xidi*.

CLAN	TITLE	FUNCTION
Dur	<i>Xidi</i>	Chief
Dur	<i>Wakili</i>	Deputy Chief
Dur	<i>Rowxidi</i>	Heir apparent (not used at present)
Dur	<i>Makarama</i>	Senior advisor and supporter
Dur	<i>Makarama bin hud'</i> (H)	Role in installation of chief
Shagwom ¹²	<i>Fa tə Xidi</i>	Senior advisor
Karando ¹²	<i>Midala</i> (H)	War leader (role now ritualized)
Kəməvud ¹²	<i>Tləmuzi</i> (H)	Minor duties associated with chief
Kwabala	<i>Thufu</i> (H)	Judge and supporter
Məldəng	<i>Tlisuku</i> (H)	Chief's 'chaplain'
Kaozha	<i>Mbusufwoy</i> (H)	Sacrificer, liaison with rain-maker ¹³
Zoghey	<i>Zerma</i> (H)	Chief's herald
Kigi	<i>Barkuma</i> (H)	Ritual duties
Kigi	<i>Tlamburum</i> (H)	Chief's 'ear' in upper Sukur
Kozhuwa	<i>Tligum</i> (H)	Chief's drummer (a smith)
Varies	<i>Birima</i>	Junior 'chamberlain'
(Kwosha	No title	Smiths closely associated with Shagwom)

¹² Allies of clan Dur with the same praise name and, according to one tradition, all descended from the founder of the Dur dynasty.

¹³ The *Kaozha Mbusufwoy* is of the same clan as the Wula rainmaker, and liaises with him. Oral traditions suggest a relatively recent immigration of this group which is closely associated with, and is often regarded as, a section of clan Gadə.

There is a measure of agreement in Sukur that the closely related Tuva¹⁴ and Dumsa clans, said to have descended from two brothers of those names, were first to settle on the mountain (whether alone or with other clans). The Tuva are of the smith-potter caste and the Dumsa of the farmer caste. The *day Kurba*, senior elder of one of the two Tuva sections, is said to have been 'chief'.¹⁵ The society of this first phase – if it indeed existed at all – was small and very simple.

We can infer much more regarding the second phase. One of the title-holders, the *Dalatə*, is, according to oral tradition, the senior descendant of a former chiefly line that replaced that of the *day Kurba* before losing power to the founder of clan Dur as the result either of the latter's political guile, or of his talent as a judge, or both. (The legend is in fact a cliché; almost identical stories are told of the replacement of the Tuva-Dumsa chief by one of Kulusəgi clan.) The *Dalatə* has special powers and responsibilities over water from the ground, including the location and building of traditional wells. Although the temptation to fill gaps in the knowledge of one Mandara society by reference to another must be resisted, it would seem, in the light of VINCENT'S contribution to this volume, that *Dalatə*'s powers over water, terrestrial and celestial, may formerly have been more extensive. Her paper thus supports our interpretation of the *Dalatə* as representative of a former priestly chieftainship. The case is strengthened by the important role he plays in the biennial male initiation rites, and as the senior of a group of title holders, the *Mbusufwoy*. These persons, best described as 'sacrificers', have special responsibility for dealings with important local spirits to whom, before the main sorghum and millet harvest, they sacrifice on behalf of Sukur society at large. *Dalatə* and the sacrificers represent a simpler and less hierarchized phase of Sukur society, in which clans were more localized than they are today, more ritually self-sufficient and more closely tied to the *genii loci*. The Kulusəgi chief of the time, quite possibly the community's rain-maker, is unlikely to have exercised temporal power, and may best be termed a 'priest-

¹⁴ The Tuva 'clan' is divided into two segments – the people of *day Kurba* and the people of *Xidi day* – that marry each others' daughters and in this respect behave as if the segments were themselves clans. However members of the two segments can inherit each others' widows and they do not marry women who are or have previously been married to living men of the other segment. In this they behave as members of the same clan. Clans in Sukur are variably defined in practice.

¹⁵ 'Chief' in a vague and undefined sense, and not to be construed as a blacksmith-king (*roi-forgeron*) in the sense of SEIGNOBOS (e.g., 1991).

chief, comparable in the ethnographic present to the *bay dza* of the majority of Mafa settlements.

There is a marked contrast between the title holders of this second phase, closely linked with chthonic powers, and those of the third – *Wakili*, ‘judge’, ‘chamberlains’, ‘chaplain’ and the like – who are either political figures and mostly of clan Dur, or members of the *Xidi*’s official household. The contrast is dramatically evident in the *Yawal* ceremony.

5. The *Yawal* ceremony and its meaning

Yawal, held in February 1993 for the first time since 1985, expresses, in encoded pageantry, the transformation of Sukur through the several phases of Sukur society. The ceremony begins at a central shrine with representatives of phase I, the *Tlæduv* – a kind of sacrificer – and of phase II, the *Dalatæ*, carrying out rites on behalf of the Sukur community. The *Xidi* is not physically present, although he appears to be represented by a calabash of offerings. Throughout the first day, two of the sacrificers (phase II) are stationed in the *Xidi*’s house, supervising and protecting the brewing of the brown beer (*zuwa*) prepared for religious feasts. The material items associated with this part of the ceremony – the leather garments worn by *Dalatæ*, *Tlæduv* and the sacrificers, and the pots used in the offering, the latter atypical for Sukur but similar in their features to ones used in comparable ritual contexts in many other Mandara societies – are at odds with the wealth and secular power expressed in the voluminous cotton garments worn by Dur men and the caparisoned horse ridden by the *Xidi* in the next part of the ceremony, a procession that, in unambiguous terms, celebrates the *Xidi* as ruler and the supremacy of the Dur clan. In the final episode of day one, *Dalatæ* and *Tlæduv* sacrifice a goat and bless the *Xidi*, senior Dur and the *Xidi*’s horse, by smearing the goat’s chyme (stomach contents) on their foreheads.

The first day of *Yawal* also constitutes the consecration of *Dalatæ*, who, once he has celebrated it, may never again enter the house of the *Xidi*. The day’s rites depict, in our view, the reconciliation of older and newer phases of Sukur historical development and, at some time in the past, their integration into what we know as traditional Sukur society. The same themes are expressed over the next two days, particularly dramatic being the moment on the third day when the *Dalatæ*, standing on a rock across a valley from the ceremonial area, salutes the *Xidi* seated in his ‘throne room’ (*Bugæ*), and has his greeting returned.

The fourth day of *Yawal* sees the apotheosis of *Xidi*. He is conducted in procession to a field next to the former iron market, and there presides over the dancing of the Dur men and of the daughters of Dur, engaging himself in some decorous steps, before returning triumphally and on horseback to the *Xidi* house.

Throughout this celebration he is mystically protected by representatives of preceding phases. *day Kurba*, the senior elder of phase I, dances on his slab at a distance – he will bury the *Xidi* and cannot approach him in life – while *Dalatə* and *Tladuv* dance to the *Xidi's* right and *Mbusufwoy* to his left. Another of the sacrificers mounts guard on the hill above.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The replacement of chthonics by economics as a basis for structures of power is a common pattern worldwide. Power predicated upon control of the uncontrollable is inherently unstable and thus an unsuitable foundation for complex polities designed to maintain secular control over the long term. In the Mandara, unsuccessful rainmakers are driven out and have been known to be put to death. Why is it then that the Dur chiefs of Sukur, whose power stemmed from the iron trade, seem to have ruled either briefly or unmemorably or both? All but two of the very short list, going back only to the end of the nineteenth century, of ten past *Xidis* who can be firmly established as datable historical personages were either deposed or killed. Was *Xidi Sukur* a sacred or divine king, as has been claimed (SHAW 1935; KIRK-GREENE 1960), as also (though in our opinion on inadequate grounds) for the chief of the dynastically related *Marghi* of Gulak (VAUGHAN 1980)? Most definitely not; it is not the *Xidi's* ritual function to control *any* natural forces (see DE HEUSCH 1985:36). Hedged about by ritual restrictions he may be, but *Xidi* is an essentially secular figure. Rather than divine king, a better analogy is President and Chief Executive Officer of a firm whose Directors, the elders of clan Dur, held preferred shares and battled in the boardroom for the top job.¹⁶ In a firm producing to a market with an almost infinitely elastic demand, and thus assured of selling its entire output, it is of minor concern to the workforce who is in the front office. The internecine squabbles of the Dur mattered little to the other clans so long as they did not disrupt the iron trade.

The special economic circumstances of Sukur resolve the apparent conflict between long term continuity of Sukur's political and economic power and the impermanence of individual *Xidis*.¹⁷ In Sukur we are dealing not with yet another of the predatory states of the West African savannah, but with an industrial corporation that successive colonial powers would have been only too glad to

¹⁶ Or rather was, since *Xidi* is now a civil servant, salaried by the state.

¹⁷ The analogy suggested is not applicable to the *Marghi* of Gulak, whose participation in the iron trade was much less and whose reason for 'killing their kings' is certainly different from that of the Sukur.

take as a model for development, had they not, by arming and supporting the Fulani, ensured its destruction before they became fully aware of its existence.

7. Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and was authorized and facilitated by the National Commission for Museums and Monument, Nigeria, to whose officers, in particular Dr L.I. Izuakor and M.O. Adesina, we extend our thanks. We wish to thank Barrister T. Sirimtu, Chairman, and Mr Denis Afkawa, Secretary, for generous logistic and other support provided by Madagali Local Government authority. *Xidi* Gezik Kanakakaw, the officers of the Sukur Development Association, and the people of Sukur gave us all possible assistance. Our gratitude to them is profound and deeply felt. John Tizhe Habga and Philip Emmanuel Sukur were our superb research assistants, without whom this paper could not have been written.

References

- BARKINDO B., 1985, "Political centralization in the south of Borno: the case of Sukur in the 18th and 19th centuries", in *Evolution of political culture in Nigeria* (A. J. F. Ajayi & B. Ikara eds.), Ibadan, University Press Ltd, pp. 50-66.
- BARTH H., 1857, *Travels and discoveries in north and central Africa*, 3 vols, London.
- HEUSCH L. de, 1985, *Sacrifice in Africa: a structuralist approach*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- JOUAUX C., 1989, "Gudur: chefferie ou royaume?", *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 114, pp. 259-88.
- JOUAUX C., 1991, "La chefferie de Gudur et sa politique expansionniste", *Du politique à l'économique. Études historiques dans le bassin du lac Tchad* (J. Boutrais ed.), Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, pp. 193-224.
- KIRK-GREENE A. H. M., 1960, "The kingdom of Sukur – a Northern Nigerian Ichabod", *Nigerian Field* 25, pp. 67-96.
- KOPYTOFF I., 1987, "The internal African frontier: the making of African political culture", *The African frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies* (I. Kopytoff, ed.), Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 3-84.

- KULP H. S., 1935, *Notes taken on a tour in Madagali District in company with the Touring Officer, Mr W.R. Shirley, June 14-22. File Yolaprof J21*, National Archives, Kaduna, Nigeria.
- MACBRIDE D. F. H., 1937, *Mandara District: Village Histories. File Yolaprof J21*, National Archives, Kaduna, Nigeria.
- MARTIN J-Y., 1970, *Les Matakam du Cameroun: essai sur la dynamique d'une société pré-industrielle*, Paris: ORSTOM Mémoires 41.
- MOHAMMADOU E., 1982, *Peuples et États du Foubina et de l'Adamawa (Nord Cameroun): études de Kurt Struempell et von Briesen traduites de l'allemand par Eldridge Mohammadou*, Yaoundé, Centre de Recherches et d'Études Anthropologiques (Département d'Histoire).
- MOHAMMADOU E., 1988, *Les Lamidats du Diamaré et du Mayo-Louti au XIXe siècle (Nord Cameroun)*, Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- MÜLLER-KOSACK G., 1991, *Zur Siedlungsstruktur der Mafa (Nord-Kamerun)*, *Paideuma* 37:105-40.
- PONGRI J. H., 1988, *Political development in northern Adamawa 1809-1960: a study in the historical development of intergroup relations*, Ph.D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- SASSOON H., 1964, "Iron smelting in the hill village of Sukur, north eastern Nigeria", *Man* (232), 144-5.
- SEIGNOBOS C., 1991, "Le rayonnement de la chefferie théocratique de Gudur (Nord-Cameroun)", *Du politique à l'économique. Études historiques dans le bassin du lac Tchad* (J. Boutrais ed.), Paris: Éditions de l'ORSTOM, pp. 225-315.
- SHAW J.H., 1935, *Madagali district: intelligence report on*, (Appendix I to a memorandum of 19 Sept. 1935 from the Resident, Adamawa Province, Yola, to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, re Adamawa Northern Mandated Areas), File SNP 17/3 25073, National Archives, Kaduna, Nigeria, 73 p.
- STRÜMPPELL K., 1922, "Wörterverzeichnis der Heidensprachen des Mandara Gebirges (Adamaua)", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 13, pp. 47-74, 109-49.
- VAUGHAN J. H., 1980, "A reconsideration of divine kingship", *Explorations in African systems of thought* (I. Karp & C.S. Bird eds), Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 120-142.

- VINCENT J.-F., 1975, " Le chef et la pluie chez les Mofu", *Systèmes de pensée en Afrique noire* 1, pp. 137-64.
- VINCENT J.-F., 1991, *Princes montagnards du Nord-Cameroun, Les Mofu-Diamaré et le pouvoir politique*, Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan.
- VON GRAFFENRIED C., 1984, *Das Jahr des Stieres: ein Opferritual der Zulgo und Gemjek in Nordkamerun*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, *Studia Ethnographica Friburgensia* 11.