

Surviving Works: context in Verre arts

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Preface

Surviving Works is a study of the artworks of the Verre people of Nigeria to be found nowadays in museums, dealers' galleries, and private collections, as well as of their documentation. It is an exercise in rescue ethnography based on what remains, and, so far as we are aware, little of what remains is in Verre hands or has been for more than a half century. The works made by Verre that survived were those that were collected; in the absence of outside demand, they might have remained in Verre hands; we acknowledge the counter-factual but can analyse only the upshot of what did happen. The circumstances of the collection and preservation of Verre works are significant to our story not least because they bear on the question of how representative these artwork survivors are of the range of works once in use. As a further complication, little that survives was collected strictly *in situ*, a circumstance reflected in our sub-title ('context in Verre arts'), though most pieces were collected nearby. Conventionally, a study like this would aim to put these surviving Verre artworks 'back' into a series of ethnographic, historical, and linguistic contexts to understand better what they might have meant to those who made and used them. This largely eludes us. Descriptive accounts of the Verre are few and thin. The Verre appear fleetingly in historical records, even when we might anticipate they would feature more fully. First-hand ethnographic research has been superficial. So, we find ourselves largely reversing the usual formula of putting material objects 'into context' in order, instead, to supplement our understanding of context from the evidence of what was collected at different times. Hence, in search of a productive development of what remains a lopsided relationship, we attempt first to find *context in Verre arts* rather than to put Verre arts into context.

With roughly a half-century gap between them, two periods of collection stand out. The first occurred in the decade or so immediately following the invasion and colonial occupation of the Fulani Emirate of Adamawa, the state that from the early nineteenth century had encompassed the Verre. This took a few years but the fall of the capital of Adamawa in 1901 was a signal date. Most Verre were included within British Nigeria, close to the border with German Kamerun. Occasional Verre artworks had been acquired in the first decade of the twentieth century by colonial officers and other travellers amongst them, but by far the largest collection was made during the traversal of the region by the German scholar-collector-dealer Leo Frobenius and his 'expedition' in 1911. We trace this collection's subsequent dispersal among German museums. Because the early colonial assemblage, even in its entirety, was relatively modest, we can discuss all the most significant pieces known to us in Chapter 2. The second period of collection occurred during a period of little more than a decade following British withdrawal from Nigeria in 1960, and shortly afterwards from the Trust Territories of the Cameroons in 1961. This time the major collecting agents were a mix of African dealers, Europeans who were mostly, but not exclusively, working in Christian missions, and Nigeria's then Federal Department of Antiquities, for which Tim Chappel collected several hundred objects in 1966. Insofar as we are able to do so, we reconstruct the

entirety of Chappel's Verre collection in Appendix 1. The wider circumstances of the early postcolonial assemblage are the subject of Chapter 3 in which, largely based on Chappel's fieldnotes, we also survey and supplement the slight existing ethnographic record of how these objects were made and used.

Before embarking on a survey of object types in Part Two of our account, we pause for an Interleaf that recuperates a display case of the metalwork of Adamawa installed in the Jos Museum in the late 1967. In addition to its museological interest, the installation included several objects of which we otherwise lacked illustration.

Part Two provides a step towards a *catalogue raisonnée* of Verre objects arranged only for convenience into: percussion instruments of various kinds, personal ornaments, initiation helmets and crooks, hoes and daggers, and a catch-all of the remainder of brass skeuomorphs of objects made in other materials. With one exception, emphasis is placed on metalworks, and in particular the brassware for which Verre were renowned, however, a final section of our catalogue surveys anthropomorphic figures which were made in wood, clay and brass. As far as possible, we relate these objects to the Verre terms for them in the hope of reflecting Verre categories in use.

Our catalogue is introduced by a brief discussion in Chapter 4 of brass skeuomorphs, copies in brass of objects of which the 'originals' are in other materials, and our entire account returns to this topic in the concluding chapter, Chapter 6, when we place Verre and their immediate neighbours into a wider regional context. With very few exceptions, surviving Verre works derive from the two rounds of collection we have described that took place fifty years apart and were centred in the decades of political transition of the 1910s and 1960s. By the time of the second round of collecting, the local industries that produced these objects had all but disappeared, so what was sold could not be replaced. Given the increasing influence by then of the world religions and the call of modernity, things construed as traditional exerted diminishing attraction in any case. No third round of collection is in prospect, and most middle-aged Verre today are unlikely even to have seen many of these objects in their past uses. Our hope in making this account freely available is that another generation of Verre will become interested in the works of their forebears and fill in some of the gaps, while correcting errors, in what we are aware is an incomplete project. The planned repatriation of the artworks collected by Danish missionaries to a purpose-built archive and museum for the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria may provide the stimulus to such an interest.

Comparing the two assemblages object type by object type, we were struck by both resemblances and differences. Of course, there were continuities: given the durability of metalworks it is likely that some of the objects collected in the 1960s had been made by the 1910s and were contemporary with things collected as new then. But equally or more striking, are the respects in which they differed: some types of object collected in the 1960s were absent from the earlier assemblage. Was this a consequence of the way collecting took place,

or did it represent change? Absence of evidence is not, of course, evidence of absence, but looking at what evidence there was, persuaded us that the second factor was as significant as the first: the range of Verre production had been reoriented to some extent during the half century between the two collection periods. The assemblage collected by the 1910s was likely to represent a pattern of production established before colonialism when the Verre were a small minority surviving within the lamidates (or sub-chiefdoms) of the Fulani-ruled Emirate of Adamawa. Brasswares from this earlier period for the most part used material more sparingly than those collected in the 1960s; castings were typically finer and more delicately ornamented. Castings made during the colonial period, by contrast, often used material abundantly; some objects, of which oversized beads are a striking example, seem designed to flaunt the sheer bulk of material required to make them. Changes were not confined to brassware.

A striking instance of disappearance concerns the decorated gourds with attribution to Verre that were collected in large numbers by the Frobenius expedition in 1911. These are absent from the early postcolonial assemblage, except as copies made in brass, akin to the fossilized remains of a previous form. With few exceptions, the objects Verre made in brass were skeuomorphs, recognizable versions of things already made in other mediums. In responding to demand at a particular moment, the brass skeuomorph objectified its prototype and, when that prototype was less durable, preserved it as a subject of desire. This effect is intensified by brass itself being a prestigious, red material; anything copied in brass was valuable, and probably the more so in the earlier than in the later period of collection when the supply of brass had increased. Given that the range of skeuomorphs tended to widen, those few objects found only in brass have an, at least *prima facie*, claim to originality, certainly in terms of their forms and possibly also chronologically. The outstanding examples would be clapper bells, crotals and perhaps also arm cuffs, none of which have close prototypes in iron. Brass dagger handles differ sufficiently from their iron or wooden counterparts for these not to be considered as prototypes, so they may be included in this category of originally brass objects, particularly since the most valuable type of dagger handle was that ornamented with crotals. While clapperless bells, leg pellet rattles, and various kinds of metal bracelet all have functional similarities to bells, crotals and cuffs, none of them is a plausible prototype of the other. Without brass, these items would not be in the Verre material repertoire.

Turning to the skeuomorphs, we can distinguish two main sources of prototypes. Some of the brass works collected reflect the culture of the Emirate, for instance large-bladed ceremonial spears clearly not designed for hunting, fans and fly whisks, muslim amulets, even a pair of sandals. It seems likely that this range would once have been wider, including arms and horse tack for instance. Other brass objects seem less likely to be objects of Fulani desire, including a variety of objects used at Verre male initiation and during other, to differing degrees esoteric, rituals and performances, including the brass hoes associated with women. A few things, like ornate daggers, the skeuomorphs of decorated gourds used as drinking

vessels, brass clapper bells and so forth may well have been desired by Fulani and Verre, as well as by non-Fulani neighbours including Bachama, Bata and Chamba, who also acquired at least some of the Verre ritual wares. In view of the proportions collected of these two classes of skeuomorphs in our two assemblages, we explore the possibility that the religious and ceremonial aspects of the local religions flourished briefly between the relative lightening of the burden of Fulani overlordship under early colonialism and the acceleration of conversion to world religions during later colonialism. This efflorescence, if it was real, would have been enabled by the greater abundance of materials (notably brass), the availability of new tools for carving (in the case of wood), and the increased surplus remaining in the hands of farmers and smiths to provide effective demand.

By comparison with their neighbours, Verre had a high degree of artisanal specialization, producing goods for which there was demand in regional economic systems. This was true particularly of metalwork, both in iron and in copper alloys. Hence, interpreted with care, the changed composition of the two assemblages should also tell us about some of the changes that occurred in the regional economy over the half century between their collection. The distinctive forms of later Verre iron- and brass-wares can be interpreted to have arisen over the course of a transition, at least in relative terms, from meeting the needs of military and military-ceremonial complexes towards satisfying a desire for ritual and ritual-ceremonial display, not just on the part of their non-Verre neighbours but also for themselves, and particularly for the families of smiths among them. Demand for ceremonial and prestige goods may have peaked between the World Wars but was in decline by the 1960s, another reason the objects collected in that decade were readily sold and not replaced. Verre brass casters disappeared as an occupational grouping. The distinct communities of metalworkers apparent from earlier sources dispersed, as families of smiths came to live in the plains alongside farmers producing mundane hoes, axes, knives and so forth to meet their needs. In brief, the society that produced and used brasswares ceased to exist.

Our title, *Surviving Works*, is meant then to refer not only to the two assemblages of objects that survived and that we are able to analyse but also to the adaptations for survival that Verre made to produce them, and later to cease producing them. We nod, in this sense, towards one element of the influential argument of Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz's ironically titled *Africa Works* (1999) about the logics of at worst getting by, and at best making the most of whatever the situation. Verre found themselves acting within circumstances that were often dangerous and unpredictable, periodically chaotic, with little military capacity at their disposal. Their options to survive, or indeed to do better than survive, were limited, but one of them involved the skills they possessed as workers, whether as farmers or in specialist manufactures. Production was simultaneously a work of adaptation to their political circumstances as well as a way of gaining whatever security and advantage might be derived from their special skills. Thus, our argument is that the make-up of the works surviving in the assemblages of the early colonial and early post-colonial periods differ not just on account of the ways they were collected, but because of the ways Verre had instrumentalized their

specialist position in regional systems of trade in the decades preceding the two collections. Seen in this way, the assemblages themselves, and particularly the differences between them, enlarge the context in which we can understand Verre history, justifying the sub-title 'context in Verre arts', rather than the more conventional reverse formulation.

Note on the authors

Our collaboration was initiated by Klaus Piepel (Nigeria-Desk Officer at Misereor, the German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development Cooperation, from 2005-13) who, as a collector of Verre art, had contacted Tim Chappel to ask about the Verre artworks he had bought locally in the mid-1960s on behalf of the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities, then his employer. This enquiry encouraged Chappel to return to and begin to write up the partial copies of collection notes and images he had retained since that time, and to explore the literature on the area. Piepel had simultaneously reached out to Richard Fardon (now Emeritus Professor at SOAS University of London) who had carried out fieldwork among the Chamba, southern neighbours south of the Verre, intermittently since the mid-1970s. The sites of Fardon's longest main fieldwork in the Alantika Mountains had been nodes in the regional circuits through which Verre products had once moved, and he had met Verre smiths there producing for a Chamba clientele, so was eager to collaborate towards understanding this wider regional set of connections.

As authors we have shared the research while trying to bring to the collaboration whatever complementary skills we have. Hence, Piepel undertook the bulk of primary research in German archives and in the contemporary art market, Chappel analysed aspects of the various types of objects he collected, and Fardon has considered their ethnographic and historical contexts. But we have not worked on any of these aspects exclusively, and we have exchanged ideas and reading notes extensively. Fardon synthesised the research materials and wrote the text for Chappel and Piepel to comment upon.

This study could be refined and extended in ways which we are not able to pursue ourselves, most obviously: consulting the collections and archives of the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments in Jos and Lagos, reading the colonial reports on Verre in the Kaduna National Archives, continuing to seek out Verre works in European and American collections, and not least carrying out local archaeological, historical and linguistic research. Given we cannot bring this work to completion ourselves, we are grateful to *Vestiges* for making it available to others in a format that can be revised, enlarged and as necessary corrected in future. Because this volume is meant as much as an archival resource as a finished book, we have included illustrations of poor quality when we have access to nothing better, and we have made available our reconstruction of Tim Chappel's accession notes in a relatively raw form in the hope that details we cannot interpret are clearer to those, particularly Verre readers who may want to elucidate them in the future. As an obvious instance, a Verre reader competent in a contemporary orthography should be able to refine or correct our transcriptions of Verre language, though some archaic terms might have

slipped out of general use. Anticipating that it may be used as a reference work, and given its digital form, many object entries appear both in the ordinal listing of collections (Chapter 2 for the early colonial collection; Appendix 1 for Chappel's Jos collection) and in the analysis of types of object (Chapter 5). While this repetition is inelegant, the alternative would be to ask the user to flip back and forward within the online text which would be tiresome.

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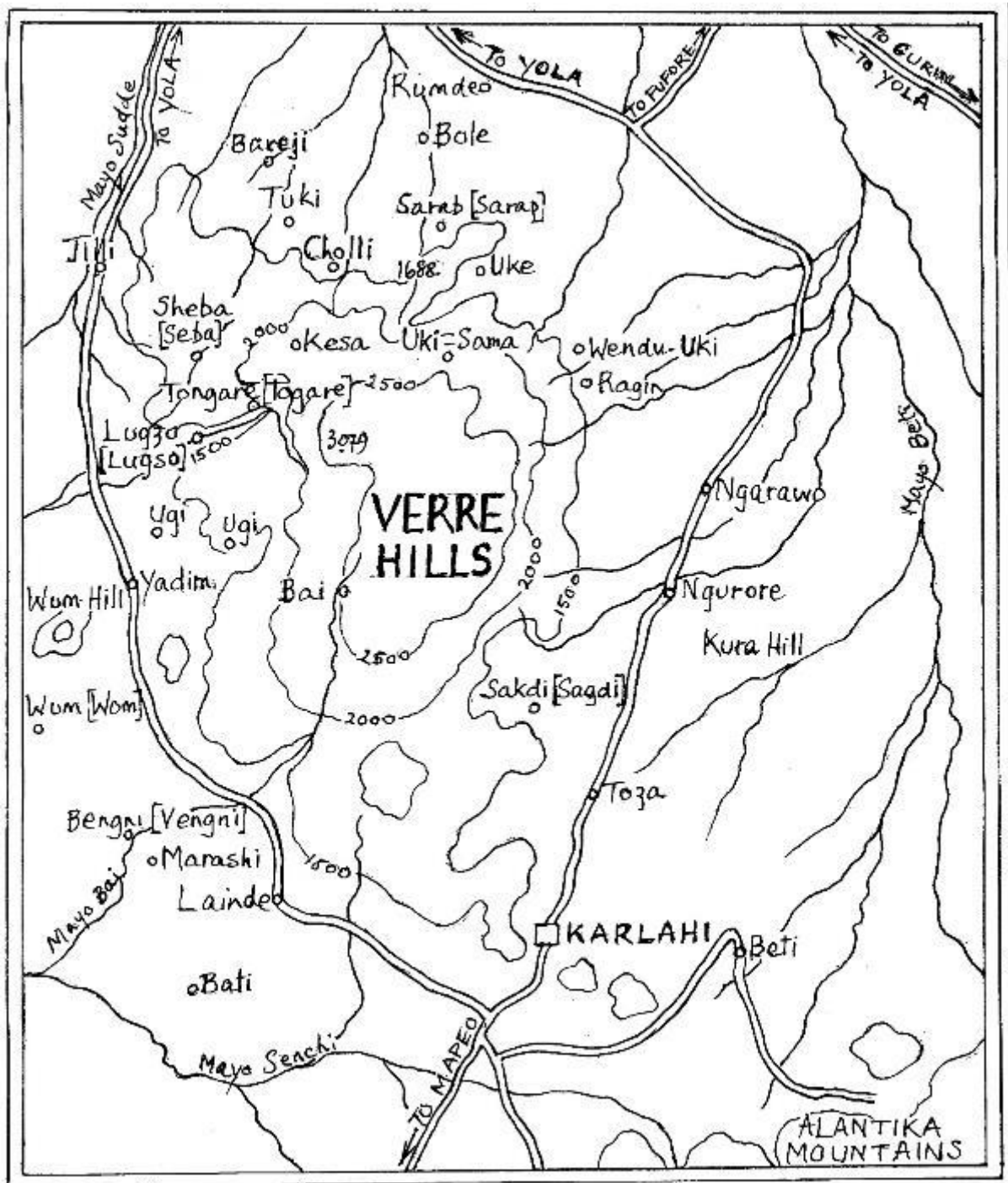
Acknowledgements

It will be apparent to the reader how far we have depended on the assistance of researchers in museums and archives, and that we have been generously supported by the expertise of other specialists in the field. Our final write-up took place during the Covid pandemic which restricted access to resources even for those, like curators and archivists, responsible for them. We have particularly great debts to Nancy Maas who entrusted us with her original notes on the Verre collections in the museums in Lagos and Jos, and to Richard Kuba who welcomed Fardon and Piepel when travel was still possible, And provided us with copies of illustrations and other materials in the archive of the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt as well as valuable advice. Elisabeth Holtegaard sent us images of objects in the collection Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN), previously Sudan United Mission SUM, that are presently in Denmark but will be returned to Nigeria when the proposed gallery has been completed. Mark Clayton has both taken new photographs of his own collection and acted as a sounding board for some of our ideas. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of many institutions: in Germany, Ethnologisches Museum Dahlem Berlin (Jonathan Fine), Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/Leipzig (Silvia Dolz), Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg (Barbara Plankensteiner and Mareike Späth), Übersee Museum Bremen (Silke Seybold), Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum Köln (Clara Mayer-Himmelheber), Linden-Museum Stuttgart (Christoph Rippe), Museum Fünf Kontinente Munich (Stefan Eisenhofer); in Britain, the British Museum (Julie Hudson and Imogen Coulson), Liverpool International Slavery Museum (Zachary Kingdon); as well as the assistance of numerous individuals: Anna Craven (previously of the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities), Marla Berns (Director of the Fowler Museum UCLA) and Gassia Armenian researcher there, Roger Blench, Raymond Boyd, Martial Bronsin, the late Father Adrian Edwards, Graham Furniss, Barry Hecht, Charles Jones, Ferdinand de Jong, Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer, Pierre Loos, Amyas Naegele, Barnaby Phillips, John Picton, Gianni Mantovani, Nicolas Paszukiewicz, Angela Rackham, Karl-Ferdinand Schädler, Malcolm Surl (Luxsoft for software), Günter E. Thie, and last only alphabetically Jim Wade. Many of those listed have provided the images without which this study would not have been possible. We are grateful for use of them and ask readers to observe the Creative Commons Licence under which the authors are happy for text to be reused with acknowledgement but emphasise that copyright in the images is not ours but remains with those contributing individuals and institutions. We are particularly grateful to our Nigerian correspondents: Fr. Maurice Kwairanga (Development Coordinator for the Catholic Diocese of Yola, an early supporter of Piepel's Verre research interests), Fr. Raymond Bongoji Danbonna (Numan), and Fr. Clement P. Wiu. Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar (City, University of London) has been a generous with his time as an intermediary with contacts in Adamawa, among whom we are grateful to Aliyu Umaru (Turaki Bole) for sourcing ore samples from the Verre Hills for analysis.

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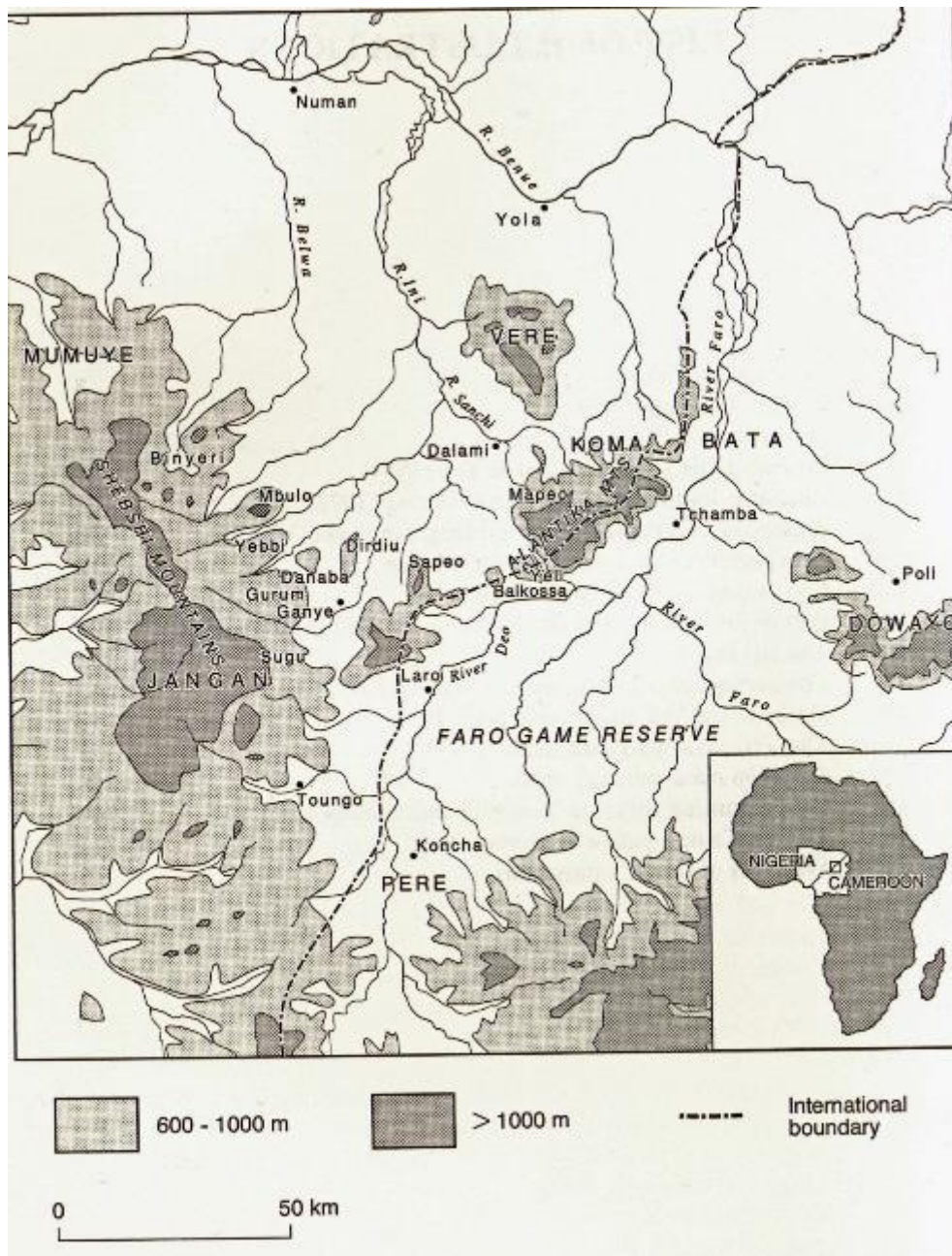
Richard Fardon additionally renews his thanks for help with previous works which overlap this one in subject, some specifically acknowledged in footnotes. Because this is a work in progress that requires supplementing by other hands, we are particularly grateful to David Zeitlyn for accepting the suggestion of an online monograph publication that can be augmented in the light of future research. Others are encouraged to contribute to the thread of comments or to add longer commentaries or even chapters.

Maps



The Verre Hills and nearby plains (Chappel)

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)



The region south of Yola, Adamawa

(reproduced from Richard Fardon 1990 *Between God, the Dead and the Wild*,

Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute)

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

PART ONE CONTEXT

Chapter 1 The Verre

Predominantly living in the Benue Valley of eastern middle-belt Nigeria, the Verre are one of that populous country's numerous micro-minorities. In their synthesis of British colonial administrative reports filed up to the First World War (1919: 357), Olive and Charles Temple put their population at (an unconvincingly precise) 18,440. This figure may include some non-Verre, since reported population figures derived from administrative divisions which only more or less coincided with ethnic groupings. Then again, some Verre would have lived outside the administrative division, including a few in small Cameroonian communities, so a figure of around or under twenty thousand serves to provide us with a rough order of magnitude just over a hundred years ago, during the decade when the first of our two assemblages of Verre objects was made. If population had doubled every twenty-five to thirty years, not an unreasonable guess, then it would have reached around forty thousand by the end of the Second World War, and seventy-five thousand when the second of our two assemblages was made in the mid-1960s after Nigerian Independence. Writing in 2018, Patrick Wiu provides a population for his people in Nigeria of 173-184,000 (2018: 76); although he does not cite a source, the figures suggesting a tenfold population increase over the century, presumably based on local government records, appear credible. If we cannot be precise, we do have an idea of the order of magnitudes in the last century and this.

Writing from only ten days of field investigations pursued in 1927, C.K. Meek, the colonial government anthropologist, echoes the Temples' report of a marked distinction between the Verre of the hills and of the plains. Those who lived in the hills had maintained a degree of independence from the Fulani until the British placed them under Fulani administration; the Verre of the plains had long been subject to the Fulani, the Temples referring to them as 'private slaves' of the 'Emir of Yola' (Lamido of Adamawa). While corresponding to superficial observations, these generalizations doubtless oversimplify historical and geographical complexities. Relations between Verre and Fulani would not have remained unchanged over the course of the century that had passed since the establishment of the Adamawa Emirate; and, while the Verre Hills might not have the strategic significance of the substantial plateaux of the Shebshi Mountains to the southwest, nor of the more precipitous Alantika Mountains to the southeast, they would have acted as some deterrent to Fulani cavalry. But there are obstacles to adding detail. Neither Fulani nor Verre identity was unitary, yet our historical sources only occasionally allow us to phrase issues other than in the ethnic terms of 'Verre' and 'Fulani'. Verre may have become an ethnic self-designation during the twentieth century, but it did not originate as such. Like several other contemporary peoples in the region, Verre

recognize cultural and linguistic differences among themselves that once precluded a singular shared identity or ethnonym. Reports of these differences are themselves not clear-cut, which may reflect the fuzzy circumstances on the ground as well as the superficiality of the accounts we have of them. While Fulani identity may have crystallized earlier, it also contained differences, notably in terms of named clans. From the very outset, Fulani leaders particularly in that part of Adamawa below the Benue spent as much energy fighting one another as they did in collaborating against non-Fulani.

Even if we were able make consistent sense of the distinctions among themselves that Verre offered to enquirers, we would rarely be able to relate them to the provenances of material objects. When these are recorded at all, Verre artworks seldom have attributions narrower than to the contemporary ethnic group (and on occasions not even that). In short, while we would like to handle the relationship between artworks, styles and ethnicity with more subtlety, our sources usually prevent our doing so. When we describe objects as 'Verre' or in 'Verre style', it is important to bear in the mind, even if we cannot keep repeating it, the large gaps in our knowledge that comfortable use of these same awkward ethnic labels both for people and things can conceal. Recognizing all these limitations, what can we say about the Verre and their history?

Not only European observers but also their neighbours tended to make the same major division among the Verre. Chamba living to their south enjoy what anthropological literature usually calls an ethnic 'joking' (but is more precisely a licensed insulting) relationship with the Verre, whom they call *Moom*. The same term is the name of a patriclan of Verre origin in Chamba chiefdoms of the Shebshi Mountains to the west of the Verre Hills. In the Chamba Daka speaking communities of the Alantika Mountains, Verre living in the nearby plains, whom they consider more like themselves than the Verre hill dwellers, are distinguished from *Moom* as *Moom Jango*. As well as listing several dialects of Verre, the website *Ethnologue: languages of the world* applies forms of these two (apparently Chamba) terms, Mom and Mom Jango, to what is described as a difference of language.¹ Narrower descriptions of the linguistic variety within the small Verre population suggest dialectal variation within Mom and identify a tiny population, the Wom, who are considered ethnically Verre but speak a dialect of Chamba Leko (about whom, see Danbonna 1995). Some of this linguistic variety on the ground must have been affected by population movements under Fulani dominance of the plains. To anticipate a more detailed discussion, three considerations stand out. The Verre lived close by the original seat of the founder of the Adamawa Emirate at Gurin on the River Faro, and both his later capitals slightly to the west towards the River Benue: Ribadu in the

¹ The Summer Institute of Linguistics lists Verre dialects as – 'Mom Jango, Momi (Ziri), Gweri, Bai, Wombi [adding that] Mom Jango and Momi are probably separate languages.' Verre is an Adamawa language, hence related to the languages of such neighbours as the Chamba Leko, Dii (Duru), Dowayo and particularly Koma Gimme [or Koma-Gimbe]; in the SIL classification this runs (from widest to most specific membership) – 'Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Adamawa-Ubangi, Adamawa, Leko-Nimbari, Duru, Voko-Dowayo, Vere-Dowayo, Vere-Gimme, Vere' (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2019; <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/ver>)

1830s, and Yola from 1841, now the capital of Adamawa State in Nigeria. Hence, Verre, along with Bata, were the peoples caught up in the initial phases of the jihad who were closest to the heart of subsequent consolidation of Adamawa. Logistically, as we noted already, the Verre Hills are exposed relative to the larger and higher mountain ranges to the south, moreover, Verre communities were small and uncentralized. Third, and in part in consequence of these factors, the Verre were the southernmost peoples directly under the control of the Lamido of Adamawa or his close family members. To their south, most of the Chamba, Koma and Pere lived in or around territories allocated or just claimed by Fulani chiefs (*lamibe*) who, while nominal subordinates of the Lamido, belonged to families that on occasion challenged his precedence, in part on the grounds that they had been installed there before leadership of the jihad was conferred on Modibbo Adama. It was they, rather than the Lamido, who expanded southward in search of wealth, territories to annex, and people to enslave. Twentieth-century border demarcations between British Nigeria and first German Kamerun and then French Cameroun are complex when examined in detail, but their overall effect was to cut off the largest of these expanding southern and eastern Fulani lamidates from the capital of the Emirate and from their fealty to the Lamido of Adamawa.

The Adamawa Emirate – 1800s

Histories of the Fulani state make scant reference to the Verre before the twentieth century, but the circumstances confronting Verre during the preceding century were largely of Fulani making. The jihad of Usman dan Fodio, which was to result in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate (in what are now northern Nigeria and Cameroon and a smaller part of southern Niger), is usually dated from 1804; the British conquest of Sokoto occurred a century later in 1903. The history of Adamawa, the easternmost of the Sokoto emirates spans most of this period. The earliest events recalled involving the Verre and Fulani slightly pre-date the jihad. Kirk-Greene records an oral tradition that some Fulani under their leader (*ardo*) Ardo Jobdi had clashed with the Bata. They withdrew for safety into the Verre Hills only descending, under Ardo Haman, when asked to do so by the Verre who feared conflict with the Bata. This group of Fulani settled in Gurin on the west bank of the Faro in 1804 (Kirk-Greene 1958: 128-29), and among them was the learned Modibbo Adama, the future Lamido of Fombina. If this tradition has any foundation, then territories populated by the Verre were at the heart of the new emirate from its outset, and they were to remain the southern limit of the territory controlled, more or less directly, from the capital. Stephen Okshi Domdingnus's account echoes the overall impression of phases of conflict between Verre and Fulani in recollections that some Verre ascended the hills when they realized the Fulani were taking their property and stealing their children to sell into slavery; others remained in the plains at the foot of the hills. But the Fulani pursued them because they were reliant for food on the Verre, and so the hill Verre took up arms to drive them back (1978: 23).

Modibbo Adama had returned from Sokoto with a flag to prosecute jihad in 1809 and reigned until 1848 when he was succeeded by one of his sons, Lawal. The most direct evidence we have of the events that followed may be a document given to Martin Njeuma in 1966 during his research in Yola by a descendant of Lamido Katsina, a prominent Hausa leader in Adamawa. The original of this document, presumed to have been in Arabic, would have been translated into Fulfulde and Hausa for dissemination. Only the Hausa translation could be located, but Njeuma was convinced of its authenticity. Dated to 5 Muharram 1225 in the Hijri calendar, which Njeuma equated to 1809 in the common calendar (though 2 February 1810 seems to be the contemporary conversion), the original Hausa text and its English translation contain an exhortation of particular interest.

Do not attack, that is make raids, on the pagans unless they break faith with you, as God's book says.

Furthermore, I enjoin you not to conquer the pagans of the Batta and Verre or enslave their children. Because even if they oppress you, you are forbidden to retaliate in force and recover by force whatever they have seized from you. But if God grants you victory over them you must let them live their own lives and not disperse them completely and if they ask for peace you should agree. (Njeuma 1974: 67 Hausa and English; 1978: 247-48 English version only)

We might wonder how aware Usman dan Fodio would have been of precise circumstances on the ground somewhere that lay a journey of around 700 miles away; perhaps Adama informed him specifically; but, whether or not the entire Hausa version dates from the early nineteenth century, citing the Bata and Verre in relation to Gurin is indicative of their intimate relationship. Sources generally concur that Adama's position was initially weak: he was a learned man and not a warrior, and his own clan was not numerous in an area where the Fulani clan chiefs already present valued their independence. As well as winning over some of the Fulani chiefs, and marrying the sister of Modibbo Hamman of Gurin (presumably the same as Kirk-Greene's Ardo Haman), Adama gained the backing of the Bata chief of Kokumi (also recalled as the name of an aggressor Bata chief concerned in some northern Chamba traditions) whose people bred horses and forged weapons, while 'the early Bata allies of the Fulbe [also served] as guides for expeditions and, at times, as spies upon other Bata groups' (Abubakar 1977: 55-56). Between 1811-25, the Bata were forced to submit or emigrate, and attention shifted to the Verre in the Alantika Mountains who 'accepted the Amāna offered them', that is submitted to protection. The centre of military activity then moved south to the Chamba communities, where one of the Chamba leaders threw in his lot with the Fulani (Abubakar 1977: 59-60). This pattern of local alliances was to be repeated many times during the early phases of the jihad. In terms of our interest here, the significant point is the likelihood that both as farmers and metal workers, at least the more easterly of the Verre became part of the Emirate regional system from an early period.

In 1841, after the period spent in Ribadu during the 1830s, Adama transferred his capital a little further west to its present site of Yola above the River Benue. It was there, three years after Adama's death, that the traveller Heinrich Barth met his son Lawal in June 1851 (Barth 1965 [1865] II: 182). Lawal was to be succeeded by his brothers Sanda (1872-1890), and then by Zubeiru (1890-1901) whose reign ended in the year of the British-led assault to 'capture' Yola. Hence, Barth's observations coincided not just with the mid-century but with the mid-period of Adamawa as an emirate of the independent Caliphate. He observed that,

Slavery exists on an immense scale in this country, and there are many private individuals who have more than a thousand slaves. In this respect the governor of the whole province is not the most powerful man, being outstripped by the governors of Chámbe and Kóncha – for this reason, that Mohammed Lowel [Lawal] has all his slaves settled in rúmde or slave-villages, where they cultivate grain for his use or profit, while the above-mentioned officers, who obtain all their provision in corn from subjugated pagan tribes, have their whole host of slaves constantly at their disposal; and I have been assured that some of these men have as many as a thousand slaves each under their command, with whom they undertake occasional expeditions for their masters. I have been assured, also, that Mohammed Lowel receives every year in tribute, besides horses and cattle, about five thousand slaves, though this seems a large number. (1965 II: 190-91)

Barth includes the 'Wére' among the 'tribes' around Adamawa 'partly within, partly beyond its boundaries, but in a certain degree of subjection' (1965 II: 197-8). This vagueness seems to have been due both to Barth's inability to witness circumstances first-hand, thanks to misunderstandings with the palace, and to the anarchic mid-nineteenth century state of much of Fombina (the 'South', of which Adamawa designated that part under greater emirate control).

Although nominal overlord of Adamawa, Sokoto was distant and recognized primarily through a tribute in slaves paid annually. Fombina was the major frontier of expansion of the Caliphate in its later phase when unceasing campaigns of conquest and razzia, enslavement and plunder were carried out. At an elite level, this campaigning was led by those who were ethnically Fulani (or *Fulbe*), but their armies were composed of a motley collection of those willing, or obliged, to lend their arms to the next phase of expansion. Leapfrogging aggression saw rapid expansion to the south and east. No attempt at conversion among non-Fulani is documented and successfully doing so would have run counter to the predatory goals of unfettered exploitation and territorial annexation.² Furthermore, the leaders of the Fulani

² For instance, early in the reign of Lawal, a campaign was launched against Bagale, north of Yola. A siege lasted from 1851-53, and the population was resettled ('... he utterly defeated them, not one of them was left', East 1935: 41), allowing attention to be switched to the Bata of Demsa slightly to the west, 'He [Lawal] founded slave settlements and small towns on the River Namtari; they worked on their [Lawal's "raiding" warriors'] farms, put their ponies to pasture round the lakes, and grazed their cattle' (East 1935: 39). The Lamido gave great wealth to one Mallam Abubakar, who composed a praise song for these events, culminating in the verse, 'Those who were slain were slain, and the rest were made captive. There is food this year for the

who established themselves as Chiefs (or *lamibe*), and were nominally subordinate to the Lamido of Adamawa, in practice toed his line to varying degrees and periodically clashed with one another. This was particularly true of the previously independent chiefs who founded the large southern lamidates. At the mid-century, as Barth noted, several of them were more powerful militarily than their overlord, as demonstrated by the fact that even communities close to Yola, like the Verre, could be described as only partly within the Emirate's boundaries.

The southward thrust of Fulani expansion in Fombina had to follow the course upstream of the Rivers Faro and Deo, easy country for horses and cattle.³ Fulani leaders set up their chiefdoms to the south of Gurin: in Tchamba, in the territory of the Chamba Leko, Haman Sambo, whose warlike reputation reached Barth's ears, had replaced Malou Hé (or Héwi) who had sought co-existence with the non-Fulani; and in Koncha the Pere had been conquered under the leadership of Hamman Dandi (also known as Hamman Gabdo). Although not the only lamidates, these two were the seats of the 'governors' noted by Barth in the mid-nineteenth century to enjoy a high degree of independence from Yola. Both continued their southward momentum: the capital of Tchamba was eventually moved to Tibati, while Fulani from Koncha founded Banyo among the Buti and then Gashaka; and these two ruling families themselves came to blows later in the century. Control over such southern outliers from the capital of the Emirate was exiguous, and, in recognition of this, the later campaigns undertaken directly from Yola were directed predominantly to the north or the immediate environs of Yola rather than south.

Immediately west from Gurin and west of the Rivers Faro and Deo, the Alantika Mountains are impenetrable to cavalry and their fastnesses allowed some enclaved Koma and Chamba to retain a degree of independence from direct Fulani control throughout the nineteenth century, though they were periodically subjected to raids and probably tithes. However, west of the Alantika Mountains and south of the Verre Hills lie the Nassarawo Plains, a terrain more easily brought under Fulani control. Kirk-Greene writes that the move of his capital from Gurin to Yola allowed Adama 'to press home his campaigns against the Verre and Bata tribes' (1958: 132) by establishing settlements that encircled the Verre Hills. That this account conflicts with traditions of collaboration and of submission noted earlier is less disconcerting when we recall that events concerning diverse populations are being recalled in terms of singular ethnic identities. Modibbo Adama installed two of his sons to control the plains, to the west Hamidu at Hibango (Nyibango) and to the east Bakari in the old capital of Gurin, on condition that they

vultures and hyenas!'. He received 'three of every kind of thing', which are enumerated as a list of animals and then, 'of every tribe of pagans [*habi*] in the land of Adamawa, also he received three each: Bata, three women and three men; Vere, three men and three women' (East 1935: 41).

³ Among numerous sources see: Strümpell 1907a, 1907b, 1912, translated by Mohammadou 1982, which are foundational texts; Lacroix 1952; Froelich 1954; Kirk-Greene 1958; Njeuma 1969, 1978; Abubakar 1977; Mohammadou 1978, 1983 for oral traditions of the southern lamidates; Adama and Bah 2001 on Koncha. We follow Burnham (1979) in emphasising the regional networks of trade in Adamawa, including trade in slaves, for the persistent implications of which in Yola, see VerEecke 1994.

not succeed him as Lamido, a condition Hamidu later breached when he challenged the succession of his brother Sanda (Strümpell 1912, transl. Mohammadou 1982: 101).⁴ Hamidu was allocated the plains west of the Alantika Mountains, and Bakari the populations of Chamba and Koma in the mountains. The degree of their control was variable. Settlements in the plains typically consisted of non-Fulani villagers living under the authority of Fulani representatives of the lamidos, but the non-Fulani enjoyed greater freedom in the mountains. The Shebshi Mountains, which form the western barrier of the Nassarawo Plains, are less rugged than the Alantika Mountains but have more extensive high plateaux. When traversing the Shebshi Mountains, the von Uechtritz Expedition of 1893 (Kirk-Greene 1957), sponsored by the German Kamerun-Komitee, encountered gown-wearing, mounted horsemen emulating the Fulani but apparently independent of them (Passarge 1895).

So far as the Verre were concerned, while arrangements could not have remained unchanged over four generations, particularly as the Yola Fulani intensified their local control in the second half of the nineteenth century, the practical circumstances were that Verre living in the plains would have been subjected to whatever control the Fulani might have wished to exert, either paying tithes or else working for Fulani masters. Verre farmers in the Verre Hills may have been tithed less regularly, and some Verre may have opted to join Chamba or Koma to live in the more defensible Alantika or Shebshi Mountains. To return to our material interests here, some Verre already were, or increasingly became, skilled artisans providing a variety of manufactures to a regional market. Metalwork, both in iron and copper alloy, is the most striking and durable instance of a wider range of products.⁵ We lack direct evidence of the regional trade in metalworks during the nineteenth century, but it seems unlikely that Verre metalworks were not supplied both to the Fulani and to other people working on their behalf or tithed by them. Sources concur that there was a rapid expansion in trade under Sanda in the later nineteenth century which presumably also affected the opportunities open to Verre. We do know that Verre manufactures were collected in the early colonial period from locations in a regional system of exchange that included both Chamba to the south and Bata and Bachama to the north. The range of Verre production included more than metalwares. Decorated calabashes are too fragile to have survived in large numbers, but they featured extensively in this earlier assemblage. The same is true of pottery,

⁴ Rupert East recorded that Hamidu contested the succession of his brother Sanda on the death of their older brother Lawal in 1872. Hamidu is said to have ‘collected the people of Vere’ and tried to seize Yola by force, returning to Nyibango when he found this impossible, and where he died after a week (East 1935: 85). The seat of administration at Nyibango was moved eastwards across the border to Ubawo (later Nassarawo) with demarcation of the Anglo-German border, but Nassarawo subsequently found itself back on the British side of the boundary on the demarcation of British and French Mandated Territories, demonstrating just how flexible guiding standards ‘tradition’ and ‘descent’ might become under indirect rule (see Fardon 1988: 267-71).

⁵ Archaeological investigations might throw light on the extent of iron smelting and forging; but we are not aware of a survey to date. Meek (see below) suggests at least some metalworking was localized. The places of purchase are known for many of the objects collected by Tim Chappel in 1966 and we have included these data in Appendix 1 and tried to identify them on a sketch map in the hope they may one day be helpful for a ground survey.

which like calabash decoration was largely women's work. Various utilitarian items of basketry and matting may also have been traded, as they continued to be in later decades. An exception may have been carved wooden figures which occur in early collections but appear to have remained in Verre hands; but in the mid-twentieth century, by when they had undergone stylistic change, they also became traded items.

The colonial interlude – 1920s to 1950s

After the passage of Frobenius's expedition in late 1911 (the subject of Chapter 2), specialist, albeit very brief, investigations, were reported by C.K. Meek. Fulani governance of the Verre had been institutionalized by British indirect rule: Fulani District Heads (Meek cited three districts: Verre, Yibango [Nyibango] and Mayo Ini) were responsible to the 'Fulani Emir of Adamawa' and administered through Verre village-area heads (*arnado* singular) (1931: 414); Verre were supposed to use Muslim courts with a presiding Alkali, although in practice disputes were usually settled by respected elders who were also religious leaders (1931: 429). Meek blandly observed that, 'The Verre have been in contact with the patrilineal Fulani in recent times', and that, 'the patrilineal groups on the Verre hills have only come into close contact with the Fulani during the last decade' (1931: 413), statements that effectively dismiss the distribution of power during the nineteenth century to suggest that the British-Fulani system of indirect administration had been applied to a previously uncentralized and relatively autonomous Verre society. Verre, he reports, called themselves Jiri, distinguishing hill dwellers from plains dwellers (Jiri Gwage and Jiri Pai).

Following the fashion of the day in anglophone anthropology, as well as the need to furnish information of use to British indirect administration, in addition to administering a word list and outlining the variety of Verre communities,⁶ amongst which he distinguished ten, Meek concentrated his attention on describing kinship and social organization, which he found bafflingly diverse. In part, this difficulty derives from his attempt to fit Verre variation into distinct matrilineal and patrilineal types. Why this is impossible becomes clear from his comments on types of marriage which fundamentally divided between a high brideprice form (specified later to require payment of forty or more hoes, 1931: 417, comparable to thirty cited in Temple 1919: 359), which transferred the rights to filiate her children to a woman's husband, and a lower payment which meant those rights remained with a woman's father. Together with local movement, these variations in filiation produced patterns of local residence that did not correspond to lineages, that is, to either all or most matrilineage members or all patrilineage members living together, but instead depended upon the form

⁶ Meek reports that his investigations took him to three Districts: Verre (Gweri, Ugi, Bai, Boi, Marki, Togi, the last named including Chappel's main sites of collection at Tuki and Cholli), Yibango (Wom and Zango) and Mayo Ini (Kwoi, Lima and Donggorong) (1931: 414). His Verre wordlist is from Cholli. A brief word list from Wom reveals them to have spoken a dialect of Chamba Leko, included in the chapter on 'The Chamba' (1931: 385-87). It would take more detailed local knowledge than we possess to make all Meek's notes relevant to our enquiry here.

of marriage made by an individual and their parents, and their later choices about residence made with consideration to the connections arising from these.

Apart from one telling remark, Meek's account provides little guidance to assist our understanding of Verre artisanal production. The village of 'Soli' or Cholli, he tells us, was composed of smiths, 'Tibei' (or 'Tibas' as he transcribed the same term as item 29 of his wordlist, 1931: 440). As smiths they intermarried only with 'blacksmiths of the hamlets of Bubabiriji [Buba], Bop [Bopa], and Belimpa' (1931: 415, 423, Meek's own variant transcriptions in square brackets). This is our earliest evidence that at least some metalworkers were concentrated in communities of specialists rather being distributed in small numbers around agricultural villages. Co-residence of smiths is likely to have accompanied an intensification of production. Despite the considerable interest Meek otherwise shows in marriage institutions, he does not remark on what we know from the 1960s: that wives played a crucial role in Verre wealth display, particularly in brass. It might well be that this medium of display was less prominent in the late 1920s than it would be later, or perhaps Meek, whose research lasted only a few days, was not present on the kinds of occasions when brass was worn for adornment. His photographic illustrations of Verre show them with only modest personal ornamentation wearing small beads, some of which, because it is difficult to judge with certainty from monochrome images, might be in brass.

Understandably, given the brevity of his research, Meek's notes on religion are particularly impressionistic. He records the importance of circumcision and funeral ceremonies to the mobilization of kin ties (1931: 416), something still the case during Chappel's research in the mid-1960s. And he writes more generally of what are called 'Doos' shrines maintained inside dolmen-like stone enclosures. We are told that the 'Soli' Verre (recall that Cholli was a settlement of smiths) have cults of 'Do Gupse' (symbolized by a bag made of cow skin) and 'Do Tibas' (recall 'Tiba' means smith) which performed with horns made from straight sections of gourd terminating with a more bulbous gourd. 'Do Tibas' engaged in night-time activity, when the horns were accompanied by whirring iron bullroarers, and the shaking of iron rattles, composed of cylindrical elements suspended from a ring. As Meek himself notes, these instruments are identical to those of Chamba Leko *voma* cults and, we might add, the Chamba Daka *jubi* (Fardon 1991).⁷ But in some other respects, Verre customs are reminiscent of those recorded from the Dowayo. Corpses were wrapped in the skin of a cow killed for this purpose; Verre once had large numbers of 'pagan' cattle, by which Meek must mean the tsetse-resistant, humpless, dwarf cattle that were present before the Fulani brought their herds of zebu cattle (1931: 434). Like other peoples in the region. Verre buried their dead in reused, shaft and niche graves that were not backfilled, to allow skulls to be retrieved and preserved. Although patchy, Meek's observations are enough to recognize some Verre variations on familiar regional themes.

⁷ Meek writes Verre cults when he clearly means Voma (1931: 434).

Meek remarks the distinctiveness of the Verre of Yibango (Nyibango), who call themselves 'Zango' and 'do not wear the penis sheath, having had cloth garments from ancient times' (1931: 423-4). For 'ancient times', we can probably read the nineteenth century. These must be the Verre of the plains who lived in the territories given by Adama to his non-succeeding son Hamidu, the people known to their Chamba neighbours as Moom Jango. Their dress is not the only regard in which they differ from the Verre of the hills. Meek found them the most patrilineal in custom of the Verre, among whom the maternal uncle played a very reduced role, which implies that full transference of rights to filiate children was the more common form here of the two types of Verre marriage. Nonetheless, partible inheritance was customary, fixed property passing to a man's son, but his portable wealth (livestock, gowns, harvested crops) to his sister's son. This was also the practice in Chamba communities, both Leko- and Daka-speaking, so adds substance to the Mapeo Chamba feeling that the Moom Jango were more like themselves than other Verre. While not overlooking the thinness of Meek's ethnography, inevitable given his brief sojourn among the Verre, the pattern of variation between the Verre of the plains and hills is coherent both with what we know about neighbouring societies and with the effects we might anticipate to follow from more and less close incorporation into the Fulani governance of the Emirate both before colonialism and during its earliest phase.⁸

Because we were unable to consult colonial records in the Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna, which probably shed light on the following years, we lose sight of the Verre for almost two decades until a donation that was made in August 1946 to Kenneth Murray of the fledgling Nigerian Antiquities Service. This consisted of sixteen numbered items (some in multiples) collected in and around the Chamba settlement of Mapeo at the western foot of the Alantika Mountains.⁹ Father Kevin Malachi Cullen, serving in the Catholic Mission there, was a keen observer of local religion, who made a substantial record of the ritual practices of his time (for his autobiography, see Cullen 2001). He wrote to Murray, '... it seems good, as the collection is for cultural purposes, that our mission do its bit by donating it', but included prices for information. Thanks to Nancy Maas's notes, we are able to identify the Lagos Museum accession numbers for most of these pieces (Lagos 46.29.1 et seq).

Objects in wood, using Cullen's enumeration, were: 1) a double figure (see Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 34-35, figs 3a), 3) the head of a masquerade (Lagos 46.29.3), and 5) one of two circumcision crooks, a wooden version (Lagos 46.29.20) that had leather thongs to which

⁸ The significance of differing marriage forms is supported by the dissertations authored by a later Verre scholar (Wiu 2000, 2018); see also Domdingnus 1978: 33 on the authority of her mother's brother over a wife, and Yasambus 2016 on the continuing significance of historic marriage forms.

⁹ Cullen sent a covering letter on 8 August 1946 along with 'Notes on juju and other articles collected amongst Verre and Chamba tribes, Adamawa Province' to Kenneth Murray. A typed copy of the original document (headed File B.22, pages 28-36) was retained by Tim Chappel. The information overlaps in many respects with a longer document, 'Notes on Mapeo Chambas, origins, customs, juju', of 1944, which was in the Catholic Mission Mapeo when Fardon consulted it in 1976, later reportedly transferred to the archive of the Yola Bishopric.

coins were attached (colonial coins being pierced centrally). All apparently made by Chamba. The various works in metal, by contrast, were sourced from the Verre, 'All these Chamba ritual objects are made for them by Verre blacksmiths, who are the only iron workers.' Cullen describes in detail: 4a-d) four sets of iron rattles, three of which differed primarily in size rather than in form (two of the four noted by Maas as Lagos 46.29.4 and 46.29.6). The largest set included a clapperless bell or gong, which had the same Chamba name as a 'hoe', because, Cullen reports, it was made by welding together the edges of two blades that might separately have been hoes; Cullen records he paid 11/- paid for these three rattles. A fourth, smaller, rattle set consists of three pairs of clappers (said to be male and female, the former distinguished by a 'waist') and an element resembling a sickle. Cullen records its name as 'vo', which is the name of the Mapeo Chamba cult of lightning. The same association between the sickle and lightning is also found in the dancing insigne of Mapeo priests: a sickle with a lightning, zigzag point. The wooden circumcision crook, 5) noted above, was called 'toma', translated by Cullen as 'scourge' (*tomaa*, whip, Chamba Daka), was bought together with a metal version made by Verre smiths. The final four metal items were: 12) a thumb ring in twisted iron for catching a bow string which Chamba call 'nuun-jara', 13) a bow puller also used by Koma, called 'lamma' by Chamba, 14) 'varra' a 'crooked iron bar nine inches long, curled at both ends' which causes swelling to the thigh and knee in another of the Mapeo Chamba cults or *jup*, and 16) a razor of the kind used by Chamba, Koma and Verre. No prices are quoted for what were considered lesser items. The single object in clay, 2) a miniature Chamba mask (probably a small, standing humanlike figure with a mask head), was also the work of Verre smiths.

In what is most likely to be a reference to the Frobenius expedition, Cullen remarks, 'As far as I know, no white man ever got these things except a German about 1910, as this part of Adamawa was formerly German territory. He took them by force.'

Cullen acquired several Verre brass works around Mapeo and was told that they had all been cast at Lainde Boi, a peak on the southwestern corner of the Verre Hills. Although small, this collection from 1946 is the most substantial made between our key collection dates of 1911 and 1966.

6) A brass 'ornamental specimen' of the 'double gong' (Lagos 46.29.18) used to lead the masquerade 'naam-balong banni' (*nam-gbalang baan*). We can expand Cullen's explanation of the reported derivation: *nam-* is the general term for a wild animal; *baan* is hoe because iron bells – but not brass bells – are made by welding together the edges of two hoe blades; *gbalang* is obscure but the two syllables might mimic the two pitches of a double clapperless bell, though that leaves open the question of whether the double bell is echoing the name of the masquerade, or the masquerade is named after its two-note bell signature. Chamba speakers of English attribute the descriptive term a sense of unruly. Cost: 10/-

7) A brass ceremonial hoe 'overlaid with circular design' (Lagos 46.29.17), meaning decorated with spirals. Cullen notes it 'chiefly represents property and prestige', whereas we shall see that such hoes were owned more widely by the wealthy among the Verre. Cost: 14/-

8) A brass bell with 'rose ornament' around the rim (Lagos 46.29.8). Used in dances; small versions are worn behind by dancing boys before and after circumcision. Cost: 9/-. See Appendix 1 for illustration; although the decoration consists of rows of raised points rather than a 'rose ornament'.

9) An old and worn brass necklace of beads made, Cullen believes from examining them, by winding threads of drawn brass (Lagos 46.29.9). Six small modern bells have been added (also made by the 'same thread method'). 'These are worn around the waist at dances to jingle.' Cullen's note that these bells are of the same type as those on the shoulder of the brass bell he collected confirms the reference is being made to crotals. Cost: 5/-

10) 'One of the brass arm bands, worn by women. These have been out of fashion for many years, if not generations, and I don't think any more are made. One seems to be bronze? These are more ancient than the hoes, and the ornamenting now popular amongst the Verre may have been introduced in recent years, as I believe the same kind of ornament is in vogue in the French Cameroons, around Fouban. But again, this kind may have been amongst the Verre always.' The object described seems to be a large cuff rather than a bracelet (Lagos 46.29.10; in brass according to Maas). Cost: 3/-

11) The brass sheath of a knife 'remarkable' for its ornamentation of 'plaited cords done in brass' (Lagos 46.29.11). Cost: 3/-

15) 'Brass ornament worn by Verre women on the hip when dancing.' Bought at Lamdoi Boi. The illustration suggests that this ornament was a hip pendant in the form an oversized bead based on a skeuomorph of a cowry cluster. These have been collected in large numbers subsequently. Cost: 4/-

The only other pieces of which we know with collection dates likely to be roughly contemporary with Cullen's collection are a pair of oversized pendant beads which entered the British Museum from the Wellcome Collection. Together with that collected by Cullen, these establish the presence of this item in Verre brasscasting repertoires of the mid-twentieth century, although they are absent from the collections that make up the early colonial assemblage as we discuss later.

Verre now disappear from the records at our disposal for two decades, until the 1960s when Kenneth Murray, to whom Cullen had sent his small collection, recently returned as Acting Director of the Federal Department of Antiquities, tasked Tim Chappel with making an Adamawa collection for the Jos Museum. We examine this early-post colonial assemblage in Chapter 3 but turn now to the first of our two assemblages, that from the early colonial period.

Chapter 2 Documenting the early colonial assemblage – 1900s to 1910s

There is substantial, if uneven, documentation of both the major ‘assemblages’ of Verre objects, as we are calling the entirety of objects collected respectively in the years following first the onset and later the ending of direct European colonialism in Adamawa. Within these wider historical contexts, the methods of collection, and the interests of the collectors affected the composition of the two assemblages in specific ways, so we shall need to look at the changing mobile cultures of collection involved.

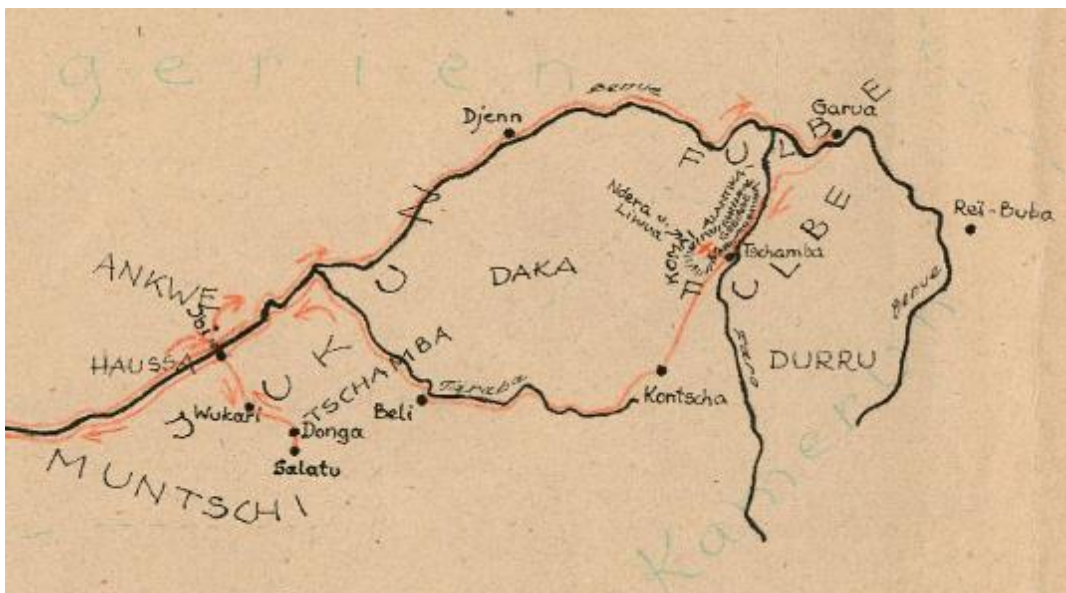
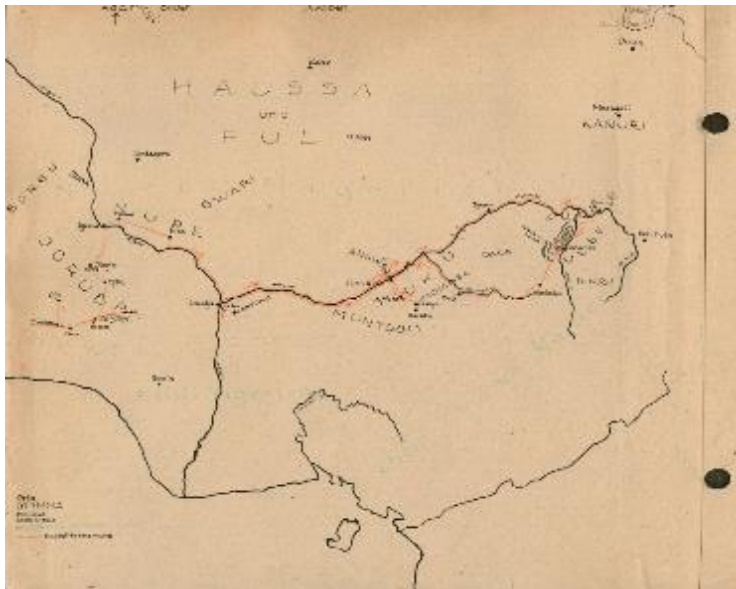
The largest part of the early colonial assemblage is the collection made by the members of the expedition led by the German Leo Frobenius during 1911-12 (Arriens 1928; Kuba and Hambolu 2010; Kuba 2020). This left a complicated legacy that justifies unravelling at some length. The few smaller collections made in the same period, some preceding Frobenius, add a little to what becomes apparent from Frobenius’s activities without changing the larger picture, so they are most helpfully treated as supplements. In total, this early colonial assemblage of Verre materials consisted of at least 400 objects. The entirety was collected in little more than a decade between the invasion of Yola, the capital of the Adamawa Emirate, in 1901 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Britain and Germany had been laying the basis of what they anticipated would be a long colonial relationship: between 1907-9 (Col. Whitlock 1910; see also the evidence of donations by von Stephani below) and again more intensively between 1912-13 (Capt. Nugent 1914, Leut. Detzner 1923) the 360 miles long boundary between the British colony of Nigeria and the German colony of Kamerun was surveyed from Yola to the Cross River, a collaborative undertaking about which both parties left reports and reminiscences. Formal demarcation on the ground by the second expedition saw border markers planted along the agreed boundary. In order that the Adamawa capital not be separated entirely from its hinterlands to the south and east, a ‘Yola arc’, agreed earlier in 1893, diverted the colonial boundary for about thirty miles around the capital of Adamawa, with the result that most of the Verre remained in Nigeria, and under the more or less direct administrative authority of the Fulani in Yola.¹ These international demarcations were refashioned after the First World War, when the League of Nations made the, smaller, western part of the northern ‘Cameroons’ a British Mandate; the eastern part being mandated to the French. The northern Cameroons Mandate became a Trusteeship after the Second World War, and later joined an already independent Nigeria in 1961 following a plebiscite. These changes refashioned local administrative arrangements between Fulani and

¹ From north to south, the direction Frobenius took, the border followed the River Faro from its confluence with the Benue before veering west across the Nassarawo Plain just to the south of the Verre Hills which were thereby placed in Nigeria.

others in the area south of Yola on several occasions, sometimes with consequences for the reconstruction of the provenance of objects collected.

The Frobenius expedition in summary

Leo Frobenius's third (or fourth)² Africa expedition traversed Nigeria in 1910-12, roughly during the mid-period of the Anglo-German border demarcation.



The route of the Frobenius expedition (and detail) – Frobenius Institute FoK004

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

² The publications of the expedition describe it as the third, however, Frobenius later included a North African expedition when making his definitive listing, so that this expedition later became the fourth (Richard Kuba, personal communication; see also, Fardon and Kuba forthcoming).

The European party was composed of the artist Carl Arriens (Pfisterer 2019) and the engineer-surveyor Albrecht Martius (Kuba 2019). Despite allegations of underhand dealings and theft from Yoruba in Ibadan and Ife in 1910 that became notorious (Ita 1972: 681-6; Penny 2002: 116-22; Platte 2010), subsequent relations on the ground with the British seem to have been cordial. As they headed eastwards, Frobenius's party received logistical support from British officials, who in turn relied on the Fulani of Adamawa to administer that vast territory with only occasional oversight. When Frobenius ascended the River Benue and crossed into German Kamerun in 1911, he remained dependent on his Fulani hosts, erstwhile nominal subjects of Yola now cut off by the border and administered from Garoua (Garua in German records). Here, he turned south down the Faro-Deo river system. At least two months were spent in the Fulani chiefdoms of the river valley: predominantly, September in Tchamba [Tschamba], and October in Koncha [Kontscha], before returning west up the River Taraba and so back to the Benue in Nigeria.³ There is no evidence that Frobenius's European party spent any time among the Verre; a few excursions aside, the collection method at this point involved summoning villagers, apparently through the Fulani, and sourcing objects through intermediaries. Collection of most Verre materials is likely to have occurred while at Tchamba given its greater proximity than Koncha to the Verre Hills. If Frobenius involved himself in the collection of Verre works this has left no trace since the scant records are attributable to Martius. Verre living within the Yola arc would have been in Nigeria, whereas the expedition was now based in Kamerun. As we saw earlier, the Verre were considered by the Fulani to fall not under the authority of Tchamba but under that of the non-succeeding branch of the Yola ruling family. A draft survives in the early pages of Martius's diary for September 1911 of a letter, most probably written to the Lamido of Nassarawo, urgently requesting Verre informants (*Notizbuch* V LF 251, 'Anfang Sept – 7. Okt' pp.4-5). Perhaps it was meant for translation before being delivered. The Lamido of Nassarawo throughout the German colonial period was Muhammadu Bello (known to the British as Maigari) who weathered the change

³ Triangulating the published accounts, and the pictorial and written records in the archive of the Frobenius Institute, we can specify most of this period with some exactitude. Despite it being swollen by the rains, an advance party, led by Frobenius, forded the River Faro on the afternoon 28 August 1911. The main party followed on 29 August once veiled threats of his replacement had roused the Galadima of Tchamba to assist them. On 1 September, the three Germans ascended the Alantika Mountains to visit the Koma at Ndera. When Frobenius and Martius descended a few days later they left Arriens behind to recuperate from his recurrent bouts of illness; he came down off the mountain only towards the end of the month as the party prepared to move south. According to Martius's diary, the expedition left Tchamba on 2 October, to spend 3-4 October in Yelba ('Jelba'), and 5-6 October in Laro, reaching the large lamidate of Koncha ('Konscha') on 7 October (Martius *Notizbuch* V - LF 251, 'Start of September – 7 October, Tchamba – Konscha'). Martius's next surviving diary (Martius *Notizbuch* VI – LF 252 '25 October – 12 December, Konscha – Lokodja', the diary covering 8-24 October would appear to be missing) suggests that the party remained in Koncha during October, a stay Frobenius later wrote of appreciatively (1913a II: 677). Brief lists of objects occur throughout the notebooks and may reflect the moments Martius found to collate his materials as well as the sequence in which acquired them. This chronology is supported by those of Arriens' dated sketches on which he also provides place names: a Fulani compound in Tchamba on 28 September 1911 (EBA-B 02702), followed by a zebu cattle head on 8 October (EBA-B-02714), and a sketch of a Chamba Daka warrior on 26 October 1911 (KBA 12249) both in Koncha, demonstrating that the expedition had not left Koncha before then (KBA 1181, EBA-B 00486, Martius *Notizbuch* IV - LF 250; Frobenius 1913a II: 667-68).

in colonial regime and even became, although very briefly, Lamido of Adamawa (1924-28) despite being a grandson of Hamidu, a non-succeeding son of Modibbo Adama. There is no evidence that the appeal for help yielded much: a few notes on the Verre occur in the same notebook but consist of little more than brief remarks on objects collected.⁴ These notes were typed up in the same way as Frobenius's more detailed enquiries, but we presume proved too insubstantial to warrant publication. An English translation can be found in Appendix 4.

There is a striking mismatch between the collection of objects and the ethnological record. The expedition was to make one of its largest collections, of around three hundred items, from the Verre, but unlike several of the other peoples among whom Frobenius carried out ethnological investigations through interviews, the Verre were not to be the subject of a chapter, or even part chapter, in his later writings. By contrast, two chapters were devoted to the Chamba (respectively on Chamba Daka and Chamba Leko) in both of Frobenius's major descriptive works about the region (*Und Afrika Sprach* Volume III 1913, expanded in *Dichten und Denken im Sudan* 1925, transl. to French Mohammadou 1984/1987) although the number of Chamba objects collected was modest. That few Verre were subjects of the Fulani lamidates in Kamerun is part of the explanation for this mismatch between the collection of objects and texts; that said, the border was porous and Frobenius refers to interviews with at least one Chamba chief (from Kiri) who lived further from Tchamba than did the Verre. The quantity of Verre objects in the absence of the Verre themselves may also be an indication of their significance in the provision of local trans-ethnic networks. Verre wares, notably in metal, may have been available both directly from their settlements and at regular markets. It is noticeable that although iron works were frequently acquired in multiples, there are only single examples of most brass works. This suggests that the African intermediaries tasked by Frobenius with collection would have been able to meet his needs readily when these concerned pieces that came to market, but that the more valuable pieces may have been made on commission rather than sitting around in multiples awaiting a buyer. Not being subject to the Frobenius's Fulani hosts in Kamerun, Verre may have felt no compulsion to present themselves at the request of a 'European' expedition. Whether or not these explanations are accurate, the fact remains that little documentation survives about the uses or meanings of the Verre objects that were collected beyond a local name that was included in the lists made when the objects were packed; these names were later copied onto the accession sketches made of them, and from these sources they found their way into the records of the museums which received the objects directly or via dealers (see Appendix 4). Correspondences between such traces help us to collate these different, and often partial, records.

⁴ In his history of Garoua, Eldridge Mohammadou (1980: 55 and passim) records that Lamido Bouba Déwa (1901-21) ruled throughout the German colonial period. Although the addressee of Martius's draft letter is difficult to decipher, it is apparently not him.

On arrival in Germany, the collection was again inventoried and some pieces, presumably those deemed most important or saleable, were illustrated (it is not clear whether any, and if so which, surviving illustrations were drawn in Africa rather than in Germany, we tend to believe none). The expedition had been supported principally by museums in Hamburg, Berlin and Leipzig, hence the need to acquire many objects in multiples, often threes.⁵ Objects were also acquired on Frobenius's own account, and perhaps on behalf of his companions, and these were sold via dealers, sometimes to the same museums that had sponsored the expedition. The names of Umlauff, a Hamburg dealer,⁶ and slightly later Konietzko occur most frequently on accession records for Verre objects that entered museums individually via dealers, some of them as late as shortly before the Second World War. The upshot of these complex trajectories, unevenly documented, is that objects appear and disappear from our view along their travels which we shall reconstruct insofar as we can. The fact of our coming across pieces adventitiously suggests the strong likelihood that further items must survive in places not known to us.

Of the textual sources extant in the archives, the closest to the collection events is a handwritten, numbered list which also enumerates the crates in which objects were packed in West Africa for shipment to Germany (Frobenius Institut LF 840, see Appendix 4). Items identified as Verre are in the continuous number range from 4757 to 4864, hence 107 individual entries, many of them in multiples under 32 object types (for instance, 21 wooden figures; 6 tobacco pipes; 6 leg rattles; 6 flutes; 4 leather food sacks, and another 27 object

⁵ A few objects made their way to other museums, on occasions via one of these. We look at the significant Dresden holding in detail but simply note here that the Linden-Museum received a small collection of Frobenius objects via Berlin in 1913. Research underway on the accession records suggests these items were duplicates of relatively mundane objects, including six men's leg rattles for dancing (08311-6) and at least ten tobacco pipes (083388-96 & 98), a farming hoe (083579), and two circumcision crooks (083592-3) probably in iron, and a clay beaker with a stem (083430), which can no longer be located but is likely to have corresponded to the sketch KBA 05721 in the archive of the Frobenius Institute. Other pieces reached the Bavarian Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, now the Museum Fünf Kontinente, in Munich in 1915 and 1918. These included a sword described as 66.5cm in length (15.26.166 (1)) with leather covered handle and its scabbard (15.26.166 (2)), and a second, without measurement but also described as a double-edged sword with sheath, covered with leather and reptile skin (15.26.170); these two weapons provide unique evidence of Verre sword making. Our confidence that we are dealing with swords in this case is reinforced by the same donation including two daggers or short swords (15.26.172 & 173) also with part-reptile skin scabbard covering and an attachment, presumably of narrow-loomed cloth (these were noted by Wente-Lukas 1977: 226). Another dagger and scabbard, 48cm attributed to the Bata (18.7.46 a & b) would also warrant investigation given the trade between these two peoples. The four Verre weapons, part of a gift made by Frobenius, were augmented by purchase in 1918 of two sets, each of four 'bronze' (brass) beads for waist girdles (1918.7.20a-d, and 21a-d). We note below that we cannot yet account for some of the numbered original inventory of brassware; these two sets of beads might correspond to some of the 'missing' numbers. The 1918 Munich purchase from Frobenius additionally included three small bell-like girdle ornaments, two of them in bronze or brass, collected from the 'Dakka' of the Alantika Mountains, people we know to have bought brassware from the Verre (18.7.27-29). As records in German museums are digitized and connected, it seems likely that the destinations of more of the Frobenius collection will become apparent.

⁶ Based at the Tierpark in Hamburg, Umlauff was a prominent dealer of ethnographic items, with an associated 'museum'. The business was established in 1868 by Johann Friedrich Gustav Umlauff (1833-1889) and survived until 1974.

types singly or in multiples of two or three). But this was far from the entirety of the Verre collection.

We have yet to discover an original listing of the decorated gourds (*Kalabasses*) collected by the expedition, should one survive, but accession records show that at least 105 examples were subsequently acquired from the expedition by museums in Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden and Bremen.⁷ Only a small proportion of these survive, not all of which are intact. This is evidence of a thriving industry in the first decades of the twentieth century in which it seems at least some Verre women participated. To judge from the post-colonial assemblage, these works had disappeared without trace from Verre villages fifty years later (by contrast, the practice continued in the Highlands further north, see, Chappel 1977, Berns and Hudson 1986).

Verre were most widely renowned as makers of metal goods, particularly the brassware that was traded regionally. Martius collected several examples which, like the decorated gourds, were not included in the handlist of packed objects. Surviving accession records provide evidence that these were sold individually to museums via dealers rather than being included in the agreement with the three sponsoring museums. Detailed sketches of Verre brassware in the Frobenius Institute archive carry numbers which also appear in the accession records of the different museums, implying that this enumeration predates dispersal of the brassware collection. The numbers on these illustrations, which we shall later examine in detail, range from 97a/b to 121. If these were the beginning and end numbers for examples collected from the Verre, and if all the intervening numbers were also of Verre brassware, two big assumptions, then originally there would have been at least twenty-six pieces. As it is, we have some form of evidence for fourteen pieces of brassware; of which eleven can be traced to specific collections, all of them sold by the Umlauff dealership either to Hamburg (five items in July 1914)⁸ or to Dresden (one item in May 1914; and three recorded to have been purchased in September 1915, as well as another two that were likely to have been part of the same purchase given their accession numbers). The brass pieces for which we have some indications comprise five bracelets (three of them stylistically similar but differently sized), two strings of beads (plus the two sets, each of four beads, purchased by Munich in 1918, see note 5), and single examples of: a brass and iron composite dagger or short sword with scabbard, a tobacco pipe bowl, a drinking bowl, circumcision crook, bell, double clapperless bell or hand gong, and a fan. This seems a modest total given the likely museum demand for

⁷ The complexity of tracing the fate of Frobenius's collection is apparent simply from this one type of object. Of more than a hundred collected, the three sponsoring museums acquired: Hamburg, 58 decorated gourds, 15 gourd spoons, and two small gourds (accessioned in December 1913 following purchase from Frobenius); Leipzig, 27 gourds and one gourd spoon (of which 10 gourds and the spoon are now missing, though this may include those transferred to Dresden). There is no record of decorated gourds entering the Berlin collection. Dresden later acquired five gourds (three of these [4133, 4135, 4138] transferred from Leipzig in 1920; another two bought from the dealer Konietzko also in 1920). Bremen subsequently acquired one gourd spoon and one gourd.

⁸ There might be a sixth item, Hamburg 14,134.39 bought from Umlauff at the same time but described only as a bell.

brassware and suggests that multiples were not as readily available, or as willingly sold, as some other object types. Most pieces look to have been acquired with little wear. This apparent scarcity that contrasts with the abundance of brassware available for purchase by the time of the second assemblage composed of collections made during the early post-colonial period.

Adding the decorated gourds and brassware to the handlist of objects made when they were packed for transport to Germany brings the total of objects collected by the Frobenius expedition to well over two hundred. To this we might add 76 related items enumerated separately in the accession records of the Hamburg Museum (accessioned in October 1916 via the petroleum magnate Wilhelm Anton Riedeman). These consisted of seven (of what seem from their descriptions to have been different types of) bowstring tighteners or bow-pullers, seven bows, and seven quivers (containing altogether fifty-two arrows, and two parts of arrows).⁹ Like the brassware and decorated gourds, these weapons were not included in the handlist of packing cases. Taking these and the calabashes individually into account, an informed guess would be that Martius acquired around three hundred items on behalf of the expedition.

Other early colonial collections

Although Frobenius's expedition made the only professional collection of the early colonial period, and by far the most extensive, a few other pieces entered German and British museum collections in consequence of exploration and colonial, commercial and military activities during the same period. These are worth surveying chronologically. With only a few exceptions, the object types they collected resembled those acquired by Frobenius.

The earliest Verre items to be accessioned that we have so far identified entered the Bremen Museum (Bremer Überseemuseum) in 1902 by donation from the colonial officer Oltwig van Kamptz and consisted of five decorated gourds (B05442 - B05446, of which B05445 is now missing). They may have been collected in 1898-9 while von Kamptz engaged on the *Wute-Adamaua-Feldzug* (campaign) which took him to northern Kamerun. The Linden-Museum acquired a Verre lute from the colonial officer Hans Glauning in 1904 (036887).

In 1909, Oberleutnant H.F. Johannes von Rothe included a brass amulet in his gift to the Dresden Museum (Dresden 24235). He might have acquired this a couple of years earlier during a tour of Kamerun. This skeuomorph of an Islamic protective charm attributed to Verre is, thus far, unique. In 1929, Dresden acquired a second piece collected by von Rothe indirectly by exchange with the Landesschule Klotzsche: a tobacco pipe with brass bowl and iron and

⁹ Frobenius Institute KBA 07732 illustrates the variety of Verre arrow heads, as well as the knots to attach strings to Verre bows.

wooden stem (Dresden 44290). This may well have been collected at the same time as the amulet.

The Bremer Überseemuseum added to its collection in 1936 when at least three Verre objects were included in a purchase of several items from Kamerun made from the J.F.G. Umlauff, 'Museum Umlauff Hamburg': a gourd spoon (B07889; original number 1541 on its 'Museum Umlauff' label); a 12cm horn with leather wrapping (B07890; original number 1543 on its 'Museum Umlauff' label); a decorated gourd (B08037; no original label visible). Although they lack further documentation, our assumption until demonstrated otherwise is that these were Frobenius materials sold via his usual dealership.

Mention should also be made of the Städtisches Museum Braunschweig, the African collection of which received a large donation from Kurt Strümpell (Hauptmann of the Schutztruppe [Protection Force] and Colonial Resident in Dikwa, Bornu). His 900 pieces had been collected between 1901 and 1908 throughout Kamerun, notably in the North between the Adamawa Emirate and Bornu. In Dorothea Hecht's catalogue of the collection (1968) we find pieces attributed to the Duru, a related people living to the south of the Verre with whom they were often treated as a compound entity, Duru-Verre, in early sources, particularly in relation to metalwares.¹⁰

The only British collection of the period known to us was made by Olive MacLeod (later Temple) who, in company with District Officer Percy Amaury Talbot and his wife Dorothy, both of whom were botanists and ethnographers, followed in the footsteps of her fiancé Boyd Alexander, killed in 1910 (MacLeod 1912). Her itinerary, and the accession records at the British Museum, suggest these pieces were acquired in Yola rather than in situ, as does the attribution, as noted above common at the time, to either Verre or Duru (Dourou, Dii). As Mrs Temple, in 1913 Olive MacLeod donated nine objects attributed to Verre-Duru to the British Museum: three wooden anthropomorphic figures; what is described as a brass anklet though judging by its size an arm cuff; and a dancing cap made of cane, cowries, lizard skin and horsehair of the type worn by Verre initiates at circumcision. At least one of the objects in iron, an oversized, ceremonial women's hoe may have been made for Chamba; two spears or staffs surmounted by rattles rather than points would have been at home in either Chamba or Verre insignia, and an archer's thumbguard that may have been made for Verre but was probably used widely. Mrs Temple, or her father on her behalf, made further donations to museums in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Maidstone and the Pitt Rivers in Oxford. Some slender

¹⁰ The 9 brass cuffs (*Handmanschetten* 1968: 130; VW 4.0/13a-h; 14, Strümpell 1905 illustrated, see below; - Keule (club) (p. 153) - Vw. 6.8-52/9 - Strümpell 1907, length 60 cm - no photo; Speer (p. 189) - Vw6.0-50/22 - Strümpell 1907, length: 184 cm - no photo; - Schellenstab (staff with bells) (p. 298) - Vw. 6.0-74/5 - Strümpell 1907, length 65 cm - no photo - the description sounds similar to objects that Verre made for Chamba: 'Eisenstab, der an zwei Stellen zu je einem Paar sichelförmiger Schellen ausgeschmiedet ist. Der Stab endet abgeflacht bzw. in zwei Spiralen', 'Iron staff which is forged in two places with a pair of sickle-shaped bells. The end of the staff is flattened into two spirals'. Discussed below.

brass bangles donated to Edinburgh might be Verre but are too generic in form to attribute a narrow provenance with any confidence. The Liverpool collection includes copper alloy pieces attributed specifically to Verre and not Verre-Duru, including one necklace of brass beads and another of brass bells, presumably crotals (22.11.24.94 & 95).¹¹

Between the collection of these pieces in the decade 1902-1912, and the large-scale collecting of the 1960s, very few Verre materials known to us were added to museum holdings. In the previous chapter, we itemized the Cullen donation to the Lagos Museum in 1946 and noted that in 1954 the British Museum acquired two Verre women's hip or buttock pendants in the form of oversized beads from the Wellcome Collection (Af1954,23. 1492.a-b; Wellcome Collection 29095). These are less likely to have been collected locally than purchased in Britain, which together with the period over which the Wellcome Collection was assembled, means the beads may be at least contemporary with those Cullen donated to Lagos and could be slightly earlier. Although these brass hip pendants are strikingly large,¹² later examples were to become larger yet, their size speaking to the increasingly abundant supply of brass for display purposes. A matter we take up in the next chapter.

A catalogue of metalware in the early colonial assemblage

It is worth considering some types of object in the early assemblage twice: in the context of collection and overall composition, and then again, in Part Two, when we consider evidence about particular object types. Given the Verre reputation as workers in metal, we shall for the most part concentrate on objects in iron or brass, but given the ritual uses of many metal objects, we shall feel free to include other ceremonial items, as well as more mundane ones when they provide the prototypes for brass skeuomorphs.

¹¹ Other pieces attributed to Verre include a grass plaited anklet (Liverpool 22.11.24.139), as well as bow rings in iron and tin or zinc described as 'instrument worn on the hand for shooting, and said to give the arrow a spin' (22.11.24.304-10), other brass rings 'use uncertain', and a broken large two-handled pot (22.11.24.311-12 & 313).

¹² From their accession records, (a) 2.75 x 3.75 inches, (b) 1.75 x 2.75 inches; in rounded terms (a) 7 x 9.5cm, (b) 4.5 x 7cm).

Berlin, donated by Waldmann in 1903-04

Berlin III C 17644; dimensions 15x9cm (Maas archive)

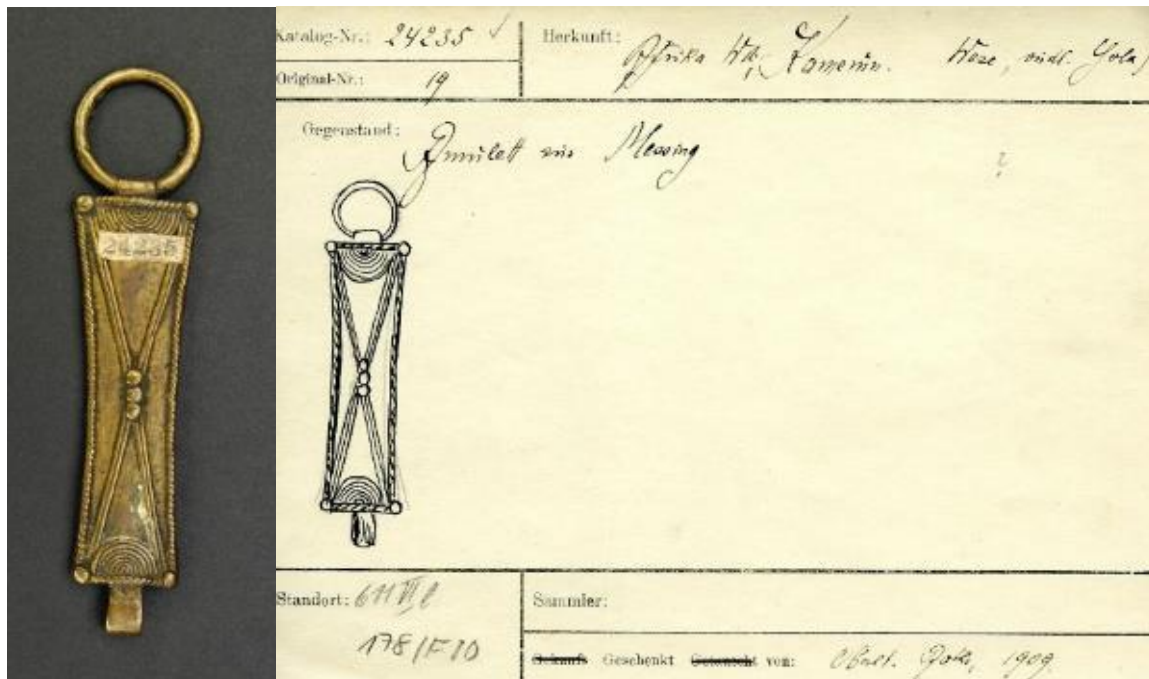
Berlin III C 18318; dimensions 2x7.9x7cm

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

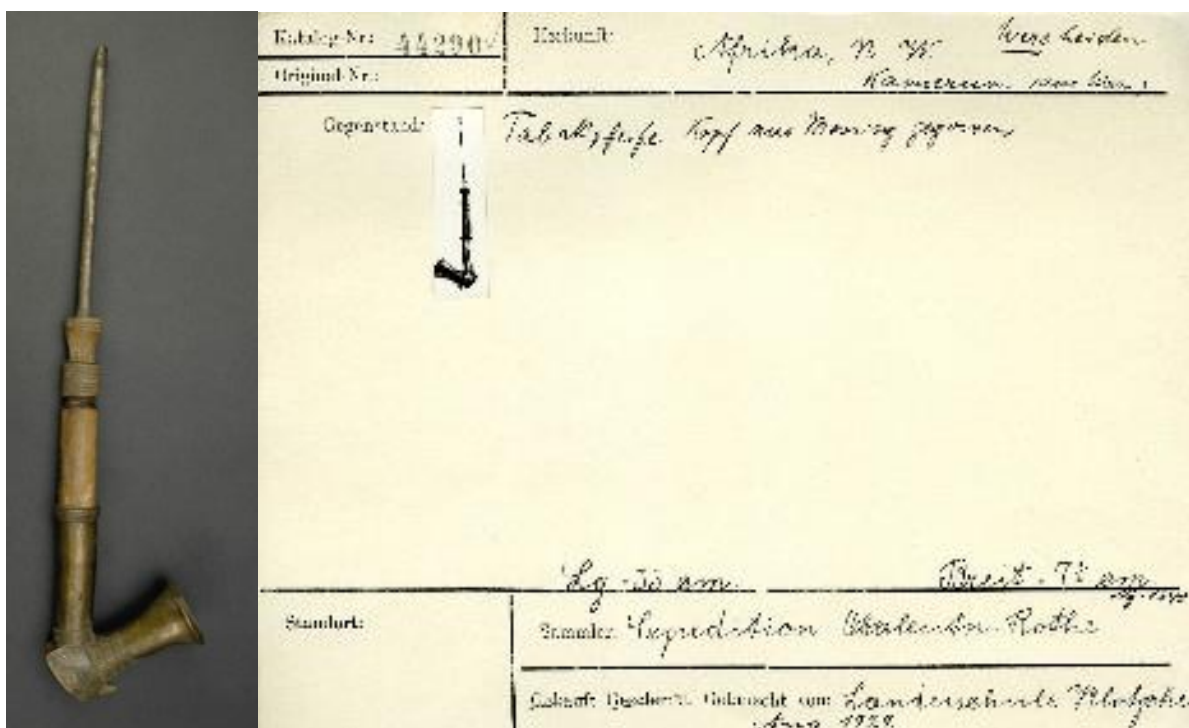
The earliest pieces attributed to Verre that we have so far located include a cuff donated by Waldmann in 1903 (Berlin III C 17644), described in its accession record as a child's anklet (*Fusspange*), and a manila, described by the same term for anklet (Berlin III C 18318) donated the following year, also by Waldmann. Given the dates, he may either have taken part in one of the expeditions shown on Moisel's *Karte von Kamerun* to have traversed the region between 1901-3, or else acquired the manila from someone who did. The plaited ornamentation on both ends of the manila occurs on other brass pieces we know to have been made by Verre, but manilas, which were manufactured and traded widely between Europe and Africa, are notoriously difficult to attribute definitively (for a guide to the specialist literature, see Denk 2017). A man by the name of Kurt Waldmann (born 21 Jan 1875, died 21 December 1905) is recorded to have been buried aged thirty in Douala having been a local official (*Stationsbeamter*).¹³ In the absence of other candidates, he may have been the donor.

¹³ http://www.denkmalprojekt.org/2012/douala_region-littoral_republik_kamerun.html The earlier Waldmann donation included two further objects of which we lack illustrations: C 17645 which was described similarly to C 17644, and C 17646 a brass pipe bowl.

Dresden, collected by von Rothe



Dresden 24235



Dresden 44290

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Oberleutnant Rothe donated the skeuomorph 'amulet' in 1909, and the pipe in a composite of brass, wood and iron, followed it to the Dresden museum twenty years later via the Sächsische Landesschule in Klotzsche, with which Rothe or his family presumably had an

association. An officer of the same name and rank, serving in the 2nd Bayerischen Pionierbataillon, took part in the Yola-Cross River demarcation of 1907.¹⁴

The brass pipe bowl with its squared-off stand is comparable to an example collected by Frobenius, of which a sketch remains, that was once in the Hamburg museum (see below, item 120). Brass pipe bowls were plentiful to judge by the number of them in the later collection made by Tim Chappel in the mid-1960s. The small, apparently phallic, frontal protrusion is present on many of them, as are the two lower flaps which make the pipe freestanding, and which might also have gendered symbolic motivation. So far unique in form within the Verre corpus is this skeuomorph of an amulet or Islamic charm designed to be attached to personal clothing or perhaps to horse tack.

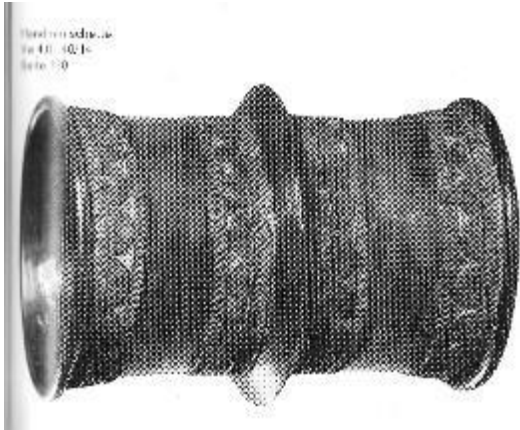
Braunschweig, collected by Kurt Strümpell

The extensive Africa collection of the Städtisches Museum Braunschweig was expanded by a donation from Hauptmann Kurt Strümpell, German Resident in Adamaua for two periods between 1906 and 1909. Stationed in Garoua but frequently on tour, Strümpell took a keen interest in local languages, cultures and history, writing the earliest extensive history of the Adamawa Emirate (1907a/b, 1910, 1912, see Mohammadou 1982). He gave the Braunschweig Museum a collection of more than 900 of the pieces he had acquired in Kamerun (according to the catalogue by Dorothea Hecht 1968: 367).¹⁵ While Hecht's catalogue of this collection identifies none of the pieces as Verre, some are attributed to the Duru (Dourou, Dii) who, as noted, are typically elided with the Verre in early sources concerned with language and with the production of metalwares. Another piece is attributed to Chamba, whose eastern communities habitually bought works in metal from the Verre.

The only brass pieces attributed to Duru are personal ornaments. The illustration of one of the nine brass cuffs (*Handmanschetten* 1968: 130 & 141, for VW 4.0-40/14; the other eight, VW 4.0-40/13a-h, are not illustrated), donated by Strümpell in 1905, is stylistically similar to examples collected from the Verre by the Frobenius expedition.

¹⁴ <https://archivfuehrer-kolonialzeit.de/index.php/deutsch-englische-jola-crossschnellen-vermessungsexpedition>

¹⁵ A further two pottery vessels for 'magic' were donated in 1910 to the Berlin Museum (Berlin III C 26052/3). We discuss a brass-handled knife in the same donation (Berlin III C 26589) in Part Two, Chapter 5.4.



(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

All nine cuffs are described as cylindrical and decorated with grooves, spirals, and circular and semi-circular ornamentation, only 40/14 is 'closed', the other eight are open to one side (allowing the arm to be inserted laterally into the cuff, rather than being pulled over the hand). If this cuff is indeed of Duru origin (and the attribution proposed for the group of objects is shared with the 'Ngiri' which may indicate indecision), then they were making works that at least appear to have been similar to those made by the Verre. An example of an open-sided cuff was included in the Jos display cabinet installed in 1967 (see Interleaf), and probably came from the Mandara Mountains, although we are unable to link it to a particular accession record.

Other objects, wholly or partly in metal, attributed to the Duru, were collected by Strümpell two years after the brass cuffs in 1907. These include a club (*Keule*) (Vw. 6.8-52/9) described as a very old piece, 60cm in length: 'in dark brown, polished hardwood with a shaft and a thick, knee-like curved head, thickly covered with flat iron pins' (Hecht 1968: 153). It is not illustrated in the catalogue of Braunschweig's Strümpell collection, and we have seen nothing answering that description in other Verre holdings. There is also a spear (Vw. 6.0-50/22), 184cm in length, not illustrated but presumably unremarkable and with a metal point (Hecht 1968: 189). A 65cm iron object distinguished as a 'staff' with rings (*Schellenstab*) (Vw. 6.0-74/5) is described as 'forged (*ausgeschmiedet*) in two places to form a pair of crescent-shaped rings. The end of the rod is flattened into two spirals' (Hecht 1968: 298, not illustrated). As described, the object is not easy to envisage; its length would appear to preclude it being similar to the rattle spears donated by the Temples to the British Museum (almost three times the length, see below), yet the term used for it is *Stab* rather than *Lanze*, which is applied to the spear-like protective object hung with clappers collected in 1908 from Chamba (Vw. 6.0-66/3, Hecht 1968: 251) that would be stuck in the ground alongside a compound entrance to ward off malign influences. This could have been collected from Chamba living around the Nigeria-Kamerun border who acquired metalwares from the Verre. A double clapperless bell, or handgong, attributed to the Duru collected in 1907, is similarly indistinguishable from the same object collected from the Verre (Vw. 6.0-74/2, Hecht 1968: 295, illustrated 290). As an officer of the German Empire, Strümpell was obliged to make later

donations of objects and documentation to what is now the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin rather than to Braunschweig; the two items attributed to Verre about which we know, were cited in note 15 above.

Olive MacLeod collection

During her travels to Nigeria and Tchad in 1910 to learn the fate of her fiancé, Lt Boyd Alexander, Olive MacLeod met and later married Charles Lindsay Temple and returned to live in Nigeria until 1917. MacLeod's initial journey had taken her to Yola, which is cited in accession records as the place of acquisition for objects of probable Verre origin. Lack of further information about the origins of items in the collection suggests that they were either bought in the market or acquired from District Officers. Nigerian materials were subsequently donated in the names of Charles and Olive Temple, in some cases by Olive's father, to several museums in Britain.

Ten brass bracelets donated to the museum in Edinburgh in 1925 were probably collected during MacLeod's first traversal of Nigeria.¹⁶ All were collected from the Bachama but, given a regional trade in brassware, this does not necessarily mean they had been made by Bachama. Of the nine bracelets in Edinburgh for which we have descriptions, three consist of strings of beads, while six are solid. The two bead bracelets of which we have illustrations, each of which includes a pair of small crotals, differ only slightly, while five of the six solid bangles for which we have illustrations are almost identical, the sixth lacking in decoration. Irrespective of who made them, the amount of metal in each of these pieces is notably slight compared to brassware collected later.



A.1925.386 Bracelet of brass
and blue glass beads



A.1925.387 Bracelet of brass beads

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

¹⁶ A.1925.385 bracelet, Bachama, is neither described nor illustrated; A.1925.388 is described as a bracelet of brass beads but not illustrated.



A.1925.389 Solid brass bracelet,



A.1925.390 Solid brass bracelet



A.1925.391 Solid brass bracelet



A.1925.392 Solid brass bracelet



A.1925.393 Solid brass bracelet



A.1925.394 Solid brass bracelet

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

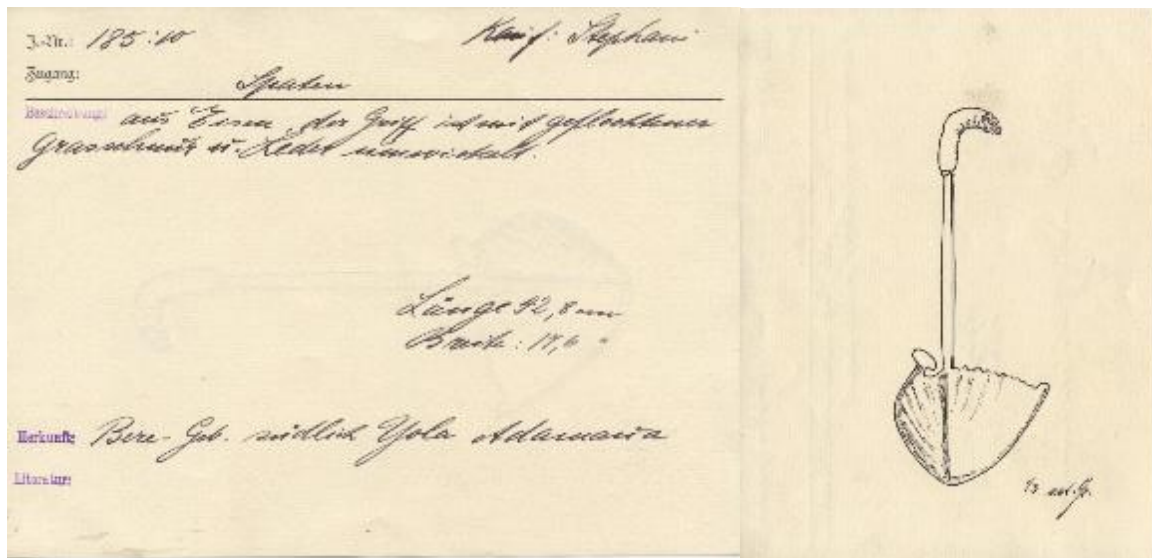
An earlier donation of nine items made in 1913 in the names of Mr and Mrs C.L. Temple to the British Museum included only one piece in brass, accessioned as an 'anklet' with bells (Af1913,1013.22). Like seven of the other eight objects, all of which had been acquired in Yola, it was attributed to Duru-Verre. Similar pieces have been accessioned both as anklets and as cuffs; this example is in a very dark brass alloy with a raised central band ornamented with crotals.



Four more of the objects donated were predominantly or solely in iron. What is recorded as a hoe (Af1913,1013.21) is in fact a ritual object, as evidenced by both the small, lightning, tang on its blade, and the russet stripe suggesting it may have been decorated with red clay at some point. If made for Mapeo Chamba, in Chamba this would be termed a *jeem baan*, or hoe for a woman's cult, the insignie of its priestess. The small lightning point on this ceremonial version of an archaic planting hoe corresponds to a similar device on the priest's ritual sickle. Women sow by digging into the ground, while men harvest by an act of cutting; this contrast has wide symbolic resonance, clustering together acts of separation that include the circumcision of young men and the retrieval and retention of ancestral skulls.



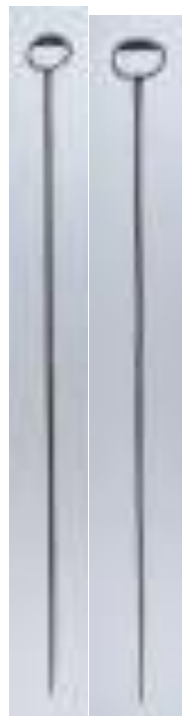
A more or less identical hoe had been bought by the Hamburg Museum from Franz von Stephani who had served between 1907-09 on the Yola-Cross River border expedition.



Hamburg 185.10 (42.8x17.6 cm)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The Temples donated two rattle-topped, iron staffs to the British Museum. We know from Chappel's research that these were used by the Verre themselves, and from Fardon's research that they were also found among Chamba. Although not weapons, these staffs are called spears in Chamba (*səəm sagen* Mapeo dialect) who use them as display objects that may be shaken or stuck in the ground.



Left: Af1913,1013.105 Iron staff (with rattle).

Height: 184.8 centimetres, width: 11.5 centimetres, depth: 2.6 centimetres

Right: Af1913,1013.106 Iron staff (with rattle).

Height: 183.5 centimetres, width: 13.5 centimetres, depth: 2.5 centimetres.

The other small piece of metalwork donated by the Temples may not be Verre at all given the broad accession note, and the fact of archery accoutrements being made widely.



Af1913,1013.34 Archer's thumb guard made of iron, leather,
Kamuku or Duru-Verre or Gbari (Gwari Makangara)

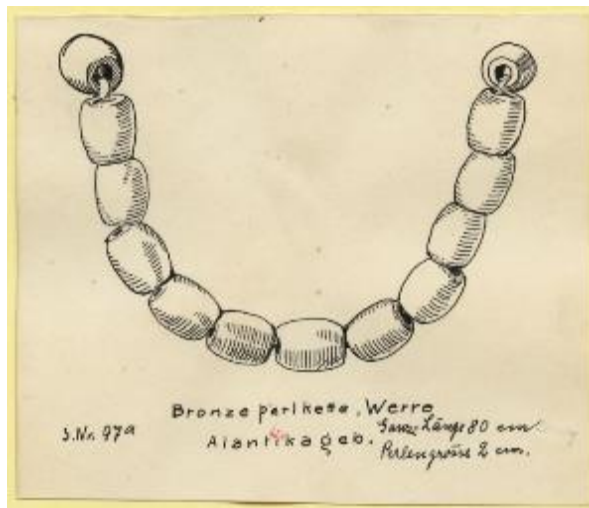
The few Verre objects donated to the Liverpool Museum, enumerated earlier, including two pieces of brass bead ware, are otherwise consistent with these (see note 11).

Frobenius

Even in their entirety, these early colonial collections are dwarfed by that made during the passage of the Frobenius expedition of 1911. We provide an indication of how large that collection was in Appendix 4. Evidence for it is incomplete and scattered, so there is every likelihood our account will be improved. In the expectation that future research will shed more light on them, the range of brasswares collected by the expedition is of sufficient interest to justify describing both the objects individually and our research in relation to them. Our starting point has been the detailed sketches of Verre brassware in the Frobenius Institute archives which carry numbers in a series that are replicated in the accession records of the pieces that reached the Dresden and Hamburg museums (though not apparently in those of Berlin, Leipzig or Munich). This enumeration, which must predate dispersal of the brassware collection to museums, enumerates brass objects separately from the bulk of the Verre collection. We show in Appendix 4 that the brasswares were not included in the main handlists of Verre objects apparently destined for the sponsoring museums. Subsequent accession records suggest that works in brass moved predominantly through dealerships rather than going directly to museums. We list brass items here under this original numbering and provide a cross-reference to the online image catalogue of the Frobenius Institute (prefixed KBA), together with whatever indication we have of the subsequent itinerary of the piece. Many objects remain to be traced. We do not know whether the Verre series began with 97a, or whether all the missing numbers for which we have no information corresponded to further Verre brass objects. We noted earlier (footnote 5), two sets of four beads in the Museum Fünf

Kontinente in Munich that were bought from Frobenius directly in 1918 which might easily be amongst the 'missing' enumerated brassware.

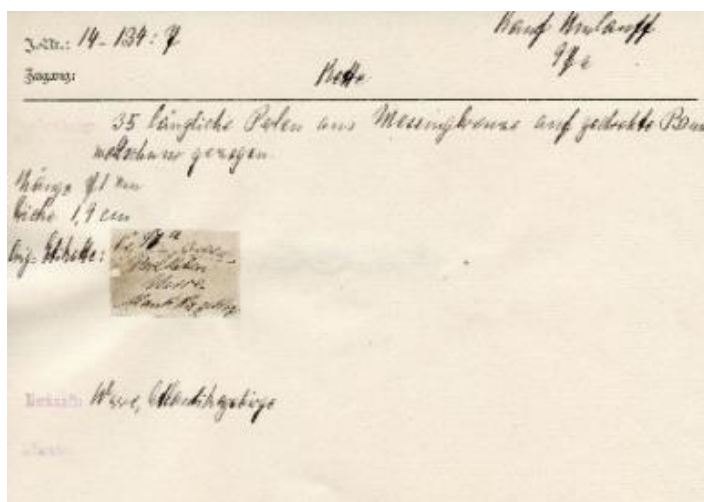
97a – KBA 02991 thirty-five, strung, oval, brass beads. Overall length of 80cm length; individual beads just under 2cm. Acquired by the Hamburg Museum (14.134.7) via the dealer Umlauff in July 1914. Four similar beads were acquired by the Munich Museum directly from Frobenius in 1918.



KBA 02991



Munich 18.7.20



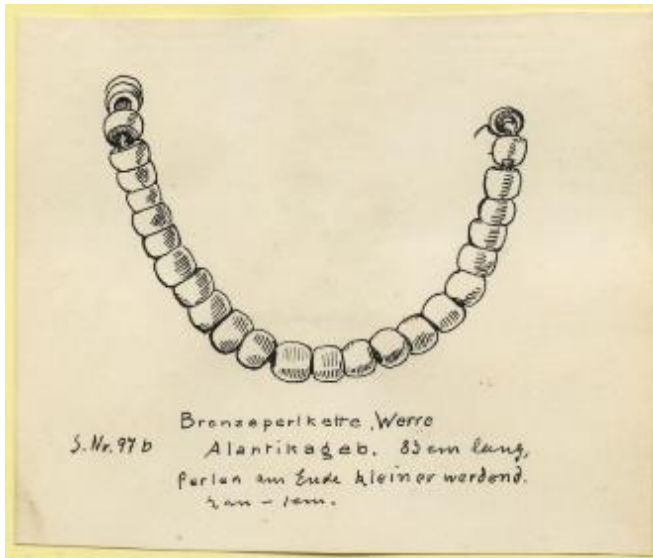
Hamburg 14.134.7



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

97b – KBA 02990 brass beads, 83cm length, individual beads .5 to 1cm, i.e. the largest are half the size of the beads of 97a (current whereabouts unknown; a set of beads in Berlin III C

29432 although originating from Frobenius's collection are described as an anklet of 'Eisenperlen' rather than brass and their dimensions differ). Another four small brass beads were acquired four years later by the Munich Museum (18.7.21).



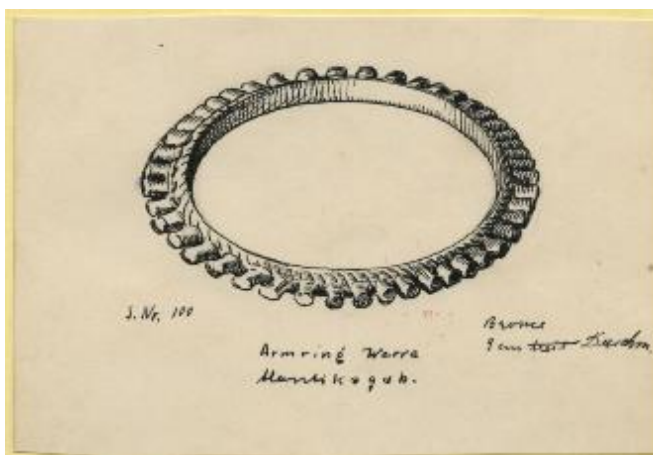
KBA 02990



Munich 18.7.21

(98-99 – no information)

100 – KBA 03003 brass bangle, ornate narrow band 9cm in diameter [Armring] (current whereabouts unknown). The ornamental protruding knobs are a common decorative feature of Verre pieces collected later but they are also to be found on brass bangles from other producers, notably in the Mandara Mountains.



KBA 03003

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

(101-105 – no information)

106 – KBA 02941 brass bracelet, ornate with two spiral motifs placed on a plaited background. It is a bracelet rather than a narrow ring like the piece above (both are described in German as *Armring*, we outline the lexical distinctions made by Verre in Chapter 5). The diameter of 9cm is the same as that of 100 (the proportions of the sketch suggest a width of 3cm). Current whereabouts unknown, but this bracelet is similar in design to the next two, which are also consecutively numbered, as well as to examples in the early post-colonial assemblage collected over fifty years later.



KBA 02941

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

107 – brass bracelet [*Armring*]. No illustration of this piece survives in the archive of the Frobenius Institute, but the number 107, fitting into this series, appears in the accession record of the Dresden Museum (33647) '8.5 x 5.3cm *Armring*', which was acquired from the dealer Umlauff in May 1914. A companion piece to 106, near identical in diameter, its design differs by the addition of a third, larger central spiral to the two, almost doubling the width.

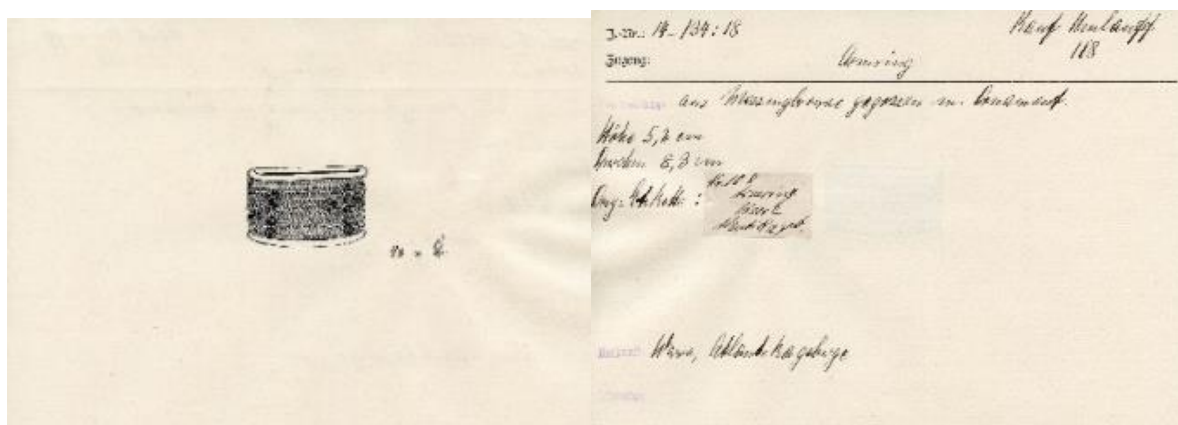


Dresden 33647 photograph and accession record

108 – KBA 09293 brass bracelet [Armring] acquired by the Hamburg Museum (14.134.18) and, like 107 acquired from the dealer Umlauf in July 1914. Apparently, a companion piece to numbers 106 and 107, and only slightly narrower in diameter (8.3 x 5.2cm). This is most elaborately decorated of the three examples with rows of four and three four spiral motifs, as well as a diagonal band, on the same plaited background.



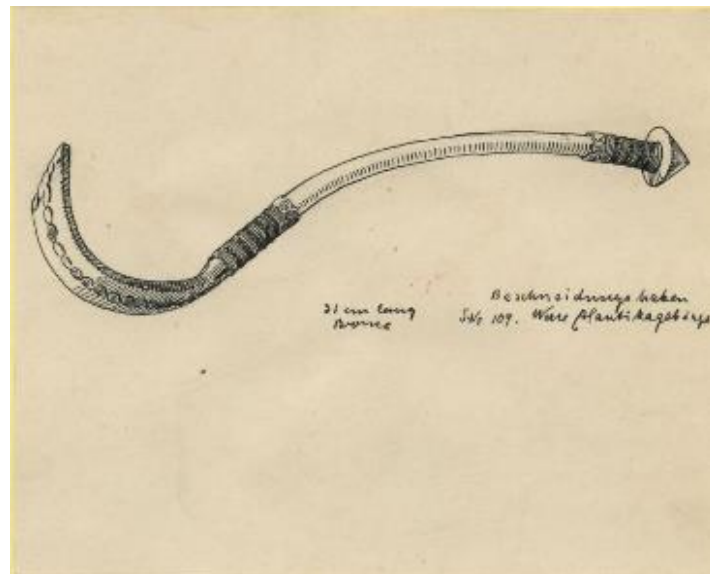
KBA 02939a



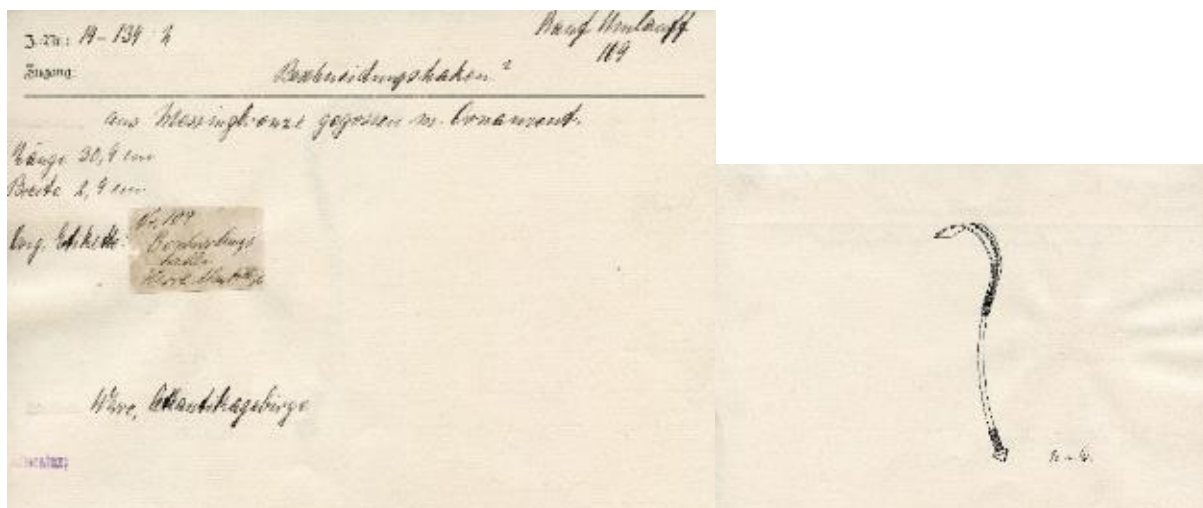
Hamburg 14.134:18

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

109 – KBA 03289 brass circumcision crook, acquired by the Hamburg Museum from the dealer Umlauff in July 1914.



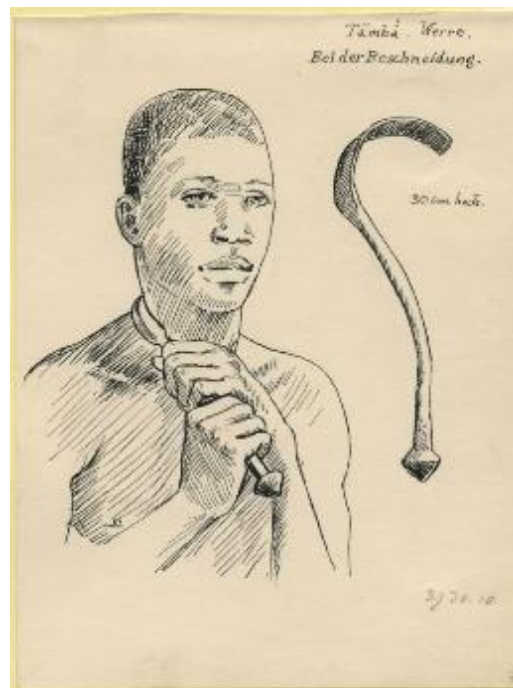
KBA 03289



Hamburg 14.134.2

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The decorated brass circumcision crook is a prestige version of the plain iron *tamba* pictured below, which in turn is partly a citation of the everyday sickle. The handles of both the brass and iron crooks terminate in a knob, which was motivated as phallic by Chappel's later informants.



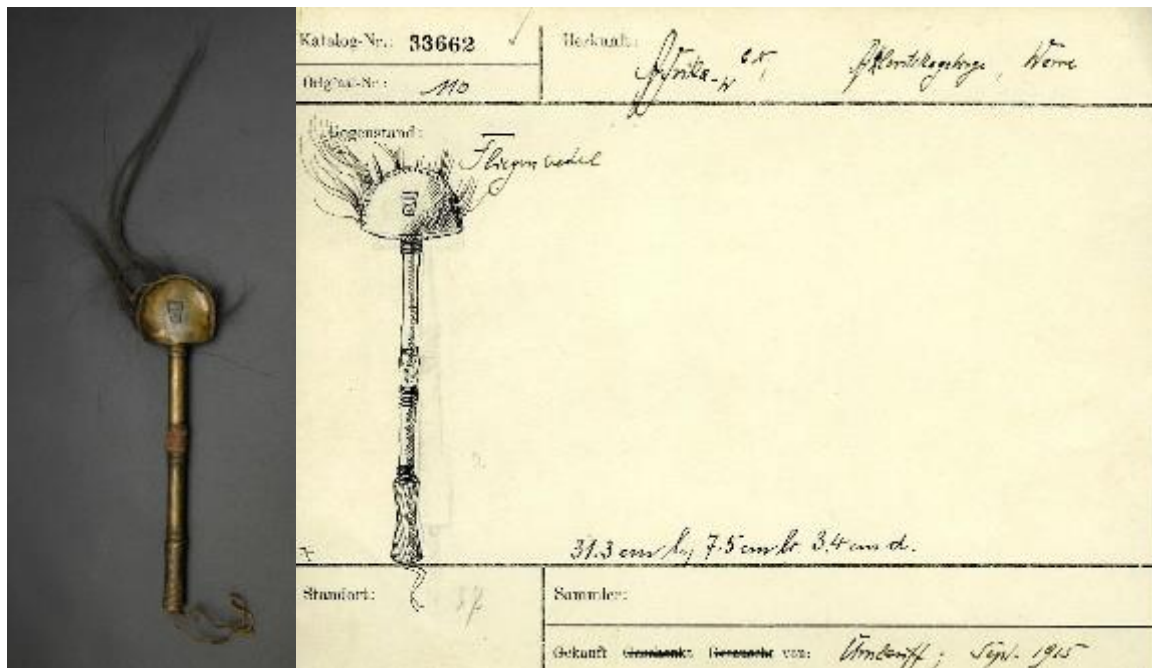
KBA 10626

110 – KBA 03290 brass fan (or ‘fly whisk’, *Fliegenwedel*) with remaining wisps of horsehair acquired by the Dresden Museum (33662) from the dealer Umlauff in September 1915. Although the Dresden database numbers both this and the knife below as 112, both the record in the Frobenius archive and the original accession card at the Dresden Museum illustrate what is unmistakably the same object numbered as 110. How far the current state of the fan represents its condition when collected depends on whether the lower image on illustration KBA 03290 (below) records a reconstruction of an undamaged original or is an accurate rendition of its state at the time.



KBA 03290

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

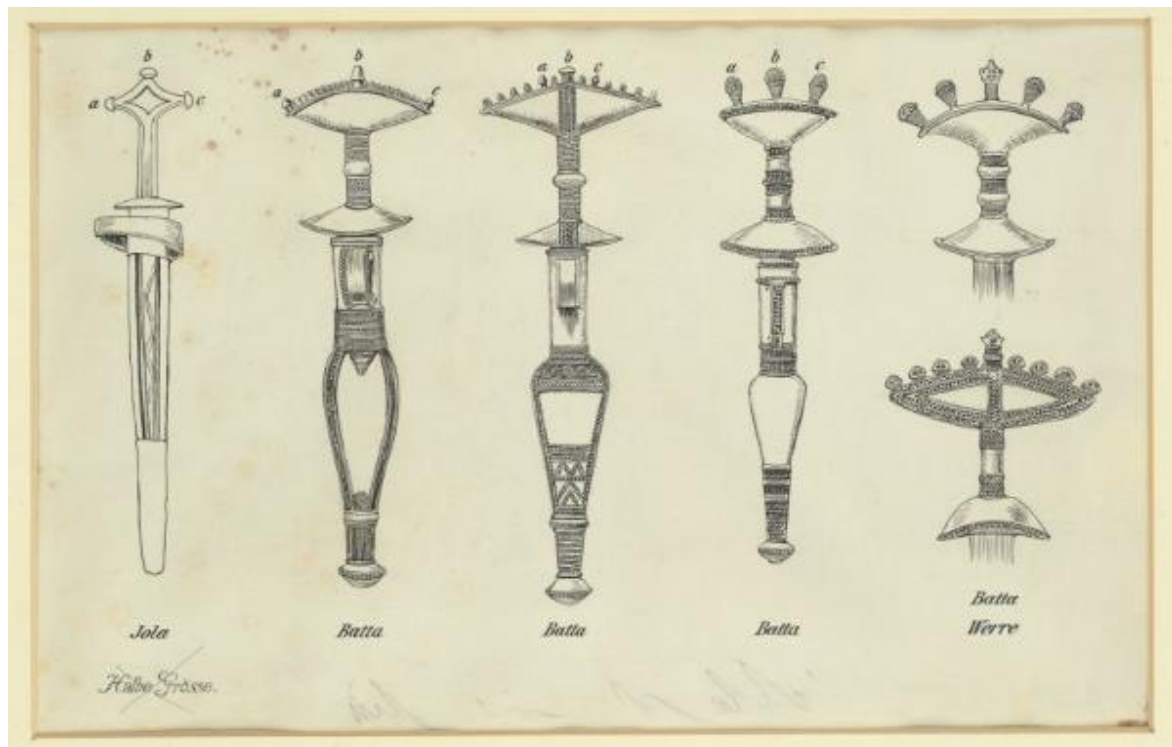


Dresden photograph and accession record

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

(111 – no information)

112 – EBA-B 00696 (illustrative plate showing from left to right: brass and iron composite sword with scabbard, three composite daggers with scabbards, and two brass dagger hilts). No original sketches for this plate survive in the Frobenius Institute archive, but the number 112 appears on a Dresden accession card, where it entered the museum as Dresden 33691 (48cm), by purchase from Umlauff in September 1915. The pommel is decorated with eight crochets arranged symmetrically, four either side of a central head, hence nine devices in total. This arrangement bears close resemblance to the detailed sketch of a knife handle at the bottom right of a diagram of a sword and five daggers identified as 'Jola', 'Batta' or 'Werre'. By 'Jola', or Yola, we should most probably understand a sword of the kind used by Fulani or their troops in the capital. Although four of five of the illustrated short swords or daggers are identified as Bata, little has been published on Bata brasscasting; given their resemblance, it is conceivable that they were Verre castings bought by Bata from whom they were subsequently collected.



EBA-B 00696



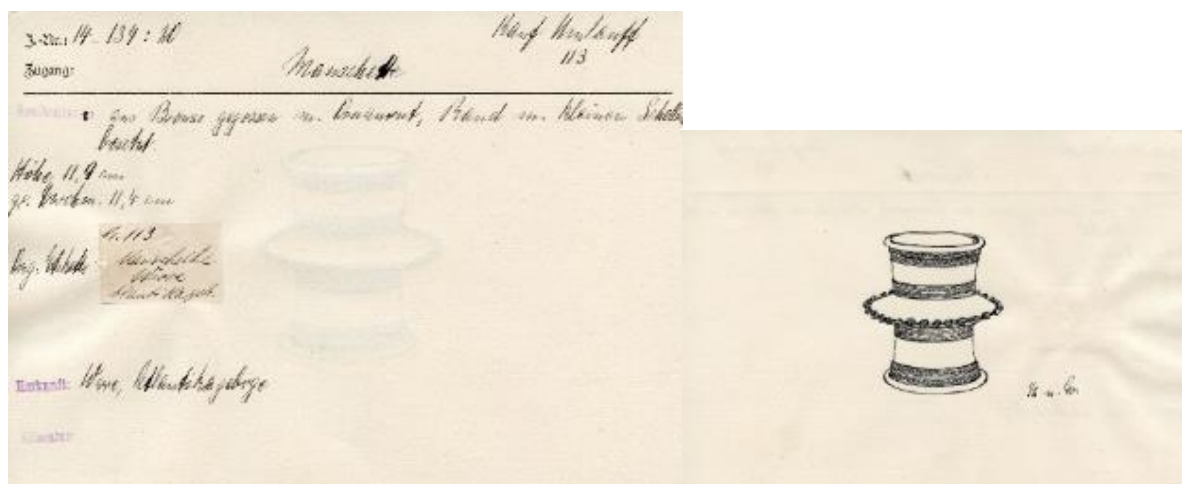
Dresden 33691 photograph and accession record

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

113 – KBA 02988 man's brass cuff [*Manschette*] acquired by the Hamburg Museum (14.134.20) from the dealer Umlauff in July 1914. Unlike the pieces described as *Armringe*, this larger and more complex object stands at just under 12cm and has a prominent, flared waist ornamented with crotals, as well as four bands of decoration. It is very similar to the cuffs collected by Strümpell and MacLeod around the same time.



KBA 02988



Hamburg 14.134.20

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

(114-16 – no information)

117 – KBA 03258 ornate brass bell, 22cm, acquired by the Dresden Museum (33678), now lacking its original accession card. A finely cast bell, crotal ornaments around its shoulder and bands of decoration.



KBA 03258

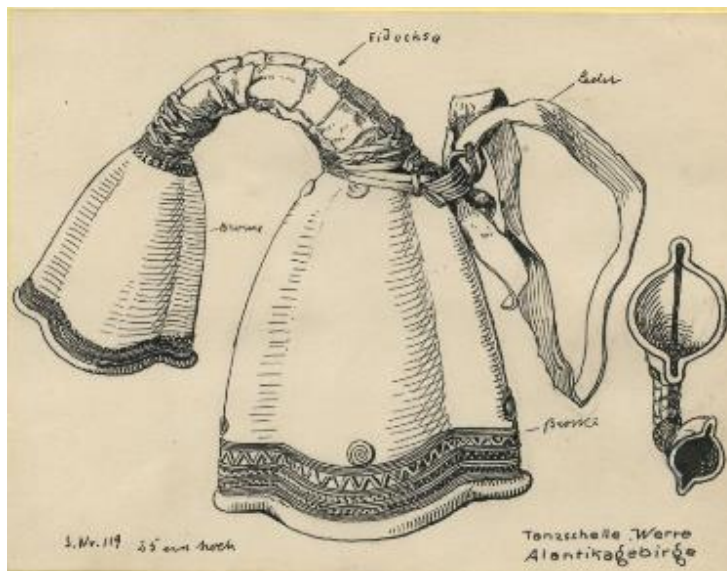


Dresden

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

(118 – no information)

119 – corresponds to KBA 03275, [*Tanzschelle*] an ornate brass, double clapperless bell, or handgong, its connecting handle covered with reptile skin, and a leather strap. Originally cast in two sections, the connecting handle is now broken, a fate common to similar brass pieces in the postcolonial assemblage. It was acquired by the Dresden Museum with the accession number (33679) following 117 (33678), and like 117 it has lost its original accession card.

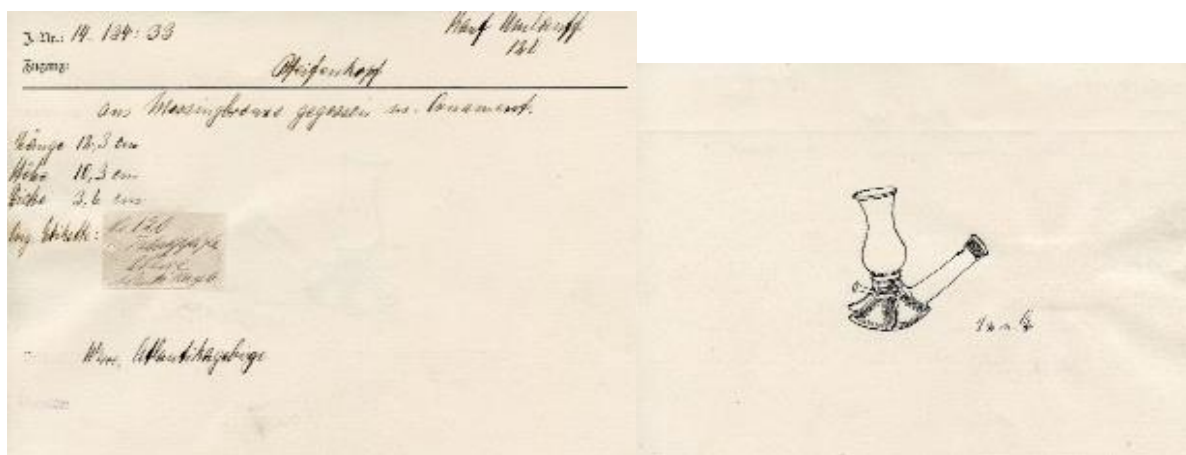


KBA 03275



Dresden photograph

120 - brass pipe bowl, acquired by the Hamburg Museum (14.134.33) from the dealer Umlauff in July 1914, and accessioned with reference to the earlier stock number 120, which we assume referenced a sketch in the Frobenius series that does not survive in the archive. The overall form is reminiscent of the pipe donated to Dresden Museum by Rothe in 1909. Such pipes commonly have a phallic frontal protuberance and rest on a pair of lower flaps.



Hamburg 14.134.33

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

121 – KBA 02894 decorated brass bowl with stem [*Schüssel*] slightly under 18cm high, acquired by the Dresden Museum (33671) from the dealer Umlauff in May 1914.¹⁷

¹⁷ A brass goblet with male caryatid stem, Dresden 33671, which shares the same original accession number and was also bought via Umlauff, would be unique in documented Verre style. We cannot presently explain the



KBA 02894



Dresden 33627 photograph and accession record

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

If all the numbers in the range between 97a/b and 121 were, like those that survive, illustrations of Verre brassware, then they would have numbered at least twenty-six. If 97 and 121 were not respectively the beginning and end of the range of numbers, then there would have been correspondingly more pieces. As it is, evidence survives for fourteen pieces of brassware (not including the two sets, each of four beads, in Munich); of which eleven can be traced to specific collections, all of which were sold through the Umlauff dealership either to

duplication. No illustration of it survives in the Frobenius archive.

Hamburg (five items in July 1914)¹⁸ or to Dresden (six in all: two items in May 1914; another two recorded as purchased in September 1915; two more items purchased together on another occasion given their consecutive accession numbers). The pieces for which we have some indication comprise five bracelets, armrings, or cuffs (three of them stylistically similar but differently sized), two strings of beads, and single examples of: a short sword or dagger, tobacco pipe bowl, drinking bowl, circumcision crook, bell, double clapperless bell or handgong, and a horsehair fan. A final addition would be the lower of the two rings in this illustration, which is described as *Gelbguss* or brass, the upper being iron. Both may be the rings used to impart spin to arrows noted earlier.



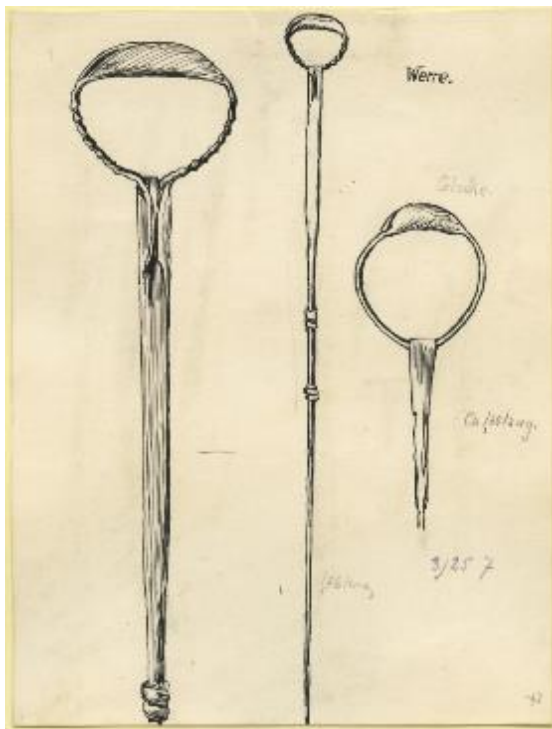
KBA 08315

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

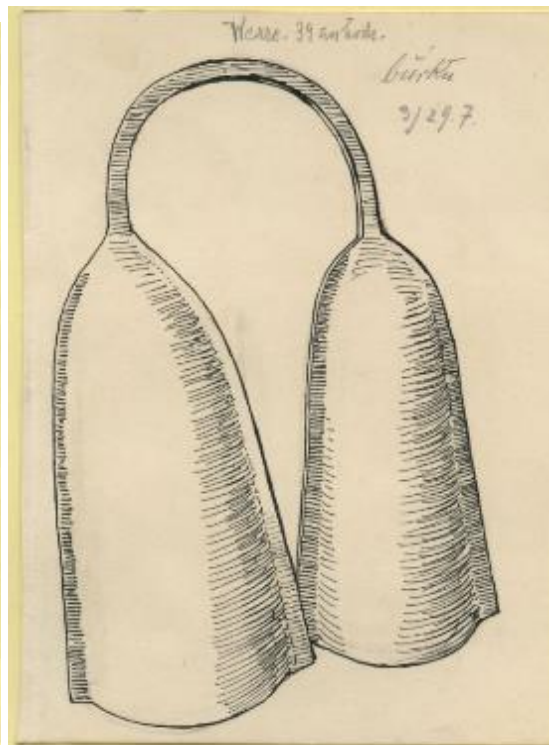
¹⁸ As noted earlier, there may have been a sixth item, Hamburg 14,134.39 bought from Umlauff at the same time but described only as a bell.

The totality of brass objects seems modest given the likely museum demand for brassware and suggests that objects in multiples were neither as readily available nor as willingly sold to the expedition as was the case for more mundane object types, for instance those in iron, of which the packing list of the expedition (Appendix 4) itemizes: (4757-59) 3 farming hoes, (4765-70) 6 men's ankle rattles, (4771-73) 3 rings, (4774-75) 2 women's anklets, (4850-52) 3 dance rattles, (4853-55), (4862-64) 3 ceremonial iron staffs, and so on. We indicate only a few examples here.

Some items in iron acquired by the Berlin Museum have been lost, but they may well have corresponded to at least two sketches that survive in the archive of the Frobenius Institute: two ceremonial rattle spears (III C 29355-6, one of them 172cm tall, and so probably identical to those donated to the British Museum by Olive MacLeod),¹⁹ as well as a double clapperless bell (III C 29420, 39cm), which is identical in height to the larger of two illustrated examples.



KBA 09384



KBA 09372

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The smaller double clapperless bell, described as made by Verre but collected from the Koma (09371 'Karenschi. Tanzschelle Komai. Werrearbeit', 14cm), was among the items acquired by the Hamburg Museum (17.20.117), as was at least one of the bow pullers collected by the Frobenius expedition.

¹⁹ Although slightly shorter than the rattle spears collected by Olive MacLeod/Temple at 185cm.

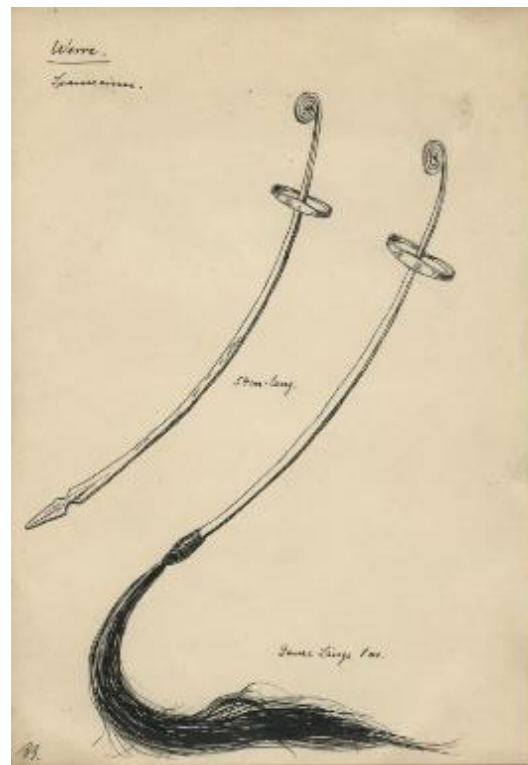


KBA 09371

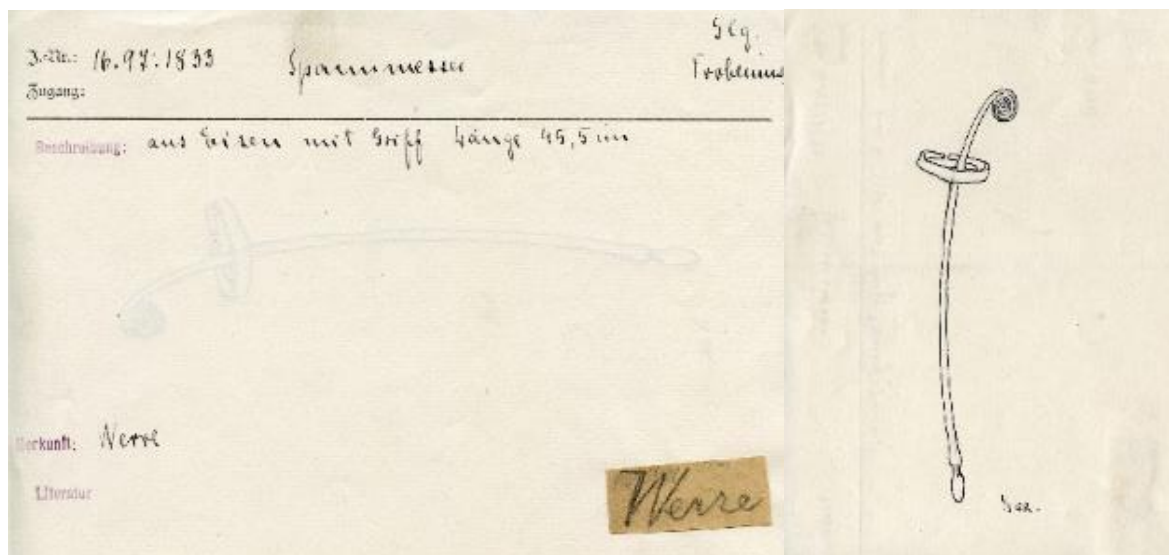


Hamburg 17.20.117

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



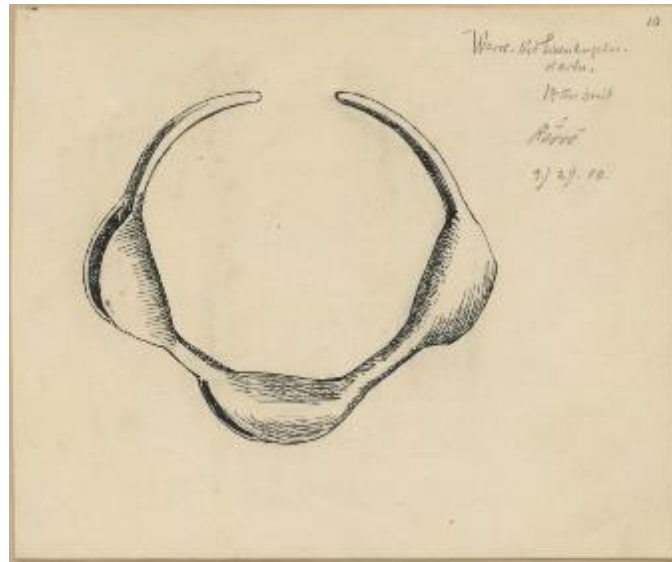
KBA 08905



Hamburg 16.97.1833

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

One of the iron anklet rattles worn by dancers (3/29.10, iron ankle dancing ring with 3 rattles) was acquired by the Dresden Museum via the dealer Konietzko in 1920. Other examples of what are described as men's dance ankle rings were accessioned in Hamburg (17.20.103-4).



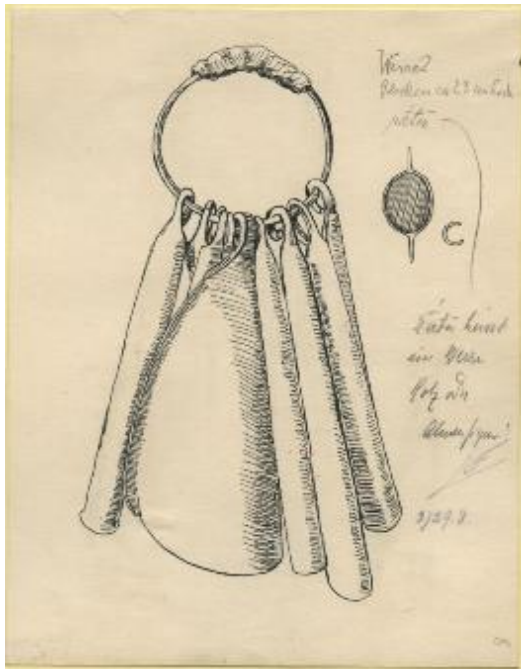
KBA 14867



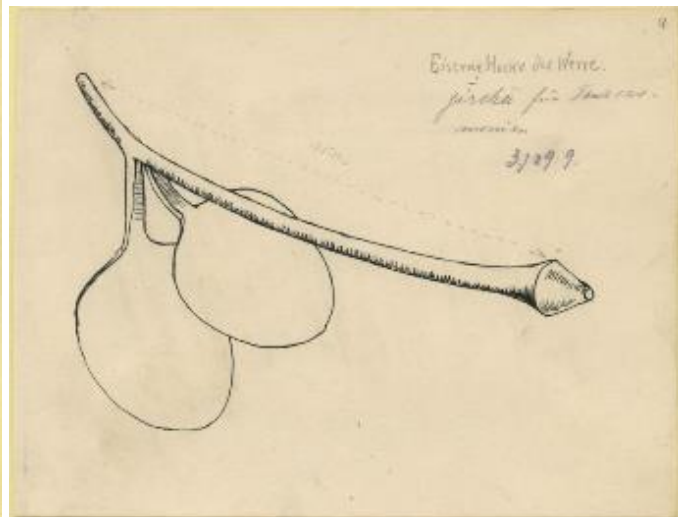
Dresden 3664

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The whereabouts of a few other metal objects, including a ceremonial iron rattle and a double iron hoe, of which there are illustrations in the archive of the Frobenius Institute remain unaccounted for.



KBA 09486



KBA 10937

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The fact that the double hoe ('jischu') for the use of women dancing does not appear in the main packing list (translated in Appendix 4) reinforces our conviction that additional Verre items must have been included in other lists we have not located.

Conversely, there are examples of objects now in German museum collections for which we have as yet found no trace in the records or illustrations of the Frobenius archive. While there would be every reason to believe that Verre smiths made full-sized swords, we lacked direct evidence for this before learning of swords donated by Frobenius to the Munich museum in 1915: a sword 66.5cm in length (15.26.166 (1)) with leather covered handle together with its scabbard (15.26.166 (2)); a second, without measurement but also described as a double-edged sword with sheath, covered with leather and reptile skin (15.26.170). As well as being double bladed, both swords have the distinctively rounded tips to their blades that Wente-Lukas noted to be characteristic (1977: 226; another example, 1977: 223 fig. 296, was accessioned only as from 'Adamawa', Stuttgart 39.226, so might also be Verre).



Munich 15.26.162



Munich 15.26.166 labelled: N. Kamerun, Werre, Schwert

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The same donation included two daggers or short swords (15.26.172 & 173) also with part-reptile skin scabbard covering and an attachment, presumably of narrow-loomed cloth (these were noted by Wente-Lukas 1977: 226). Another dagger and scabbard, 48cm, was attributed to the Bata (18.7.46 a&b). The four Verre weapons, part of a gift made by Frobenius, were augmented by purchase in 1918 of the two sets of four 'bronze' (brass) beads for waist girdles

(1918.7.20a-d, and 21a-d) illustrated earlier, as well as three small bell-like girdle ornaments, two of them in bronze or brass, collected from the 'Dakka' of the Alantika Mountains, people we know to have bought brassware from the Verre (18.7.27-29).



Munich 18.7.29 brass



Munich 18.7.28 (iron)

(also illustrated in *Und Afrika Sprach* facing p. 160, 2a & 2d)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Thanks to the assistance of museum curators in Germany, a welcome outcome of our research has been just how many of the items listed and/or illustrated in the Frobenius expedition archive are identifiable in museum accession records and/or as survivals in museum collections. Given the losses of the Second World War, our expectations had been modest. As museum records are digitized, and the Frobenius records transcribed (since they are not all easy to decipher) there will be scope for further research. For instance, a fuller account of Verre works would look systematically at types of objects on which we have touched only lightly here or not at all: decorated gourds, pottery, drums and wind instruments, shields and weapons and so on.²⁰ And Verre are, of course, only one among numerous peoples of Adamawa represented in the collection made by Frobenius's expedition.

²⁰ There is scope to relate Frobenius's archive to several other pieces in German museums. To give only a few instances: the wind instrument illustrated as Frobenius KBA 09176 may well be Berlin III C 29415; the drum KBA 09923 resembles that accessioned as Hamburg 17.20.123; the sieve KBA 05050, or another similar to it, survives as Hamburg 17.20.102; the shield KBA 06903 is like Berlin III C 29423.

Chapter 3 Documenting the early post-colonial assemblage – 1960s to 1970s

Objects were acquired in far greater numbers during the second period of intensive collection from the Verre than the first. The culture of collection also changed in the intervening years. Based on the evidence we have assembled for the entire early post-colonial assemblage, whereas the earlier collection was amassed on the initiative of European expeditions, by the 1960s Verre brassworks had begun to circulate in local and then national circuits in the hands of Nigerian dealers. The regional trade in Adamawa was in Verre hands, but the wider national trade probably involved Hausa dealers, who sourced their wares through Verre intermediaries living in the larger and more accessible Verre settlements. The sheer quantity of material in movement contrasts sharply with the decades of British colonialism from the 1920s to 1950s when, aside from Cullen's donation to the Lagos Museum and the two oversized pendant beads entering the Wellcome Collection, we have been unable to document any acquisitions by major collections.

Danish Lutheran missionaries of the then Sudan United Mission (SUM), later Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria, headquartered since their arrival in the region in 1913 at Numan among the Bachama some 50 kilometres from Yola (Nissen 1968: 51), were among the earliest European purchasers of the Verre brassware that was offered to them by traders. At least some of the Bachama and related Bata communities had themselves been clients for Verre prestige brassware during the earlier decades of the twentieth century, and presumably had also been so in the nineteenth century. Because their own metalworking traditions are not well documented, we are unable to say with confidence which of the items collected from Bata or Bachama were made by them and which they had bought from the Verre. Other metalworks likely to have been made by Verre came into SUM hands via their mission station in the Alantika Mountains, at Tantile among the Koma, immediately east of the Verre. Retired SUM missionaries in Denmark have recently been assembling Verre brassworks collected in the mid-twentieth century with a view to displaying them in the gallery planned for the local archive of the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria under construction at Samba in Verre country, just south of the Adamawa state capital of Yola. Thanks to their sharing images of these materials, we know that the range of object types in the collection assembled by members of the SUM was very similar to others amassed around the same time.¹

A second, diffuse, source of evidence for the state of the market in the 1960s derives from the acquisitions made by other private collectors working at the time in Nigeria. Some of the Verre objects they bought and took home have subsequently found their way onto the international market through galleries and dealers. Thanks to the information provided to us,

¹ Aside from brief contact in 921, the Danish SUM was not active among the Verre until 1949. 'Despite much persecution of the evangelist and converts, a prayer hut was raised at Uki in 1951' (CAPRO 1992: 379). The congregation increased subsequently.

we know that these private collectors also acquired a similar range of materials to that in the SUM collection, which in turn is consistent with the major resource to which we turn now: a collection of Verre objects made for the Jos Museum in Nigeria by one of the co-authors of this volume.

Chappel's collection for the Jos Museum

Tim Chappel worked for the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities between 1963 and 1967, initially as an ethnographer based at the National Museum in Lagos, then from late 1965 posted to Yola to make an Adamawa Collection destined for the Jos Museum. Objects collected for two and a half months between 14 October and 31 December 1965 were subsequently accessioned at Jos as items 65.J306.1-627. Museum accession dates referred to the calendar year of collection rather than to the year of an item's formal registration at the museum, which happened only after pieces had been transported there in bulk, and once there was an opportunity to process them. Further collection occupied periods of the following year between 4 January to 26 December 1966, and the works acquired then were subsequently registered at Jos as items 66.J11.1-820. Verre works accounted for roughly two thirds of the total of the 820 accessions in 1966 (and because not every registered accession consisted of a single object, the total of objects would be greater). Given the scale of the collection that has passed to the successor organization, the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments, it is not feasible, as we could for the brassworks in the early colonial assemblage, to investigate items individually in our main text; we have instead constructed an accession list from all the documentation available to us in Appendix 1. This is likely to contain considerably more information for most entries than would have been recorded in the accession ledgers of the Jos Museum.

By steps, evidence of a regional footprint for Verre brassworks drew Chappel to collect from the Verre directly. An initial phase of field collection in Adamawa in late 1965 had concentrated on surveying areas to the north and west of Yola, including Bata settlements, particularly those around Song. Although Chappel acquired brasswares at this time, none of them was attributed by his informants to the Verre. This was to change in February and March 1966, when his attention shifted to Bata settlements south of the River Benue, both east and west of Yola. While many of these 'southern' Bata claimed their forebears to have produced their own brass items which they had brought with them when they migrated from Demsa Poa, others acknowledged that Bata had ceased to practise brasscasting and bought their later brassware from Verre specialists. A few days in February 1966 were crucial.

Chappel had followed these leads a few miles south of Yola to the Verre village of Tuki, at the northern foot of the Verre Hills, on 17 February where he acquired a first group of Verre artefacts (66.J11.98-111). Although brasscasting was not, or no longer, practised there, his informants left him in no doubt that the brass items he purchased had been made by Verre.

Two days later, on 19 February, he visited the Bata settlement of Nzoboliyo (in Bata; Njoboli Wambo in Fulfulde), a short distance southeast of Yola, where there was a discussion about the decorative ornaments worn by a bride during a wedding ceremony (*ngajie*, Bata). When dancing, the bride carried two decorated gourds (*gboy ngajie*, Bata – *never* it was said made of brass, *damse*, Bata) and wore horns (of the animal called *bomilie* in Bata, equated to *kwantarafa* in Hausa, hence, a reedbuck; its horns that would be carved in ivory if the bride was a chief's daughter), a beaded mask (*dambodie*, Bata) as well as brass armlets (*wule* [s.], *wulce* [pl.]) of which Chappel acquired three examples (66.J11.113-5, costing 5/- each). All those present were firmly of the view that the armlets were of Verre manufacture: formerly, the substantial cost of a single armlet would have been one white and one indigo gown. No one knew how the armlets were made, maintaining that the Bata did not make brass objects but always acquired them from the Verre, customarily at a place called Lolli, beyond the village of Uki, which is in the northern Verre Hills. They were unaware whether brasscasting continued there. A man from the Bata settlement of Bolki claimed there was a time when blacksmiths cast in brass in Bolki, but they did so no longer; he believed that they had been instructed in this process by Verre, and he had been told that no beeswax (*topo junmace*, Bata) was used but only 'mud'; but as he was unclear what else this might involve, it was apparent that he lacked direct knowledge of lost wax casting techniques (specifically that wax models needed to be clad with clay to produce moulds).

On 21 February, two days later, Chappel visited the hamlet of Bakaka, near Gengle (in Mayo Belwa District), to the west of the Verre Hills. People there, who self-identified as Genglefa, claimed to have migrated from the Verre Hills following conflicts, to settle with Bata. Although still sharing 'the same customs' as the Verre, they had adopted a language closer to Bata and no longer spoke Verre, communicating with them in Fulfulde, still then the lingua franca. When the Bata left the area, the Gengle came under the authority of the Fulani. Asked about brass (*soki*, in Genglefa), informants said that they thought some old women might have one or two items tucked away. Chappel purchased some brass ankle bells (*jagolong*, Genglefa) for 14/- said to have been bought from Bata 'when we were together on the hill' (66.J11.150), as well as a woman's iron dance wand (*kikem*, Genglefa) costing 5/-, said to have been made by a local blacksmith (*wesasi*, Genglefa) (66.J11.151). Iron (*sesasi*, Genglefa) was reportedly sourced from sediment (*tama*, Hausa) collected from the river after flooding. While they thought that both Bata and Verre had brasscasters among them in the past, Genglefa informants were uncertain whether this was still the case. Another two days later, taking us to 23 February 1966, now in the Bata settlement of Jerang, Chappel bought two women's brass armlets for £1 each, about which he could learn only that they were of Verre origin (66.J11.158-9). Over the course of a week, field evidence was mounting up to suggest the important wider role that the Verre had played in providing brassware to people living between them and the River Benue. To this we can add the evidence of Fr Kevin Malachi Cullen's notes which demonstrated that in the 1940s Verre had supplied the Mapeo Chamba, living to their south, with all their metalwares in both iron and brass. We have additionally

noted the presence of Verre metalwares among the Koma to the east. So, we can be confident that regional trade in metalworks radiated from the Verre to their neighbours to all four points of the compass; it is likely that the occasional brasswork also moved in the opposite direction to judge by presence in the Verre early post-colonial assemblage of objects that appear atypical in style or technique or both (for instance, 66.J11.220).

Chappel's growing awareness of the significance of Verre metalwares, and the evidence that older specimens were being traded actively, pointed to the urgency of making a collection from what remained in Verre hands on behalf of the Nigerian museums. Disappearance of Nigerian heritage, whether by destruction or sale abroad, was the particular concern of Kenneth Murray, the prime mover in the establishment of Nigerian national collections in late colonial times. Murray had become the first Director of the Antiquities Section in 1946, having been discharged from the army as Surveyor of Antiquities in 1943. In 1953, he oversaw the Antiquities Ordinance and the establishment of an Antiquities Commission. The Jos Museum had lately opened to acclaim under the direction of Bernard Fagg in 1952, and it was Fagg who succeeded Murray in 1957 of what, in the following year, became a government department (Eboreime 1995; Hellman 2013, 2014). In 1964, Murray had come out of retirement to fill the gap in staffing occasioned by Fagg's departure in October to become Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, only its third since 1891. Murray relocated the department's Nigerian headquarters from Jos, where Fagg had moved it, back to Lagos. In response to artworks leaving the country, what by now had become the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities had established the 'Antiquities Squad' to register known dealers (predominantly Yoruba and Hausa) and require them to offer any antiquities they acquired initially to the Lagos museum. This move was bolstered by attempts to intercept works exported without authorization and by urgent collection on the ground, although the scale of the second was constrained financially. As the mission statement of the time had it, 'The primary purposes of the Department of Antiquities are the protection and preservation of Nigerian Antiquities: it is only secondarily a department for ethnographic research. The preservation of the actual object must take precedence over the recording of its purposes, whenever the two are incompatible.' Notwithstanding their job titles, 'ethnographers' like Chappel were primarily required to purchase objects, and in practice to do so from their own salaries and reclaim expenditure monthly, a procedure that proved more burdensome as salary payments became irregular with the onset of civil war. Occasionally, given other buyers prepared to pay more for them, this out-of-pocket practice meant objects were priced beyond the reach of the museum. Nonetheless, Chappel assembled a substantial collection that he considered likely to include a high proportion of the objects that remained still in Verre hands. While obliged to prioritize collection, when opportunities presented themselves Chappel asked his intermediaries to provide him with terms for objects and some account of their form and functions.

Leaving aside the few Verre pieces collected earlier from the Bata, as we have seen, collection directly from the Verre of brass objects was initiated in Tuki on 17 February 1966

(66.J11.98); and the last Verre object was bought from Cholli (Meek's Solli) on 26 December the same year (66.J11.820). Despite absences from Yola to deputize for the Curator in Jos for two weeks between mid- to late-February, and again for two to three weeks in wet season between August and September, collection did not abate. Pragmatically, Chappel decided to collect through the network of contacts willing to supply him from a few accessible villages, notably Cholli and Tuki, otherwise visiting only the market town of Karlahi, Ragin and possibly Uki (see Appendix 2). Chappel's regular vendors were persuaded to bring pieces to Yola, whether or not he was present, for him to assess, either immediately or on his return, for purchase before they sold them elsewhere. Almost two-thirds of the items sold to Chappel for which the name of a vendor was recorded came via only five of around thirty vendors; the same men gave him most of the information on traditional price, use and so forth we summarize in Appendix 1. While we are aware of the likely shortcomings of reliance on the verbal accounts of intermediaries, not least a leaning towards the formulaic when responding to similar questions posed repeatedly, this information is nevertheless richer than anything recorded previously, or indeed subsequently.

By the mid-1960s, the few brasscasters Chappel met, or heard about, produced on commission; whereas in previous times, they recalled being able to sell whatever they made. The older pieces with which Verre were now willing to part were not being replaced in local use. The hike in local demand that had occurred in the two decades between the World Wars had wound down with the conversion, particularly from the 1950s, of younger members of the community to the world religions and with changing standards of conspicuous display. Nonetheless, Chappel was able to take a pair of photographs, probably in Yola market, of older Verre women, who continued to dress in a style by then considered traditional.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

From Chappel's fieldnotes, which were the basis of reports submitted to the Federal Department of Antiquities, we have constructed an accession list for the five hundred plus Verre pieces he collected over fifty years ago (Appendix 1). Among several limitations on our research, the most obvious is that none of us has been able to consult the surviving records, or objects, held in the museums in Lagos and, particularly, Jos. Future researchers should also be aware of problems that arose earlier because collection and accession coincided with the onset of Nigeria's civil war. Except for some of the materials collected in 1965, registration of the Adamawa collection was completed by Chappel in Jos late in 1966 and in early 1967 before his departure. The copies of contact prints reproduced in Appendix 1 were taken at this time by Chappel. On the instruction of Allen Bassing, a later record was made of all items by the museum's photographer. Chappel received copies of at least 252 of the 627 items collected in 1965, but only 53 of the 820 items collected in 1966, among them just four from the Verre (109, 158, 165, 173).² Moreover, the photographs did not invariably carry accession numbers to match them with object records. Events in Nigeria were accelerating the departure of staff of southern origin from Jos who were important in technical and administrative services; the upshot is that the photographic record we have of the Verre

² Not all items were available to be photographed: decorated gourds and coiled basketry mats were retained in Yola, as were those brasswares about which Chappel wished to check with his informants a final time.

collection in Jos consists largely of the images Chappel himself was able to take before his departure, when the condition of both his camera and film stock had deteriorated. We have tried to make good the lacunae where we can: together with his wife Carolyn Bassing, Allen Bassing, when Acting Curator at Jos Museum, installed a display cabinet of predominantly Verre, Adamawa metalwork during 1967 of which Carolyn sent three photographs to Tim Chappel at the end of that year. We have endeavoured to relate as many as possible of the items then on exhibition to our accession list (compare Interleaf and Appendix 1). Arnold Rubin and Nancy Maas's slightly later research on the Nigerian museum collections have both been invaluable. Rubin's photographs were archived at the Fowler Museum UCLA after his death, while Nancy Maas generously sent us the original file cards of all her detailed Verre notes and sketches made in Lagos and Jos in 1974. We reproduce both these sources with the relevant items in Appendix 1. Notwithstanding these additional resources, we still lack illustrations for a majority of the Verre pieces collected in the field, and this absence is almost complete in relation to some important object types, among which we particularly regret two distinctive Verre brassworks: ornate brass-handled daggers and brass prestige hoes. To compensate these absences, in these two cases and others, in Part Two we shall selectively draw in similar objects in private and museum collections that we believe were collected roughly contemporaneously with Chappel's. Our method involves us in some duplication: as well as listing the entirety of objects Chappel collected in order of their accession together with whatever illustration and information we have about them in Appendix 1, we also include those of the objects we can illustrate in the formal comparisons of object types in Part Two.

For the remainder of this chapter, we shall explore what Chappel's notes, cued by Verre objects collected, tell us about Verre society.

Tibaai and Gazabi

While the relation between smiths and farmers is crucial to understanding Verre society, reconstructing it is complicated by the fact of it changing, partly in consequence of alterations in its wider regional context. Meek described Cholli, also Chappel's main point of contact, as a village, among others, inhabited entirely by smiths, recording a version of the term we have transcribed as *Tibaas* (s), *Tibaai* (pl) for smiths; the same term that appears in all our sources from Frobenius in 1911 to the most recent dictionaries. Chappel's informants contrasted *Tibaai* with *Gazabi*, who were not smiths, so by default farmers; this latter term does not appear in other Verre word lists, and Chappel suspects it may already have been falling out of use. Apparently unknown to contemporary Verre,³ it does resemble a term in Koma Gimbe, a closely related language, which Michel Dieu transcribed as *gézibē* with the sense of 'diviner, healer' (Dieu and Perrois 2016). Adrian Edwards quotes his informant James Deka's statement that, 'The blacksmiths do not know medicines' (1991: 324). To add to a puzzle that is easier

³ According to Aliyu Umaru's communication to Tim Chappel in 2021.

to pose than to resolve: neighbouring speakers of Adamawa languages most closely related to Verre have a term for smith based on a root *lam-*, Bata and Bachama have *kila*, and Chamba Daka has *kpe*. In 1966, recalling circumstances around two generations earlier, which is to say at least in Meek's if not in Frobenius's times, Chappel's Cholli informants, described their village not as inhabited entirely by smiths, as Meek claimed, but as consisting of two physically separated, endogamous social groupings: *Lams* (s), *Lami* (pl) and *Tɔj* (s), *Tɔri* (pl). In the predominant account, *Lami* were smiths and *Tɔri* non-smiths. Given that *lam-* is a root form of smith in other Adamawa languages, it seems legitimate to wonder whether *Tibaai* is an innovation. The fact of the term *Tibaai* being more inclusive than blacksmith invites further speculation whether this category somehow reflected the growth in number of those working copper alloys. Blench and Edwards record the meaning of a verb *tiikwa* as 'to smith', which might be related to *Tibaai*, but even it was, to understand the derivation we would need to know what Verre included in the verb 'to smith', whether specifically the percussive action to forge by pounding or more broadly to shape metal.

Many African languages, like the Verre's Mapeo Chamba neighbours, call copper alloys by a compound term for red metal/iron; by contrast Verre, and, apparently by borrowing also Koma, have a term for copper alloy (both noun and adjective) based on the root *suk-*, which as a verb probably means smelt, or melt. Brassworkers are thereby related to an activity different in quality to that of the forge, the preeminent place of hammering, but not dissimilar to the activity of smiths as smelters. Unfortunately, we have no information on which we might base a comparison of the iron smelting furnace and brasscasting, but the possibility of their being aligned symbolically does seem *prima facie* to be strong.

The contrasting term in the smith-farmer pair, *Tɔri* or suchlike, may contrary to *Tibaai* have narrowed in sense. Edwards recorded the term *toz* (s), *tori* (pl) as the title of the priest, male or female, responsible for the main agricultural rituals (1991: 312-13, 316-17); the same title was claimed by Chappel's informant Yakubu (see below). These indications connect with Dieu's definition of the Koma *gézibē* and with the Verre *Gazabi* for non-smiths, who unlike smiths are said to know about medicines. The difference between metalworkers, who master the rituals to transform metals, and those who carry out the rituals ensuring the well-being of people and crops seems to be the consistent contrast made irrespective of variations in the paired terms.

Although he was enquiring when blacksmithing was in decline, Edwards, who had substantial comparative experience of West and Central Africa, was impressed by the absence of either special ritual prerogatives or marked avoidances affecting smiths beyond non-intermarriage, separate burial and not eating food cooked in the smithy (1991: 315). This relatively unmarked status compared to smiths elsewhere might result from Verre smiths, both brass and iron workers, having become so numerous in the past as not only to occupy their own discrete settlements, but in some respects to have formed a distinct society. Because they worked with metals rather than plants, smiths were said not to know about medicines, which typically have a plant base. Chappel collected an extended account of

medicine collection from Yakubu, titled *Toj*, one of his Gazabi vendor informants, and the similarities with the collection of ores by smiths, described below, are striking. The medicine, *tet* (s), *tet* (pl), was essential for the agrarian rite of *Bus Kabili* (10 November 1966, Fieldnotes 5: 127-32, with reference to 66.J11.696 *buna* (s), *bunut* (pl), medicine bag).

There are three ingredients in the medicine. The first are a kind of root, *dinga* (s), *dingut* (pl) (*lekki ginaji*, Fulfulde; *magani hauka*, Hausa) provided by the *zam* spirits 'from under a stone/boulder'. They must be collected in the middle of the night. The collector must wear no clothes, nor wash beforehand, nor sleep with his wife the night before. He leaves in secret, without his wife being aware, speaking to no one during or about his journey. Before departure, he rubs certain leaves on his body, *tebi* (s), *tebai* (pl) (*gufudo*, Fulfulde, compare Taylor, 1932: 68, *gubudo*, a prostrate herb: *Ceratotheca sesamoides*; *kerkechi*, Hausa). The *zam* [spirits] dislike the odour of these leaves which also prevent snake bites. If he displays any fear on his way to collect the roots, the *zam* will not allow him to proceed. To test him, they send their 'children': snakes, large monkeys and hyenas. He carries particular leaves in his hand, *badange* (s), *badani* (pl) (*duku jaladde*, Fulfulde; *gwan dan daji*, Hausa, *Anona senegalensis*); so long as he is holding these leaves, the *zam* cannot harm him. He will then beg the *zam* three times to permit him to take the roots; although they will depart to allow him to achieve this, they hide hoping to catch him unawares on his return journey. So, he must return by a different route. He will also collect the second ingredient: some earth from the place the *zam* were resting and where the roots were found, *but zamdit* (s), 'ground for *zam*'. He must be careful to put the ingredients in an animal-skin bag (such as that collected for the museum) as the *zam* are enraged by anything white, whether bag or cloth, or anything else. If they do manage to catch a person returning with these ingredients, they will kill him. *Zam* cannot talk; they look like 'small boys with no heads, and smooth bodies.' They may be male or female and they are intrinsically 'bad/evil'. At the same time, they are classified as the 'brother of *Do'os*', because everything for *Do'os* comes initially from *zam*, including both medicines and brass. The third ingredient is *gbaara* (s), *gbari* (pl) (*kwandule*, Fulfulde), a non-root ingredient, taken neither from the hills, nor from the *zam*, but locally available (compare Taylor 1932: 41, *duli*, Fulfulde, red weed, *Striga senegalensis*). While other Gazabi may use the second and third medicines, only he is able to use the biggest of them, *dinga* roots.

The medicine is cooked not immediately but when required. Then it is taken to *gbaar* (s), *gbati* (pl), 'shrine' with upright stones, *tul* (s), *turi* (pl) (compare Blench and Edwards 1988, *gbaar*, stone circle used for ceremony). The medicine is placed in a hole at the shrine and a stone placed over it. He (Yakubu in this instance) will then announce to the people of the village that he has done his work and that the rite of *Bus Kabili* (s) can take place. This happens once a year, in November; Yakubu decides exactly when, as did his father and as will his son. His title is, *Toj* (s), *Tori* (pl). Nobody

in Cholli may eat the new corn until *Bus Kabili* has been performed. If the rite is not performed, crops will fail the following year, and everybody will starve. His payment for preparing the medicine is seven baskets from the new harvest of guinea corn or groundnuts.

Inheritance in both marriage communities, whether smiths or farmers, was partible: fixed assets, like the compound, were inherited from father to son, but moveable properties were inherited from a mother's brother by his sister's son. Endogamy meant that wealth remained within the community despite partible inheritance; a close marriage partner was preferred; only a man's mother, sisters, and the daughter of the sister of a common mother were considered unmarriageable; marriage with the daughter of a paternal half-sister was described favourably. Recall that Meek recorded two forms of marriage differentiated by high and low brideprice, of which only the former transferred the right to filiate children to a man. His observation is corroborated by a Verre author (Wiu 2018: 80) and by Edwards (1991: 312). While it is proper to be cautious of deriving practical consequences from recollected rules, if something like these practices were followed by a reasonable proportion of people then, over time, they would have the effect of concentrating wealth, including wealth in dependents, within closely and multiply related groupings of individuals. This possibility gains interest from the fact of Chappel's informants consistently differentiating brasswares according to whether they were for the use and/or ownership of smiths or farmers. The more ornate, larger, and therefore more costly pieces were identified as being for the smiths. The notion of an endogamous group of smiths creating objects in copper alloy for their own use may seem curious, but smiths previously made up a large proportion of the population and, in addition to their fellow Verre, as noted already, they supplied the Fulani (Edwards 1991: 313), as well as some communities of the Bachama, Bata, Chamba and Koma. By the mid-1960s, demand for brasswares had collapsed, and along with it so presumably had the viability of communities composed solely of smiths. Edwards noted that smiths were by the 1980s scattered among agricultural communities, remarking specifically the disappearance of a 'blacksmith community at Mayo Seni in the southern end of Verre country' (1991:313) which would seem to refer to the same area that Cullen noted as the source of metalwares for the Chamba of Mapeo in the 1940s. The communities on the western and southern edges of the Verre Hills would have been close to the Fulani centres subject to Yola, notably Hibango and Ubawo/Nassarawo. Wiu attributes the loss of metalworking skills, particularly in brass, to domination and exploitation by the Fulani with the support of colonial powers (2000: 19), but it seems as likely that Verre metal workers would have thrived in locations exposed to the Fulani in the nineteenth century because there was demand for their products from Fulani as well as non-Fulani, and their relative decline was a consequence of a general fall in this demand for metal works, and particularly for brassware.

To judge by the accounts offered by some of Chappel's later informants, at one time there may have been sufficient demand for brassware that some casters, although identified as *Tibaai*, did not forge in iron at all. The Fulani were recalled as having supplied the bulk of brass

raw material in the form of items to be recycled, but Chappel was sufficiently inclined to give credence to detailed accounts of copper mining to justify two attempts to obtain samples of ore in 1966 (and a third recently reported later). In the course of these efforts, several conversations with metalworkers (in Ragin in November 1966) were written up in Chappel's notebooks. None of the informants was a native of Ragin; they had all had moved down from the hills.

Yasaruma,⁴ who had come to Ragin from Gurinati to work as a brasscaster (interviewed on 1 November 1966; Fieldnotes 5: 23) claimed that although his father, from whom he learnt his skills, had sourced ore 'from the hills' it had become 'too difficult' to continue and he did not himself know how to do so; instead, he melted down old items, particularly *mule*, the large beads worn by women as hip pendants. One of the crooks Chappel collected had reportedly been cast by Yasaruma at Ragin (66.J11.613). Three weeks later, Yasaruma provided a detailed description of casting a bell (21 November 1966, Fieldnotes 6: 5-7).

A clay core is built up around a 'tube' of grasses bound together with clay (*wops*) composed of soil and cow dung; this is the same material that is used to construct granaries or to coat the inside walls of rooms. This core is sun dried before being shaped further with a knife. Wax is applied in wide strips, and then decorative motifs are added, for instance using threads to design spirals (*ga*). Excised patterns, such as those on daggers, are cut out at this stage of modelling rather than later. Only 'yellowish' honeybee wax is suitable for this modelling (*disa wasi*); black wax, produced by earth bees, would crack when heated. The beeswax has previously been warmed in water so that impurities sink leaving only pure wax on the surface. The same clay that was used to make the core is next applied in a thin layer over the wax mould and sun dried. To cast the bell, an inverted crucible is made of the same clay and fixed to the head of the mould. Brass, consisting of Fulani rings and other old brass items, which has previously been melted down is placed into the crucible which is then sealed with clay so it can be inverted and placed upside down on the fire for two hours for the brass to melt. Buried in a hole under the fire is a medicine including *wan go'os* (s), *wanga go'yi* (pl); glossed as 'oil of leopard', this substance has been taken from a leopard kill, though its more precise character was obscure. With a fresh sapling that has been partly stripped and bent to form pincers, the heated mould is turned the right way up so that the melted brass can displace the wax. The casting is then left for half an hour before water is sprinkled onto it; another hour is allowed to pass before

⁴ It is noticeable that many of the personal names of smiths begin with *Ya*- which we thought might be a title or other appellation. Temple earlier noted a 'high priest' Yakunor who serves the 'great god' Yakumam (1919: 357). In response to Chappel's enquiry in 2021, Aliyu Umaru suggested that *Ya* was the title bestowed on members of the prestigious cult *Burkutu*, one of the *Do'os*, joined on payment of four goats, ten sacks of grain and large quantities of beer, and bestowed only after the wounds caused by undergoing a severe lashing to the chest had healed.

the mould is broken open. In the past a short, broad-handled knife with a leaf-shaped blade was used to finish the object; 'nowadays' a file is used instead.

Like Yasaruma, Yakbaruk, a brasscaster who had come to Ragin from Togaro (interviewed on 1 November 1966; Fieldnotes 5: 23, 37-38), recycled brass objects for his castings. Although he identified as a *Tibaai*, Yakbaruk said he was only a brasscaster and not a blacksmith. He had learnt the work from his father and thought a man should do either one or the other type of metalwork, but not both. He believed, although he did not explain on what basis, that Verre had been brass workers before they became iron workers, and that brass work was a 'better' thing than iron work. While this is implausible for Verre smiths generally, it raises the possibility of a time when some non-smiths nonetheless became brasscasters, a phenomenon reported from the Dii to the south (see Chapter 6). Like Yakbaruk, he claimed his father had mined local copper alloy ore and volunteered some knowledge of the ritual this involved. Before departing to the hills, his father would take dog faeces and place them on the fire, sitting over it until the odours penetrated his skin. After this he would neither wash, oil his body, wear clothes nor sleep with his wife. The *zam* spirits at the mine, smelling the dog faeces, would leave so that he could take what he wanted. Turning to his own brasscasting, when he was working, Yakbaruk said, no one other than his son was allowed near him or to speak with him. A 'big medicine' (*tet gbikak*, Verre; *lek jannanga*, Fulfulde, see Taylor, 1932: 122, *lekki*, potion, medicine) was made from the roots of two trees (*dike* and *su* in Verre; for which Fulfulde and Hausa equivalents were not known). These roots were buried in a hole on top of which the fire for smelting was made. The medicine kept away the *zam* who would otherwise spoil the work in revenge for the theft of their material.

A third informant, ɔfa Kila⁵ about fifty years of age (interviewed 21 November 1966; Fieldnotes 6: 1) had come to live and work in Ragin from Lolli, 'on the hill', where he had been born. Although he identified as *Tibaai*, ɔfa Kila had arrived at Ragin as a brasscaster and had learnt iron work from other blacksmiths only after settling there; he considered Ragin, like Uki, to be a *Gazabi* settlement. ɔfa Kila offered a detailed description of the precautions taken when collecting ore for brass casting.

Marks were made in red ochre (*kaadam*, Fulfulde) between the big and second toe of the right foot, on the forehead and on the left shoulder: when *zam* spirits see a man bearing these marks 'they will be made aware of his intentions'. The miner must not sleep with a woman for three nights before departing, nor wash during those three days, because when washing in the river he might stand where someone else, who has recently slept with a woman, has just washed, so that man's 'dirt' washes off onto him. The miner leaves home at 5 a.m. so that nobody may see him going; in his right

⁵ *Kila* looks like the term for smith in languages including Fulfulde.

hand he holds twigs from a tree that has an odour repellent to *zam*, called in Verre *deses*, or *dersers*, (*yotere*, Fulfulde, cf. Taylor, 1932: 238, *youtere*, mistletoe [W.Indian], *Loranthus Pentagonia*; *kause*, Hausa). Brass ore 'belongs to *zam*' – is given to them by 'God', so only if the appropriate rituals are carried out will the way be 'open', and the collection of mineral ore be possible. According to ɔfa Kila, Verre stopped taking ore 'from the hills when the Fulbe came' because it was easier to buy brass (*jamdi* [*njamndi*] *bodejum*, Fulfulde lit. 'red iron', see Taylor, 1932: 96, 17; *jangkarfe*, Hausa) from them and melt it down.

A man earlier dispatched by ɔfa Kila to collect an ore sample was present at this interview. His mission had proved futile because on going to the 'hole' he found that the *zam* had 'filled it in' with *wops*, the same mixture of clay and cow dung used to make moulds; he thought that the twigs taken with him had been old and dried and hence ineffective. Reluctantly, and after protracted discussion, he agreed to find fresh twigs and try again. The ore sample (*wutu wes* (s), *wuta wengbi* (pl)) provided from this second venture to the 'copper mines' (66.J11.687) was later sent to Thurstan Shaw at the University of Ibadan for analysis. Chappel subsequently also acquired from ɔfa Kila what was alleged to be a sample of 'raw' copper alloy (66.J11.749) smelted from locally acquired ore 'a long time ago', *jumnet suktuntat* (s). A letter from Chappel to Thurstan Shaw (of which there is a copy in the UCLA Rubin archive, dated 27 January 1967) refers to 'two' ore samples (but not the smelted sample which was retained in Jos) being sent to the University of Ibadan for analysis, with results that Chappel recalls were reported to have been negative. In 2021, however, samples of chalcopyrite (CuFeS₂) sourced from the Verre Hills were analysed by the Nigerian Institute of Mining and Geosciences with a result approaching 20% copper (and 10% iron), reopening the question of whether local processing to yield copper, or a copper alloy, was feasible before the increased availability of scrap made the effort required unattractive.

All the half dozen or so smiths or brasscasters with whom Chappel had limited contact reported that they had undertaken some farming activity as brass commissions became infrequent. Chappel was told that all the brass goods in Tuki had been inherited rather than bought, and they could cite only one man, Kombowal living at Lugere Delle some 12 miles distant, who might still be casting (Fieldnotes 1: 8-11).

Chappel noted another conversation with a blacksmith and brasscaster called Yabik from Maro, near Kesa, a place around three miles from Cholli, whom he met at Ragin (21 November 1966; Fieldnotes 6: 17-19) and who told him of *Yallabatus* (s), *Yallabati* (pl), an annual ceremony in honour of metal workers. Metalworkers' ceremonies were apparently becoming less exclusive. For instance, during *Baaka Do'os*, when a man of the *saari* age grade becomes a *dɔnda*, he must offer the priest, who is the next senior grade of *dɔnda gbijaas*, the best beer in his brass jar, *yerk*, 'for [on behalf of] *Do'os*'. In the past only smiths would have been invited,

but 'nowadays' (referring to 1966), he invites other *donda gbijaas* of Kesa to join him as 'they are the same' (Fieldnotes 7: 42).

Taken together with individual histories of movement, the consistent impression is that by 1966 the once distinct communities of *Tibaai* had ceased to be viable, and smiths, now restricted almost entirely to working in iron, had moved into farming villages, and even begun to grow their own food, looking back regretfully to the time when they were so well paid in kind by their clients that they were the wealthier party. This transition may have been underway for over a generation if we recall Cullen's statement that brass goods were commissioned from Lainde Boi by Mapeo Chamba in the 1940s, and Edwards' reference to the survival of a smithing community in southern Verre country into the 1960s. Although Edwards found no particular fear of smiths, he recorded that non-smiths thought them 'very lazy people. They will not go to farm'; and he comments, 'This criticism evidently represents the view which farmers took of the non-farming blacksmiths of the past. Present-day blacksmiths [1980s] do in fact farm, and both blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths explain this as being due to necessity. Blacksmithing nowadays will not support them without an additional source of income, but apparently it did in the past' (1991: 325). Edwards concludes that 'blacksmiths were apparently more prosperous in the past in relation to other Verre and they were, presumably, the section of Verre society most respected by outsiders' (1991: 327). This scenario gives credence to the consistent discrimination made by Chappel's vendors between the largest and most decorated wares, usually said to have been made by the *Tibaai* for fellow smiths and their wives, and the less prestigious items which they sold to non-smiths.

The ritual life of brass

What were the purposes served by the brasswares retained within Verre communities? Africa south of the Sahara had no bronze age preceding its iron age; copper alloy was a prestige material contemporary with iron with its own particular properties and potentialities. In terms of the symbolic triad of colours – black, white and red – copper alloys contrasted with iron as red does with black. The brightness of copper alloy was valued rather than its patination; copper alloy objects were polished or abraded to shine in use. Copper alloys have plastic properties mid-way between pottery and iron. Pretty much anything that can be modelled in wax can be cast in copper alloy sheathed in clay. But once cooled, the resulting object has the permanence of iron, even if it lacks some of its functionality. We have spoken purposefully in these sentences of copper alloy given the, as yet open, question of the historic use of local ores. That said, the objects collected from Verre are likely all to be brass, a material that was not produced locally but involved communities in networks of trade. As we examine in Part Two, the overwhelming majority of Verre brassware consisted of skeuomorphs, versions in brass of prototypes first, and usually still, made in other materials; these remain recognizable even though the form and decoration of the brass versions may depart from their originals in some respects. There are at least two exceptions to this which

we analyse later: neither crotal bells (or simply crotals), nor brass bells with iron clappers have close all-iron prototypes in the Verre material repertoire; some of the oldest looking brass bells combine these forms thanks to their small crotal shoulder decorations. These two percussion instruments performed in ways not easily replicated by instruments made in other materials and on that basis may be considered uniquely copper alloy objects both formally and functionally. Across the remainder of its repertoire, the brass skeuomorph performed in the same way as its prototype but at a higher level in several senses: more expensive, more pleasing aesthetically, scarcer, and with a material relationship closer to the *zam* spirits who considered copper alloy materials their own. Access, either by purchase or loan, to the objects and their attributes was a matter of status: whether man or woman, youth or elder, smith or farmer, initiate or not, wealthy or poor, a close relative or not. These were the attributes foregrounded by Chappel's informants in their appreciation of the brass objects they brought to him.

Other than a few personal ornaments, brass objects were used only occasionally during the ceremonial events that punctuated either individual life cycles or the annual cycles of community life. Of the life cycle events, informants' accounts gave prominence to the circumcision and initiation of youths and then their later elevation to formal elderhood. There was wide participation in the sequence of rituals and ceremonies around the time of the new harvest. This was also the time when the meetings of the *Do'os* or cults resumed following abeyance during the wet or farming season. Given that circumcision, preparation for which began at the harvest ceremonies, also began the process of initiation into *Do'os*, the association between brass and cults was close, although not exclusive.

Most men's ritual activity took place within the context of *Do'os*, a term which has been translated in various ways. For Meek, *Do'os* was 'employed as a personification of all the occult powers' (1931: 431). In their dictionary, Blench and Edwards (1988) identify it with 'a class of traditional ceremonies associated with the development of traditional magical power'. Chappel's fieldnotes described *Do'os* as the direct source of all the beneficial aspects of life: good crop yields, health and the individual's age-grade related, social status. According to Clement Wiu, writing for his Bachelor Degree in Sacred Theology, '*Do'os* is a religious term for Juju or the gods. It is secret from women and children. Through *Do'os* refers to the gods worshipped, it also refers to those who take part in the worship, including the instruments used for sacrifice. The things used for worship and sacrifice are also *do'os*, the things used are also gods because they are to be kept secret', and these activities occur within the "shrine" *do-bu'uk*' (2000: 4). These definitions, in their different idioms, are likely all to be true if, as their Chamba neighbours would claim, Verre practices are similar to their own. If *Do'os* is the Verre counterpart to Chamba *voma* or *jubi*, or slightly further afield to Tiv *akombo*, then we are dealing with a multitude of cults with individual esoteric cultures entered by initiation, each with its cult apparatus and rituals, its place and schedule of meetings, and a particular range of powers over misfortunes it can both cause and cure. These cults do not meet during

wet season when crops are growing but resume before the harvest which they usher in and close with large-scale celebrations and dancing. If the analogy holds, then all the descriptions above would hold also: as Meek noted, the entirety of these diverse practices can be spoken about as a singular intentional (or as he put it personified) agency; as Blench and Edwards stated, cult practices involve a variety of ceremonies; and as Chappel was told, the cults were guarantors of good fortune, because they also controlled misfortunes. Each *Do'os* had its own name and belonged to a 'clan' which undertook its 'religious practices' at a particular place out of sight of women who must pay for purification if they witness any ritual or else risk the loss of their own life or that of a family member (Wiu 2000: 23). The age-related status categories for men were at the same time measures of their initiation into cults, with consequences which continued until their funeral rites. Chappel notes that an initiate might become a temporary *dɔnda* by making frequent offerings to *Do'os*, a hint that progression was not simply a matter of age (Fieldnotes 5: 28). The brasswares collected by Chappel included beer pots, rings and drinking vessels made specifically for the use of senior members of cults during their meetings, particularly in those cults belonging to smiths. This association recalls Cullen's testimony of the presence of a Verre-made brass figure at the centre of the most powerful of Mapeo Chamba matriclan cults, *karbangi*.

Verre communities were gerontocracies. Insofar as there were any purely political or administrative positions, these had been imposed, as the titles *Ardo* and *Jauro* suggest, by the Fulani and subsequently reshaped under British colonial rule. Verre men, whether *Tibai* or *Gazabi*, proceeded, albeit in parallel, through the same named age grades that were reported to Chappel. The most junior grade was that of *wasas* (s), *yangi tuma* (pl) youths, who entered young adulthood at approximately seven-year intervals when the annual celebration of the guinea corn harvest with beer and dancing, *Seerkaana*, was also the occasion for youths to be circumcised. This rite of passage involved preliminary stages (*Jela*, which included beating, and *Gaaka Yalan*) culminating in *Gangni* (in full *Daaka Gangni*), the circumcision, after which the youths' status became *was* (s), *yangi* (pl). Subsequent progression depended upon initiation through stages into the Verre system of protective and punitive cults, *Do'os*. Via the rituals of *Baaka Do'os Banjas*, the circumcised youths would transition to being *saari*. In early middle age they became *dɔndas wajaas*; and when, at least in principle, they had witnessed around seven circumcision ceremonies since their own (roughly fifty years) they would become *dɔnda gbijaas*. Although they proceeded separately, the progression was the same for *Tibai* and *Gazabi*, so that Chappel's informants could tell him the age grades of the metalworkers he had interviewed: the status of Yabik was *was*; Yamarum was *dɔnda wajaas*; while Yasaruma, ɔfa Kila and Yawam were all *dɔnda gbijaas* (Fieldnotes 7: 54-5). However, if Chappel's estimates of his informants' ages were close guesses, and these statuses correct, then it would mean some individuals were reaching the highest grade of initiation in less time than the seven circumcision cycles specified to apply in principle, which is unsurprising given the formulaic ring to seven cycles of seven years. On the other hand, Chappel was told by his informant Samuel Cholli, Ardo Sambo's half-brother, that as the next *Gangni* would be the

seventh after his own, Ardo Sambo would soon qualify to become a 'proper' *dɔnda*, *dɔnda gbijaas*, a formulation that suggests a more literal approach.

Women's life course seems to have had fewer marked stages, although it must be kept in mind that Chappel's informants were overwhelmingly men. The scarification ceremony of *Dei-ki Peena* preceded marriage, and on achieving seniority women would be addressed as *baaba* (s), *baabai* (pl) which was both an honorific title for a female elder and a term for grandmother.

The occasions surrounding circumcision particularly called for the display of brassware. Chappel witnessed only one of the stages of the ceremony, and that involving a single boy. But his informants told him some of what happened more generally. Before they were circumcised, not only would the boys dance with the women for a final time but, as we see below, they would borrow brass bells and beads to be clothed like them. For the operation itself, the boys grasped a brass crook with both hands which they hooked behind the neck; and those who could borrow one had an ornate brass-handled dagger, in its equally intricate scabbard, suspended down their back, or else borrowed a brass figure.

Annual events clustered particularly around harvest (Cholli, 12 November 1966; Fieldnotes 5: 43-46, 49). Although Chappel witnessed only a single event in the sequence of rituals that continued throughout the harvest season, he was given a list of names of stages and performances. It would require further local guidance to resolve the etymological senses, if any, of the terms and the significance of the sequence in which they were performed, but it is sufficiently clear that the cycle of performances was extended and involved more and less esoteric episodes. One of the esoteric episodes described above in relation to medicines, *Bus Kabili*, may have either preceded or formed part of the first stage of the harvest cycle.

Whether *Ris Kaguri* referred to the ritual that was the precursor to the harvest or was also a covering term for the entire cycle is uncertain. *Ris Kaguri* involved procession to a *Do'os* shrine where men played tuned pipes made from five animal horns: four cow horns and a fifth from a reeduck. Dancing women circled the shrine, until after dark when led by Ardo Sambo, one of Chappel's informants, those attending proceeded outside the village, where Ardo Sambo planted his ritual staff in the ground which the dancers now circled. The objects connected to this ritual included a brass skeuomorph of a water pot said to be used by *Gazabi* women (66.J11.623), a brass double clapperless bell and a double iron clapperless bell both used by *Tibaai* (66.J11.677), as well as the set of the two-stop pipes played (66.J11.725-9) which were also recorded.⁶

⁶ The tapes of this and other recordings were donated for preservation to the UK National Sound Archive in 2020.

Gura Bai was the occasion for, or perhaps a description of, a night of singing and dancing. The antelope horn used during *Ris Kaguri* was replaced with two more cow horns to make up a set of six (66.J11.798-9). This configuration had apparently been adopted from the Koma.

Taaki, the third stage of the agrarian cycle of festivals took place at night during the time of the new moon; no pipes or drums were involved, only gourd rattles and iron bells to accompany women dancing. The occasion that Chappel witnessed at Cholli was punctuated by a speech delivered by Ardo Sambo dressed in the style of a Fulani wearing an indigo-dyed gown and turban, during the course of which, as well as advising that intimate liaisons be conducted in the seclusion of the bush, he asked those assembled to pay their taxes. Chappel collected a brass horn (66.J11.675) said to have been blown by a *Tibaai* to summon people in the event of emergency with the proviso that it might also be lent for a small payment to be blown during *Taaki*.

Maas Kataaki (or *Maas Ka Taaki*) is noted only insofar as it involved an early morning procession of youths around the village.

Nenga Kabusum took place at night, when the *Do'os* 'takes hunger and throws it away into the bush'; women must remain indoors throughout; it involves a deep-throated horn (gourd horn?), the beating of stones, gourds, and pots, as well as the whirring of wooden bull-roarers. The reedbuck horn in the *gura* set is played.

Seerkana – including *Wag Dees* dancing – takes place after the completion of harvest around January. Beer is again brewed for dancing. When there is to be *Gangni*, or circumcision, then *Gaka Yalan* takes place. Dressed in a yard of indigo-dyed local cloth, wearing beads around their waists and necks, and crotals around their arms and wrists in addition to bracelets, the initiates emerge to dance in public. Although there is no informant testimony on the topic, their appearance would seem to be feminized by these accoutrements. From this time onwards, having shed this dress, they may not sit with nor touch women and must eat from their own bowls.

Kusa Kabik – including *Wag Dees* dancing – occurs as the rain arrives and dancing takes place for the final time when the *Do'os* season is closed until the following harvest.

Even if we cannot describe their details, which in any case are likely to have varied locally between Verre communities, Chappel's notes indicate that the observances around harvest time were varied and protracted. The dances, beer drinking and *Do'os* rituals provided several opportunities for prestige brasswares to be displayed, either worn by women or used as paraphernalia of the cults by the *donda gbijaas* or senior elders. Blench suggests as many as thirteen steps were required to complete elderhood (1993: 1); a substantial investment underlining the importance of elderhood as a status for both smiths and farmers throughout

Verre land and indicative of it as a status both achieved by payment and ascribed by age. We have noted already the existence of Fulani titles like *Ardo* and *Jauro* in some Verre communities. Given the variable degrees of incorporation of Verre communities within the Adamawa Emirate from the early nineteenth century, some of these Fulfulde titles may be longstanding, while others probably arrived with incorporation into the apparatus of colonial indirect rule. Roger Blench's notes on Verre mention titles not found in sources other than Adrian Edwards, which, given their collaboration, is not independent: *gbanam gbare* chief of a clan (of which he specifies eight, although an informant Edwards considered reliable described *gbare* as a smaller, predominantly local group, typically containing around twenty adult men (Edwards 1991: 312)), *gban laze* a high priest, and *nor gbar* 'eye of the clan' (Blench 1993: 1). The last of these, the seer, is found among the neighbouring Mapeo Chamba with a similar etymology 'person with eyes'. The title *gban* for the leader responsible for some activity or function, though not a chief, is also shared with Chamba. The term *laze* does not appear in Blench and Edwards' dictionary, but must presumably refer in some way to the rituals for which the officer was responsible.

Two other titles among the Verre are comparable to roles found among the Verre's neighbours. Both Adrian Edwards and Roger Blench have drawn attention to the position of the rain maker among Verre, a role apparently adopted from the Bata. Following Blench, the most important rainmaker, or *Sas*, lived at Ragin (coincidentally, the place where Chappel had interviewed smiths), east of the Verre Hills (1993: 1). The first of them was Domda Longbas (*donda* or elder in the transcription adopted here), and the 'present' incumbent (1986-7) was the fourth, suggesting a late nineteenth century origin. In addition to controlling rain, he and his assistants were attributed control over a variety of scourges: 'measles, chicken-pox, scabies, eye-trouble and locust plague' (Blench 1993: 2). Edwards reports that the songs accompanying dances at sacrifices for rain continued to be sung in Bata since that was the language understood by the spirits involved (1991: 318). He recounts a myth of conflict between the rainmaker and the blacksmith over their respective powers, hinging on their recognizing the complementarity of fire to forge hoes and rain to grow crops (1991: 314). That the title was at most a century old when Blench and Edwards reported it, serves as a useful reminder that the 'traditional' society was not static.

For his part, Chappel was particularly struck by the *Marus* (*Maari* pl), a character type reminiscent of the powerful figures of disorder among the neighbouring Koma (Dieu and Perrois 2016, *màda* (s), *màdibe* (pl) presumably the same root). The term is used of men and women who behave eccentrically, on occasions outrageously, and by extension, it is used of anthropomorphic figures cast in brass, and of the cast heads that feature as central bosses of some brass-handled daggers. Excerpts from Chappel's 1966 notebooks shed some light on the relations between these instances, without clarifying them entirely. *Maari* 'know about medicines, non-*Marus* people don't' (Fieldnotes 5: 40-43); even in Cholli, where the *Tori* or priests outnumbered the four male and five female *Maari*, it is the *Maari* who lead all the

important annual rituals. Their anti-social behaviour, especially when dancing – it was claimed that they danced wildly and naked, while uttering nonsense – means ‘they are like *zam*’, the hill spirits associated with death and disease, as well ‘ownership’ of the mineral ores in the Verre Hills. ‘It is *zam* that kill people, and a *Marus* is always present when someone dies ... *Maari* do not fear *zam* because they are the same. As *Maari* come first in all *Do’os* work, they are very important people.’ The Koma similarly held that the lack of shame of the *màdibe*, flaunted in bared backsides and farting, was related to their ability to see whether the spirits of the bush were present in a place, a matter of particular importance during initiations. The limitations of ordinary mortals did not apply to them.

Broadening the skein of resemblances brings in the brass figures called *wan marus* which informants associated primarily with *Gangni*, the ceremonies around circumcision. Initially, Chappel was told that brass figures are always female because ‘they [brasscasters] don’t know how to make men’ or men were difficult to make (Fieldnotes 5: 26, 7: 32). In relation to the hypothetical case of a male figure, it was conceded that an initiate holding it might be told about such a figure, ‘This is your “friend”, and if you run away, he will laugh at you’, or ‘This is your [future] son, and if you run away he will laugh at you’. In later discussion of the topic, it was claimed that brass figures were only worn or carried by older initiates in their later teens or early twenties (Fieldnotes 7: 32). Three types of *wan marus* figures were distinguished on these occasions: 1) *wan marus kiis* (s), *yanga maari kitaki* (pl), a female figure, given to older boys/young men, representing the initiate’s ‘future wife’ (compare Blench and Edwards 1988: *waz* (s), *yangbi* (pl) + *kiiz* (s), *kii* (pl), wife), who would be told by the members of more senior age grade *saari*, ‘Your future wife is watching you and will laugh at you if you show fear. If you run away and leave this *wan marus* we shall kill you, so that you will never see a woman to marry’; 2) *wan marus yaas* (s), *yanga maari yaiye* (pl), a male figure (compare Blench and Edwards 1988: *waz* (s), *yangbi* (pl) + *ya’az* (s), *ya’ari* (pl), husband, males, men); 3) *wan marus gorks* (s), plural not recorded, probably with the sense of ‘friend’ – given, if at all, to younger initiates who would be told by the *saari*, ‘This is your friend. If you run or show fear, he will laugh at you’ (Fieldnotes 7: 29-31). In each of the three cases, the figure is represented as a witness to the behaviour of the initiate.

The figures are transferred on the death of the elder who owns them; this being the only other occasion with which informants associated them specifically. ‘When a *dɔnda* dies, a surviving *dɔnda* in the compound – or if there isn’t one, a *dɔnda* from another compound may be selected – takes the deceased’s brass *wan marus*, if he had one, and places it on the forehead of the corpse, saying to the figure (if male): “Your father has died: you must cry for him”; (if female): “Your husband has died: you must cry for him”. Afterwards, he will become custodian of the brass figure’ (Fieldnotes 5: 27). Such figures were said to be exclusively for the use of smiths. ‘*Wan marus* is not used by *Gazabi* “because they are not *marus* [people]. [If they have one then they] Will keep it only to lend to *Tibaai* for *Gangni*. No charge is made; done to help a friend, as when *Tibaai* borrow ceremonial daggers from another village”

(Fieldnotes 7: 19). If any person, including *saari* [*do'os* initiates], wish to acquire a brass ceremonial item, they *must* receive permission from the *dɔnda gbijaas*. (Fieldnotes 5: 33). The right to own items was reportedly, and in principle, linked to age status: *was* were unable to own any brass; *saari* might own bells; *dɔnda wajaas* were permitted to own all categories of brass with the single exception of *wan marus* figures, which were the prerogative only of the most senior, or *dɔnda gbijaas*.

Wooden figures collected by the Frobenius expedition were recorded simply as *ratu* (wooden), whereas those collected by Chappel were called *wan marus rap* (s), *yanga maari rat* (pl) and associated, as well as with *Gangni*, also with *Dei-ki*, the counterpart to boys' initiation carried out for girls (66.J11.664-5, 66.J11.709). This at least opens the possibility of a complex of *Marus* practices having been adopted from Koma in relatively recent times, or else spreading from the Verre communities closest to Koma. We noted a precedent for such an adoption with the rainmakers of Bata origin. The association between the figures, whether in brass or wood – one of Chappel's wooden figures was bought directly from a woman *Marus* (66.J11.720) – and the transgressive personality of the *Marus* might then have occurred with the increasing prominence of these people. A suggestion that remains speculative in our current knowledge.

Turning now to the daggers with anthropomorphic central bosses to their brass handles, *wɛk wan marus*, Chappel was told these were for the use of *Tibaai* only and then only at *Gangni* [circumcision]. Ownership was restricted to the two senior age grades, *dɔnda gbijaas* and *dɔnda wajaas*, who kept the daggers in their granaries but did not themselves 'wear' them. This is slightly contrary to another of Chappel's informants, cited above, who claimed ownership of such daggers was allowed only to the oldest grade. On the day of circumcision, an initiate might be loaned a dagger which was tied around his neck, so it hung down his back over his buttocks. The initiate danced with it through the village and then, before going to *gaa*, the place of circumcision, he handed the dagger back to *dɔnda wajaas*. According to other informants, daggers might be worn *only* by the children of smiths who were also *Maari*, hence only a small proportion of initiates qualified to borrow one; they danced naked except for the knife they carried. If there were insufficient daggers for those eligible, the *dɔnda wajaas* attempted to make up the numbers by borrowing them from another settlement. Those ineligible wear only a 'white gown', *ndilla (gudel)* (s), Fulfulde; *zani* (s), Hausa). *Gazabi* initiates, who have their own *Gangni* separate from that of the smiths, wear only large leaves and do not have the *Jela* stage (Fieldnotes 5: 35, 7: 16-17). It is worth remarking here another indication that smiths were wealthier than farmers, not just able to afford superior brasswares but also to own cloth gowns. We saw earlier, Bata from whom Chappel collected brass items recalled them being priced in gowns.

Very few of Chappel's informants were described as *Marus*. Apart from the woman from Uki who identified herself as *Marus*, and whose wooden figure (66.J11.720) he acquired, the

only others who self-identified to Chappel were the vendors Ardo Sambo, also chief of Cholli, and his paternal half-brother Samuel Cholli. The status of *Marus*, as well as the brass figures and knives that shared their name, seem all to have been perquisites of smiths, raising the question of whether the status itself had gained importance for the smiths as their products declined in importance and their communities ceased to be distinct residentially. More generally, Chappel's informants had a marked tendency to identify the objects they sold with status categories, primarily of age and gender, but also of smiths and non-smiths, and within the category of smiths, those who were and were not *Marus*. Even if participatory fieldwork might have discovered some flexibility in practice, this representation of their own society as based on status categories remains of interest.

Conclusion

In the course of collecting Verre objects, Chappel also gained insights into the society that had been their context. As all our sources concur, Verre societies were highly varied, and during the nineteenth century some of this variation must have related to the accommodations made by Verre communities with the ascendant Fulani powers. These are difficult, probably impossible, to reconstruct in detail now, but they must have differed for metalworkers and for farmers as categories, and within these according to their settlement in the hills or plains. The Emirate itself changed over the nineteenth century from what appear to have been inchoate early years, to later consolidation with the shift southwards of the competing Faro-Deo lamidates. The further changes that occurred during the colonial period could be documented better with access to the National Archives in Kaduna but, going on the basis of what we know, it seems that communities of smiths declined or indeed disappeared, and they did so in the course of movement of those communities still in the hills out into the plains.

Particular types of object are analysed closely in Part Two, so we offer only a few observations here on the likely historic changes in Verre production. Chappel's attention had been attracted in 1965 by the brass objects he encountered both in Bata hands and offered for wider sale, which had led him to collect brasswares directly from the Verre in 1966. This guiding interest cannot be ignored, but the overall composition of the collection is nonetheless interesting both in what it does and in what it does not contain. To start with an absence: despite Chappel's interest in decorated gourds (see Chappel 1977) being known to his contacts, not a single example was offered to him for purchase, an indication of how quickly an object in ample supply a half century earlier when Frobenius passed through could fall out of fashion. The evidence of decorated gourds survived only in brass skeuomorphs. All the types of brassware familiar from Frobenius's collection turn up in numbers in Chappel's collection. So, we find quantities of bells, differently designed bracelets and armcuffs, and an array of brass skeuomorphs (including those collected by Frobenius: daggers, fans, clapperless bells, crooks, drinking vessels). However, as well these object types also collected in the

earlier period, are some not found in Frobenius's collection, whether because of earlier oversight or later innovation we cannot know with certainty, although there are grounds to suggest there had been some innovation.

Among the most striking and numerous of these objects absent from the early colonial assemblage are the highly ornamented, prestige, brass hoes used for display and perhaps by dancers. Father Kevin Malachi Cullen had gifted one such to the then recently established Antiquities Section in 1946. Would the Frobenius expedition, or those intermediaries selling to them, have overlooked such distinctive objects had they been available less than a half century earlier? A frustratingly counter-factual question to which no definite answer can be made. A second 'missing' type of brass item is the pendant worn by women over their left hip in the form of an oversized brass bead of which Chappel collected numerous examples. This object shares its name with an ornament worn similarly that was composed of a globular cluster of cowries, of which it is a loose skeuomorph. There are good reasons to suppose these wealth objects were current between the wars given both the inclusion of a pendant in Cullen's 1946 donation and the likelihood that the two examples later entering the British Museum from the Wellcome Collection in 1954 may have been acquired two decades earlier.⁷ Again, if these pendants were as popular at the beginning of the twentieth century as they were between the World Wars, then why, so far as we know, was none collected then? Objects of personal adornment, like bracelets, armbands, waist and neck beads, appear to have bulked up over the same period, presumably on account of an increasing supply of brass raw material, but do these changes include the rise to popularity of this altogether new, bulky form of bead? Most intriguing are the brass figures we have discussed that make their first appearance in the later assemblage. Examples are scarce of these spindly, elongated figures, slightly stooped from the waist, with large, splayed hands and feet with spread fingers and toes. The wide feet allow the figures to be freestanding, which suggests that the hands were made similarly large to achieve symmetry. They are not obviously indebted to wooden figures collected in the early colonial period, or indeed those collected in the early post-colonial period. Notes accompanying Fr Kevin Malachi Cullen's 1946 donation describe brass figures bought by Mapeo Chamba for use in their cults of which he hoped to commission a copy. There is no evidence that he succeeded. Such a figure, about 8 inches in height, of a seated old woman with sagging breasts, was the central piece in the paraphernalia of the costliest of Mapeo Chamba matrilineal cults, *karbangi*. A rough sketch, confirming the written description, appeared in Cullen's field notes that were kept in the Mapeo Catholic Mission at the time of Fardon's fieldwork in 1976-78. Although Fardon attended the rituals of several *karbangi*, versions of which cult belonged to at least six Mapeo matrilineal clans, he saw no such figures, and nothing matching this description has subsequently become known to us from either public

⁷ These were accessioned in 1954 from the Wellcome Collection (where they were originally catalogued as 29095) and might have been in that collection since the 1930s, given that new materials were no longer acquired. Af1954, 23. 1492.a-b, brass cast pair of buttock ornaments, hollow and circular, threaded on a cord and hung from the waist made by the Verre. (a) 2.75 x 3.75 inches; (b) 1.75 x 2.75 inches.

or private collections. Found only among the Chamba living on the western side of the Alantika Mountains, *karbangi* was said by its adepts to derive its great power from combining the apparatuses of twelve other named cults. This synthesis of powers is likely to have occurred in reaction to the unsustainable proliferation of cults that accompanied the compaction of clans in the mountains, what Fardon analysed as a 'ritual involution' (1988). If the innovation of *karbangi*, or its proliferation by purchase between clans, occurred in the inter-war years, then the, so far as we know, unprecedented step of placing a brass figure at the centre of its apparatus, would have coincided with the expansion in some kinds of brass production and trade we are suggesting took place then.

Why might an expansion have occurred in the production of prestige objects that were desirable within local systems of ritual and status? Again, we can only speculate, but factors might include the relative peacefulness of between-the-wars colonial governance which allowed local farmers to exploit the plains without, by doing so, finding themselves obliged to transfer their surpluses to the Fulani. Brass raw material was also becoming more abundant, not just as scrap but with the withdrawal of manilla currency in 1948-49, so that potential demand for products was arose alongside potential capacity to meet it. And these economic developments were occurring while the impact of the Christian missions was felt only among the young, and among only some of them, and before the concerted drive to convert the non-Fulani of Adamawa to Islam which did not intensify until the early post-colonial period. Perhaps these conditions provided the grounds for a final efflorescence of Verre brass casting before local demand effectively collapsed by the 1960s.

Interleaf 'Brass Work of Adamawa': a display cabinet in the Jos Museum – 1967

Three photographs of a vitrine case installed at the Jos Museum the 1967 were sent to Tim Chappel. On the reverse, they are inscribed, 'Background: blue velvet. Above window, against the velvet, in red letters is *Brass Work of Adamawa* (in Hausa too). Labeling on transparent plastic under glass on the wooden frame outside the case. Frames slanting outwards.' In the event, as we see below, the display also included some iron works. It is suggested by the sender that the photographs be fitted together to appreciate the full installation, but this is made difficult by them having been taken from different angles. Below we have instead set them alongside one another.



Display case in Jos (left, centre and right) 1967

As well as an insight into a moment in the history of the Jos museum, these photographs provide a glimpse of some objects for which we otherwise lack visual reference. Jos accession numbers below are in bold. We omit the year, place and number for the series of objects Chappel collected in 1966: **J66.11.NNN** simply citing the object number **NNN**.



Photographs by Carolyn Bassing 1967

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

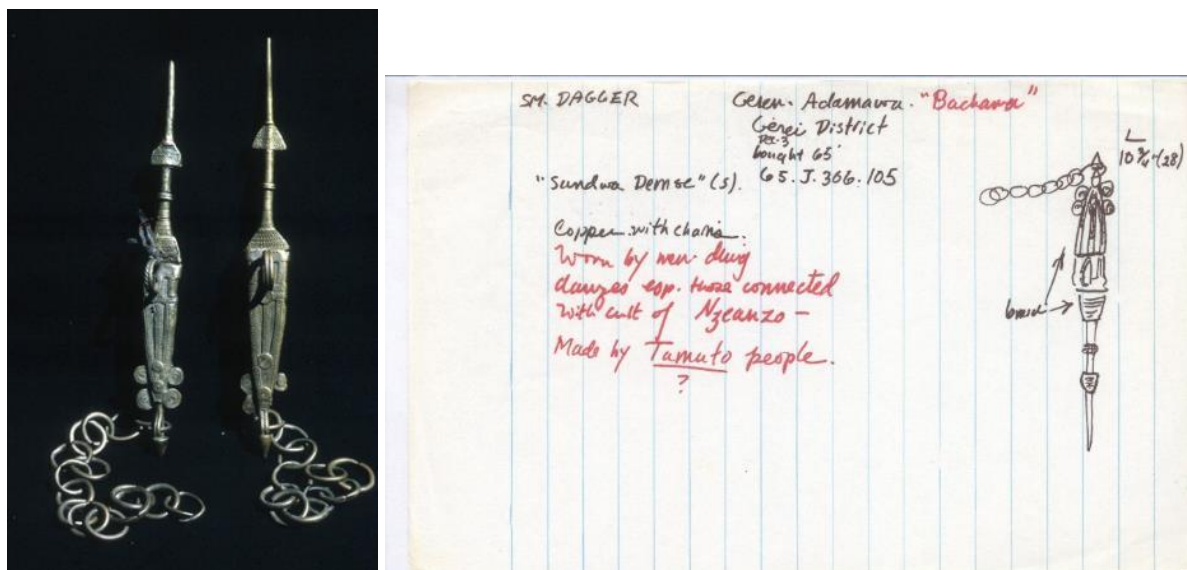
From left to right:-

Hung on the left wall: unsheathed dagger with, presumably brass, ornate hilt and its scabbard, anthropomorphic central boss suggests it might be **619**.

Suspended: large bell (*bix*, Type 2, see Chapter 5 Percussion, similar to some of those for which we have illustrations, notably **732** which has the most extensive shoulder ornamentation and may have been selected for display on that account); brass circumcision helmet (of those we know, most similar to **256** with feathers rather than reedbuck hairs); since the cowries appear to be real, the second hanging helmet is probably of fibre selected for comparison with its brass skeuomorph (similar to **425** or **426**, although neither of these has feather ornaments); large bell (of our Type 1 in Chapter 5.1; most similar to **602** with a large suspension ring and small crotal ornaments around the shoulder; probably chosen because it is unusual in Chappel's collection of Type 1 bells, which predominantly have the less complex form of beaded shoulder decoration, it closely resembles the bell collected by Frobenius, now in Dresden Museum, though this would not have been known at the time).

Hung on back wall: dagger with brass hilt and scabbard both of the design we analyse as Type 1 in Chapter 5.4, the single crotal to each side of a bearded head on the pommel suggests **593** which has lost two of its original crotals, and the fine scabbard ornamented with circle and diamond patterns is also a match; brass sandals **494**.

On the bottom left of the plinth: dagger with brass hilt and sheath (unidentifiable but of Type 2, with seven features on handle), staff in brass, *gbala*; *in front of plinth:* small skeuomorph of an amulet, **65.J306.113**, of Verre manufacture but collected from Bata, ring bracelet, small bunch of brass crotals, small pendant possibly **72.J19.79-80**; *on the plinth:* pipe bowl with masquerade head **809**, finger? rings, small knife and sheath hung with rings which most closely corresponds a slide from the Arnold Rubin archive, which in turn resembles a sketch by Nancy Maas of a Bachama cult object, **65.J306.105**, ...



UCLL <https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt258004jz/>

Maas note

UCLA Fowler Museum <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt258004jz>
Box 11

... brass medicine container **589** or perhaps **585**, threaded crotal bells, 2 pipe rings (see the complete pipes for their use) and bunch of small pendants on a thread?; *to the bottom right of the plinth*: three complete smoking pipes (one upright on its integral stand/foot with a decorative ring; similar although not identical to an example of which there is a slide in the Arnold Rubin archive; both examples have a small phallic protrusion; tobacco implements for smoking and snuff taking were in use regionally and are hence difficult to place);



<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt0w1003ph/>

UCLA Fowler Museum <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt0w1003ph>
Box 11

on and in front of second plinth: brass beer jar (not among those for which we have illustrations) standing on a pot ring, brass crook with loop at the handle (apparently formed by the backswept horns of an animal, possibly **561**, see also next, central photograph).



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

On back wall: brass skeuomorph of gourd drinking bowl with suspension ring **537**.

On bottom: brass skeuomorph of gourd drinking bowl covered in coil pattern **438**, brass goblet **731**, *on plinth:* brass skeuomorph of gourd drinking bowl, **499**, *in front of which:* waist beads and bead necklace; *on plinth* double iron hoe **495**; *on bottom:* square bladed brass hoe (**305** is the only hoe noted specifically as having a square blade, though we have no illustration; comparison with other objects suggests this to be a large example), hip pendant in the form of an oversized bead - skeuomorph of cowry cluster, **Toft Hansen** figure (accession number unknown, see Chapter 5.6); *on plinth:* brass figure **753**.



Suspended: iron bow puller; brass double clapperless bell/handgong **579**; Bata iron double clapperless bell/handgong **65.J306.210a**, behind it a large Fulani mat/food bowl cover.

On bottom, mat and plinth: 5 brass cuffs (upright on plinth, a sleeve with open side; upright in front of the plinth is one of the cuffs with spiral decoration like **65.J306.73/74/444**; two cuffs more on Fulani woven mat/food bowl cover); two crotal bells, two brass musical pipes (straight and without stops for *Gazabi*; twisted and with stops for *Tibaai*) **491** and **530**, iron rattle with central clapperless bell, probably **385**; *right corner:* small heap of items which may include threaded rings, perhaps as belt or apron.

PART TWO ARTS

Chapter 4 Brass skeuomorphs: thinking about originals and copies

Having surveyed the historical and ethnographic contexts of their production and collection, the objects made by Verre provide the point of entry to the second part of our account, a partial *catalogue raisonnée* that focuses on metalworks and the more important ritual accoutrements, notably anthropomorphic figures. We have not sought to disguise the thinness of the sources available to establish context; Verre artworks cannot simply be put 'into context' but must themselves be used as a resource to fill out what we know about context in outline and add some shade to it; the works tell us as much about their context as their context tells us about them. For instance, the relative quantities of different brasswares produced, their qualitative differences and cost, who might use them, when and for what ... are the kinds of questions to which even partial and cautious answers will augment our grasp of context or more simply help us grasp what was going on in the Emirate and colonial periods. With this in mind, Appendices 1-3 assemble all the fugitive scraps of information from Chappel's notes in the expectation that some details may turn out to be more meaningful for those who know the terrain intimately than they are for us.

Remaining with brass, the objects themselves are instructive in several regards. Verre works in brass are predominantly skeuomorphs: that is to say, versions in copper alloy of things that can be, and probably were, made in other materials first. In very few cases, do Verre brasses look like copies of things made by other people in brass. A majority of their skeuomorphs are of iron originals, but we also find brass versions of prototypes in wood, pottery, gourd, cowries, vegetable fibre, horn and leather. Verre skeuomorphism in brass is a continuum rather than a binary. A very few objects, of which single bells ornamented with crotals that have internal clappers are the clearest example, have no Verre original other than in brass; but an object that might appear closely related to such bells, such as double clapperless bells, are close skeuomorphs of Verre iron prototypes of which they retain welding seams that are non-functional given that each bell has been cast as a single piece. Verre brass-handled daggers provide an intermediary case: their blades are basically shared with wholly iron or wooden-handled iron daggers, but their ornamental hilts are distinctively brass creations, impossible in wood; and the brass scabbards have variably close resemblances to their leather 'originals'. Looking at brasswares, we are precipitated not only, as it were, forward into the world of their uses, but back to their inspirations and the relations that they continued to have with these prototypes. But the 'originals', in this loose sense, provided only a point of departure for their 'copies'. Many brassware templates are quite remotely connected to the forms of their 'originals', as we shall find in the case of the large pendant beads which derive from balls of cowries with which they share a name. Given that the plastic qualities of brass differ from those of the materials in which these 'forebears' were

made, brasswares were able to take on a life of their own. This becomes clearly apparent when we look at the decorative devices that ornament them.

The range of ornamentation possible in iron was limited compared to what could be cast in copper alloy, or more exactly what could be modelled in beeswax before being cast in metal. An ornamental device such as a coil or double coil can be, and was, forged in iron, but brass encourages not only ornamentation but decoration of part or the entirety of a surface, which may be covered, for instance, with raised coils, something which could not be achieved entirely in iron (though we do have one example of an iron pot ring with brass decorations). What is more, the same decorative device could be transferred across a range of otherwise diverse brass objects, such as bells, daggers, and crooks, so that in addition to conversing with their non-brass templates, objects in brass spoke to one another. Spiral decoration, to return to that example, became almost a Verre brasscasting signature across many different objects, and evidence suggests that this decorative device was increasingly prominent in later brassworks displacing other motifs. The pattern is relatively simple to produce using threads of wax, and it was adopted enthusiastically by the Koma who learned their brasscasting skills from Verre. Brassworks which can be identified as Koma are often covered almost entirely in spirals which is in marked contrast to their restrained deployment in balance with other decorations in older-looking Verre objects.

Verre metalwares were made for a variety of users and uses. The prosperous position of Verre smiths at the beginning of the twentieth century, we suggested, argues for them having been able to maintain a rewarding place in a system of local trade wider than their immediate communities that included Bachama, Bata, Chamba and Fulani demand for their wares. For instance, Frobenius recorded a Chamba Daka chief smoking a brass pipe bought from the Verre, since they did not cast brass themselves (1913b: 244), and that Koma smiths forged iron but did not cast in brass, only the Bata and Verre knowing how to do so in 'earlier times' (1913b: 203). Direct evidence in the shape of Verre works collected from the dominant Fulani is rare, in part this might be explained by the eclipse of the cavalry and broader military purposes for which Verre metalwares would have been designed, but it is additionally the case that collection efforts have concentrated on the peoples considered 'local', or on the pastoral Fulani, but not on the descendants of immigrant settled Fulani. We do, nonetheless, have some collection evidence that Verre bells were in demand by Fulani both for use in domestic settings and as parts of horse tack, and that Verre weapons were made for Fulani troops, albeit these troops may have consisted largely of non-Fulanis.

There are several reasons to begin our object survey with bells and related percussion instruments. In universalizing terms, bells are idiophones defined by their rimmed edge producing a resonant ringing. Whether a bell is struck internally by a clapper, or externally, is immaterial to this classification. A gong by contrast is a flat disc of metal, struck to produce a reverberant boom. When gongs have pronounced lips at their edges, and/or bosses at their centres, the distinction between bells and gongs can become fuzzy, but this is not germane here. In terms of this typology, Verre made bells and not gongs, although they made bells both with and without internal clappers. A universal typology is helpful for some purposes, particularly if the overriding concern is technical and comparative rather than ethnographic;

however, the fact that Verre have different nouns for their types of bell cautions against lumping all of them together if our aim is to understand the users' intentions. That bells with and without internal clappers have different names in Verre gains additional interest from the further fact that some Verre bells were skeuomorphs and others were not, and this difference corresponds to the terminological distinctions Verre make.

Externally decorated brass bells with suspended internal iron clappers were used in various ways, most prominently they were worn by women on their left hip while dancing on public occasions, or at other times when a display of prestige items was appropriate. The left hip is also where a woman usually carried a baby, leaving her right arm was free for other purposes, but aside from practicality the convention is also involved in a motivated, right-left distinction between men, who wore prestige ornaments (like brass medicine containers and brass-handled daggers) on the right hip, and women, who wore bells, and also oversized pendant beads distantly modelled after clusters of cowries, on the left hip. Youths who danced in public during the ceremonies preceding circumcision and initiation into adulthood would also wear brass bells. Brass bells with clappers varied widely both in size and in the type and extent of their decoration and, by virtue of these characteristics, in cost; because brass clapper bells had no iron prototype, they cannot be classed as skeuomorphs; together with Verre brass clapper bells being more numerous and more diverse than most other brass objects, this suggests bells may be a longstanding, or if the technology was introduced, even original, form of Verre brasscasting. In the absence of non-brass prototypes, brass clapper bells must have been copied from similar examples elsewhere at the outset.

The ubiquitous crotal bell, or simply crotal (also known as a hawk's bell or sleigh bell), is a second non-skeuomorphic brass object in use by Verre. In strict terms, crotals are not bells at all but rattles. The most closely related of Verre metalwares in terms of mechanism would be the pellets enclosed within iron anklets which rattle in time as the dancer's steps agitate them, also clanking them together when anklets are worn stacked in multiples. Sets of threaded crotals may also be worn as anklets; these were explained to Chappel as encouragements for children to walk when he collected examples from Verre. Crotal anklets might not produce the sheer volume of percussive sound a skilled woman dancer can raise with a stack of iron anklets, but they were a literal first step towards doing so. Aside from a shared rattle mechanism, the formal resemblance between iron anklets and a set of threaded crotals seems too slight to suggest that either is the prototype of their other.

Tiny brass crotal beads are also found as ornaments on larger Verre pieces, particularly those that show evidence of age. These have been added by secondary welding to the original casting. As with larger crotals, we cannot be certain whether these small ornaments were invariably made by Verre brass smiths or became available to them through regional markets. Crotal ornamentation is characteristics of the apparently older specimens of three objects in particular: around the shoulder of brass clapper bells; around the raised central ridge of arm cuffs; and flanking the often figurative, central boss on the pommel of brass-handled daggers. Supposing that brasscasting was an innovation, clapper bells, arm cuffs, and dagger handles and scabbards may have been among the earliest objects to be cast in brass by Verre, a list to

which we might want to add full-sized crotal bells, as well as their miniatures used for ornamentation, supposing Verre cast these themselves rather than purchasing them.

Clapperless iron bells are closely related to hoes. Among the neighbouring Mapeo Chamba, who bought their metalwares from Verre, bells and hoes are included under a single term (*baan*). The relation is a technical one. Typically, an African iron bell is made by hammering together the edges of two pieces of metal, each in the form of a flanged hoe blade. Sometimes the flange may be shared between the two blades, so the metal is forged in a single piece and then folded (Joyce 2019). In either case, the form may be accented in various ways. For instance, simply by size: some single clapperless bells are particularly tall, much larger than any hoe in use, and often found in pairs. Such large status pieces are found among the neighbouring Chamba, and it is probable that Verre smiths would have been capable of meeting a demand for them, even if we do not have an example definitively attributed to them. Clapperless bells are also found as joined pairs differing in size and hence pitch. It is convenient on occasions to refer to these as double handgongs, both because, as noted already, Verre do not use the same term for them that they apply to bells, but also because they must be held by the handle that joins them for the note to ring true when they are hit with either a wooden or metal striker. Double handgongs have close brass skeuomorphs. The fact that brass double handgongs were modelled on a clapperless iron original and not on a pair of brass clapper bells is evident from the prominent side seams which are formed when two iron hoe-shaped blades are welded together to make a bell; these are not just functionally redundant in a brass version which has been cast but require additional modelling. Handgongs in brass are also found singly, and in all but one case known to us, the single handgong clearly resembles, or simply is, the larger chamber of a double handgong with which it shares a redundant welding seam and more often than not also the small loop in brass to which a leather thong may be attached. All this suggests that bells and gongs (using these terms as translations here) were distinct categories for Verre. They are certainly distinct in use. Gongs are not worn as ornaments by women but played as percussive idiophones by men in rituals. The most striking case of ritual percussion instruments are the iron rattles used in cult rituals not just by Verre but throughout the region. These have no brass counterparts but consist of iron rings from which hang iron clappers. Depending on the cult to which they belong, the clappers on these iron rings differ in size and on occasions in shape, and they may or may not include a central clapperless bell or gong. On all these grounds, we can conclude that brass bells with internal clappers, and brass or iron clapperless bells were quite distinct categories for Verre: differently named and used in distinct social spaces on distinct occasions.

All brasswares were prestigious, and all but minor personal ornaments were displayed on special occasions rather than worn routinely. To varying degrees, as have seen, they were also skeuomorphs, versions in brass of items made less expensively in other materials. Having surveyed bells, gongs and rattles, our presentation in Part Two proceeds, very roughly, from the less to the more esoteric forms of Verre metalware.

A review of Verre personal ornamentation conveniently begins with items that can be worn, of which beads, bracelets and arm cuffs, as well as ear plugs, are examples. These were

predominantly worn by women, as were the oversized pendant hip beads which, as noted earlier, are skeuomorphs inspired in part by ball-shaped clusters of cowries and retain the same name that includes the Fulfulde term for cowry, *ceede*. Intriguingly, these outsized beads do not appear in collections until the early mid-twentieth century, suggesting they may be a recent innovation. The name additionally points us to the relation between wealth in the forms of cowry clusters and bulky brass ornaments. However, a resemblance with clapper bells seems also to be in play: the oversized bead is worn on the left hip, like a bell, and although we have no documentation for this, presumably this is also where clusters of cowries were worn. The globular edge decoration of these large beads replicates that of the shoulder decoration of some bells, which in turn evokes women's waist beads, a form of decoration which apparently replaced crotals. In its overall form, a large bead resembles – it is tempting to say, more simply, is – two bell domes fused to one another by a decorative rim, which for its part refers us back to the cowry. Over time it looks as if oversized beads became larger and heavier, as well as cruder in their decoration, as though the form acquired a dynamic of its own that was given rein by the increasing availability of raw material. These later examples are often strung together with particularly ornate brass beads, whereas field photographs from the 1960s show that the beads were suspended singly in the same way that bells had been worn previously (see, Chapter 3 Chappel field photographs). At least indirectly, it seems we can suggest a development of a Verre ornament over several decades in this instance.

Other more specialized worn ornaments seem to show variable degrees of influence by the Fulani: brass charms apparently modelled on Muslim popular amulets, as well as snuff bottles, both of which have loops for attachment. On the other hand, phallic medicine containers, again with loops to allow men to wear them on the right hip, as well as brass tobacco pipes with small phallic protrusions, smoked by older women, are unlikely to have been modelled on Fulani originals. All four of these items are represented by very few examples in Chappel's substantial collection, which is not the case for the prestige items we turn to next.

Two distinctively Verre prestige brasswares are particularly numerous in museum and private collections: brass skeuomorphs of agricultural hoes, and brass-handled daggers or short swords, together with their brass scabbards.

Some brass hoes were cast in two pieces to copy the wooden handle and hafted metal blade of a mundane farming hoe; other single-piece castings feature a raised relief outline representing the haft where a handle would have fitted into the blade socket. Most of these brass hoes are ornamented with spirals, and a few have additional features including horns at the elbow, or a small creature on the shaft. Production of brass hoes continued into, and possibly increased during, the colonial period and maybe beyond, but later examples are often cast in single pieces with scant or no remembrance of the hafting of a farming hoe, and ornamentation with spirals became pervasive to the exclusion of other devices or ornaments. Hoes are strongly associated with women both because of their work as farmers and because brideprice was recalled as having been calculated in hoes. Brass hoes were apparently displayed as wealth objects on ceremonial occasions, although Chappel witnessed no performances particularly associated with them.

Ornate brass-handled short swords or daggers, together with their scabbards, are particularly varied. Their pommel ornaments, as noted already, may include the crotals which appear to be characteristic of older Verre brasswork. Verre daggers were traded locally and have been collected or recorded from Bachama and Bata to the north as well as Chamba to the south. On these grounds, daggers and hoes, like clapper bells and arm cuffs, but unlike oversized pendant beads or figures, may be among the longer-standing items of Verre brass casting. In terms of their circulation, we might contrast them with display wares that look likely to have been taken up during the period of the Emirate, such as brass fans and fly whisks, and large brass spear blades modelled on a cavalry rather than hunting weapon, or the single example of an apparently impractical pair of brass sandal soles. All these items are well made but have been collected in tiny numbers from Verre suggesting both that Verre smiths were familiar with making them and that their primary market was not local.

By contrast with these skeuomorphs, numerous examples have been collected from Verre of two items of restricted purpose particularly associated with male initiation. Brass skeuomorphs of fibre, leather and cowry helmets were made with various degrees of elaboration reflecting the status of the wearers. While the circumcision crooks, which initiates hooked behind their necks, are widely distributed in the region in iron and wooden versions, among the Verre they were additionally produced in brass with varying degrees of ornamentation. The crook, whether in wood, iron, or brass, is an intriguing signifier, associated with initiation but also, among neighbouring Chamba, with ritual chiefship. Although the metal versions have a handle that might be modelled on a sickle, the crook is blunt, and its blade faces the handle like a hoe rather than aligning with it like a sickle. Initiates undergoing circumcision clasp it around their neck when being circumcised, as if this cutting foreshadows the later separation of ancestral skull from corpse after death when skulls are collected to be venerated. We do not have a local interpretation, but the crook would certainly lend itself to being seen as a mediator between the hoe and the sickle, and thereby between women's and men's domains.

Of more restricted use than these public initiation pieces were the brass versions of paraphernalia used in ritual settings that were entered by progression through age grades and further initiations to *Do'os* or cults. Decorated gourds are an interesting instance. Most Adamawa peoples recall in pre-Emirate times predominantly using clay rather than gourd vessels for eating and drinking. Gourds were not only adopted but decorated during Emirate times, and Frobenius's expedition collected examples claimed to be from the Verre and Chamba, some of which survive either in whole or part in German museum collections or else through illustrations of their designs. Yet, by the time Chappel collected from Verre in the mid-1960s, and Fardon researched among Chamba in the mid-1970s, 'calabash decoration', to use the phrase more familiar locally, was apparently no longer practised and, aside from the occasional example purchased from Fulani or in the market, these inherently fragile objects had disappeared. Chappel did, however, collect a few brass skeuomorphs of decorated gourds from Verre which we assume date from a time when their 'originals' were still in use. These had become ritual accompaniments, but it seems reasonable to assume they once would also have been attractive to Fulani as users of decorated gourds. Drinking vessels were only one element of the accoutrements needed for beer consumption that might

be copied in brass; although expensive in their own time and subsequently, and hence collected in small numbers, these included beer jars, pot rings to support them, and tall tri-forked pot stands. Beer jars are skeuomorphs of their clay counterparts and selectively incorporate some of their decorative devices; the ornate brass rings on which round-bottomed pots were balanced are copies, at least in terms of function, of the grass-fibre rings used as pads to headload them, as well as being larger versions of arm rings.

Pot stands are composite items which require longer explanation. In the simplest terms, their mechanism is the same as that used domestically when a three-pronged, forked branch is planted upright and used to support a pot to remove it from the likely nuisances of insects, animals and infants to which it would be vulnerable on the ground. This simple device can also be made in iron by combining a metal shaft, such as might otherwise be used in a ceremonial spear, with three or more support elements at its top. The Verre term for spear shaft is shared with that for pot stand. Typically, the pot cradle is formed from three hoe blades, and the brass skeuomorph that Chappel collected copies this form. However, iron examples have also surfaced in museums or on the market with pot cradles composed of ankle rattles, or of double spirals. The fact that an iron staff can be topped with a rattle device resembling an iron anklet to make a ceremonial spear forges another link with the pot stand. Other examples of metal, tripod pot stands combine hoes, leg rattles and double spirals to form complex cradles. As well as being an ornamental motif added to other metalware, on its own the double spiral in iron has regional uses, mundanely as an iron on which to strike flints, but also as a cult object. The most ornate pot stands, those with cradles that include rattles and spirals, appeared on the market later than those solely with hoe blades, the only kind collected *in situ*. So, we cannot discount the possibility of the ornate form being a market-oriented innovation for collectors.

Other pieces of cult apparatus might also be reproduced in brass. Skeuomorphs of wind instruments made from animal horns were particularly costly and hence rare. More numerous were ritual staffs that are most likely to have been skeuomorphs of phallic wooden poles with rope whipping around their tops. They would be far from unique in this associations, since we have already remarked the clearly phallic shape of brass medicine containers, as well as the knob-shape protrusions of some circumcision crooks and smoking pipe bowls.

The final category of objects we examine are anthropomorphic figures in wood, clay and brass. By comparison with such neighbours as Mumuye and Chamba, anthropomorphic figures were of relatively slight significance among most Verre. Unlike these neighbours, although not without precedent in the wider region, Verre figures are described in public performance in the hands of women and youths. The early colonial collection contains several examples of wooden figures, most of them roughly finished and often encrusted with abras seed decoration which has been added to suggest hair and at other places on the body and limbs where brass ornaments such as beads and bands might be worn. Where gendering is evident, they are predominantly female. Two overall forms are apparent, one of them more similar to the 'doll' figures that art dealers attribute to the Dowayo (or 'Namji') to the south, while the other is elongated with resemblance to the less columnar Chamba style with rounded volumes. A late local development of this second style occurred in Tōza, near the

market town of Karlahi, in a single workshop, perhaps even by a single hand, in the mid-twentieth century. These figures, in new or near-new condition, were collected by Chappel in the mid-1960s, with examples appearing with international dealers shortly afterwards. Brass figures may also be late innovations since we do not find examples of them in the early colonial collection, and the first reference to them is from the 1940s. No more than a handful of them are known, some of which may be the products of the adoption of brass-casting by Koma.

The sketch we have proposed fleshes out an imperfectly known ethnographic and historical context by drawing upon the evidence of the objects themselves: what types of object were collected, by whom, in what quantities, when and where, or failing this, at least how objects first became visible, whether in museums, or in the hands of dealers, or in private collections. Brasswares lend themselves to reconstructive readings because of their variably skeuomorphic character. When, as in the Verre case, brasswares can be thought of as a skeuomorphic continuum, our attention is attracted at one pole to those items – brass bells with internal clappers and crotal ornaments – that seem essentially reliant on brass as a material. At the other pole, are the objects that are close skeuomorphs, for instance the fans and flywhisks probably copied from Fulani originals. In the middle, we find intriguing play between brass objects and their ‘originals’, as in the case of brass-handled daggers and scabbards, or between the brass objects themselves in the transfer of decorative patterns. And in other cases, the idea of an original itself recedes from investigation, as it does in the case of the iron crook copied as a brass crook. This proliferation of forms and designs offers historical pointers rather than historical certainties which we pursue in detailed consideration of types of object.

Thanks to digital publication, we can duplicate some illustrations rather than referring the reader elsewhere in the text for an image under discussion. The fullest accounts of individual objects are to be found in Chapter 2 for the early colonial assemblage, and in Appendix 1 for the largest part of the early post-colonial assemblage, almost entirely collected by Chappel, which is in Nigerian museums. We introduce objects that have surfaced later in museums, galleries, auction sales and private collections only if there is a demonstrable relation worth exploring between them and the provenanced examples. This has meant excluding some objects which have appeared with Verre attribution that may indeed be accurate but for which we lack provenance either for the object itself or for another that closely resembles it. We have considered the case for entirely excluding post-colonial examples in museums and private collections outside Nigeria but feel that these add value to our account by introducing variants or else by supporting our statements about the relative abundance of types of object. Above all, we have included what we hope might interest Verre themselves about the works made by their forebears. As we noted in introducing it, our intention in making this work freely available in digital form is both to signal its provisional nature and to invite correction and expansion.

A final chapter following this partial catalogue will find us in a position to contextualize Verre brasscasting alongside other such traditions in a wider regional context that have been documented. Where researchers have ventured an opinion, it is striking that they argued that

the brasscasting traditions extant for study in the twentieth century are of relatively recent origin. The tendency of brassworking centres to appear and disappear appears to be characteristic. In view of this evidence of temporal and spatial discontinuities, we shall at least pose the question of the longevity of this Verre specialism.

Chapter 5 Towards a Verre *catalogue raisonnée*

5.1 Percussive metals: bells, gongs, rattles

Verre has distinct terms for at least four metal percussion instruments that might be called bells in English. In the singular these are: clapper bell (*kerumd*), single clapperless bell (*buruk*), double clapperless bell (*dengkongkas*), crotal bell (*sa'sol*). Verre draw further distinctions within the first three of these categories on the basis of some or all of their material, whether iron or brass, their decoration and size. There may be some finer discriminations among crotals of which we are unaware given they also vary in size and form, some but not all, for instance, having a stem section so that they hang as pendants.

In the discussion below, bells belonging to the 1966 collection made by Chappel (66.J11.NNN) are referenced simply by their last three numbers.

Brass bells with clappers

To begin with the first category: we know of no iron 'original' for bells with internal clappers among Verre and so, while they may be specified as brass, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl), it is unnecessary to do so: clapper bells, *kerumd* (s), *kerumi* (pl), were made only in brass. They share this non-skeuomorphic character with few other items, most obviously crotal bells. As we noted earlier, miniature crotals are used to ornament some brass clapper bells, as well as some brass arm cuffs and brass-handled daggers. Like brass bells, arm cuffs have no iron original; if they are skeuomorphs then their prototype might be a kind of arm sheath, or protector in leather, but we are not aware of any such object among Verre. So, even if the brass arm cuff was a skeuomorph of a leather original in historical terms, Verre could not appreciate it as such if they knew it only in the form of an ornament in brass. While brass-handled knives share their blades with everyday knives, ornamented handles are original brass objects rather than copies. We may be dealing with a small, historic, sub-set of brass objects – bells, arm cuffs and knives – which all share an association with crotal decoration while lacking familiar 'originals' in materials other than brass. Malachi Cullen's remark (see Chapter 2) on his donation to the future Lagos museum, that arm cuffs had long been out of fashion in Mapeo, supports this judgement of relative antiquity.

Chappel's informants drew various distinctions between the bells he collected. The larger and more decorated were described to be for smiths, *Tibaai*, while those that were either smaller and/or less decorated were for the use of non-smiths, *Gazabi*. Because these characteristics do not inevitably go together, Chappel found that different informants were not entirely consistent in allocating bells to one set of users or the other. Our initial analysis suggested that the TYPES 1 and 2, which we shall distinguish shortly by their decoration, corresponded to the distinction between *Tibaai* and *Gazabi* users. A second look at some contradictory judgements by informants recorded in Chappel's fieldnotes demonstrated that while there was something to this, it was too neat. The two distinctions map onto one another for the most part, but not entirely; while informants indeed seem to have been guided by the

degree of decoration and size of bells, they did not always propose the same identification in the less clearcut cases.

Chappel's informants frequently provided descriptive phrases for his fieldnotes: *kerumd bix Tibaai*, a bell used by smiths with a decorative pattern resembling snakeskin; *kerumd mule Tibaai*, a bell used by smiths with a row of bead-like decoration around its shoulder; or *kerumd ga Gazabi*, a bell for use by non-smiths with spiral decorations. Chappel also recorded a term for horizontal bands of decoration on crooks and hoes, consisting of raised seams often connected vertically with diagonals or other devices, *nengtabungs*, which may also be applied to bells, although we do not have a specific instance of this.

In purely formal terms, we find Verre bells, with very few exceptions, fit into four types, of which the first two are the most prestigious and TYPE 3 the least coherent formally and the most likely subject for future revision.

TYPE 1 – Formal characteristics include most, but not necessarily all, of: a large decorated loop, and decorated dome or top surface; a pronounced shoulder, usually with knobs or, particularly in older-looking examples, crotal bells; a waisted body with a band of decoration at the top and, commonly, also at the bottom, the lip of which has a rolled rim; the diameter of the mouth is equal to, or narrower than, the shoulders. A two part iron clapper mechanism that consists of the clapper itself and the iron loop from which it is suspended that protrudes through the dome of the bell and is bifurcated over its top surface; this is now missing in several examples. When informants identified users, bells of this type were said to be for *Tibaai* or smiths.

The photographic illustrations below are not to scale, but we list the dimensions where they are available. Most examples have a height in the range of 14-20cm and a diameter at the mouth between 8-10cm; the earliest bells collected by Frobenius in 1911, now in Dresden, and Cullen in 1946, now in Lagos **46.29.8**, are slight outliers in their larger size. Both of these bells were acquired in new or nearly-new condition, so they may not be the oldest to have entered a museum. Bell **586** is a slight outlier in its proportions.

Only a few bells of TYPE 1 have a band of crotal ornaments around the shoulder, including that acquired by the Frobenius expedition in 1911 when it was in little used, or un-used, condition. Now in the Dresden museum, this bell has a recorded height of 22cm, which allows us to estimate an 8.75cm width based on the proportions of the photographed object. Just over half a century later, it is notable that Chappel collected only three more bells that we know to have been ornamented with crotal beads, all of which show evidence of wear, suggesting this form is longstanding and probably dates back to the Emirate period. The decorative shoulder pattern for **602** and **638** is specified in Chappel's fieldnotes as *sa'sol*, the term for crotal bells. **543**, with a relatively flat dome, was acquired from Wom, who are considered ethnically Verre but are not speakers of a Verre language, and so might be considered as an outlier. All three of Chappel's bells with crotals are smaller than that collected in 1911: **543** 17.5x11.3; **638** 14.4x9.8; **602** 15.6x8.8. Of the three, **602** formally resembles the Frobenius bell most closely. While it is probable that crotals were added around the shoulders of bells after an initial casting, similar ornamentation with globular

beads is likely to have been part of the initial single casting. This would need to be checked against the evidence of the bells themselves, but if true would imply that crotal decoration required a more complex production process.



Dresden/Frobenius



602



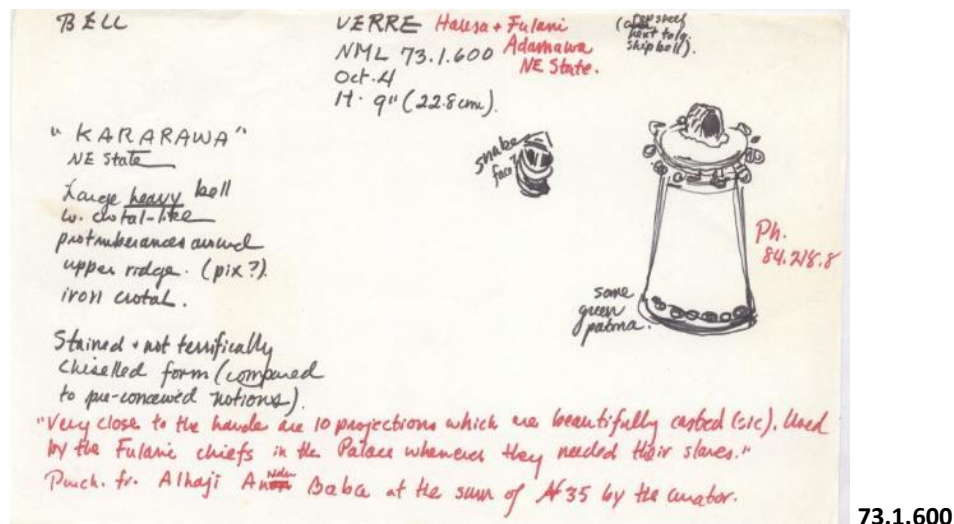
543



638 (with 672)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A later accession to the Lagos Museum (**NML.73.1.600**), which we know only from Nancy Maas's sketch, bears a strong formal resemblance to **543**. At nearly 23cm it is the height of the Frobenius bell, and 5cm taller than **543**, but the flattened crown, the top loop and particularly the ten crotal ornaments, described by Maas as 'snake face', at the shoulder all look similar. If we accepted at face value the claim of the dealer who sold this bell to the museum – that it had been used by Fulani to summon palace slaves – then it would provide significant evidence of the importance of Verre brass in a regional trade that included the Fulani ruling stratum.



(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

A more numerous group of bells resembles these except that the shoulder decoration consists not of crotal bells but of a band of smaller and more numerous balls, a pattern informants identified as *mule*, copying a characteristic of women's beads. We have no testimony whether informants might find similarities in form between crotals and cowries, although it would seem possible and was remarked in relation to **637**. This group includes the bell that Cullen collected from the Mapeo Chamba among whom he served as a Roman Catholic missionary, and which he recorded to have been cast by Verre in the village of Lainde. In some instances (like **672** illustrated both above below) the decorative balls are slightly split horizontally which might evoke the shape of crotals, cowries or both. The dimensions of these bells are comparable to those of the bells with crotal decorations, and we again find the earliest bell collected also to have been the largest. Available dimensions (n/a = not available): **46.29.8** height specified as 20.3, so proportions suggest width is 11.6; **518** 14.2x8.2; **603** 14.1x8; **643** 17.6x9.6; **252** n/a; **110** 18.6x9.6 (note a single piece clapper); **672** 14.5x7.5; **529** 14.9x9.9; **637** n/a, described as having 'cowry' protrusions; **586** 13.1x9.6.



NM Lagos 46.29.8



518



603



643



252



110



672 (also with 638 above)



529



637



586

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Where Chappel's accession notes specify a user, such bells are allocated to *Tibaai*: **518, 603, 643, 110, 529, 637, 486, 602, 638** of those illustrated above; as well as **259, 543, 668 (252** for both *Tibaai* and *Gazabi*) for which we lack illustrations. The decoration is explicitly noted as *mule* for examples **643, 637, 672, 732**.

This type of bell, *kerumd mule Tibaai*, is the most common in later collections. Five examples subsequently accessioned to the Jos Museum are noted in Nancy Maas's 1974 sketch of **663**. There are further examples in major museums: the Metropolitan Museum, New York (20x10.9) as well as the Tropen Museum Amsterdam.¹ Maas illustrates another

¹<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/503760?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=Clara+Louise+Bell&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=4> Credit 'Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Rayes Gift, in honor of Dr. J. M. Rasmussen, Clara Mertens Bequest, in memory of André Mertens, Bequest of Olive Huber, and funds from various donors, by exchange, 2002'

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/527655> Credit 'Bruikleen van de Nederlandse Provincie van de Congregatie van de Heilige Geest (CSSp.)'

example, collected by Arnold Rubin in 1969, now in the Fowler Museum UCLA in her survey of brass casting along the Benue (2011: 196, fig. 6.19).



Metropolitan Museum New York 2002.24



Tropen Museum Amsterdam AM-292-3

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Two more likely examples of this type, with their heights, can be illustrated from the Mark Clayton.



Collection Mark Clayton – Heights: 17.8, 17.5, 16.3cm

TYPE 2 bells might alternatively be treated as variants of TYPE 1 with which they share an overall form: they are of similar size, or slightly smaller, and have the same clapper mechanism. They differ primarily from TYPE 1 in their ornamentation, with neither crotal bells nor bead ornaments on their shoulders, which instead bear a flatter *bix*, 'snake(skin)', pattern. Several of the bells with this decoration are also less waisted, with straighter sides. When TYPE 2 bells are both relatively undecorated and of smaller size, they were more likely to have been identified by Chappel's key informants to be for the use of non-smiths, *Gazabi*. Available dimensions: **525**, **629**, **526**, **691** n/a; **732** 14.5x7.5; **630** 12.1x6.4; **613** n/a; **646** 10.2x6.2; **607** 11.7x7.4.

While the prices paid for TYPE 1 and TYPE 2 bells overlapped, the average of the prices we know Chappel paid for TYPE 1 is £1, and for TYPE 2 just over half that, 11/-. The most expensive TYPE 2 bell, **607** costing £1, was identified to be for *Tibaai*. Although its proportions are slightly unusual, the overall size and decoration do not provide obvious grounds for this expense, so it may have been a particularly fine casting.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

In addition to **607**, bells **629** and **691**, as well as **668** for which we have no photograph, are described by Chappel's informants in accession notes as *bix Tibaai*. This is probably on account of their size, which gains some support from Nancy Maas's sketch of **668** which provides dimensions 20x8cm, as well as confirming the *bix*, or snakeskin, pattern noted by Chappel. **732**, the most extensively decorated of the Jos bells of this type, is also larger than the other three for which we have dimensions, supporting a correlation between size, extent of decoration and *Tibaai* status, although this fails to account for **607** also being a blacksmith's bell despite its overall small size and slight decoration.

To judge by the relative size of the bells for which overall height has been indicated below, the smallest TYPE 2 bell in the Mark Clayton collection, on the right, would be around 13.6cm.



Collection Mark Clayton – Heights: 14.5, 14.8, 17.6, 17.6, 14.5cm

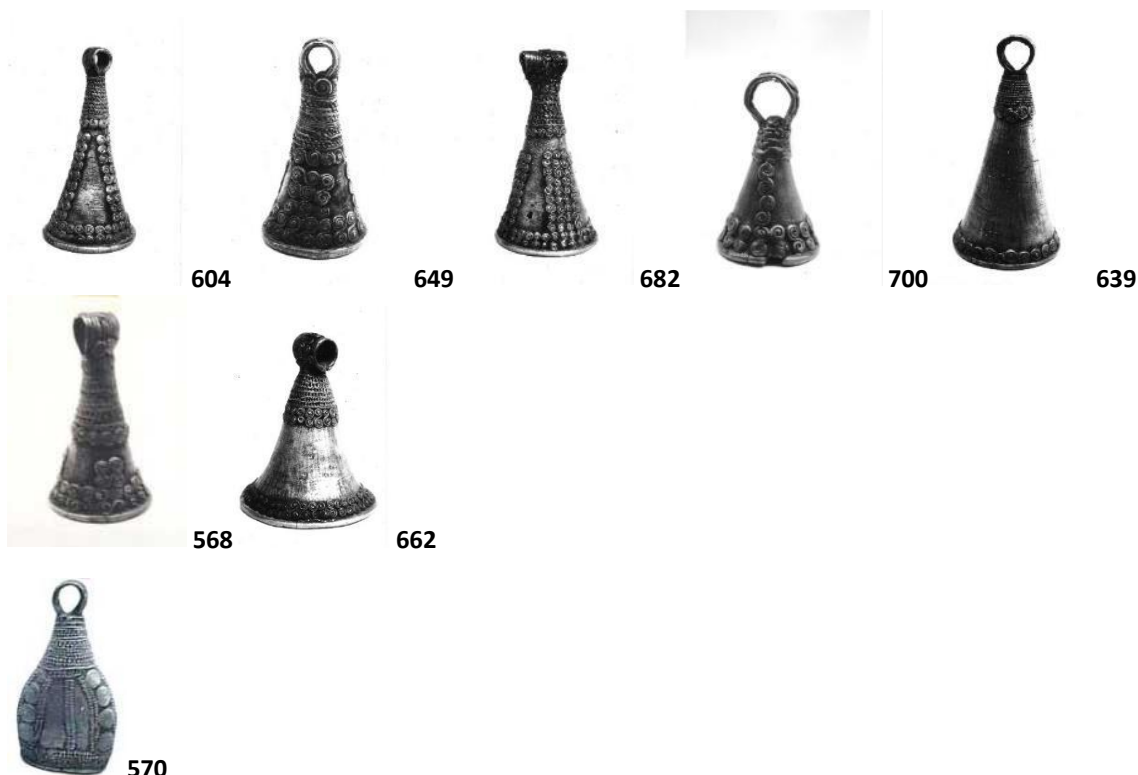
(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

We are not aware of a term in Verre language to cover all the bells we are calling **TYPE 3**. While sharing a pyramidal shape, they differ in size and decoration. Whether this variety is best treated as a spectrum or two types cannot be settled on the basis of the evidence we have, so we are provisionally proposing two overlapping sub-types, while admitting that allocation to one or the other is not always clearcut. These bell forms may also be less characteristically Verre, since similar bells have been attributed to casters of the Mandara Mountains.

Pyramidal bells of **TYPE 3a** have a broad, tubular, top loop. Most examples are extensively decorated with coiled spirals and circling threads. **604** and **649** are described as *ga Gazabi*, where *ga* names the spiral decoration such as that shared by the first six examples, and *Gazabi*

references use by non-smiths; **700**, **639**, **662**, and **570** were also described to be for *Gazabi*. **662** differs in its proportions from most of the bells in having a wider mouth. TYPE 3a bells, with a single exception, were designed to have internal clappers. Chappel notes that the clapper of **662** was suspended from an iron cross-piece which had been brass welded internally. Where we know their dimensions, the overall height of bells in TYPE 3a is similar to that of those in TYPE 2: **568** 15x8; **604** 13.1x7.8; **639** **649** **682** **700** n/a; **662** 12.7x13.75. With a couple of exceptions, Chappel's informants gave these bells a traditional value of two cockerels (**604** & **662** were being valued at a goat, which in turn was considered equivalent to four cockerels).

As well as being slightly smaller, 11.5x6.4, **570** differs from the others in TYPE 3a both in its more rounded form and because it is clapperless by design. It was not terminologically included by Verre informants in the class of *kerumd*, or clapper bells, but rather in that of *buruk*, which includes iron single clapperless bells or handgongs. Its use was restricted to esoteric settings when it could, 'be struck with anything made of metal - used during *Do'os* ceremonies'. In terms of our typologies, strictly it should be in a class by itself: in overall form it resembles TYPE 3 bells more than it does any of the others, while in terms of use and name, it is a single brass clapperless bell.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

TYPE 3b consists of smaller, pyramidal bells with a relatively plain top loop and varying, restrained, degrees of decoration. Clappers are attached to a small bar welded internally (rather than to a loop projecting through the top of the bell) as Chappel described for **662** above, a mechanism we can illustrate from Mark Clayton's collection.



Collection Mark Clayton

Where users were identified, like TYPE 3a these were said to be for *Gazabi*, non-smiths or farmers. Such small bells may also have been used to ornament such trappings as saddle bags. No dimensions are available from the Jos collection, but all are described as ‘small’. **701**, **704** and **707**, were specifically identified by informants as for *Gazabi*. TYPE 3b bells were also relatively inexpensive, between 2/6 and 6/- where known. It may transpire that first-hand inspection and knowledge of their dimensions would reallocate some bells between our two sub-types; or alternatively it might confirm that they shade into one another without any basis to draw a twofold distinction, in which case we would, as noted above, want to treat TYPE 3 as a broad spectrum.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Similar examples in the Clayton collection provide a helpful impression of scale: between 5 to 7.5cm in height.



Collection Mark Clayton – heights: 5.5, 5.7, 7.3, 9.9, 8.8, 6.0, 6.1cm

TYPE 4 bells are in what would be considered a conventional ‘bell’ shape in European terms. Bands of decoration, mostly consisting of spirals, are added below the shoulder and above the rim. The only Jos example for which we know dimensions, **550**, is noted as ‘small’; **253** and **255**, collected before this, are described as ‘larger’ in accession notes without the basis of comparison being obvious. Available dimensions: **550** 7x5.6 (also noted to be for *Gazabi*) has a single-piece clapper, which may well be the common clapper mechanism. **253** has a makeshift external replacement clapper. The examples for which we know prices show these to be less expensive than TYPES 1-3a, around the level of TYPE 3b (**550** 6/-, **573** 5/-).



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Given that bells in this form are common, attributing unprovenanced examples to the Verre is evidentially insecure. Two examples in the Clayton collection are similar in shape and also patterned with spirals or demi-spirals. Both are larger than the one Jos example for which we have a height, in one case considerably so. On balance, attribution to Verre would seem only possible.



Collection Mark Clayton – heights: 9.5, 15.4cm

OUTLIERS – Two bells that Chappel collected from Verre appear to be one-offs rather than examples of further types. Both are large, relatively tubular, bells with parallel sides in one case and a slightly flared body in the other. The clapper of **654** is, unusually, cast in a single piece, and its decoration is not typical of Verre bells and resembles that further north in the Highlands. While we cannot discount the possibility of a Verre caster experimenting with a new form, the more likely explanation would seem to be that one or both bells came into Verre hands through regional trade.



733



654

Available Dimensions: **733** 14.6x7.2 (for Gazabi) cost 8/-; **654** 14.5x7.5, cost 3/-

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Finally, for future research on the collection itself, we should add that there are a few bells Chappel acquired for Jos Museum of which we have no description beyond that they are in brass; these include **407, 497, 586**.

Clapperless bells or handgongs

Brass clapper bells (*kerumd* (s), *kerumi* (pl)) like those we have just examined are not named by Verre together either with single clapperless bells, (*buruk* (s), *burum* (pl)), or with double hand-held gongs, (*dengkongkas* (s), *dengkongki* (pl)). Brass clapper bells are not copies of an iron ‘original’, whereas both single and double hand-held brass clapperless bells are skeuomorphs of their iron counterparts and are identified as such by adding the descriptor for brass to the respective nouns, *buruk suktunkak* (s), *dengkongkas suktunjas* (s). Whereas brass clapper bells were worn for display, particularly for dancing, by women or by youths before initiation, hand-held gongs were beaten by adult men in more esoteric circumstances. A single clapperless bell used in a cult setting is called *buruk doi’yaaks*, where *doi’* is presumably a form of the noun *Do’os*, cult, and *yaaks* is related to the term for an initiate to such ceremonies. A cult rattle – consisting of an iron ring from which are suspended iron clappers and, in some cases, an iron clapperless bell – is referred to simply as *doi’ yaaks* (see below, 334, 385, 386, 397). We use terms like handgong, which is wrong in musicological terms, and rattle periodically as a reminder that we are not dealing with objects Verre name together with what we translate as bells. Clapperless bells are not a sub-set of bells in terms of Verre cultural practice but a category of their own.

Iron double handgongs were used by all the neighbours of the Verre. Chappel collected three such from Bata (below) shortly before he began to make acquisitions from Verre, one of which is particularly close in appearance to an example collected from the Verre by the Frobenius expedition in 1911. We can illustrate only one iron double handgong collected by Chappel in 1966 from the Verre. It has more rounded lines than its Bata or Frobenius counterparts and is similar to those Fardon saw in use by Chamba in Mapeo, which were probably made by Verre for them, and it corresponds closely to a sketch of an example collected by the Frobenius expedition from the Koma that was annotated as having been made by Verre smiths.



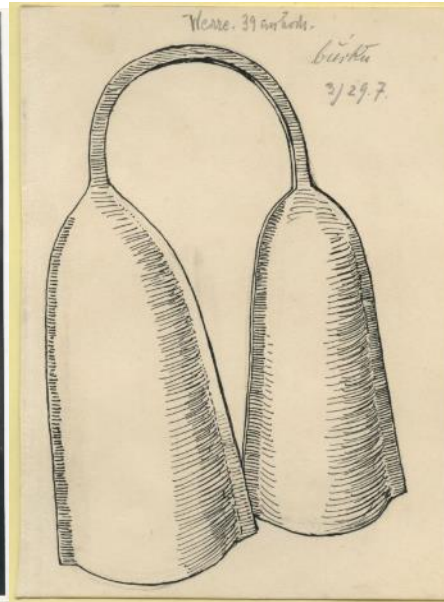
65.J306.210a Bata



65.J306.210b Bata



65.J306.446 Bata



KBA 09372 – Verre 'burku'



66.J11.734 Verre

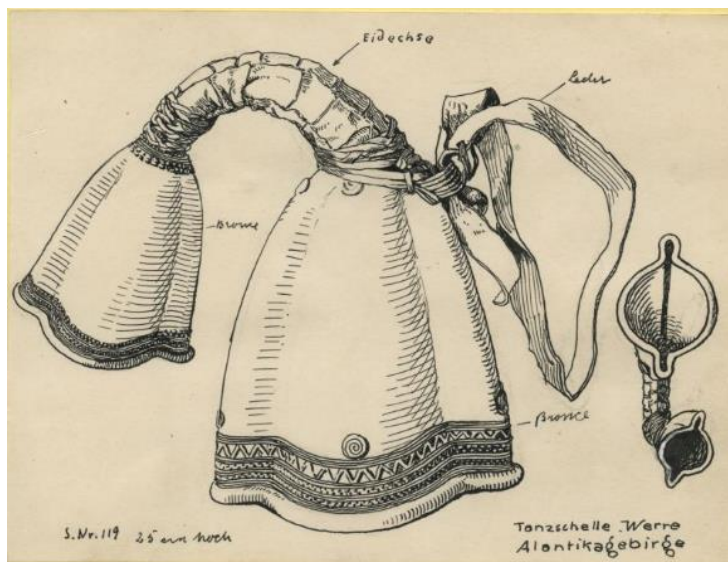


KBA 09371 – Verre, made for Koma

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

No single iron clapperless bells are listed among Chappel's Verre acquisitions, but they do occur as the central element of iron cult rattle sets (**334** not illustrated, **385**, **386**, **397**). These resemble our example of a Verre iron double handgong (**734**) more than they do its Bata equivalent, and much more than they do Verre brass clapper bells.

The earliest brass double handgong collected from Verre was acquired by the Frobenius expedition in 1911 and is now in the Dresden Museum (accession number 33679). Its handle covering is noted as 'lizard' (*Eidechse*), a more decorative option than the cord whipping usually often found on iron counterparts. A later photograph shows one chamber has detached from its handle; this appears to be a common fault of the brass skeuomorph.



KBA 03275



Dresden 33679

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Six further examples entered the Jos Museum with Chappel's 1966 collection. These were expensive items (both originally and when Chappel acquired them) and the handle connecting the two chambers, notwithstanding using an iron prong inserted from the smaller into the larger chamber, was fragile, since so many collected examples are broken at that joint (as well as the Dresden example, see **442**, **532-3**; the handle of **558** appears intact but the acquisition note records a second casting to reinforce it, and one chamber has cracked; **614** has a leather reinforcement over the handle). The handgong accessioned as **677** has suffered a crack to one chamber; without being able to compare the original objects, it seems most to resemble that collected in 1911, as do the now separated chambers of **532-3**. Examples **442** and **558** resemble one another in both overall form and the use of spiral decoration. (We lack an image of **445**.) The relatively plain **766** was identified as being for *Gazabi*.



66.J11.532-3



66.J11.614

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

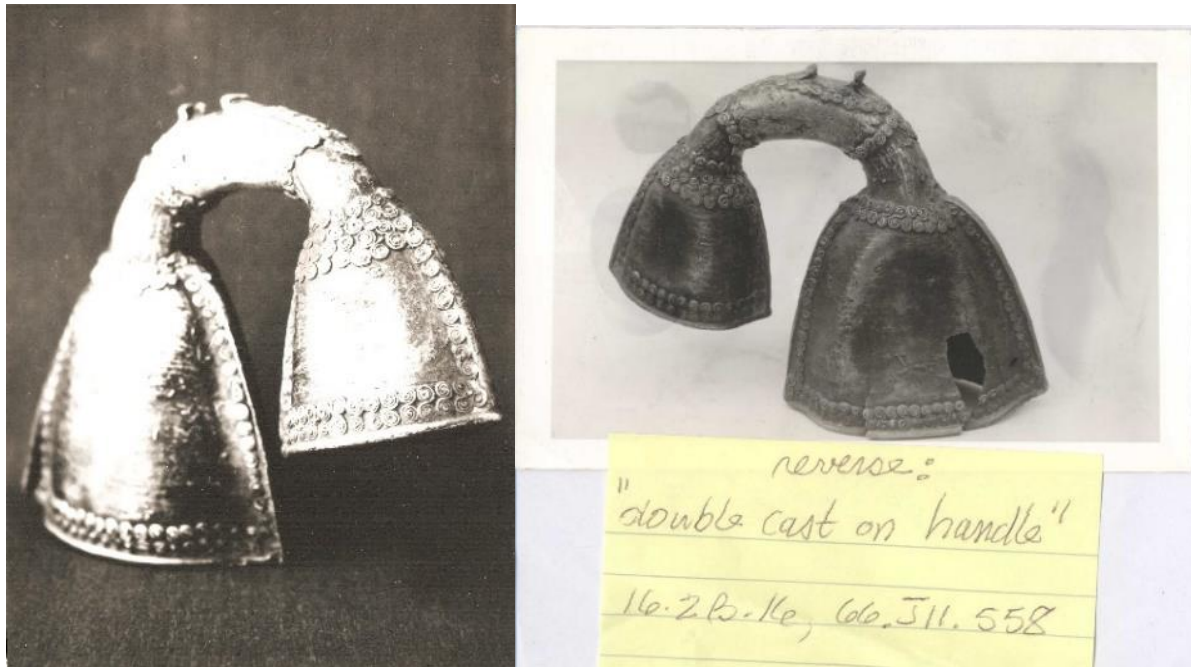


66.J11.677



66.J11.442

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



66.J11.558

A very similar example to **558** in the Sudan United Mission collection (below) has a scaly skin binding around the handle which might be crocodile or water monitor, in which respect it resembles the 'lizard' skin covered handle of the example collected by the Frobenius expedition.



SUM

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

An outlier in formal terms is the more rounded double handgong **766** that might be construed as a skeuomorph of the taller of its iron counterparts. Chappel's accession note describes it as heavier than other double clapperless bells, and his informants stated it was for the use of *Gazabi*, and hence less prestigious than those with more elaborate decoration.



66.J11.766

Single brass clapperless bells, or handgongs, generally resemble the larger chamber of a brass double handgong more than they do the single iron gongs included in sets of iron cult rattles (see above), which have loops for attachment to a ring whereas these have curved handles, not unlike the connecting prongs of double handgongs. The form is consistent with Chappel's informants' view that the single brass gong was bought by those who could not afford a double gong. They added that the angle of the handles differed according to user, those for *Tibaai* pointing upwards compared to those for *Gazabi*. This is not readily apparent from extant examples, the handles of which seem relatively crude compared to the fine casting of the bell chambers, more like half a double handgong than an article designed independently. The three single handgongs in this style collected by Chappel are similar in shape and decoration to the first group of double gongs with bands of decoration at their edges supplemented by spirals (compare Frobenius/Dresden, **532-3**, **614**, **677**); all three have the small side loops characteristic of the larger chamber of a double handgong.



66.J11.465



66.J11.515



66.J11.591

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The single exception to the generalization that single gongs, or clapperless bells, were skeuomorphs of an iron 'original', **570**, was discussed earlier. Its spiral decoration would argue a Verre maker, but the possibility of having moved in a regional trade network cannot be discounted given its unique form, which is most similar to that of a clapper bell but has never had a clapper mechanism.



66.J11.570 (both faces)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Cult rattles

Cult rattles were invariably made of iron, not brass, and consisted of clappers hung from a metal ring, in some cases with a central clapperless bell. These were esoteric objects seen and held only by initiates to the *Do'os* institutions. They appear formally identical to those that occur in Chamba cults, which is unsurprising given that at least Mapeo Chamba would have bought such rattles from Verre. It appears that the clappers of rattles for the Verre's own use suspended from closed rings. Those we know to have come from Chamba, and particularly Mapeo Chamba, invariably had open rings, which facilitated the removal of clappers for burial with senior adepts when they died, and their subsequent retrieval and reinstatement.



385



386



397

Ankle rattles and rattle spears

In addition to bells with internal or external clappers, other metal percussion instruments share with crotal bells a pellet mechanism. One of the most important performatively is the humble, and often unremarked, iron leg rattle worn for dancing, typically in multiples. An example from the Frobenius expedition that found its way to the Dresden Museum via the dealer Konietzko, is almost identical to those Olga Grening acquired probably a half century later.



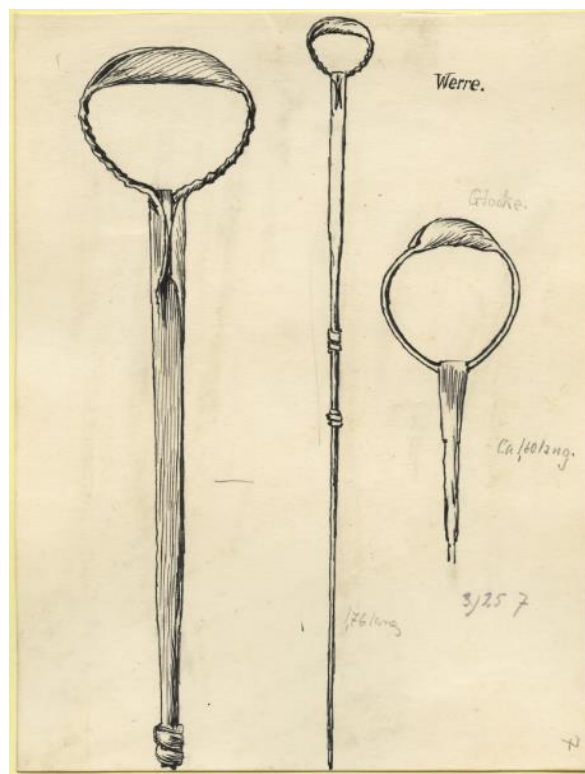
Dresden 36614

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



SUM – Olga Grening 1950-78

Around the same time as Grening, Chappel collected four examples at the modest cost of 7/6 in total (**387-90**) and recorded the Verre term for them to be *bogarus* (s), *bogari* (pl). The same term appears in the composite *ṭṭoma bogarus* (s), *ṭṭoma bogari* (pl), which combines the term for an iron leg rattle with that for a spear. Chappel bought one of these at considerably greater expense than a leg rattle, for £1, recording that such rattle spears might be owned only by the senior of elders, *dṇda gbijaas*. Several similar spears formed part of earlier collections. Photographed in their entirety, they are rather inscrutable objects, so the most effective representation remains that of Frobenius's artist. The piece portrayed might well be one of the two that was acquired by the Berlin Museum (Berlin III C 29355 & 6), the first of which was noted to be 172cm long.



KBA 09384

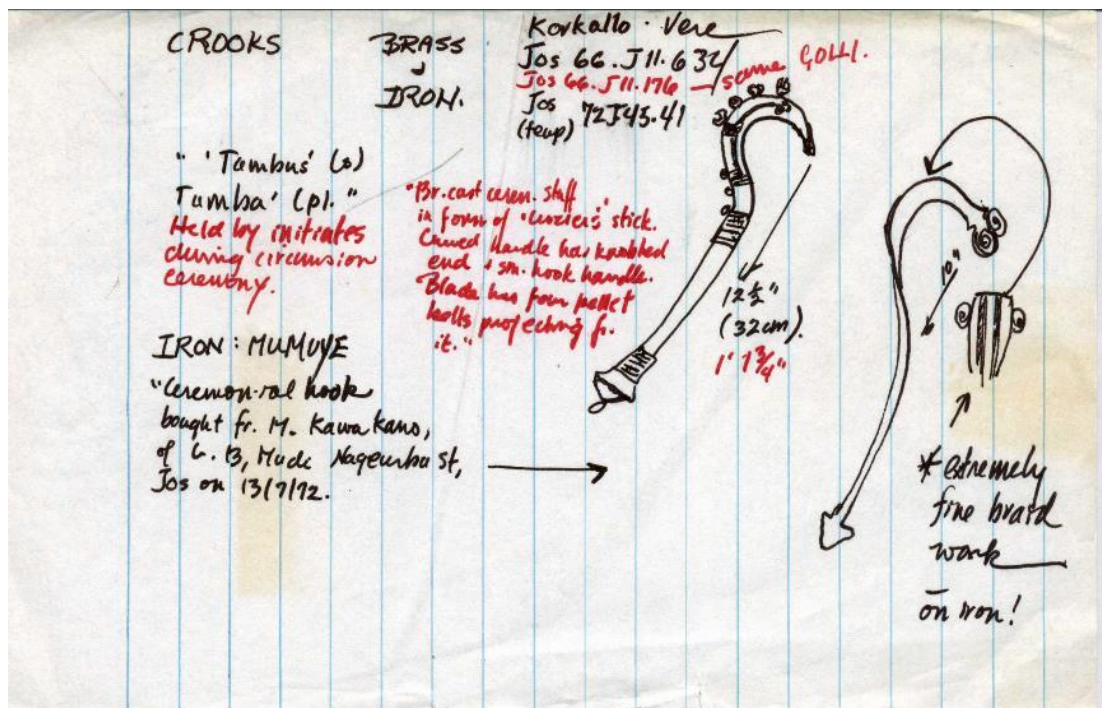
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

At the same time, Olive McLeod acquired two similar rattle spears, though they lack the same banding to their shafts (Af1913,1013.105 & 106). They were around 10cm longer than that collected by Frobenius: the first 183.5cm in length, and the second 184.8. An accession note for the British Museum seen by Nancy Maas records this staff as an 'iron palaver stick', continuing that, men walk around the town shaking the rattle, until they 'enter an open meeting place, stab the staff in the ground, and sit around talking' (a similar comment can be found in Temple 1919: 357, reporting the use of such iron rods by 'donda' to summon the elders). Chappel witnessed precisely this action on the part of his vendor and informant Ardo Sambo of Cholli. The self-same type of staff is found among Chamba, both those who are the Verre's neighbours at Mapeo, and the more westerly Chamba chiefdoms of the Shebshi Mountains. They call it *səəm saken*, which was explained to Fardon to mean a spear for sticking in the ground. It was said to have been taken into battles and planted. Both object and idea are practically identical.

The connections of this composite object of iron spear shaft and leg rattle do not end there, since we shall see later that ceremonial pot stands, called *tɔɔma gbaas* (s), *tɔɔma gba* (pl), are made from the same spear or staff with the same name, and frequently include what look like iron pellet rattles as supports.

The versatile crotal bell

The final type of pellet rattle we need to consider here is the crotal, or crotal bell. These are of great antiquity in Africa, although there is dispute whether their earliest introduction was by Europeans in the late sixteenth century (Williams 1974: 269-76; Posnansky 1977; Herbert 1984: 90-94). Crotals are both varied and versatile. The Verre term, *sa'a* or *sa'sol* (s), *sa'sai* (pl), is applied to crotals that vary in size, irrespective of whether they are independent objects or ornaments of larger pieces. Relatively large crotals were strung in sets as anklets for children which Chappel was told encouraged them to walk. As ornaments, crotal bells might be attached to other objects by ties. In colonial Mapeo, ceremonial iron crooks at initiation might have small coins with hollow centres attached to them with thongs so that they jangled as the initiates danced; these were said to have replaced crotals. Maas illustrates a Verre brass crook collected by Chappel (176) with small crotals welded to it, which demonstrate a similar conception, although this must have been an uncommon variety since we have not yet found a photographed example of it.



(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Crotal ornamentation, as already mentioned, is characteristic of a number of other apparently longstanding items of the Verre brass casting repertoire, notably some of the TYPE1 bells, discussed above, as well as brass-handled daggers, and arm cuffs. In all instances, the pieces with crotal decoration were either collected in the early colonial period, or else had signs of age if collected in the early post-colonial period. Whether Verre cast their own crotals or acquired them through trade we do not know. This might have varied according to their size. The smallest crotal bells are made by winding pulled brass threads into pod-like shapes; larger examples are in part solid. Chappel accessioned one set of crotal ankle bells (658), and it is likely to be these that we see displayed on the plinth to the viewer's left in the 1967 Jos Cabinet (see Interleaf). For closer views of independent pieces we need to turn to other collections. Two relatively large crotals were acquired by the Sudan United Mission as baby ornaments with vertically attached rings, and another threaded set of four with horizontal tubular attachments. We do not know what Verre terms might have distinguished these different types of attachment.



The example on the left appears to have been solid cast, whereas that on the right may have been wound. Both pieces could have been made in sections and welded subsequently. (For other examples, see the Interleaf.) Neither approaches the delicacy of the workmanship of the shoulder crotals of the Frobenius bell now in the Dresden Museum.



Dresden 33678 – detail

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

5.2 Personal ornaments

Verre pleasure in personal ornaments in brass a century ago is attested in various ways, including the early statement by the Temples (drawing upon 'official reports' from Captain C.V. Boyle and Mr. G.W. Webster) that their women 'wear a lot of beads, bangles, and anklets of jingling brass' (1919: 359). The neck, waist, ankles and wrists of female wooden figures collected around the same time are encrusted with abrus seeds, the redness of the seeds echoing that of copper alloys. Brass personal adornments which are present in the small early colonial assemblage become numerous in the larger early post-colonial assemblage. The brass clapper bells surveyed already, which were among the most expensive of prestige goods and strongly associated with women, are related to other personal ornaments in ways we discuss further below.

Brass beads

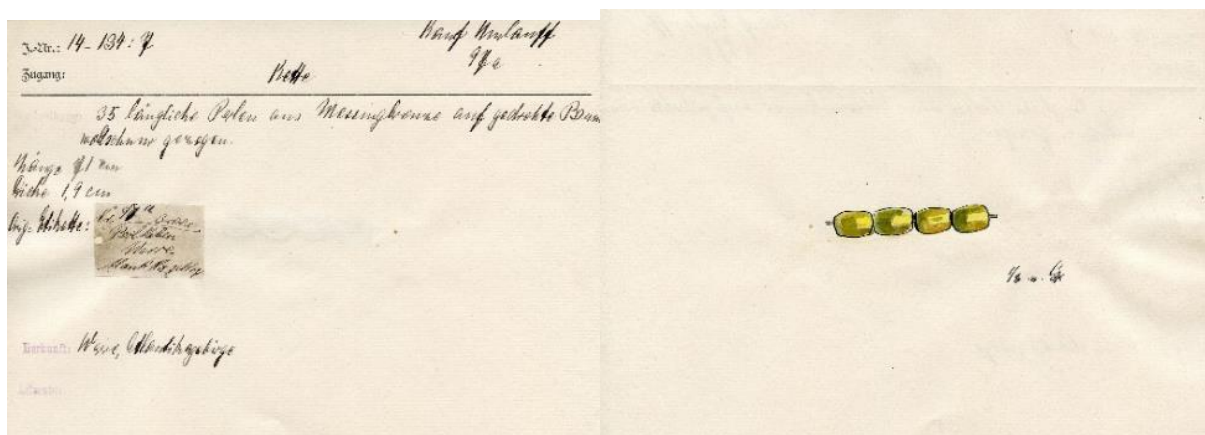
Beads, strung to be worn around the neck or waist, were the most commonly collected of items in brass. The overwhelming majority of them were accessioned without a Verre term, but, when they are named, we find one of two terms applied to them: *fɛ* (345, 758-60, 763, 813) or *mule* (108). While these terms might denote necklaces and waistbands, as we thought initially, we have come round to the opinion that they are more likely to distinguish beads that are smaller and more tubular in shape from those that are larger and more rounded, a distinction that substantially overlaps rather than coinciding exactly with which types of bead may be worn as necklaces and which as waistbands. In the Chappel collection, 23 sets of beads were accessioned as waistbands (108, 158-59, 173, 276-77, 279, 286-87, 298-302, 320, 331-32, 345 *fɛ*, 356, 368-69, 684, 721), and another seven as necklaces (719, 758-60, 763, 813, 819), though the distinction may not be clear cut, particularly where miniatures worn by children are concerned.

The earliest collected examples of strung, brass beads were two sets acquired by the Frobenius expedition; they are smaller and plainer than at least some of the beads Chappel collected in the mid-1960s. Beads emerging onto the market in subsequent post-colonial decades have generally become bulkier, and in some cases are decorated with striations or ornamented with protuberances. What looks like a trend might be accounted for most plausibly in terms of: adaption to the increased availability of copper alloy scrap, a reduced demand from Verre themselves for brasswares, and the development of modest wider demand attracted by the exotic.

The same period has seen a growth in the market offer of what we are calling 'oversized pendant beads'. While it is possible that such pendants were made before the mid-twentieth century, we have yet to find an example accessioned earlier than the two that entered the British Museum in 1954, although these might already have been in the Wellcome Collection for as long as two decades, or the Cullen donation to Lagos in 1946. The name for these outsized beads, *wɛla cheede*, is also that of a ball-shaped ornament with a surface of cowry shells, two examples of which we can illustrate from Chappel's Jos collection. It seems likely that the brass version replaced the ball of cowries as a display of wealth: *ceede* is a term

borrowed by Verre from Fulfulde in which it means both cowry and price/money. Oversized beads were worn by women on their left hip or buttock, the place where a baby would be carried supported by the left arm, or a brass clapper bell worn. Recall that the shoulder decoration of most TYPE 1 brass bells was described by the term *mule*, by which informants also designated the rounder type of beads used in heavy waistbands. Analogy is drawing together the beads on a woman's waistband, the *mule* pattern around the dome of a bell, and the same pattern repeated around the middle of an oversized bead, which also resembles two bell domes pointed away from one another and joined by a 'beaded' seam. Oversized pendant beads could be considered as hybridized skeuomorphs in their fusion of inspirations from clusters of cowries worn as wealth ornaments, and from waist beads, further channelled by the beads becoming the decorative patterning on bells, and the pendants being worn in the place of bells. Dancing with these symbolically suggestive objects on their hips, women would play on the female associations with the shape of cowries, the location of oversized beads or bells on the left side (contrasting with men's association with the right), and with the wealth of women's reproductive powers. Large beads must have enjoyed a considerable vogue, Chappel collected so many of them that he eventually had to refuse further offers to sell him more. Almost all were offered as singular objects, which is how we see them worn on his field photographs (see Chapter 3): as individual beads suspended on ribbons of cloth. A few were strung as the centrepieces of sets of beads, but these appear to have been smaller than the increasingly bulky, oversized pendant beads that have entered the international market in later decades. The pendant bead in these recent versions is typically undecorated other than at its 'beaded' edge and strung together with large, ornamented, round beads.

We know of two strings of brass beads collected by the Frobenius expedition. That acquired by the Hamburg Museum (**97a – KBA 02991**) consists of thirty-five, similarly sized, plain, oval beads, with an overall length is 80cm, made up of individual beads just under 2cm.

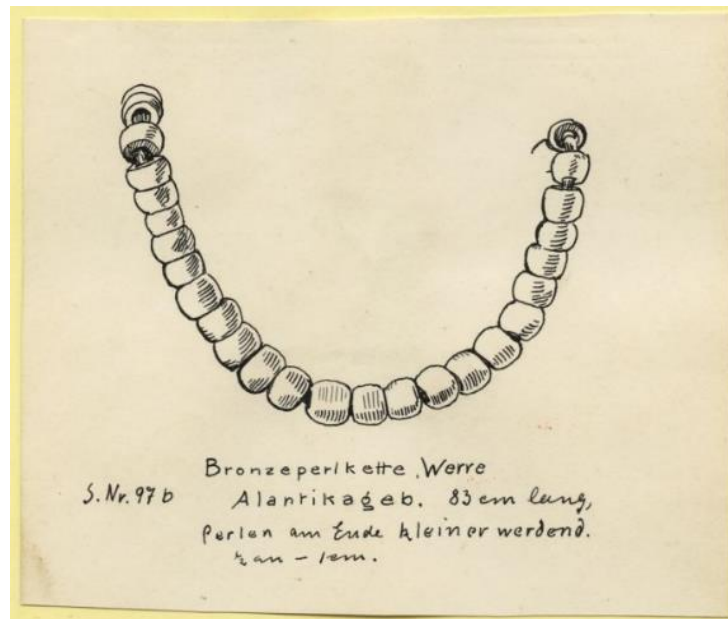


Hamburg 14.134.7

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

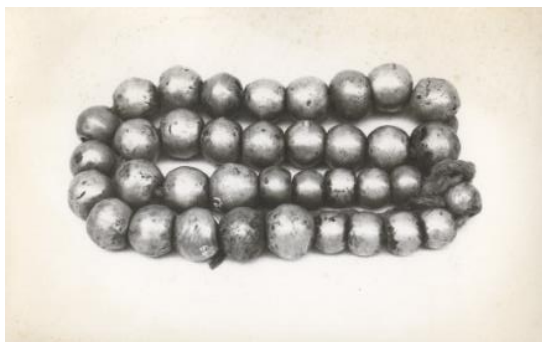
The whereabouts of the second set is currently unknown, but a surviving sketch (**97b – KBA 02990**) provides an overall length similar to the first set, specified as 83cm, but with beads at most half the length, suggesting that if it was beaded throughout its length, this set must have had at least double the number of beads of the first, although the artist has represented only

a section of them. Their tubular form is shared with the stone, ceramic or glass beads common throughout West Africa which presumably inspired them.

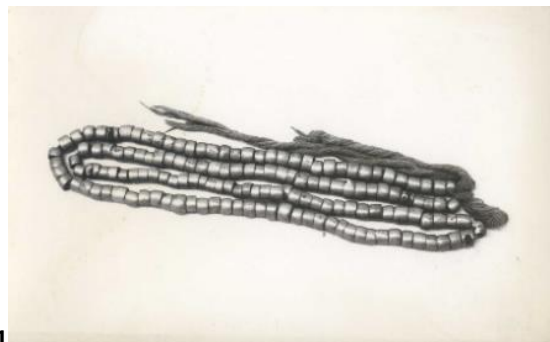


KBA 02990

We are well provided with photographs of the sets of beads Chappel collected and so feel able to state that their variety is slight, bounded by larger and smaller examples of *mule* and *fe* such as those below (for further illustrations, see Appendix 1).



721



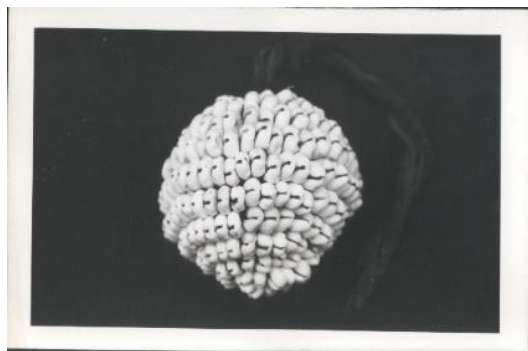
719

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

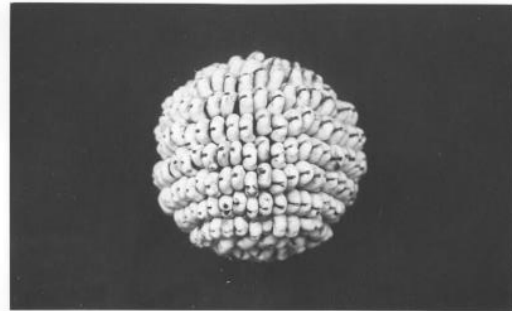
We are not able to illustrate the variant described by an informant as *mule werinis*, which apparently involved ornamental pieces threaded between round beads (684). We speculate that these might be beads with protuberances similar to pipe rings. Unlike the more ornate beads attributed to the Verre in later years, we note that the strung beads collected by Chappel do not obviously have surface patterns, nor are they embellished with protuberances. This suggests that the elaboration of later beads may have been driven by a non-local market.

The relationship between larger beads, *mule*, cowry ball pendant beads, *wela cheede*, and oversized brass pendant beads is easily appreciated once they are set alongside one another.

The resemblance is avowedly intentional. One of Chappel's informants claimed that only *Gazabi* had such cowry ornaments; the *Tibaai* saw *Gazabi* women wearing them at the ceremony of *Zangazaar* and decided to copy them in brass (Fieldnotes 7: 6).



343



412

We are unable to say much about relative dimensions from the photographic record, although we might note that **813** (below), which, unusually, is strung as a set, may be under 10cm in circumference to judge by the small beads that complete it. Otherwise, we only have images of outsized beads singly. The dimensions of the pair of 'buttock ornaments' acquired by the British Museum (Af1954,23.1492.a-b) from the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (Wellcome Collection 29095) are recorded to be: a) 2¾x3¾ inches/7x9.5cm, b) 1¾x2¾ inches/4.5x7cm. The measurements are consistent with the estimated diameter of **813** and considerably smaller than those more recently offered on the international market, including a larger pendant bead strung with large round beads acquired by the British Museum in 1971 from a trader identified as A.U. Baba (Af1971,15.3).¹

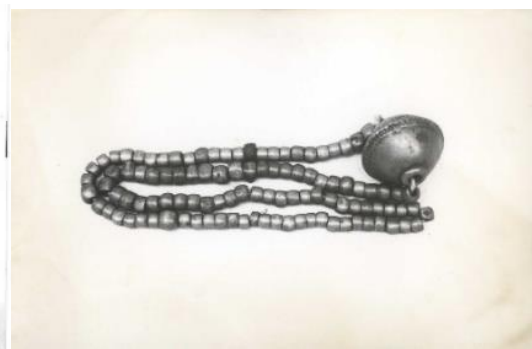
The method of attachment of pendant beads documented in field photographs is seen with **104** (below). These two outsized beads (**104** and **813**), together with **106** have a second band of decoration inside the row of *mule* around their edges.



104



106



813 with tubular beads fε

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

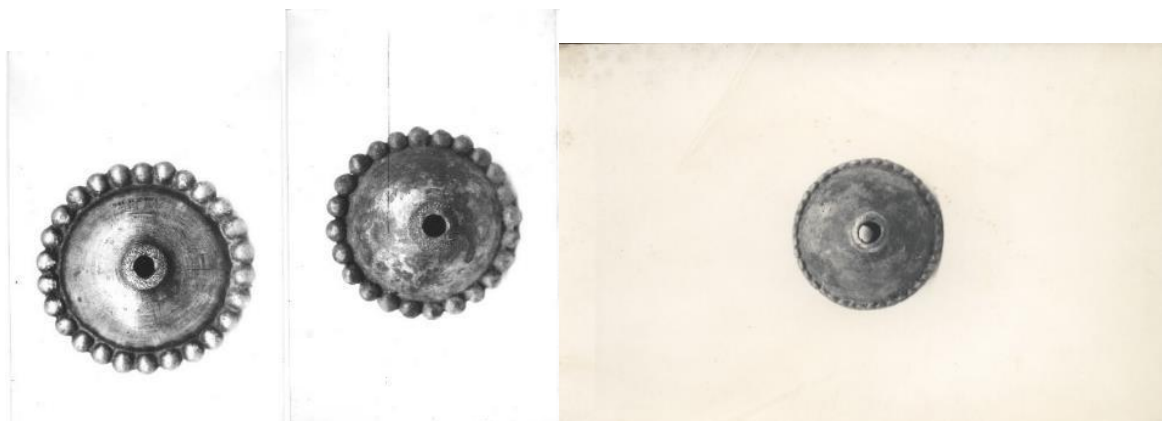
¹ For similar examples in the Tropen Museum Amsterdam, see AM-388-9 and AM-492-352, the second with two large beads: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/526338> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/527516>

This second decorative band is also visible on what is apparently a miniature bead set designed for a child, although we cannot establish the origin of the photograph from Chappel's personal archive. At least one of the round beads (right, central) appears to be a crotal.



Numbered 985.7.26434 on reverse

Most pendant beads, including those transferred to the British Museum in 1954, lack additional decoration, as in the three Jos examples below.



106

164

165

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

While not conclusive, the evidence we have supports the view that pendant beads increased in size from the middle of the twentieth century, and that they were strung together with beads that themselves became larger and more ornate. We lack evidence to

decide whether this represents a late style preferred by Verre women, or the response of intermediary traders to their judgement about wider market demand.

Metal bands: cuffs, bracelets and rings

On the assumption that the terms used to name metal bands by Chappel's Verre informants indicated differences that were meaningful to them, our first task is to assess the range of three such terms: *pɔŋgan*, *wan*, and *maas*.

The term *pɔŋgan*, occasionally with other descriptors, occurs 24 times in the accession records of Chappel's collection (a further 15 accessions of bracelets, cuffs or rings are not given a Verre name).

430, 521-24, 563, 564, 592, 599-601, 606, 611-12, 644, 651-52 (*pɔŋgan suktunkak*),
656, 660, 681 (*sa'sai*), **737** (*Tibaai sa'sai*), **755, 762** (*sa'sai*), **774-75**

In one instance, there is additional specification of the permitted users (smiths, *Tibaai*) and in three cases, that one included, of decoration (with crotal beads, *sa'sai*). We have only two illustrations of these objects: a photograph of **563** shows it to be a small decorated, cylindrical bracelet remarkably like others collected by the Frobenius expedition a half century earlier; the sketch of **651** reveals it to be a large arm cuff similar to those Chappel collected from the Bata before beginning to visit the Verre, some of which might have been made by Verre smiths (see Appendix 1). While we cannot know definitely which of the remaining acquisitions belong to which type, it is more likely that crotal decoration would be welded to the central section of a cuff than to a bracelet (hence **681**, **737**, and **762** are probably cuffs), and given their much larger size, it also seems likely that cuffs were more expensive than all but the most intricate of bracelets (though it has to be admitted that price variation is not very marked among *pɔŋgan*). If the term *pɔŋgan* is to include both bracelets and the much larger cuffs, then it seems likely to have referred to the shared characteristic that these bands are cylindrical and rings, that is round in cross section.²

The second term, *wan*, occurs with at least 27 of the circular objects collected by Chappel. In the cases when we know what they looked like, they indeed differed from those named as *pɔŋgan* by being round in cross-section, which is to say by being rings rather than bands. These rings were made in iron and as well as in brass, and the term *wan* was also used of ivory bangles. In this respect, and on the limited basis of the instances we know about from Appendix 1, *wan* differs from *pɔŋgan* which occurs only of objects in brass. Personal ornaments make up the majority of the objects to which the name *wan* was applied, but the class included ring-shaped headloading pads, and the brass skeuomorphs of these used in

² Cuffs are not characteristically Verre, though those with extensive spiral decoration might be. Chappel collected at least 15 examples from Bata, see 65.J306: 222, 347, 350, 351, 373, 433-35, 443, 444, 445, 493, 494, 610, 611. They also occur in collections made from Mandara Mountain peoples, including Fali and Kapsiki. We note below that some cuffs were described as anklets on accession.

some ritual contexts instead of the mundane version to support a round-bottomed pot or bowl so that it stood upright.

Listing occurrences of the term *wan*, with variants and compounds, suggests that most of the variation may simply be a matter of inconsistency in transcription (including *wal*, *wan*, *wand*, and agreement with the qualifier for ‘brass’, *suktunu*, *suktundal*) which a Verre speaker would resolve quickly.

107 (*wal*), **179-85** (*wan*), **420** (*wand suktunu* – a brass pot ring), **489** (*maas wan bogorɔs* – women’s iron bracelet), **581-84** (*wal suktundal* – women’s brass ring), **605** (*wand suktundal* – brass pot ring), **617** (*wand’na* – men’s brass arm [*na*] ornament), **702 & 703** (*wan bi* – women’s arm band; **703** was photographed on three occasions pressed into use as a pot ring for accession photographs, from which we know it was cast in brass with the same prominent knobs on its outer edge that are identified as *mule* beads when they appear on bells and pendants), **812** (*wand na* – illustrated as an openwork manilla-shaped bangle).

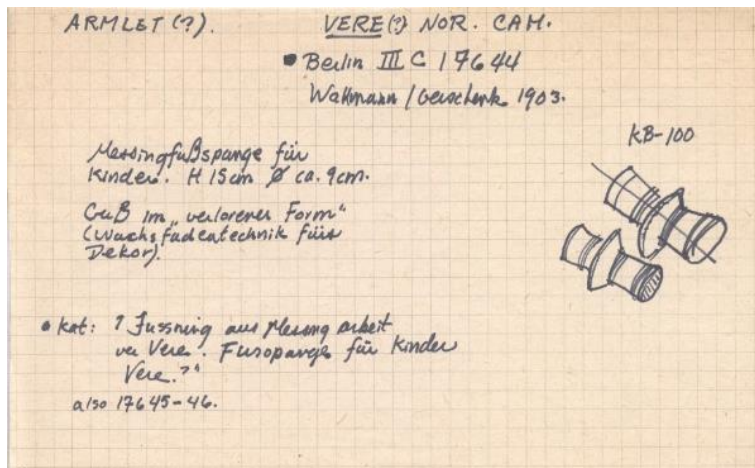
In another eight cases, a bracelet or bangle is identified in the accession record to be in ivory, with the observation that such items may not be of Verre manufacture: **631**, **653**, **659**, **693-5**, (both serrated for *Tibaai* and unserrated for *Gazabi*), **756**, **757**. We have illustrations of none of these.

The third term for circular ornaments, *maas*, seems, like *wan*, to name a ring, but to be restricted in its application to small rings. It occurs most frequently in the accession list applied either to the decorative rings that women added to their smoking pipes, or less commonly to finger rings. Other than adorning a tobacco pipe, we have no illustrative materials to assist identification. Some decorative pipe rings had protruding knobs, these were described as *deesire* (s), *deesirei* (pl) (**347**, **396**); beads similar to these are now found on the bulky waistbands offered on the international market, suggesting the possibility they have been repurposed or provided the model for later decorative beads.

In accession notes, rings called *maas* rings are specified to be in iron or brass. Iron: **177-8** *maas kulang* (**178** ‘with knob’), **190** *maas kulang*, **512-14** *maas* (three women’s little finger rings in iron). Brass: **347** *maas suktunjas*, **396** *maas kula suktunus*. In addition to these are the rings for which no Verre term was recorded: **275** (pipe ring in iron), **280-2** (pipe rings, material unspecified), **284-5** (pipe rings, material unspecified), **307-319** (pipe rings, material unspecified), **351** (mouthpiece for a pipe described as a ring), **357** (tobacco pipe together with brass ring), **363-6** (pipe rings, material unspecified), **402-4** (‘ornamental rings’).

Most ornamental bands, we may conclude, belong to one of three categories: *pɔngan* cylindrical bracelets and cuffs, *wan* larger rings (not including the largest pot rings), and *maas* small rings. Unfortunately, very few illustrations of the numerous pieces acquired by Chappel are available to us.

We have found three examples of cuffs in early colonial period collections. The earliest, gifted by the colonial officer Waldmann to the Berlin Museum, is described as a 'Fussspange' for children.



Nancy Maas note



Berlin III C 17644 (Maas archive)

The central ornamental band appears to consist of tiny crotals, perhaps functional rattles but if not then at least copying the distinctive opening splits of crotal bells. The accession note for this object, like the next, describes it as a child's anklet, and given a diameter of 9cm this may have to be considered as a plausible alternative, or addition, to our default description of such pieces as arm cuffs.

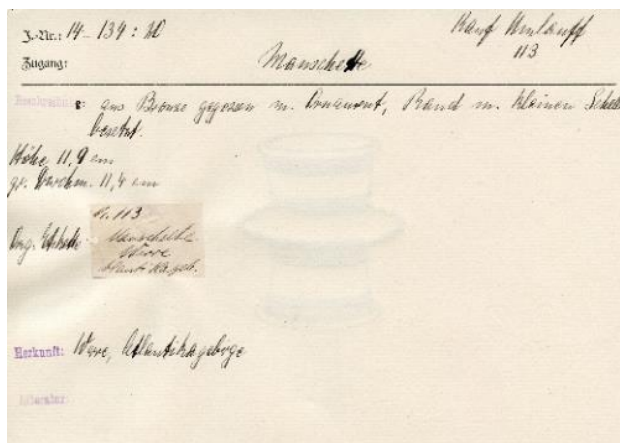
The British Museum's similar but plainer version, derived from Olive MacLeod Temple's 1911 travels, is also described as an 'anklet (with bells) made of brass'; the crotals in this case are evidently functional, and the copper brass alloy is unusually dark.



British Museum Af1913,1013.22

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The similarity between the Berlin cuff, also with a band of crotal bells, and that illustrated from the Frobenius expedition is striking (Frobenius Archive – **KBA 02988**), although this piece is slightly shorter (12cm). Rather than an anklet, it is described as a man's cuff [*Manschette*] in brass. It was acquired by the Hamburg Museum (14.134.20) via the dealer Umlauff in July 1914.

**KBA 02988****Hamburg 14.134.20**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Although differing from these three early colonial examples by the absence of crotal bells, the cuff donated in 1905 to the Braunschweig Museum by the German colonial officer Strümpell (*Handmanschetten*, Hecht 1968: 130 & 141, **VW 4.0-40/14**) displays four bands of half spirals within borders which we know to be characteristic of much Verre brasswork (the eight other arm bands donated together with this one, although not illustrated, are described as having a side opening, for which we do not have precedents in the Verre corpus (**VW 4.0-40/13a-h**). Its decoration resembles that of Chappel's **65.J306.444** which was collected from Bata though not necessarily made them. The overall form does differ slightly in the cuffs being

flared and terminating in rings (see also **65.J306.73** for another, slightly different, instance of four bands of spiral decoration).



Braunschweig VW 4.0-40/14



65.J306.444

A third example can be illustrated from the collection of the Sudan United Mission, currently in Aarhus.



SUM

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The wide distribution of these kinds of closed cuffs might be explicable by Fischer's reference, cited by Glar, to a pair of them (1987, figure 100) being bracelets of a kind given by the Fulani to their slaves to wear in war. As Glar further notes, this reported use is contrary to Wente-Lukas's contention that such cuffs were worn by women. Glar's illustrations (2012: 13 'Stulpen', object numbers 9-12) of cuffs in a catalogue of Kapsiki works suggests either that Verre wares were traded widely or else that some of the cuffs cast by Kapsiki were indistinguishable from those made by Verre, down to the penchant for half spiral decoration (2012: 13, 9-10).

Another close convergence between pieces collected in the early colonial and early post-colonial periods is apparent from the next series of *pɔngan*. Frobenius acquired three bracelets of the same design but differently sized. We know the first only from its archival illustration (KBA 02941) but its design with two spiral motifs reappears on another bracelet now in Dresden's museum (33647), while a third, this time with four spirals, entered the Hamburg Museum (14.134.180). The three share a diameter measurement between 8-9cm.



Frobenius Archive KBA 02941



Dresden 33647



KBA 02939a/Hamburg 14.134.180

Even from an overexposed and out of focus contact print, it is evident that **66.J11.563**, acquired for Chappel by the Village Head of Cholli, and identified as a woman's *pɔngan*, belongs in the same group.

**66.J11.563**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The categories of *wan* and *maas* are more difficult to illustrate. The only photographed examples of large rings identified as *wan*, in the Jos collection are two solid rings – **605** (see also **538** and **575**) and **703** (see also **546** & **802**) – serving as pot stands (although a dedicated pot stand would be termed *kal*); and an untypical openwork manila, which may not be a Verre casting although collected from them.



623 on ring 605



516 on ring 703



812

We are even less well served for the smaller rings, *maas*, for which we have no accession photographs at all. Two examples may be seen, admittedly indistinctly, placed at the centre front of the plinth, as well as mounted on the tobacco pipes, in this detail from the 1967 Jos display case.



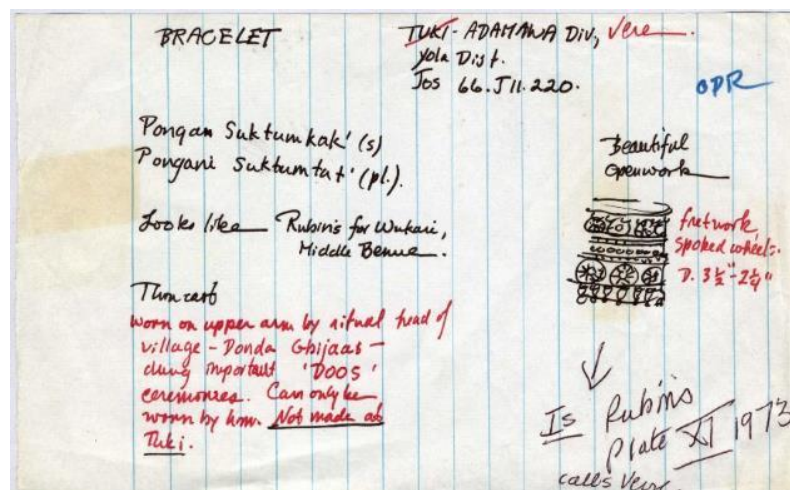
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Finally, we need to remark a few examples that do not fit readily into our account thus far of the three categories of circular ornament.

The most exceptional of these items is another openwork bracelet in brass, quite different from **812**, with two rows of suspended crotal beads (**66.J11.220**) for which a local term, *pat jangbi*, was elicited during Chappel's final check of materials with his main informants in December 1966. There is no other occurrence of the term and it does not correspond to that noted by Nancy Maas's during her research on the Jos collection (and its accession records) which is simply the usual term for a cylindrical bracelet in brass, *pangan suktunkak*. Whatever its name, the quality of casting skill needed to make this piece is striking. The wheel motif is found in castings from further west, and Maas notes that the bracelet was acquired in the village of Tuki but not made there. For the time being, we conclude that this piece (like **812**) might be evidence for wider regional trade, perhaps from the Tiv, or else for a discontinued Verre casting tradition.



Rubin 1973, Plate XI



Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Assuming that the recorded terms are the same,³ several objects put in question our suggestion that *wan* and *maas* can be distinguished by their larger and smaller sizes. Both are accessioned as iron bracelets despite the term *maas* being used of them: **489** *maas wan bogorɔs* and **490** *maas yaaks*, respectively for women and men. were both accessioned as 'bracelet's but have the term *maas* in their Verre names. It seems more than possible that *maas wan bogorɔs*, includes a variant transcription of *bogarus*, elsewhere recorded to mean an iron leg rattle. The male counterpart, *maas yaaks*, probably includes a variant transcription of *yaks*, initiate. Without knowing something about these objects, for instance whether they had attachments in the form of rings, further speculation is impossible.

³ We remind the reader that great claims are not being made for the transcription used here which entirely lacks tones.

The term *maas* also occurs twice in relation to tobacco pipes which, as we have noticed already, were ornamented with additional rings by women who could afford to do so. Although collected in numbers, we are not well-supplied with photographs of pipes, other than the three in the Jos display cabinet, there is an image from the Rubin archive which seems to belong to his Jos series. The upper example is probably **645**, *maas kulang*, an iron pipe with a frontal protrusion and an upper ornament that may be some, albeit unidentifiable, animal; the lower, brass, pipe with a stand and small phallic protrusion might be any one of several collected.



A second occurrence of the term *maas* occurs with **809**, *maas kula*, brass pipe bowl. This is described as a pipe for *Gazabi*, or farmers, and is decorated with a rope-like rim around the bowl and a frontal ornament which accurately represents the theranthropic (fused animal-human) head of the masquerade of the neighbouring Chamba with its distinctive bushcow horns (Fardon 1991, 2007). The accession note further associates it with the most senior of elders, and with the cult instruments of *Do'os*, but that is as far as we are able to explicate an intriguing object. It is not evident from the images, which are indistinct, how it would function as the bowl for a tobacco pipe given the apparent absence of any opening to insert a pipe stem.



809

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A final loose end that might be resolved by Verre investigators involves an additional term for some type of bracelet, *kambu*. This occurs twice in relation to objects of which we have no images: **556**, a men's bracelet in brass, *kambu suktunjas*, was said by its vendor to have been bought at Wom, which would raise the possibility of the variant term being in a dialect of Chamba Leko. However, the second occurrence of *kambu*, **566**, a men's bracelet of unspecified material, was acquired by a different vendor at Jili. The two items were not sold to Chappel by the same vendor, precluding the term recorded being idiosyncratic to the seller, although it might have been elicited during Chappel's final check with selected informants in late 1966.

While listing personal ornaments, before moving on to those very specifically associated with ritual contexts, we should note the presence in the Jos collection of a variety of smaller items we are unable to illustrate, including decorations for the ears and hair.

5.3 Initiation helmets and crooks

Several items of the items of ceremonial dress associated with the different stages by which young men undergo initiation and circumcision (see Chapter 3) include accessories in brass: brass-handled daggers and figures, and the two that are our particular concern here, the helmet and crook. The 'original' of the helmet, *bal*, which is made of fibres and leather, embellished with cowries and either plaited animal tail-hair, or cockerel feathers, is not unique to the Verre, though a comparative analysis might reveal distinctive features. An example collected by Frobenius and attributed to Verre that it is now in Berlin (III C 29412, below left) departs in some respects from the helmet collected contemporaneously by Olive MacLeod that is now in the British Museum (Af1913,1013.30, below centre). The helmets collected in the 1960s resemble the MacLeod donation rather than Frobenius's, as does a sketch of another example in the Frobenius archives that was presumably drawn from another specimen collected by Frobenius (KBA 14866, below right; designated 'küssū' in this source only). Similar helmets have been documented well beyond the Verre, notably among Mumuye, some of whose wooden figures have heads that seem to be sculpted along the lines of the headgear collected by Frobenius (Berns, Fardon and Kasfir 2011). Although this is only supposition, given its greater bulk, and a different recorded name, it is conceivable that the Frobenius helmet was a war helmet of which initiation helmets were miniature versions. If this is the case, then the relationship between the two types would also speak to the symbolism of initiation helmets.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The most common brass skeuomorphs of the template shared by the MacLeod and Chappel helmets do, however, seem to be characteristically Verre, and they come in two forms. The helmet for *Tibaai*, or smiths is, like its non-metal original, called *bal*, which may be specified further as being in brass, *bal suktundal*, or being for smiths, *bal Tibaai*. A reduced brass version is made for *Gazabi*, non-smiths or farmers, which seems to consist only of the central section of the blacksmith's helmet, shorn of its flaps; this is called *tongta*, which may be simply the name of the central section of a helmet. No examples of brass initiation helmets

were, to the best of our current knowledge, collected in the early colonial period, which opens the possibility of the metal version being a later innovation although, in this and other cases as we have emphasised repeatedly, absence from the early colonial collection is not evidence of absence from the early colonial society.

Non-metal helmets collected for the Jos Museum in 1966



218



425



426

Additionally, **174** for which we lack illustration.

Brass helmets for Tibaaï collected for the Jos Museum in 1966



256



427



433 (and below left)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

**433** right**527** (plaited hair specified as reedbuck)

Additionally, **444** and **761**, for which we have no photographs, the latter is noted to be for *Tibaai* which implies it was in brass.

Brass helmets for Gazabi collected for the Jos Museum in 1966

**712****772**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Additionally, we have no photograph of **713**, acquired together with **712**, and probably similar to it.

Comparable helmets are to be found in many collections, here we note only those acquired locally by missionaries of the Sudan United Mission around the same time as Chappel's collection for Jos. The examples on the right and left depart in some respects from those in

the Jos Museum. That on the right, which appears not to have articulated flaps, may not be Verre, while that on the left may simply have been reassembled incorrectly.



SUM Collection



SUM Jens Hebsgaard



SUM Aarhus

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

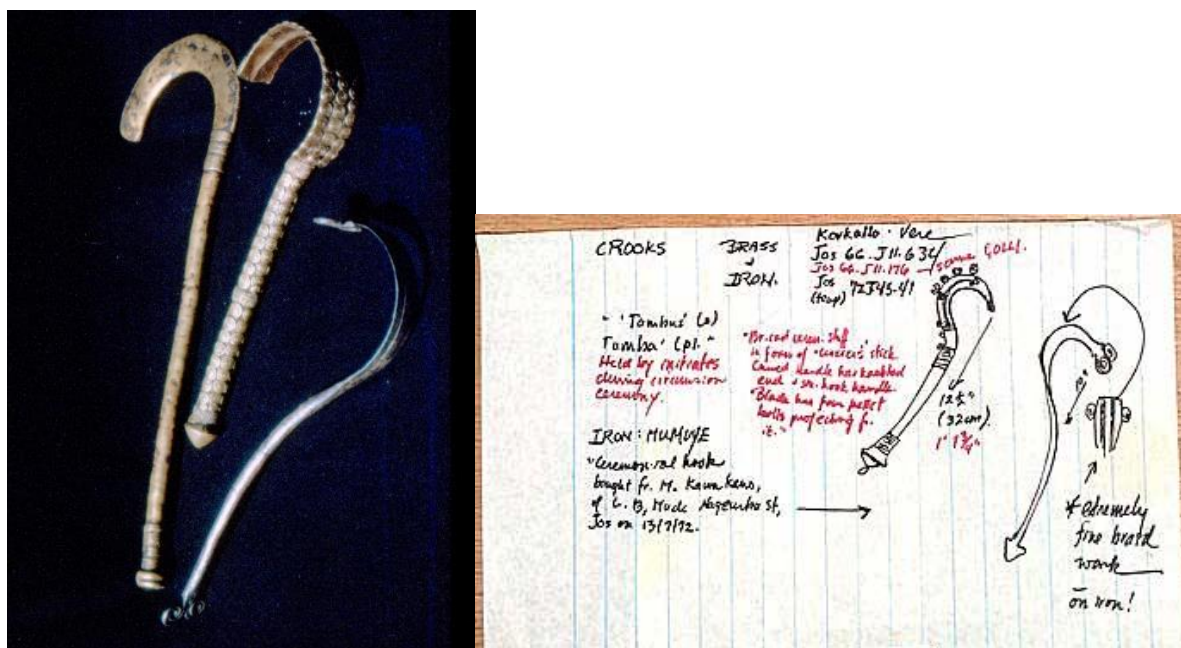
Initiation crooks

Like the helmet, the metal crook is not restricted to the Verre. Iron crooks used by the neighbouring Mapeo Chamba were not only identical but probably bought from Verre smiths, and the form was distributed more widely, to the west at least as far as the Mumuye. That said, other than for the occasional prestige purchase, it seems to be the case that the brass skeuomorph of the crook was restricted to the Verre. An iron example was illustrated by Frobenius's artist, Arriens, and a brass version collected by the expedition; and the use of the crook was noted by the Temples, 'Circumcision ... takes place at the harvest festival, when boys of nine or ten years of age are operated upon. They are held by a stick with a brass-bound crook around the neck, and should they flinch they are shamed for ever' (1919: 358). Whether in iron or brass, the crook is called *tambus* (s), *tambi* (pl) in Verre. In overall form, it is a skeuomorph of an iron sickle, *gamsus* (s), *gamsi* (pl): the regionally more widely used iron crook, in Verre *tambus wees* (s), *tambi wesa* (pl), was the initial skeuomorph of the crook, making the brass version a copy of an iron skeuomorph. There was also an all wooden version, *tambus rap* (s), *tambus rat* (pl), which among neighbouring Chamba Leko is a chiefly insigne. Although crooks are differentiated further by their decorative motifs and whether they are for use by smiths or non-smiths, *Tibaa*i or *Gazabi*, their overall symbolism is unaffected, and is likely to be similar to that known from the neighbouring Mapeo Chamba. As a skeuomorph of a sickle, the crook is contrasted with a hoe. Men harvest with sickles; women plant with hoes. This may not describe actual work practices faithfully, but it does reflect the operative symbolic logic. Youths have to be cut in order to mature. Chappel's informants likened the knob at the handle of some crooks to the head of a penis. The youths undergoing circumcision clasp the crook with both hands and hook it behind their necks; doing so helps them to be unflinching. Cowardly boys were disgraced. The crook-sickle held firmly against the back of the neck analogizes this cutting, to expose the head of the penis, to the final cutting to

separate head from body which will take place after burial to allow the skull to be conserved. But compared to a sickle, a crook cannot cut: the blade of a crook has been rotated so as to lie in the same plane as a hoe blade. Hence, a crook has the overall shape of a sickle with the blade alignment of a hoe, which at least speculatively, given we do not have Verre testimony, might make it highly appropriate as the insigne of youths in a transitional gendered state.

Sickle and iron crook

The relationships between some of these objects become apparent from the illustrations below. Below the iron sickle tool (99) is juxtaposed to the iron crook derived from it (this example is from the Boston Museum). The photograph below on the left is from Arnold Rubin's archive showing three pieces in the Jos Museum: that on the left is a, so far, unique brass skeuomorph of the iron sickle which we think may be **626** in Chappel's field collection, it is most likely to have been a priestly insigne. The central brass crook in Rubin's photograph might be any one of numerous examples in the Jos collection: rather than having a plain handle it is covered entirely with the spirals typical of later Verre brasswork and also copied by Koma who took up the technology. The iron crook on the right of the three, has a double spiral at both ends. This might be Mumuye (72.J45.41) rather than Verre if we judge by Nancy Maas's sketch of a crook with a double spiral, albeit only at its 'blade' end.



(probably) **626**, left, Verre brass crook, centre

Verre or Mumuye iron crook, right Nancy Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



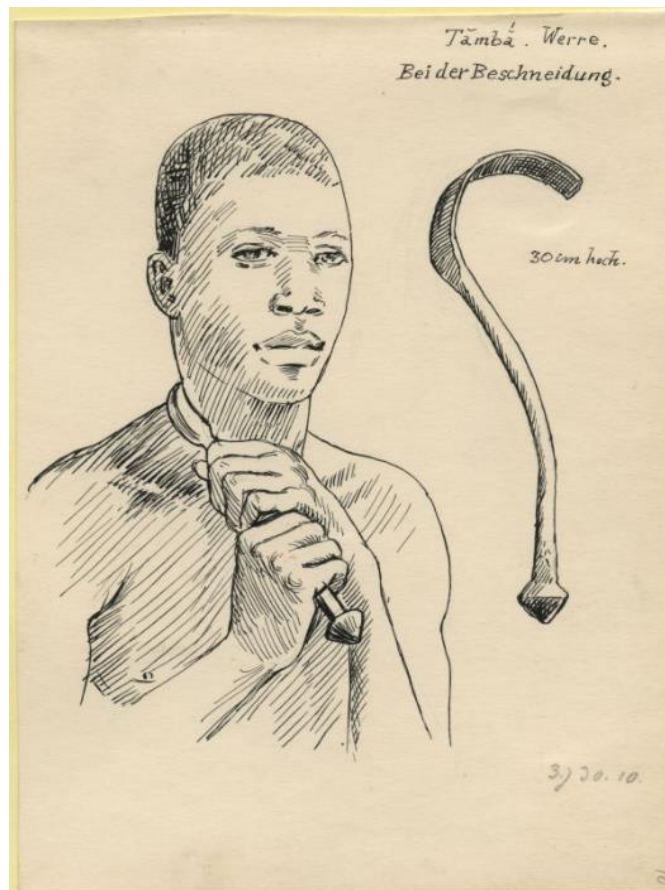
99

Museum of Fine Arts Boston 2005.1187

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

We lack illustrations of two more sickles collected: **175, 560**

The way in which an iron crook was held can be seen from a sketch by Frobenius's expedition artist, Carl Arriens.

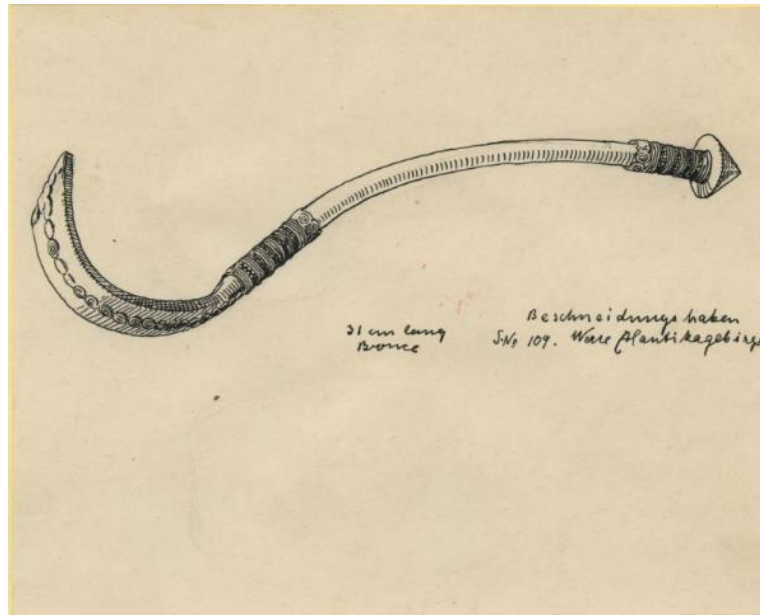


KBA 10626

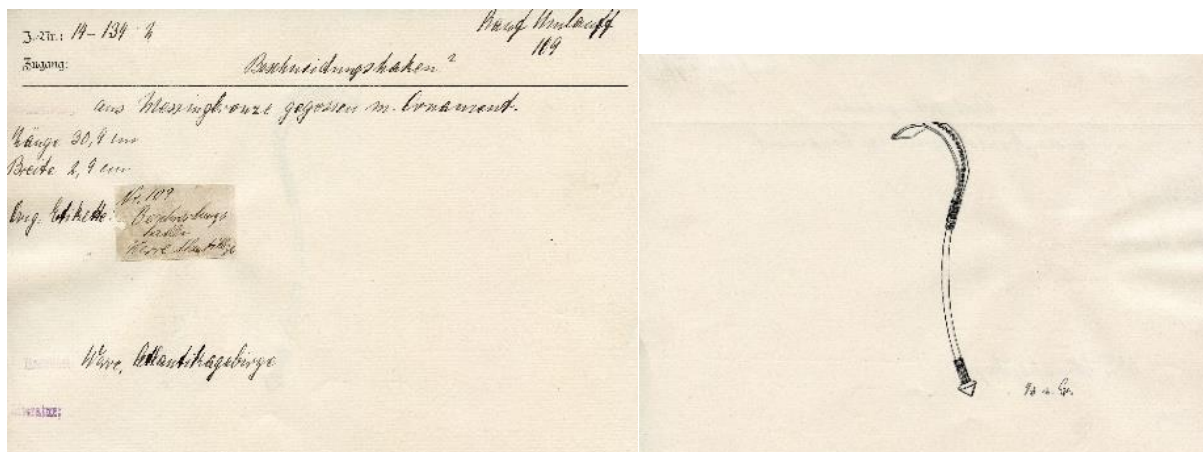
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Brass crooks

Staying with the Frobenius Archive, we can trace an example of a brass crook from its sketch (KBA 03289) through to its acquisition by the Hamburg Museum from the dealer Umlauff in July 1914. The decoration is noticeably restrained compared to what we assume to be a later example in Rubin's photography above.



KBA 03289



Hamburg accession card

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Since then, numerous examples of brass crooks have entered museum and private collections. Most are virtually identical in overall form, with some variations in patterned decoration and ornamentation. Unfortunately, we lack illustrations of Chappel's many acquisitions for the Jos Museum, which are simply listed here with any particular observations that were made in their accession notes: **101, 176, 274, 290, 352** for *Gazabi*, **405** *tambus seeri*, *seeri* meaning locust in reference to a type of decoration or ornament, **408, 421, 437, 561** with reedbuck horns (see, Interleaf, illustrations left and central), **562, 634** the basis of Maas's sketch *tambus sa'sai Gazabi* (above), where *sa'sai* indicates decoration with crotal bells as we see in the illustration, **635** *tambus mule Tibaai*, *mule* referring to a beaded decoration, **636** noted to be for *Gazabi*, **683** *tambus ga'ga Tibaai* with double spiral decoration or ornament, for the use of smiths, **689** *tambus Gazabi* for non-smiths, **748** *tambus suktunus* crook in brass.

The examples we know from private collections differ in the extent of their decoration, depending upon whether the spirals continue down the handle, as they do in the example photographed by Rubin, or are confined to the blade, as in the sketch of the Frobenius brass crook. The four examples below indicate the modest range of variation.



Piepel collection



SUM Hebsgard



SUM Vestergaard



Charles Jones Gallery

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Only one example has come to our attention that has an ornament which might include horns (like **561**), although in profile the head otherwise appears anthropomorphic. As we shall see next, similar ornamental features are more readily documented from the brass women's hoes which are the complement to the men's sickle-like crooks.



Herbelin Auction House, Chinon France

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

5.4 Hoes and daggers

What the crook, a modified skeuomorph of the sickle was to the male initiate, the hoe and dagger were to mature women and men. The hoe is associated with reproduction and fertility; the knife with the violence of cutting; and the crook mediates the two symbolically. Or, at least, this unnuanced symbolic reading is the best we can derive from relatively thin sources. While we have indications of the importance of the crook at initiation, and we know that initiates, if they had access to one, might wear a brass dagger at the dances preceding the actual circumcision, none of our sources provides much indication of the uses of prestige hoes. Men apparently owned and displayed them as an indication of wealth, but did women display or dance with them? We can cite only one informant on this subject citing a particular occasion or form of women's dance (see below).

In formal terms, as skeuomorphs respectively of sickles and hoes, crooks and brass hoes have similarities: both are long-handled, curved farming instruments, and their decoration and occasional ornamentation also resemble one another. When brass hoes were displayed on the person, they are said to have been hooked over the shoulder, rather than behind the neck like crooks. As we shall see, there is also a suggestion of formal differences between women's and men's brass hoes, or at least of there being differences that are interpreted as gendered by some informants, all of which gives the impression of a symbolic conversation that we hear only in snatches going on between the properties of age and gender invested in these devices. Brass-handled daggers, with brass scabbards, while also prestige skeuomorphs, remain functional: their iron blades able to cut or stab like other knives, although they would presumably be used more frequently in ceremonial than mundane contexts. Daggers are decidedly male accoutrements, worn on the right hip, or suspended down the back of young men undergoing the ceremonies preparatory to initiation.

As he did for crooks, Chappel collected numerous examples of brass hoes and knives, but we are similarly not well provided with illustrations of them. The early colonial assemblage contributes only a single example of a brass dagger and no brass hoes. Does this imply brass hoes were an innovation? Another question we cannot answer definitively. James Wade (personal communication) has documented brass hoe casting among the Fali, and Fischer has attributed dancing hoes to the Kapsiki and Daba (Fischer 1987: numbers 65-69) which suggests a Highland distribution, which is also shared by brass-handled daggers. Nonetheless, in the light of the field evidence to be examined below, at least some Verre brass hoes and daggers seem sufficiently distinctive to risk turning to otherwise unprovenanced examples of both to provide additional illustrations.

Hoes

Agricultural hoes, *tul* (s), *tula* (pl), can be specified as iron-bladed, *tul furan* (s), *tula furani* (pl), though this would hardly be necessary unless in a context when they might be confused with brass hoes, *tul suktundal* (s), *tula suktuni* (pl). Chappel collected 18 brass ceremonial hoes, as well as two mundane iron farming hoes, for Jos Museum, but the only indications we have of their appearance, aside from his own acquisition notes, are a couple of sketches by Nancy Maas, a photograph of the two examples included in a cabinet of Adamawa metalworks displayed at the Museum in 1967, and a photograph from Arnold Rubin's archive of one Chappel's acquisitions which is not identifiable without an accession number. Chappel additionally collected a double-bladed, ceremonial iron hoe (*tul furundal* (s), *tula foni* (pl)), probably the example exhibited in the same Jos cabinet. It is a sufficiently longstanding object for one very similar to have been collected by the Frobenius expedition in 1911. Brass skeuomorphs of such double hoes are also found: one, for which we lack accession details, probably in the Jos Museum but not collected by Chappel, and another in a private collection.

Brass hoes are variably close to their originals. Farming hoes are made in two parts. A socket in the hoe's iron blade grips the point of a wooden handle that has been carved from a robust branch forked at a slightly acute angle; thanks to this elbow, when the hoe is wielded, its blade chops into the soil.



KBA 06403

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

A minority of brass hoes mimic this mechanism closely, the blade and handle being cast separately and then hafted, either by pressure or with a rivet. Others, although made in a single casting, represent the joint of the farming hoe in raised relief and the internal volume of the socket by a swelling in the blade. In many single-piece castings, however, this mechanism is indicated only sketchily or not at all. While it is unwise to be too definite when reliant on photographs, it seems that the brass hoes that are less faithful to their originals may also show less wear, and additionally may be covered in a more uniform surface

patterning of spirals. If this supposition is borne out, then it would suggest a mimetic drift from brass hoes based on a wooden and iron prototype or 'original', to brass hoes that were copies of other brass hoes, and that increasingly shared a repertoire of decorations common across a range of brass objects.

To start with our very few provenanced examples: the handles of brass hoes vary in form, some having more pronounced curves or more angular elbows, as well as in decoration, but they are relatively similar in length (roughly 25 to 30cm). The handles end in a knob, often but not invariably solid, which, by analogy with a similar device on circumcision crooks, may have phallic significance. Surface decoration of handles predominantly takes two forms: banding that most probably represents whipped cord bindings on a wooden original (called *nengtabungs* in the fieldnotes quoted below) and the ubiquitous brass spirals arranged in rows. A minority of decorated handles have additional ornaments: either horns that project from their elbow, effectively turning the angle of the hoe handle into an animal's head – identified as a reedbuck in some of the examples collected by Chappel – or a head placed on the back of the handle with sweeping horns that attach to it forming a loop. This latter is an ornament we have already seen on the back of a single brass crook.

The blades of brass hoes likewise differ in their shape and decoration. Some of this difference may be gendered. Chappel's most extensive fieldnote records his informants' views, and a specific reference to a dance with hoes.

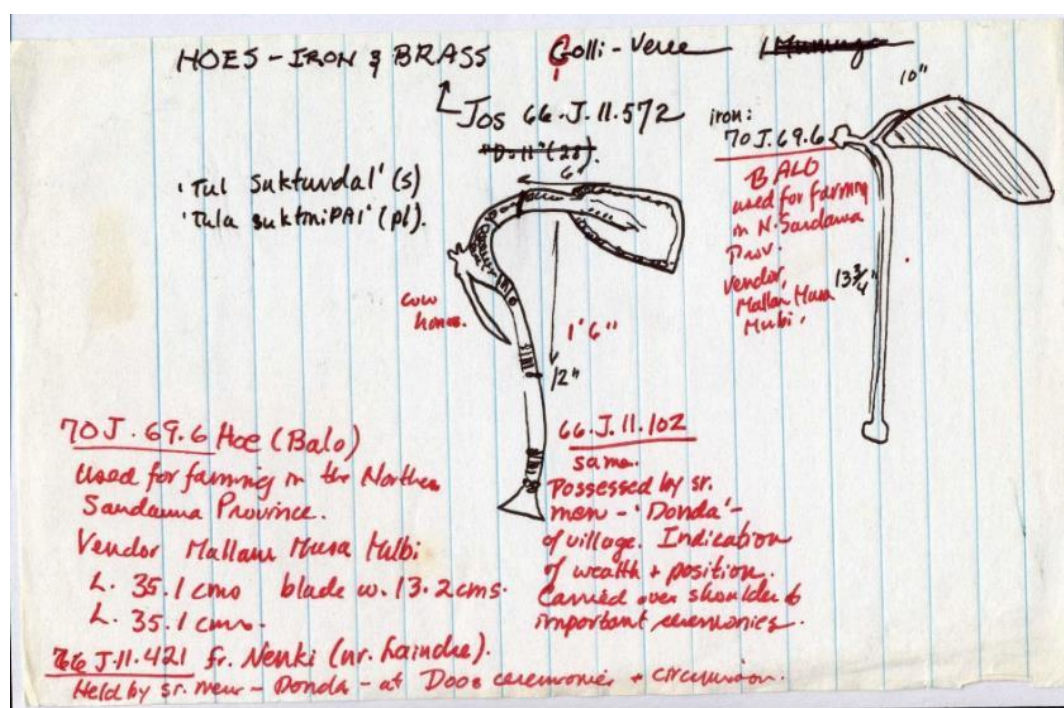
Gazabi [hoes] distinguished by shape of blade, also decoration, lack of [sketch of spirals] – instead *nengtabungs*. All for women only. Used for *Wala* dancing. Held in right hand. Only *baaba* [senior age grade] can own one: acquired through husband. Cost: 2 goats. [With reference to] **595** & **562**, commissioners will ask for *kwantaraŋi* [reedbuck] and most bring samples of what they want. Brasscasters do not have samples from which commissioners can choose. Those [hoes] for *Tibaai* are also for women only. Shape of blade [different]; also handles rather shorter. *Gazabi* prefer long handles. No distinguishing terms for the differently shaped blades. Only time used (with *pŋgan*) during *Seerkaana*. Cost: 2 goats. *Pŋgan* worn on left arm, *tul* held in right. Fieldnotes 7: 387-8.

Chappel recorded an informants' more specific view, offered in relation to **520**, that rounded hoe blades were for women, while squared-sided blades were for men. If his informant meant that all four corners of a man's blade had to be square, then we might point to the example placed at the front of the Jos display cabinet. But it is not clear this was the sense intended. The informant more probably referred to the orientation of blades: the blades of most examples we can illustrate are either rounded at the top and flat at the bottom, or else and contrarily, flat at the top and rounded at the bottom, which is closer to the shape of a socketed farming hoe. Chappel was told of **102**, the first he acquired, that a rich farmer might own many brass hoes, displaying them as a sign of wealth and prestige during his son's initiation. Hence, brass hoes may function as a representation of male wealth, although the chain of references may be predicated on an association between multiple hoes and polygyny: multiple wives providing the capacity to farm productively. In the absence of

detailed ethnography, we can only suggest associations that would merit exploration and comparison in the light of wider regional culture.

On one occasion, an informant identified a hoe as being specifically for *Tibaai* rather than *Gazabi* (smiths and not farmers), presumably on the same basis in this case as for bells: that it was larger and/or more elaborately decorated on its handle and blade.

The brass hoe sketched by Maas as **66.J11.572**, but which we are assuming to be **562**, illustrates many of the features discussed.¹ Maas's sketch suggests a socketed hoe, though it is not noted to be in two pieces, with a 12inch handle and a 6inch blade (c. 30 & 15cm). The blade has a rounded top and straight bottom edge with border ornamentation around all its edges. The handle is additionally ornamented with banding and has a horned creature below its hooked elbow, forming a loop identified by Maas as cow horns. Chappel's notes suggest it is more likely to be a reedbuck. The straight bottom edge would, following Chappel's informant, suggest a man's prestige hoe, and Maas does draw comparison with **102** and **421** both accessioned as male elders' accoutrements. Maas's iron hoe comparison (right) is from further north (the vendor coming from Mubi), so while formally striking, this is not the kind of farming hoe in use by Verre. That said, however, it does bear similarities to the double iron hoe collected from Verre (see below).

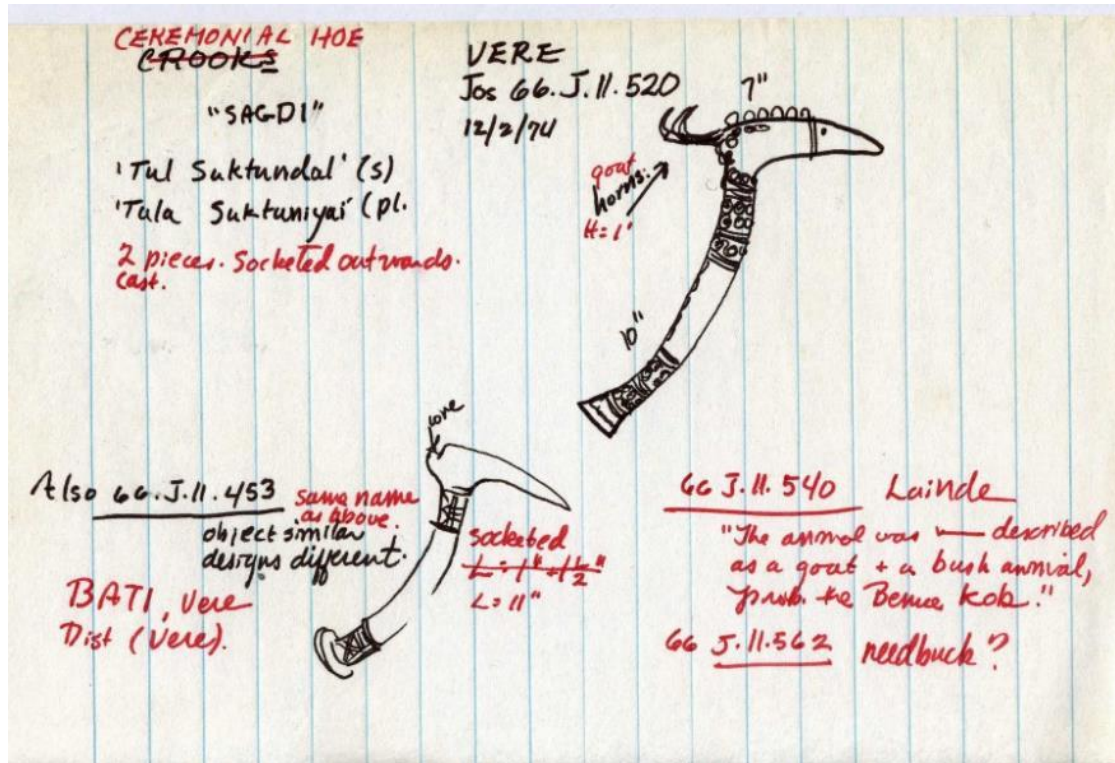


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Thanks to another illustration of their handles by Nancy Maas, we know that the brass hoes **453** and **520** definitely were cast in two pieces, with animal horns at their elbows. The

¹ According to Chappel's notes, **572** should be a dagger, so there has been a slip in numbering somewhere. Not knowing where, it is simplest for us to assume the sketch is of **562** until this can be checked.

blades were not illustrated. The handle of **453** is 11 inches (28cm) with decorative bands; that of **520** is 10 inches (25.5cm), decorated with spirals and with horns annotated as belonging to a goat hence appropriate for a woman, whereas a man's hoe would have ram's horns. Other examples with horns are noted on the sketch as **540**, a ram according to Chappel, or possibly 'Benue kob' (more likely reedbuck) according to Maas's quotation, and **562**, also possibly a reedbuck.²



(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

In addition to these three, another 15 brass hoes were collected by Chappel for which we lack illustration: **102**, **305** (with square end), **421** (held by senior men at ceremonies, Maas note), **429**, **434**, **435**, **436**, **452**, **540** (man's hoe with horns of a goat or Benue kob/reedbuck), **595** (horns, possibly reedbuck), **641**, **673** (price suggests brass but not explicitly noted as such), **688**, **768**, **800** (for *Tibaai* women). A photograph from Arnold Rubin's archive shows one of these, but its characteristics – cast in two parts, a decorated blade with a flat bottom edge, bands of decoration on the handle but no additional ornament – exclude only the three among those enumerated which we know to have had horns, hence we cannot identify it with an accession number.

² Herbert illustrates a Verre brass hoe, then in the Ernst Anspach collection (length 30.7cm), which is described as having an antelope head modelled at its elbow. The horns are swept back from the head to attach to the sides of the handle (1984b: 23 figure 39).



Arnold Rubin UCLA

As well as two farming hoes in iron (**306**, **505**), Chappel also collected an iron double hoe (**495**), which is similar in conception to that we know from a sketch following the Frobenius expedition. We do not know whether the example Chappel collected is that pictured in a photograph from the Arnold Rubin archive, or another displayed on a plinth in the Jos Museum as part of the 1967 installation, which has a distinctive knob at the end of its handle.



Arnold Rubin Archive UCLA

KBA 10937

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Central vitrine of Jos display cabinet 1967 – double hoe-bladed standing on plinth; brass hoes below

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

While it is difficult to make a three-way comparison, it looks as if the double hoe in the Jos display cabinet resembles the Frobenius hoe more closely than that in Rubin's photograph: the handles of both end in a knob; they apparently lack spirals at their elbows; and, although it is difficult to be certain from photographic evidence, the hoe blades appear to be flanged rather than socketed.

Two brass hoes are visible to the left and right foreground of the Jos display cabinet (above). That on the left shares some similarities with Maas's illustration (labelled **572** but likely to be **562**, see above), but it has more extensive spiral surface decoration of the handle than her sketch which shows bands. Reedbuck horns are also noted for **595** making that an identification worth checking. The hoe on the right has the square-sided blade described in accession notes as characteristic of men's hoes (**305** is specifically noted to have this feature). Given our crumbs of evidence, identifying numbered accessions is largely guesswork, but we can take away a sense of the variety of cast brass hoes that helps us address less well-provenanced, or wholly unprovenanced examples in other collections.

We turn initially to the collection assembled by missionaries of the Sudan United Mission because we know it was made, like Chappel's, in the early post-colonial period, mostly from traders visiting their station at Numan among the Bachama, or from pieces that came via a mission station at Tantile among the Koma of the Alantika Mountains. The collectors, and the years they were active in Nigeria, are noted below when, thanks to Elisabeth Holtegaard's documentation, they are known.

Two examples of two-piece castings share some characteristics: the handles, with pronounced elbows, have restrained bands of decoration which probably reproduce cord whipping, and solid end knobs; spiral decoration is confined to a single band around the edge of the hoe blade. One of the blades has a lower flat edge and curved upper edge, and this is reversed for the other, a difference we have noted that one informant of Chappel's associated with use by men and women.



SUM Jens Hebsgaard (1962-72 & 1978-82)



SUM Aarhus Collection

There are several single-piece castings in the SUM collection, two of them with a loop. Below is a hoe cast in a single piece with: a comparatively square blade, a loop at its elbow (perhaps in the form of the head of a reedbuck), and its handle entirely covered in spiral decorations, which continue around the edge of its blade.



SUM Kristen and Esther Vestergaard (1967-74)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Although not easily discerned, there appears to be a similar loop on the left-hand of the two examples below. That on the right looks to have the more finely cast handle with decorative bands and a solid end knob.



SUM Olga Grening (1950-78)

Two further examples of single piece castings have features that may be characteristic of later castings, some of them apparently made by the Koma; these include some, or all, of: hollow end knobs, pervasive spiral decoration, and scant attention to the socketing of the 'original' or prototype farming hoe. We suggested earlier that these might be interpreted as copies of brass skeuomorphs, than themselves skeuomorphs of the iron and wood prototype or 'original'.



SUM Aase Kristiansen (1958-83)



SUM Kristen and Esther Vestergaard (1967-74)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

We can supplement what we know from the Jos and SUM collections with some examples from public and private collections, auction houses and galleries.

Single hoe castings with either horns or loop



Amyas Naegele Gallery, New York



Auction: Bonhams New York 14 November 2013, lot 185 (right)
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Two-piece hoe castings

The example below appears to have been cast in two pieces and has the curved blade that Chappel's informant identified as characteristic of women's hoes.



Charles Jones Gallery

An example from the Piepel collection is a particularly faithful skeuomorph of the agricultural prototype, but the shapes of both the handle and blade suggest the likelihood of it being a Kapsiki casting. We include it here for comparison.



Collection of Klaus Piepel – disassembled showing front and back of hoe blade
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Single-piece hoe castings

Among single piece castings with extensive spiral decoration, which are the commonest form, blades with a curved bottom edge appear more often than those with a flat edge.



Mark Clayton Collection
Galerie Frank van Craen, ex Herbert F. Rieser



Dallas Museum of Art 2013.37
David T. Owsley via Alconda-Owsley Foundation



Amyas Naegele Gallery, New York



Three examples: Klaus Piepel Collection
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Single piece castings with extensive spiral decoration and flat edged blades (see also, SUM Grening above).



Barry Hecht Collection



Bob Boyd Collection

Two examples of brass, double-bladed hoes, apparently produced as single pieces with loops on their handles are known to us. The photograph (below left) was provided to the American collector of Benue Art, Barry Hecht, by Arnold Rubin and seems to belong to the set of those he took in the Jos Museum. However, Tim Chappel did not collect a brass double hoe, and so if the piece is in Jos Museum it must have reached there by some other route. On the right is a piece in Hecht's own collection resembling the piece from Jos but with a coating of verdigris, copper acetate, formed by exposure to damp or water over a period of about a decade, although this process may be hastened chemically. It is unlikely this crust would have been allowed to form when a piece was in use, given that copper alloys are valued in Africa for their bright reddish character.



Jos Museum photograph (Arnold Rubin via Barry Hecht)



Barry Hecht Collection

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Daggers/short swords and knives

Because they had the iron blade of a mundane dagger or knife, brass-handled daggers were more prosaically serviceable possessions than brass hoes. This apparently banal observation has a helpful corollary; daggers and their scabbards have evidence of intensive

use: blades may be broken or reduced to stumps by repeated sharpening, ornamental bosses may have detached and be missing, scabbards have lost their daggers, and daggers their scabbards, and so forth. An investigator with access to the many examples of brassware collected by Chappel might feel inclined for this reason to begin with daggers, since they would offer some grounds for guessing relative age. Because our investigations are restricted to surviving fieldnotes and a few images, this is not an avenue open to us. Of Chappel's thirty-eight items accessioned as daggers/short swords or knives, thirty were described as brass daggers; two of them lacked their original scabbards (**360, 608**); while there are two scabbards missing their original knives (**574, 674**). Another three daggers are listed without specification of their material, though the price paid for them is some indication of their style and whether they were in brass. We have photographs of very few of these, but their descriptions, and Nancy Maas's sketches, are suggestive of similarities with examples photographed in other museum and private collections that provide us with a basis to suggest a provisional typology.

Verre naming is another indication of significant differences among daggers and knives. In distinguishing daggers or short swords from knives we are following the accession record and not Verre naming practices. Two-edged blades that seemed relatively large, typically those with brass handles (*do'gur suktundak*), were accessioned as short swords. Smaller cutting instruments, that were either entirely iron or had wooden handles (*do'gur rap*) were accessioned as knives **411, 671, 710**. And there is a fuzzy area between these where only seeing the objects would help us to understand how a distinction was being made.

Verre informants called all these cutting instruments *wək* (s), *wəm* (pl); when circumstances called for it, they might distinguish between those with brass handles and scabbards (*wək suktundak* (s), *wəm suktunmam* (pl)), and those in iron (*wək dengbur* (s), *wəm dengbi* (pl)). In common with other objects, the more and less valued versions might be described as suited for use by *Tibaa*i or *Gazabi* (smiths and non-smiths). Other distinctions recorded among daggers and knives describe ornaments or decoration, which are occasionally related to specific uses. The overall variety suggests a playfulness in design as both those who bought these prestige objects and those who made them strove for distinction.

The decorative patterns remarked overlap those described already for brass bells, which make sense given decoration was readily copied between cast objects.

wək japs (s), brass dagger with a decorative motif resembling crocodile scales **676**; *wək ja* (s), brass dagger with the pattern, *ja*, like the plaited grass of a *zana* mat **577, 618, 669, 690**.

The names of several of the ornaments are cited in the names given by informants to the daggers.

wék ga-ga (s), **441, 464, 710** ceremonial knife used for *Do'os* ceremonies – *ga-ga* refers a double-spiral handle ornament when applied to an iron knife, and additionally to overall spiral patterning in brass; *wék ga-ga Tibaai*, a brass knife with spiral decoration and for smiths **710**; *wék ga-ga deesire* (s), a brass dagger with both double spirals and knob-like handle projections.

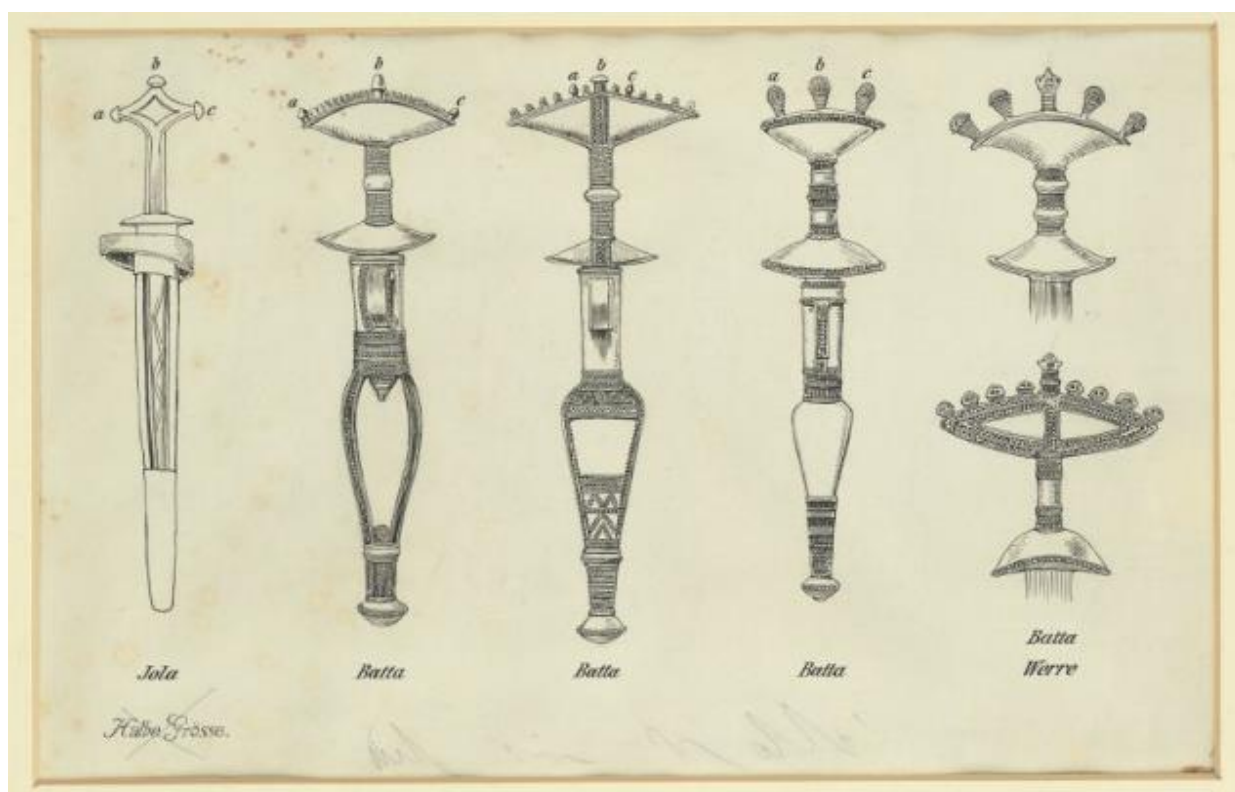
wék wan marus (s), brass dagger with an anthropomorphic head at the centre of its boss, **609, 619, 678**; further examples more specifically noted as a bearded man **534** and as a woman with distinctively plated hair, *wék sokol* (s) **610**. Other central ornaments are identified as animals, a Senegal gazelle **454** or goat **572**.

Other terms appear in their further descriptions, which may note the presence of crotals (*sa'sai*), or ornaments resembling a medicine container (*porg*) **577, 618**, or a funnel form like that of the ceremonial helmet for *Gazabi* initiates (*tongta*) **608, 676**.

The most prestigious of Verre daggers share features with the earliest example to be accessioned: that collected by the Frobenius expedition and now in the Dresden Museum (Accession Number: 33691). No original sketch of the entire dagger survives in the Frobenius Institute archive, but the number 112 appears on the Dresden accession card, which places it securely within the list of brasswares itemized by the expedition (see Chapter 2). The dagger entered the Dresden collection by purchase from the dealer Umlauff in September 1915. But for its enlarged, decorated, and ornamented pommel, the knife handle would be a near skeuomorph of its wooden counterpart. The pommel is ornamented with eight small crotals arranged symmetrically, four on each side of a central anthropomorphic boss, making nine ornaments in all. This hilt must be that at the bottom right of a diagram of six daggers identified as 'Jola', 'Batta' and 'Werre' in a plate that also illustrates a sword collected in Yola, and four daggers collected from the Bata. The Verre example differed in one formal respect from the four Bata hilts in having an inverted quillon (the cross-piece between the hand and the blade). In other respects, the resemblances with the daggers collected from Bata are close, something that would be explained readily if the Bata were acquiring prestige daggers from Verre smiths and casters. If the comparative illustration was based on original sketches that were not subsequently returned, that might account for their absence from the Frobenius archive. A dimension of 48cm (19 inches) appears alongside the Dresden accession record for the dagger in its scabbard, which is probably towards the higher end of sheathed lengths.



Dresden Museum 33691



EBA-B 00696

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Quite how many of the daggers Chappel collected shared some of the characteristics of the Frobenius dagger cannot be established definitively. But we do possess some illustrations, as well as the evidence of purchase prices on which to base an estimate.

A photograph in the Arnold Rubin archive portrays a hilt with some resemblances to that in the top right of the illustration above. Like that hilt, it has an anthropomorphic boss flanked by two pairs of crotals that are somewhat larger than in the example to the bottom right. On the basis that it has a replacement, leather covered scabbard, this unidentified image from the Jos Museum collection may be **66.J11.360**. Because it lacked its original scabbard, it was purchased for a modest £1.

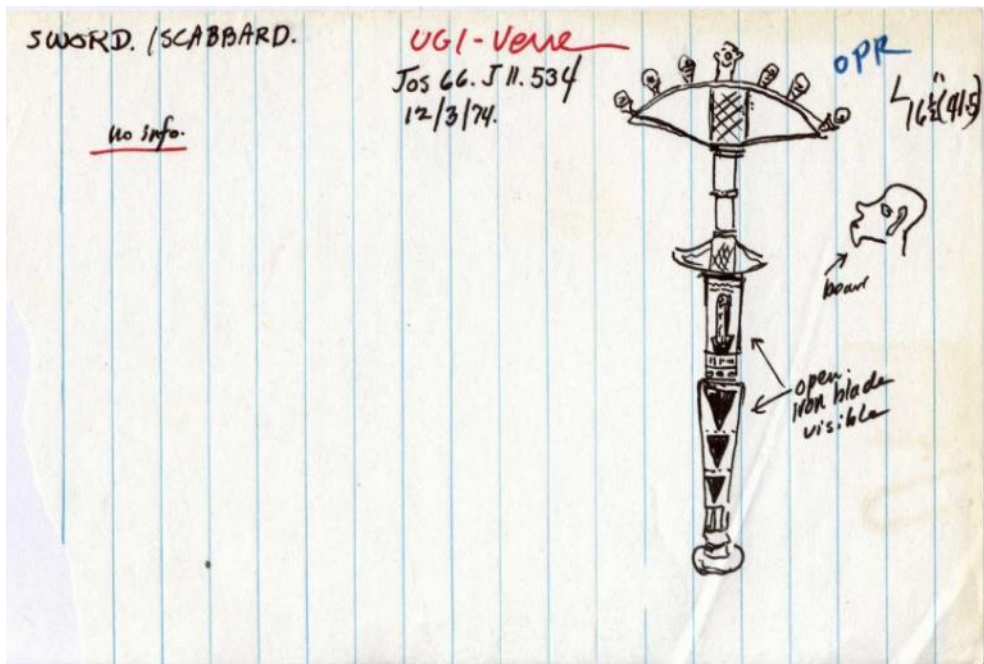


UCLA Fowler, Rubin Archive A1.10.16 – possibly 360

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Complete brass daggers were at least twice this price. Earlier in his collecting, Chappel paid £3 or more for four examples (**304, 394, 441, 454**); the prices paid tended to fall as the buyer and sellers grew accustomed to one another; looking later in the collection for daggers costing more than £2, we find perhaps fourteen (possibly **503** for which we do not have an individual price because it was bought with two other items, **534, 544, 547, 572, 577, 578, 593, 601, 608, 618, 619, 746, 769**). These eighteen expensive examples are likely to be at least comparable in several regards with the Frobenius knife. We know only a few of them from illustrations, like Nancy Maas's sketch of **534** showing an anthropomorphic boss flanked to

either side by three crotals (bought for £2/5/-). In common with the Frobenius knife, its pommel is considerably larger than its quillon.



Maas sketch - 534

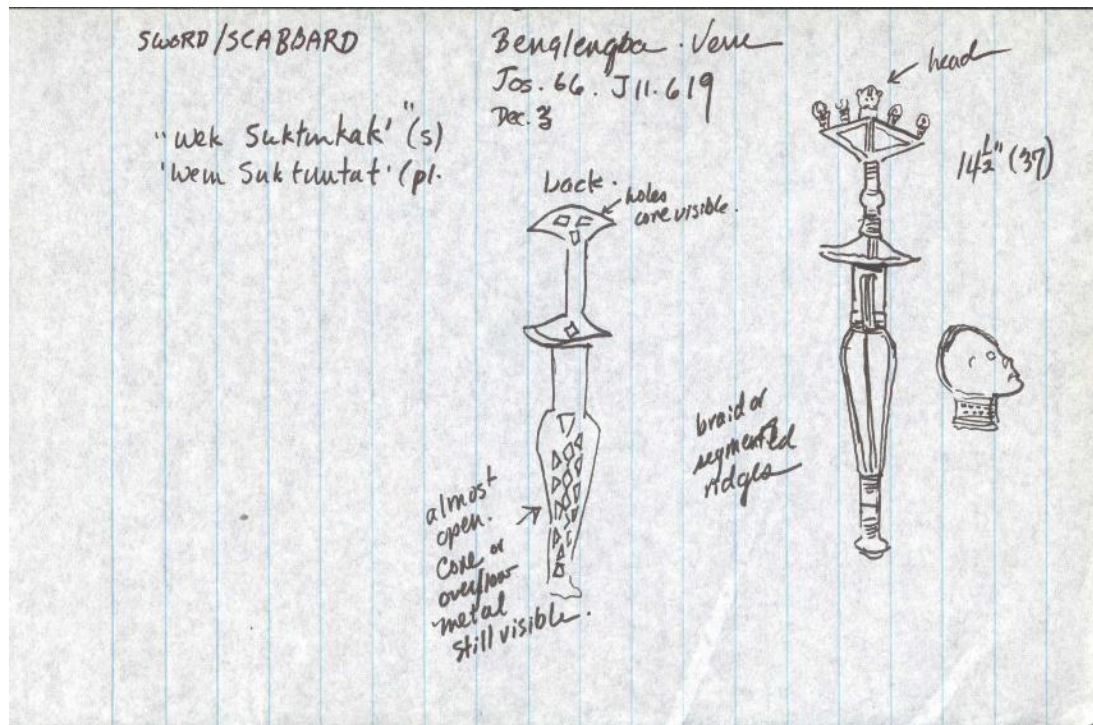
Most examples have pommels and quillons that are more similar in size, like **593**, bought by Chappel for £2/15/-, which has probably lost either two, or two pairs of crotals, which would increase its resemblance to the photograph we are supposing to be of **360**.



593

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Maas's sketch of **619**, bought for £2/10/-, suggests another similar example. Note the *benglengba* decoration, described as braid or segmented ridges.



Maas sketch – 619

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Even if they are not the same, the daggers sketched by Maas (**534**, **619**) significantly resemble those to the centre and left in the photograph (below) from Rubin's archive, with details of their pommels, which we have not been able to identify with accession numbers. While the central boss of the left-hand dagger is anthropomorphic, that of the central dagger has a beak-like feature.

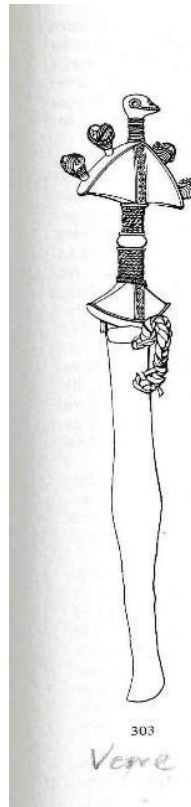


(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Renate Wente-Lukas illustrates a dagger (1977: 227, figure 303) with a similar pommel decoration: a central boss of a beaked head, flanked by pairs of crotals, with a central band of decoration like that above left, with the more crescentic pommel of that on the right. Her text suggested the example is in the Linden-Museum Stuttgart,³ and while we have not seen

³ The text is unclear, since Wente-Lukas refers to Frobenius 1914 and to undated documents by Ankermann, neither of which appear in her bibliography. However, the plate cited from Frobenius (as S 355) is that we reproduce from the Frobenius Institute's archive (EBA-B 00696, see above). 'In 1914 Frobenius depicted

a photograph of it, the accession number 57723 corresponds to a dagger donated by Leutnant Hans Freiherr van Putlitz of the Schutztruppe in 1908. Wente-Lukas's illustration suggests an original, ornate brass scabbard may have been replaced, which is also the case for the similar dagger in Rubin's archived photograph (above UCLA Fowler, Rubin Archive A1.10.16).



Wente-Lukas 1977: 226, fig. 303; Linden-Museum Stuttgart 57723

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Generalizing about these hilts, which we are designating **TYPE 1 Skeuomorph hilts** we can say that the hilt is a hollow casting similar in its overall shape to that of a wooden dagger handle, that is to say with a pommel at the top and a quillon, or cross guard, between the handle and blade. Below we see how the tang of the iron blade is fixed through the handle, its tip hidden by the central ornamental boss on the pommel. The pommel is the focus of decoration: it is typically larger, and on occasions substantially larger, than its quillon, which is roughly equal in size to that of everyday knives. The pommel of the Frobenius dagger is twice the width of its quillon and surmounted with a central anthropomorphic, ornamental boss with eight crotals arranged symmetrically. Both the handle and the pommel have raised bands of decoration. **534**, although with six crotals rather than eight, has many similarities. In addition to their scale, examples of this type vary in relation to: whether the central boss is

daggers made by the Bata and Verre using a brasscasting technique (S 355), and Baumann provided photographs of daggers or swords from the Dowayo, 'Fali-Margi' and 'Kongon' from northern Adamawa? (no date: 115); see Bata (Munich 18-7-47), Adamawa (Stuttgart 57723), Margi (Berlin 26589), Figs. 302, 303, 304. It is known that the groups cited belong to a bounded block of ethnic groups that either once used brasscasting techniques or continue to do so to this day' (translation of Wente-Lukas 1977: 226).

anthropomorphic or theriomorphic (that is, represents a person or some kind of animal), the number of crotals (some hilts are missing one or more of their original ornaments), and in the shape and decoration of the boss and quillon.

TYPE 1 Skeuomorph scabbards. When daggers with skeuomorph hilts are found together with their original scabbards these are also skeuomorphs. Conventional scabbards are made of different leathers over thin wooden side sheathings (nowadays sometimes cardboard). They fit the leaf shape of the dagger blade tightly flaring into a protective, more or less globular, protective chape at the tip. There is a hanger on the upper part of the scabbard to attach it to a belt. The Frobenius dagger is a good example of these characteristics, which are shared by the other three scabbards he illustrates. Such scabbards often have triangular excisions or indentations; Nancy Mass illustrates two such (534, 619). Given the excisions are made on one side of the scabbard only, they may be a feature common to most or all scabbards if we had illustrations of both sides for all of them. Excisions are likely, as well as being decorative, to reduce the likelihood of the iron blade rusting due to trapped moisture.

Several examples of similar daggers in museum and private collections fit into this type established on the basis of those collected in the field.

The most significant museum collection of Verre daggers known to us outside Nigeria is that of the Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac (MQB-JC) consisting of five examples acquired by Josef Mueller (1887-1977), later bought as part of the Barbier-Mueller collection of Nigerian art in 1996-7 by the Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie and soon afterwards incorporated into the new museum. We are not aware of the exact dates when, or circumstances under which, these acquisitions were made by Mueller, but they are likely to be roughly contemporary with the collections made for the Jos Museum and by the Sudan United Mission. The ethnographic details entered on the current accession record derive from an essay supplied by Tim Chappel for the published catalogue of the Barbier-Mueller collection (see, *Arts du Nigeria* 1997: 296 signed with the initials E.F., Étienne Féau, and in the same volume Chappel 1997: 223-34), hence they should not be interpreted as independent corroboration of our account. Three daggers in this collection have some, or all, of the characteristics of our Type 1.



MQB-JC 73.1997.4.60.1-2; Dimensions and weight: 42x10.1x4cm, 602grammes
(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

The hilt decoration is in higher raised relief than some examples, and there should presumably be a central boss on the pommel flanked by crotals. The scabbard chape feature is unusually small. We do not have an image of the reverse to know if the scabbard has triangular incisions.



MQB-JC 73.1997.4.59.1-2; Dimensions and weight: 42.2x14.12x3.03cm, 579grammes.

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

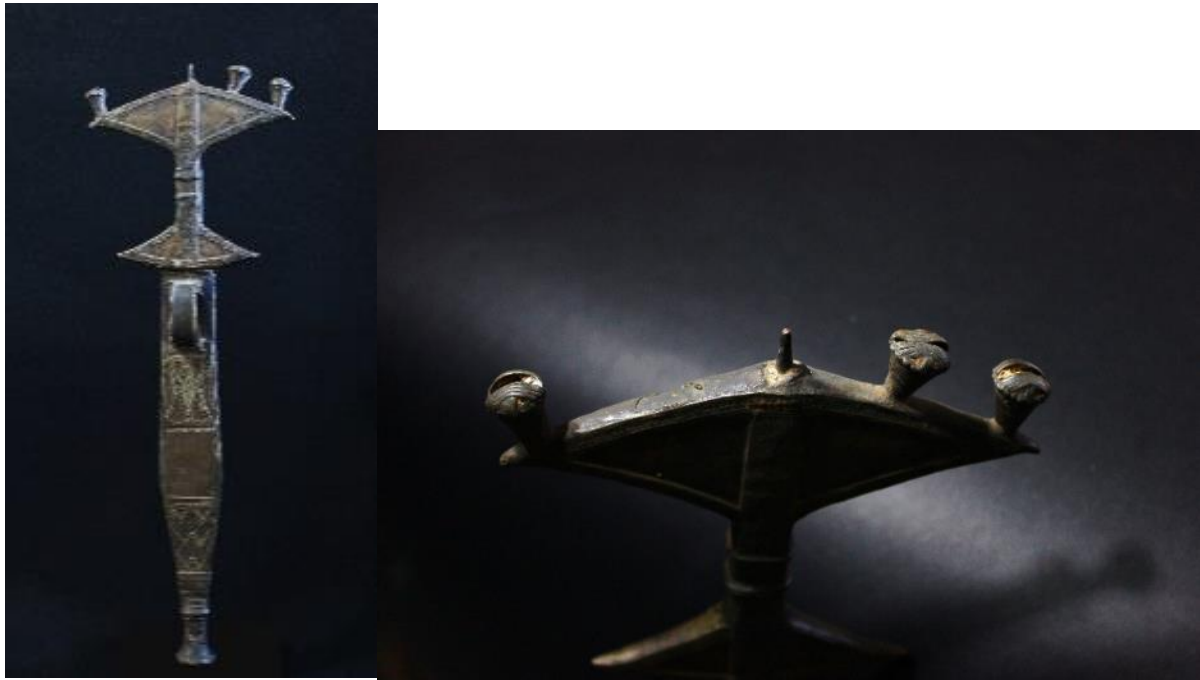
This second MQB-JC example is similar to the first in overall dimensions and weight but appears to be a finer brass casting. An anthropomorphic central boss on the pommel of the hilt is flanked by four crotal bells arranged symmetrically. As well as a threaded pattern of bands, the pommel and quillon have respectively semi-circular and triangular incisions. The scabbard has a local repair (in copper or a predominantly cuprous alloy) which accounts for the absence of a chape. The iron blade lacks the central ridge, or fuller, of the other two examples.



MQB-JC 73.1997.4.57.1-2; Dimensions and weight: 38x15.2x4.3cm, 673 g.
(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Without closer inspection, we cannot say whether this third MQB-JC example is a sub-type without pommel ornaments or whether, as seems at least equally likely, the ornaments have become detached and lost at some point. Maas's sketch of the reverse of the pommel of **619** has a similarly indented diamond decoration to this, which would also support the likelihood of original ornaments being lost. The missing scabbard chape of the previous example may well have resembled that seen here. Given that they are on occasions missing from other examples on the market, it is likely that chapes were cast separately from scabbard sheaths and welded to them subsequently. There is a prominent raised central fuller to the blade of this example, a feature we know from the similar blade of the Frobenius dagger not to be recent.

The greatest variation in quality of other daggers attributed to Verre in galleries, auctions and private collections seems to involve the hilts, their central boss and symmetrically arranged crotals. Our first example in a private collection has an angular pommel and quillon similar to one of those in Rubin's photographs of the Jos collection. Its interest lies particularly in the damage to the pommel which shows how the central boss would have been welded over the tang of the iron blade which protrudes a short way through the hilt.

**Gianni Mantovani Collection**

An undamaged example of a similar dagger is in the collection of the Sudan United Mission which, as we have seen, consists of items acquired in Nigeria more or less contemporaneously with Chappel's field collection. The central hilt boss is of a bearded man. The heavily rusted blade is flat, apparently without a central fuller.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

**SUM - Holtegaard**

A third example contributes a variation in hit decoration. The pommel and quillon are relatively angular and both have border decoration, but the ornaments take the form of theriomorphic bosses of which there would originally have been five. These appear identical other than in size. The creature portrayed has the elongated beak of a bird, or perhaps jaws of a crocodile (and may resemble the SUM dagger in this regard).

**James Wade Collection**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A striking example of a pommel with four, widely spaced, croatal bells, but lacking its scabbard, demonstrates that the width of the pommel does not necessarily determine the number of crocals. Although differing in other respects, the central anthropomorphic boss resembles the two sketched by Maas. The circular decoration is also found on the scabbard of **593** (above).



Pierre Loos, Ambre Congo Gallery, Brussels

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The more crowded pommels of the next three examples illustrate hilts with respectively seven and nine ornaments. The reverse faces of daggers are not invariably decorated.



Mark Clayton Collection (note the comparatively plain reverse) 44 x 15.8 x 3.6cm
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The quillons have been handled different in these two examples of knives with eight crotals; and the central bosses are respectively anthropo- and therio-morphic.



Charles Jones Gallery, Wilmington USA

(the scabbard chape may have been repaired locally; or the entire scabbard replaced)



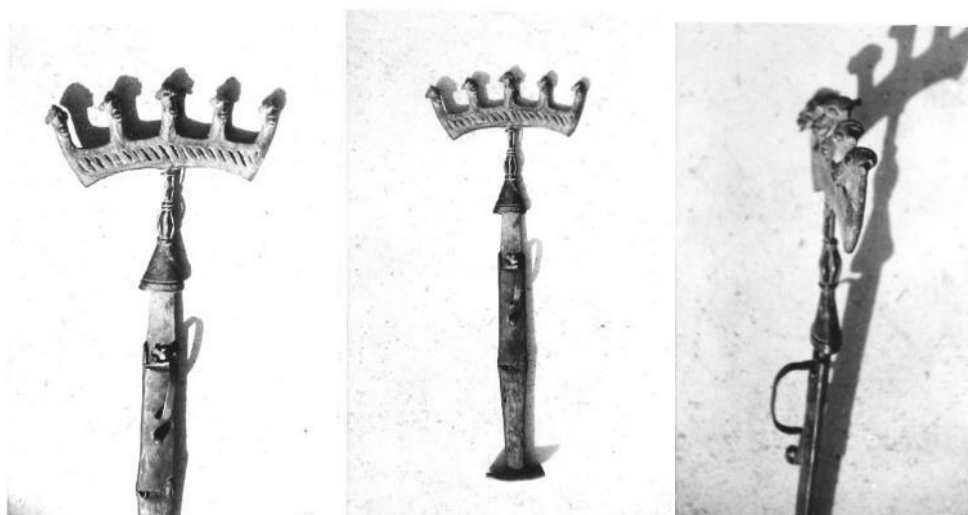
Barry Hecht Collection

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

In discussion of Verre brass bells, we tentatively suggested a relationship between ornamentation with crotals and age. The evidence was slender since it was based on a single

bell known to be an early acquisition, the presence of crotals on other early pieces such as arm cuffs, and the aged appearance of the bells collected with crotals in the mid-1960s compared to those with bulbous decoration. Given crotal ornaments were added to an initial casting, we also noted the possibility that these pieces might have been sourced by Verre casters rather than made by them. We did not have the evidence to say one way or the other. With all these reservations, we would nonetheless point to the crotal ornamentation of almost all daggers in our Type 1 as a characteristic worth taking into consideration when assessing their age. We would also note, although we do not have the evidence to pursue the idea, that there seems to be a stylistic difference between more curvilinear and more geometrical forms of pommel and quillon. The curvilinear forms seem also to have been more finely cast and finished.

TYPE 2 Solid hilts. Our second type of dagger owes less to its everyday counterpart, and so cannot be designated a skeuomorph in as close a sense as Type 1. The hilt and pommel consist of narrow solid bars of brass in a T-shape which may have deeply scored patterning. The pommel is either straight or very slightly curved, while the cone-shaped quillon is much like that of an everyday knife. The pommel is ornamented with identical bosses that may take the form of heads or else of protuberances that, in one instance, were interpreted as medicine containers by an informant of Chappel's. As Rubin demonstrated in his 1973 survey, the overall form is distributed widely along the middle and upper Benue. The field photograph below from Chappel's records below lacks any accession number, although he feels it might be an example in this style he did not buy. Attribution to Verre is far from clearcut, since Maas reproduces a photograph taken by Arnold Rubin in 1970 in Gabun Town, Ga'anda District, of a hilt either very similar or identical to this one (Maas 2011: 196, fig. 6.17).



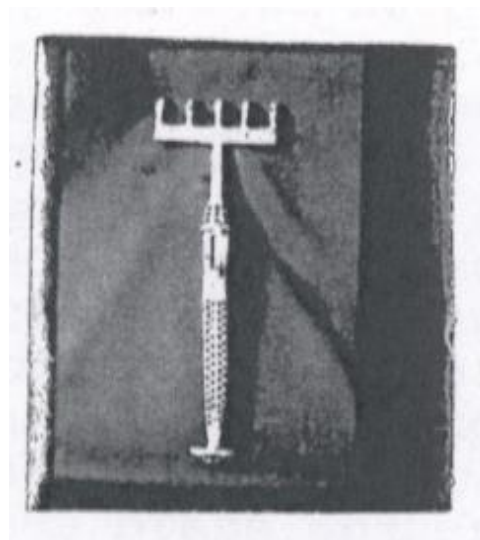
16.3A.24-6

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A photograph of daggers in Jos Museum in Arnold Rubin's archive provides an example which we can identify in Chappel's field collection as **66.J11.669** (see also Rubin 1973, Plate XVa). Its accession note describes it as *wék ja Tibaai*: a dagger for the use of smiths with a cut-out pattern, *ja*, likened to that of plaited *zana* matting. At £1/10/-, it cost Chappel around half as much as a good example of our Type 1 dagger.



Arnold Rubin Papers Box 11



16.7B.36

<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt5z09p0rn>

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Following Rubin, Maas demonstrates how daggers similar in overall form turn up both west of the Verre, in the Middle Benue, and north of the Verre in the Highlands among Longuda, as well as Ga'anda (2011: 191, 195-97). The Sudan United Mission collection also contains an example in this style, though whether of Verre or Koma casting is undecidable since Olga Grening was based at the Tantile Mission in the Alantika Mountains in Koma country.



Sudan United Mission – Olga Grening

A fourth dagger attributed to Verre that found its way via the Barbier Mueller Collection to Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac is another example of the same style (see also Maas 2011: 194: fig. 6.15).



MQB-JC 73.1997.4.57.1-2; Dimensions and weight: 40.5x12.6x4.8cm, 437g.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The pommel has seven identical protuberances which may represent medicine containers (*porg*), while the narrow scabbard is patterned with two rows of triangular excisions. In the absence of other illustrations of the daggers collected by Chappel for the Jos Museum, quite

how many might have been of this type relies on some guesswork. Both **577** and **618** are described to have a *ja* (matting) decoration and *porg* (medicine container) ornaments: the purchase prices were identical, £2/10/-, despite the vendors differing.

Daggers of our Type 1 style seem to be distinctive of Verre (or perhaps Verre and Bata) casting, however, deriving attribution from style for Type 2 daggers is complicated by the form being widespread and our knowledge of variation within it slight.

TYPE 3 Double spiral Identifying other dagger or knife types is complicated by our lack of illustrations. A recurrent term might be a clue, and we find four instances of *wék ga-ga* (**411**, **464**, **710** without scabbard, **716**). This is generally a less expensive dagger than those we have looked at previously: **410** and **464** cost 13/- and 15/-, while **710** lacking its scabbard was only 5/-; **710** is the most expensive at £1/10/-, and it is specified as being for the use of *Tibaai*. The repeated syllables, *ga-ga*, point us towards a double spiral, which might refer either to decorative patterning or ornamentation. An illustration of a knife in the SUM collection meets both criteria.



SUM Aase Kristiansen – Nigeria 1958-83

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

This example is likely to be Koma; the pair of opposed spirals forming a pommel is a precise skeuomorph of an iron, everyday Koma dagger; however, the spiral pommel is not unique to Koma and appears on single and double circumcision knives in use by eastern Chamba that were probably made for them by Verre. The Verre knife accessioned as **710**, specified to be with a brass hilt, is described as a sacrificial instrument used at an elder's funeral. We might provisionally treat this as a third type of Verre dagger.

TYPE 4 Circular pommel Evidence of a fourth type of dagger is even less conclusive since we entirely lack field evidence for it. Nonetheless, we ought to note that a Verre provenance has been given to brass daggers with circular pommels, like the fifth example that entered the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in the group acquired by Josef Mueller (Maas 2011: 195, fig. 6.16). The credibility of a Verre attribution receives some support from the similarity between both the quillons and scabbards of these daggers and those of our Type 1. While the triangles on one side of the pommel decoration is close to that of some Type 1 daggers, the edge ornamentation is unlike that not just of Verre daggers but of any other brass objects made recently by Verre. If Verre then, like a couple of bracelets to which we drew attention, then it would have to be in a discontinued style.



MQB-JC 73.1997.4.58.1-2; Dimensions and weight: 45.1x 1.4x3.2cm, 704g

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Wente-Lukas includes a sketch of a dagger with a handle in the same form in the Berlin collection, which she attributes to the Margi (Wente-Lukas 1977: 226-27, figure 304, but see

our footnote 3 for problems interpreting the accompanying text). The accession record (26589) reveals this dagger have been donated in 1910 by Kurt Strümpell, who knew the area well, with attribution to the 'Margi, Falli', two different peoples, which presumably means no more than it came from that area of the Mandara Mountains (see Chapter 6). This does not preclude it, and others like it, having been made elsewhere. The apparently worn handle, and the local repair to the bottom third of the scabbard of the MQB-JC example indicate some age. The pattern of triangular indentations on one side of the pommel, differs from a threaded design on the other, a characteristic of some Verre knives of our TYPE 1. The blade is apparently flat, or almost flat, without a pronounced fuller. A very few similar daggers reaching the market show this is not a unique piece.



Galerie Walu



Koller Zurich – Type 4 example left; note also Type 3 dagger second from the right

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Both these two further illustrations show the side of the pommel with threadlike decoration. If they resemble the example in the MQB-JC, then we would anticipate the other face of the pommel to have incised triangles. The illustrations show opposite faces of the scabbard, and these are indeed comparable to that in the MQB-JC. The Koller example retains a chape the other two examples appear to have lost, in a shape of which is similar to that we know from Verre. At least two more examples in similar style have been offered for sale by auction without their scabbards. Since a definitive attribution to Verre cannot be made on the basis of the evidence we have, we simply leave open this possibility.⁴

⁴ It is not possible to comment on iron knives attributed to the Verre since we lack illustrations of examples collected in the field. An elaborate iron dagger given to the the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (MQB-JC 70.2012.14.3) by the gallery owner Hervé Loevenbruck has a composite construction that might be related to other Verre ironworks (notably pot stands) and was presumably attributed to Verre by African intermediaries. Comparable examples, however, have been attributed to the Dadiya/Tula further north; and

Conclusion

The variety among Verre daggers, even between those belonging to the types we have sought to distinguish, suggests a longstanding tradition of invention. We learn only two names of brasscasters, Gabdewa of Tchamba (**454**) and Yawam of Lainde (**648**), of whom the latter, also credited with two other pieces of brassware collected by Chappel (**801** a figure, **802** a beer jar), may either still have been active, or, if not, had been active in the recent memory of those alive in the mid-1960s. However, the dagger attributed to Yawam is one of the least expensive of Chappel's acquisitions (**648** £1/10/-). While it is not possible to date Verre daggers precisely, the inclusion of crotal bells on many of those in TYPE 1, which are also the most distinctive, suggests a dating to the early twentieth century for the latest of them, and plausibly earlier than that for the finer castings.

their spiral ornamentation is also reminiscent of Ga'anda works in iron (Berns and Hudson 1986: 61; MacEachern and Berns 2019).

5.5 Prestige skeuomorphs

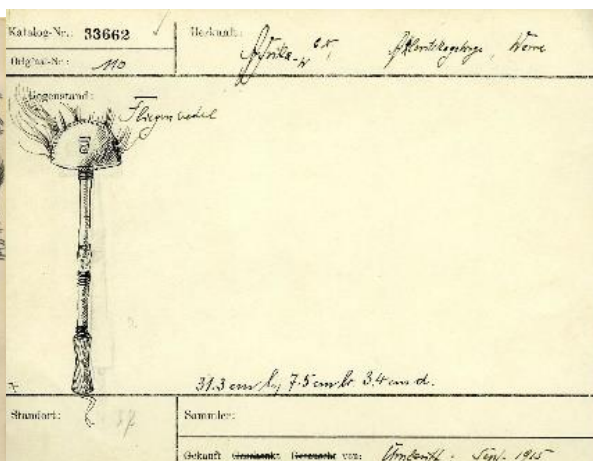
Such brasswares as bells, crooks and initiation helmets, knives and hoes seem to have been essential to Verre ritual and ceremonial, and to the gendering, seniority, and standing of the participants in these events. This becomes evident from their symbolic interconnections, as well as from the quantities in which they have been collected. Not all participants had access to the most prestigious brass versions of all these objects, but the impression is that many did, and if they did not own them, then they would seek to borrow them. Without wanting to draw a hard line, other brass skeuomorphs have a more supplementary feel to them, in the sense that they add luxury to ritual and ceremonial processes rather than being essential to these events happening with symbolic completeness. Some of these supplementary skeuomorphs seem attributable to Fulani or other wider influence, so we find brass fans and flywhisks, snuff bottles, brass amulets, brass lance heads, even a pair of brass sandals; brass versions of decorated drinking gourds should probably be added to this list given that the introduction of gourds is attributed to Fulani. Other skeuomorphs have more obvious Verre precedents: brass versions of animal horn musical instruments, water and beer pots, pot stands and pot rings, brass ritual staffs, and brass figures. These supplementary prestige skeuomorphs have been collected in noticeably smaller numbers than what we might call the core items of the Verre brass repertoire.

Fulani-inspired skeuomorphs

Although provenanced examples of what are likely to be Fulani-inspired skeuomorphs have been collected from Verre, it seems plausible that they might have also been made for use by Fulani. Fans and fly whisks seem persuasive cases. The Verre term, *duma* (s), *dumit* (pl), which may be specified as brass, *duma suktunkak* (s), *dumit suktuntat* (pl), apparently covers two distinct forms. The earliest example of one of these types was collected by Frobenius and can be followed from its illustration in the Frobenius Archive to its current home in the Dresden Museum (albeit with some slippage in the accession record discussed in Chapter 2). The likelihood of Fulani connection is strengthened by specification of the fan section being of horsehair.



KBA 03290



Dresden 33662



Dresden 33662



567a & b

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

We have illustrations of one similar fan and one fly whisk collected by Chappel. Given that a fan was made in sections, a fly whisk might simply be part of a fan.



66.J11.765



Charles Jones Gallery,
Wilmington Indiana

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Two further examples were accessioned in Jos under the term *duma* (555, 569) but without further specification we cannot say which of the two forms they took. Other examples are uncommon, although one, devoid of its horsehair, was offered in the Charles Jones Gallery (illustrated above) and like 567a had a circular decoration at its centre (we have illustrations of only one side of each fan, so do not know if the reverses had different or no devices).

A variety of other smaller personal accoutrements seem also to have Fulani inspiration. Verre are only one of the makers of snuff bottles in the Highland region, but there is sufficient evidence of provenance to suggest they were responsible for at least some of the flat, narrow-necked, circular containers in brass.



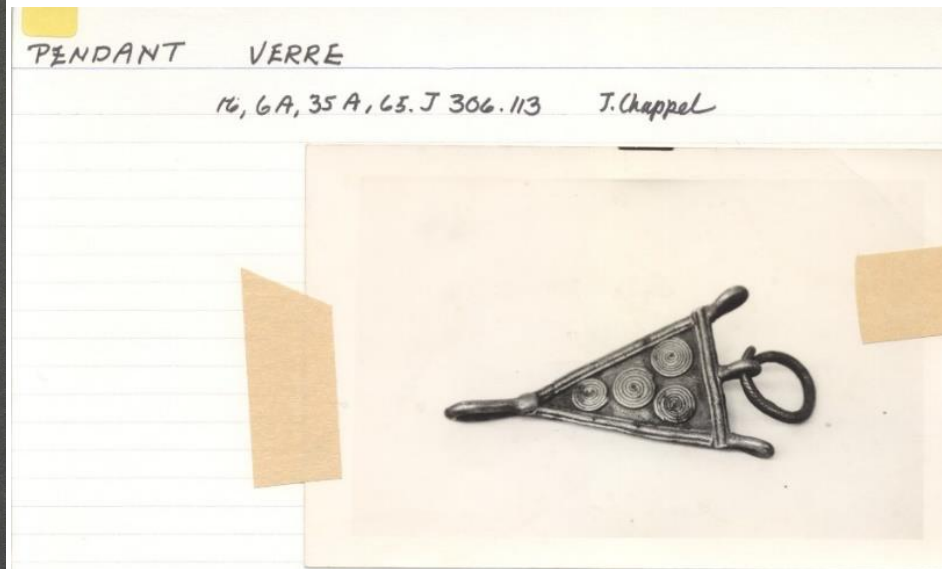
SUM – Vestergaard 1967-74 (bottom left) – note, as well as bracelets (of which the upper middle and bottom right examples are not Verre), also strung crotals and pipe rings

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

The same may be said for what appears to be a brass skeuomorph of an amulet the original or prototype for which may have consisted of inscriptions on paper tightly sewn into a leather covering (see below and Jos display cabinet 1967). The closest counterpart in Chappel's collection is described as a pendant. These seem to have been uncommon objects, not collected in large numbers from Verre, but also found elsewhere among Highland brass casters.



Dresden 24235



113

Even more unusual, is the pair of brass sandal soles collected by Chappel (494, which were displayed in the Jos display cabinet of 1967, see Interleaf).



Jos display cabinet (detail) two helmets and 'sandals' 494

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

These were attributed to the caster Yamarum who made them at Salassah Yadim at an original cost of two goats, suggesting they were cast within living memory in 1966 given the small number of casters' names recalled.¹

Spears with large, leaf-shaped, blades may well be Fulani influenced, since they are more appropriate to cavalry than they are to hunters, whose spears are typically light. Ten spears

¹ Note another smith's name with the first syllable Ya-.

partly or wholly in brass, *tɔɔma suktunu* (s), *tɔɔma suktunkak* (pl), were collected (273, 492, 498, 507, 531, 535, 536, 545, 548 & 549 spear heads only). Several were photographed in their entirety, which makes the detail of the spear head difficult to discern (see Appendix 1, 507, 531, 535, 545). These spears cost between £1 and £1/10/-, with the sole exception of 545 at £3; this last being the only spear described as having a brass shaft, *gbala suktunkak*, apparently the same term, *gbala*, used of ritual staffs. Since only two spear heads were collected without shafts, these are likely to be those photographed by Rubin. A photograph of two spear heads in the SUM collection raises the possibility of spear heads being of composite construction with iron blades and a brass socket.



548 & 549 Arnold Rubin



SUM

Decorated gourd skeuomorphs are another of the more numerous items collected (438, 447, 449, 516, 537, 546, 551, 575, 588, 620, 657, 754); we are in the fortunate position of being able to illustrate nine of the twelve accessioned (not including here examples collected from Bata).



438 (on ring 409)



449



516 (on 703)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



537



546 (on 703)



575 (on 605)



620



657



754

We learned from early German collections (Chapter 2) that decorated gourds attributed to Verre were collected in substantial quantities. Thanks to their fragility, these items were not only fugitive in Verre villages, where Chappel saw none in 1966, but intact examples have become rare in the German museums that held them.



Berlin III C29398



Berlin III C29390



Bremen B05442

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Bremen B05443



Bremen B05444



Bremen B05446

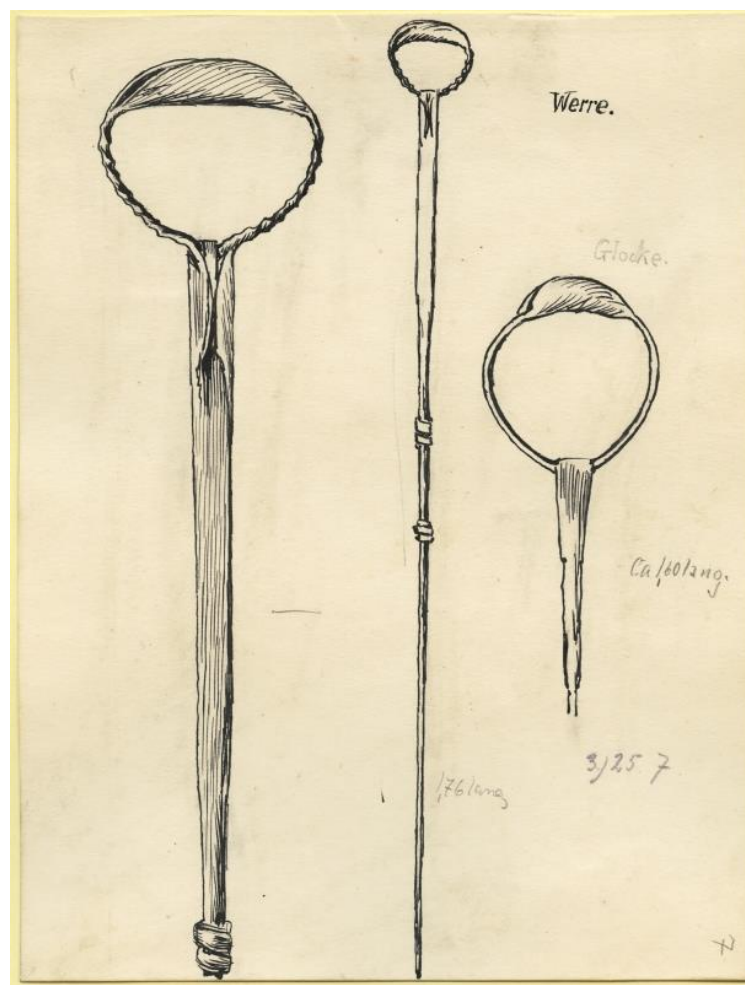
Like their decorated gourd prototypes, brass skeuomorphs have variable amounts of decoration; unlike gourds, several of them have a small ring for attachment. As four of the photographs of brass drinking gourds demonstrate they can be stabilized by placing them on pot rings. In three instances (**516**, **546**, **575**) a bracelet has been pressed into service, but there are pot rings too substantial to be worn as bracelets, such as that (accessioned as **409**) seen supporting the brass gourd **438** above. Pot rings, *kal* (s), *kara* (pl), might be made of fibres, such as are used to carry loads on the head, or else in metal: *kal suktundal* (s), *kara suktini* (pl), in brass; *kal yerki* (s), *kara yermi* (pl), in iron. The examples acquired for Jos differed widely in value, presumably on account of their material, size and workmanship. Chappel was told that the original cost of **409** would have been the livestock equivalent of £10, and at £4 it was among the most expensive of all the items he acquired. These were apparently scarce, the only other accession which we can be confident is likely to be a large brass pot ring is **493**, for which we have no illustration, while it is uncertain whether **542** is a pot ring or pot stand. Inexpensive rings (**528**, **539**, **541**) are likely to have been small, and some smaller brass rings designated as pot rings in their accession records (**621**, **698**) might also have served as bracelets. Only one example in another collection, that acquired by an SUM missionary, is almost certainly a pot ring. To judge by the photograph, it may consist of an iron ring with brass decoration.



SUM Johan Nielsen 1927-62

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The brass pot stand is a skeuomorph with an iron intermediary. Branches with a tripod fork are a common sight planted upright in compounds throughout the region, including Verre. They serve as a stand on which to hang things, or as a support for a bowl or jar, safer than leaving it on the ground. There are contexts in which these poles may themselves become objects of symbolic importance. An iron version, called *tɔɔma gbaas* (s), *tɔɔma gba* (pl), is used in cult rituals. The term *tɔɔma* also means spear or shaft, and in this instance describes the iron shaft of the pot stand. The rest of the stand might be described as a smithing bricolage. Its top cradle may be formed from various other objects, most commonly from hoe blades. If it is additionally made from iron double spirals, then the assemblage may be specified as *tɔɔma ga-ga*. Alternatively, or additionally, the cradle may be made with elements resembling iron leg rattles, in which case the relationship between this object and an iron staff topped with a single rattle becomes apparent. These rattle top 'spears', called *tɔɔma bogurus* (s), *tɔɔma boguri* (pl), are held by figures in authority who may plant them in the ground at an important event.



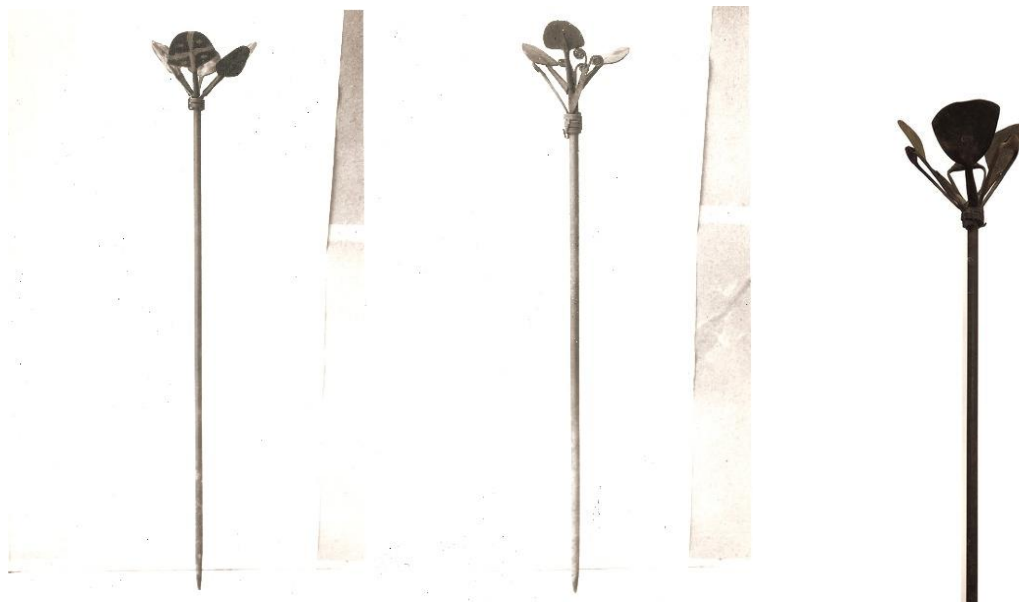
KBA 09384

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Exceptionally, skeuomorphs of pot stands may be cast in brass, when the term for the metal is added to that for spear shaft, *tɔɔma suktunka* (s), *tɔɔma suktini* (pl). Even in the

absence of any profound sense of Verre symbolism, we can sense a potential conversation going on here between several objects and their skeuomorphs that would be replete with opportunities to draw analogies: spears, hoe blades, leg rattles, and double spirals, and what all of these can signify individually and relationally.

Chappel collected three iron pot stands (**428?**, **443**, **752**) of which we are able to illustrate two below (with slight uncertainty around the identity of the first image). Much more recently, an example was donated to the MQB-JC in Paris by the gallery owner Hervé Loevenbruck, and two more examples in similar style have been offered for sale by the Hamill Gallery, albeit as Fulani, which might indicate a regional market in the past (see also Ballarini 2009: 170, figure 2.67, for three examples).



428? - 5 hoe blades

443 - 3 hoe blades and 3 spirals

MQB-JC 70.2015.26.6 – 3 hoe blades and 3 spirals

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Hamill Gallery (attributed to Fulani)

left – 3 hoe blades and 3 spirals **right** – 5 hoe blades, central rattle, iron ring with clappers

Brass skeuomorphs are scarcer. Chappel collected four (**446, 448, 594, 622**) but we have only a single illustration of an incomplete example.



622 – 3 brass hoe blades, missing staff (photo inverted to show function)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Gourd skeuomorphs were not the only vessels for liquids cast in brass. Brass goblets, *telkal suktundal* (s), *tenkari suktini* (pl), were probably modelled on clay originals. Frobenius collected at least one of them, and Chappel two, which were among his more costly items. One of these, **731**, is very similar to the earlier example, and was said by the vendor, the village head of Toza, near Karlahi, to have been cast by his grandfather, which might well date it to the same period.



KBA 02894

Dresden Museum 33671



559

731

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

As well as gourds and goblets, larger containers were cast for use in *Do'os* rituals, probably supported in brass pot stands according to accounts given to Chappel, who collected four examples of miniature beer pots, *yerk suktunkak* (s), *yerm suktunmam* (pl), as well as a water pot, according to different informants either *gurme suktunu* (s), *gurmei suktini* (pl) or *dens suktunjas* (s), *denda suktini* (pl), used in women's ceremonies (**623** compare KBA 03450). One of the beer pots (**802**) was said to have been cast by Lawam of Yainde, among the handful of brass workers recalled by name. Although an impressive object that is nearly a foot tall, its casting appears to have been flawed. A sixth examples can be seen in the central panel of the 1967 Jos display cabinet (see, Interleaf). Comparison with Arriens' drawings not only confirms

a resemblance to Verre pottery, although much reduced in size, but also suggests that some pottery jars might themselves be skeuomorphs since the neck of KBA 04004 (as well as that of KBA 04003 not reproduced here) closely resembles a bottle gourd.



111



538



802



717



623

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



KBA 03450

KBA 04002

KBA 04004

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The impression of substantial investment in accoutrements of the cults is strengthened by one of the most unusual ritual objects. In common with their non-metal counterparts, these may be called *gbala* (s), *gbalit* (pl), which seems to be a term for clubs and staffs; specified to be in brass, this becomes *gbala suktunkak* (s), *gbalit suktuntat* (pl); while at least some ritual staffs are termed *gbala arandu* (s), *gbalit arandit* (pl). There is a potential 'original' of these objects in the phallic staffs of the neighbouring Mapeo Chamba which are the protective symbol of their cult of impotence, *jub nɔɔ*, an example of which was gifted to the Lagos Museum along with Verre metalwares collected in Mapeo by Fr Kevin Malachi Cullen (see Chapter 1). From this, and from other evidence we know that these eastern Chamba shared a local culture with communities of Verre. Several examples of brass *gbala* have come into view from other collections where they remained unexplained objects. Although Chappel may have collected as many as nine examples of *gbala*, we have photographs of none of them (**496, 557, 597, 655, 661, 697, 747, 773, 776**). Almost all these acquisitions were made for £1 each, or thereabouts; **747** uniquely is specified as iron and cost about half that going rate, 11/-, making it likely that **697** might also be iron, costing only 6/-. Two examples stand out for expense: **661**, the only staff described as *arandu*, a term we cannot gloss, cost £1/10/-; while **776** at £2/8/- must have been exceptional in some regard to cost double the going price, although described as for *Tibaai* use, it is not unique in that. Two of our illustrations come from the Sudan United Mission's collection previously in Aarhus. The proportions differ, and the first is a particularly close skeuomorph of the Mapeo Chamba wooden ritual staff with rope whipping with a length specified as 50cm. The second of these examples probably does not belong in this category at all, since the SUM description is of a flute that is 'open both ends' (see below, Berlin III C 29415). Two further examples without local provenance resemble that on the left below; the staff in the Wade collection, which to judge by the 10cm measure illustrated with it must be 50cm, resembles it closely.



SUM – Jens Hepsgaard 1967-72



SUM – Jens Hepsgaard 1967-72



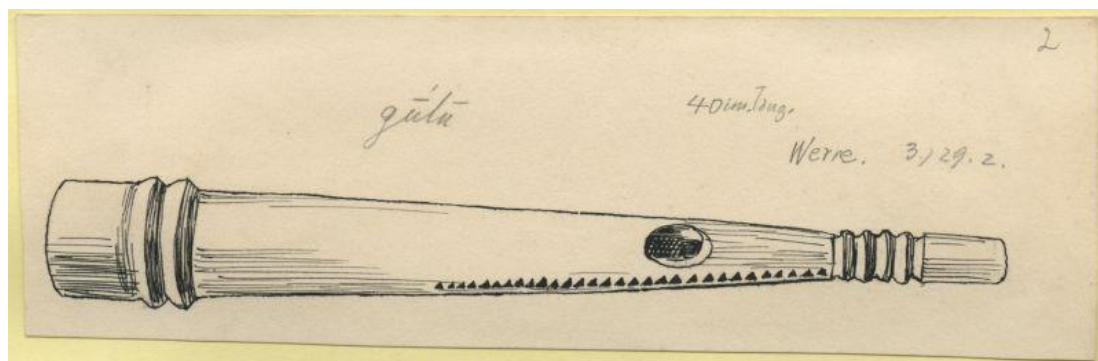
Charles Jones Gallery



James Wade Collection

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Another class of skeuomorphs that would appear to be of Verre rather than any other inspiration are copies of wind instruments with wooden or animal horn originals; the wooden horns may themselves be skeuomorphs of animal horn originals (as seems to be the case for KBA 09176, below).



KBA 09176



Leo Frobenius, gulu, Ident. Nr.: III C 29415
 © Foto: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
 Fotografin: Laura Haendel



Berlin III C 29415

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The term for pipes made from cow horns or antlers is *gul* (s), *gura* (pl), hence their brass skeuomorphs are *gul suktunu* (s), *gura suktini* (pl); of Chappel's collection, **410** is specifically allocated to this class; costing £2, it was considerably more expensive than **491** and **530** at 10/- each, so would presumably differ from them. A fourth brass horn, with the different name *fɔra suktunkak* (s), *fɔrt suktuntat* (pl), was among the most expensive of the items Chappel acquired (£4/10/-) and on this basis must have been exceptional, perhaps corresponding to the ornate horn of Rubins' Jos photographs.



The only similarly large casting of a horn known to us is this 30cm horn with two stops in the Sudan United Mission collection.



SUM

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The term general term for a small container seems to have been *gul* (s), *gual* (pl); hence a snuff container is *gul taba* (s), *guri taba* (pl), literally a container for tobacco, and a medicine charm in brass of the kind worn around a child's neck is *gul suktundal* (s). A more precise transcription would establish whether there is any relationship between the terms for such containers and that for an animal horn, a possibility lent some plausibility by a horn being able to serve as a container, or as a boy's neck charm, *gura bus* (s), *gura boyii* (pl). A particularly distinctive form of medicine container, *gul gbondunal* (s), *gura gbodini* (pl), was made in phallic form to be worn on a man's right hip. Chappel collected three such, the two illustrated below which each cost 10/-, as well as **590b** (no illustration) which may not have been in brass given a price of 1s.



585



589

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

5.6 Anthropomorphic figures

Compared to the large output attributed to some peoples of the Middle and Upper Benue, of which the Mumuye are the most celebrated, anthropomorphic figures considered to be in Verre style have turned up in relatively small numbers. Thanks to local trade, some of these in wood entered the art market attributed to Chamba and were only later reattributed. Brass figures have been attributed even more widely.

Verre figures in wood are found in both the assemblages that provide our primary evidence: from the early colonial period before the First World War, and from the early post-independence period from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. Other than in their overall proportions, the wooden figures collected in the two periods differ markedly, which implies the earlier wooden figures did not have great longevity since none resembling them were collected half a century later. No figures in brass were acquired in the early period, which does not of course prove there were none, but we shall present other positive evidence to suggest that brass figures might be a later innovation.

For the earlier of our two periods, we know both when figures were collected, and that twenty-one of the twenty-four for which some record survives were brought in, most probably to Tchamba, from the communities around the then Kamerun-Nigeria border to be exchanged with the Frobenius expedition. We have more exact information in the case of the figures collected by Chappel, and to a lesser degree by members of the SUM, during the second period, and varying indications of the background to other figures that left the area around the same time and surfaced later in museum or private collections.

The numbers of Verre wooden figures, and the relatively slight attention paid to surface finish of the earlier examples, do not suggest that they were a medium of artistic expression similar in importance to brass, or, at an earlier period, to calabash decoration. We have relatively slight indications of how they were used. It is striking that the figures illustrated from the Frobenius collection are in male-female pairs, although only some of them look like pairs in formal terms. Figures collected singly appear all to be female, and to have been used by women, which contrasts with the exclusive use of wooden figures by men according to accounts of neighbours such as the Mumuye and Chamba. None of the more finely finished figures in Verre style were collected at the beginning of the twentieth century; these appear only from the middle of that century, just after a stylistic development in the sculpture of the neighbouring Chamba. While we cannot prove these two stylistic changes are related, the timing and proximity suggest they could be, not least because Verre made objects for sale to neighbouring Chamba. With these points in mind, we move to the evidence, in part to show how thin it is.

The early colonial assemblage of Verre figures

The earliest example so far located of a Verre figure in a German museum collection is in Hamburg, accessioned in 1910 from the military officer Franz von Stephani (Hamburg 186.10). We do not know exactly when it was collected, but von Stephani served in Kamerun through much of the German colonial period before the First World War. He was in the vicinity of Gurin in June 1903 according to his route shown on Moisel's map of Kamerun (D3 Garua), and he was a member of the Yola-Cross River boundary commission in 1907-8.¹ Either of these occasions might have brought him into contact with Verre. The accession card describes the figure as 47.5cm high and carries a contemporary illustration on its reverse that unmistakably corresponds to a more recent photograph. The lateral flexing of the torso is unusual but may simply retain the curvature of the wood from which the figure was carved. Shoulders and arms, and hips and legs, are in the form of a stacked pair of inverted horseshoes or U-shapes that are roughly similar in size. This formal conception, found with more and less symmetry, recurs with greater stylization in the sculptures of the Dowayo to the south, in what the literature describes as Namji dolls (Krüger 2003). These 'dolls', nowadays produced in large numbers for the international market, are highly decorated and frequently clothed, traits shared, though with greater restraint, with early figures in Verre styles. Abrus seeds have been used to highlight the hair, and to indicate where accessories would be worn around the neck, waist, ankles and wrists. The redness of the abrus presumably evoked the redness of brass (relative to black iron). It is also conceivable that some Verre women, like neighbouring Koma, reddened their tresses with oil and kaolin on important occasions. The short arms, hardly reaching beyond the waist, are characteristic of Verre figures and are consistent with the overall, double inverted-U configuration. This figure has a distinct neck element, but it is equally common for a figure's head to be attached directly to its torso. The figure's large feet allow it to be freestanding on separate legs, something we shall find also to be characteristic of brass figures. A stylistically close counterpart is to be found in an illustration of another female figure collected only a few years later by the Frobenius expedition (KBA 10457 (viewer's left), below).

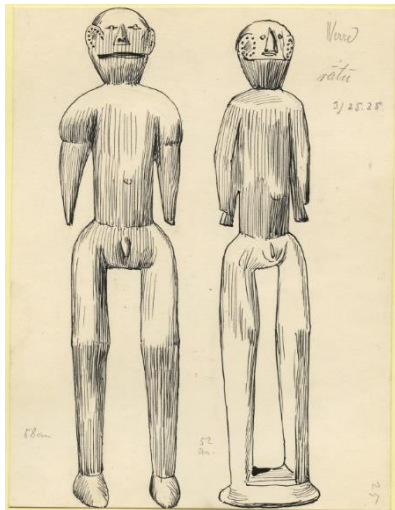
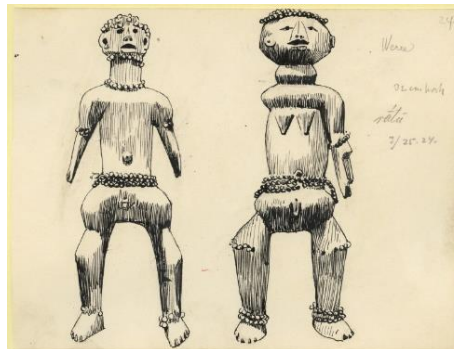
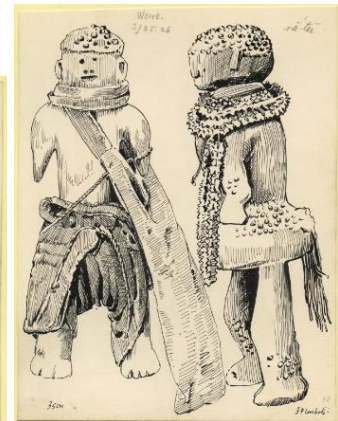
¹ Copies of Moisel's map may be found online at the Basel Mission Archive, <https://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100203649> <https://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100203650>

Hamburg **186.10** – 47.5cm

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

In 1911, the Frobenius expedition made the largest collection of Verre figures from the early colonial period. Twenty-one were inventoried (LF 840: 4813-33) under the Verre name of 'rātū' without further information, the closest match for which term in Blench and Edwards' 1988 Verre dictionary is *ráu* (s), *rát* (pl), defined as firewood although no other term for wood is recorded. As detailed in Appendix 3 and discussed in Chapter 3, Chappel's informants included the term *rap* (s), *rat* (pl), in phrases naming wooden figures: *wan marus rap* (s), *yanga maari rat* (pl).

Sketches survive in the Frobenius Institute archive for ten of the figures collected, arranged in five pairs, which have been roughly scaled here to reflect their relative height. The first three look as if they are pairs in a formal sense, while the other two differ formally. The numbers allocated in the field inventory made when packing the original collection (LF 840: 4813-33) cannot be related to the numbers given to the sketches (KBA) since these were allocated simply in the order that they were scanned. The Frobenius archive itself provides no information on the remaining eleven figures collected for which illustrations are lacking.

**KBA 10453** (58cm left; 52cm right)**KBA 10454** (both 32cm)**KBA 10455** (35cm; 39cm)**KBA 10456** (44cm; 47cm)**KBA 10457** (59cm; 51cm)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

In the hope of tracing the onward journeys of the ten figures illustrated and the eleven which were not, we looked for Verre figures in the surviving records of the erstwhile German ethnological museums. Curators helped us to identify sixteen accession records of figures attributed to Verre and with provenance to Frobenius: four in Berlin; four in Leipzig; one in Dresden; and seven in Hamburg. The Leipzig Museum transferred two of the figures it accessioned to Berlin, so these sixteen records probably represent only fourteen pieces, or two-thirds of the twenty-one Frobenius collected. There are challenges fitting the records to the surviving sketches and objects. In a few cases, the surviving object itself or its accession record corresponds to a sketch in the Frobenius archive, but in most the relations between these traces are less certain. German ethnological museum collections and their records were disrupted and, in parts, destroyed during the Second World War, and the subsequent partition of the country had consequences for collections that have taken time to redress. Where the best efforts of curators have been unable to locate any records, then figures must be assumed either to be lost or, more optimistically, to remain unidentified for the time being

in museum stores. Given these challenges, the relatively small number of examples, and the possibility the record can be improved, we assess the museum records individually by accession number, beginning with the collection of the Berlin museum. The results of this exercise are tabulated in conclusion.

Berlin III C 29348 (E 422/1912/) female figure 51cm (not extant); while this is the same height as KBA10457 (viewer's right), which is not accounted for elsewhere, the Berlin accession record does not mention what are presumably abrus seeds affixed to much of the surface. On this ground, we are inclined to list it with the figures lacking illustration and now lost.

Berlin III C 29349 (E422/1912/) female figure 46.5cm; although stylistically it closely resembles a female version version of the male figure in KBA 10453 (left), that figure is considerably taller (58cm). It is most likely to be one of the figures for which either no illustration survives in the Frobenius archive or none was ever drawn.



Berlin III C 29349 (E422/1912/)

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Berlin III C 29351 (E 422/1912) described as a female figure of wood, glass beads, and raffia, 46cm, transferred from Leipzig Museum. This is the figure with unusual stomach scarification sketched in KBA 10456 viewer's right (47cm) now having lost some of its beads and skirt, as well as part of one foot.



Berlin III C 29351 (E 422/1912), KBA 10456 right (previously Leipzig MAf 23170 MVL)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Berlin III C 29352 (E 422/1912/) female figure of wood, brass, and abrus precatorius seeds, 32.5cm, transferred from Leipzig Museum. While KBA 10454 (right) is decorated with abrus seeds and is 32cm tall, no brass elements are obvious, and the accession record might have noted the absence of a right arm. So this is likely to have been one of the figures of which no sketch survives in the Frobenius Archive.

Leipzig Museum accessioned four Verre figures under the name 'ratu', but apart from the heights of two of them, very little information survives, and none of the figures is extant in Leipzig. The heights recorded in Berlin for the two figures transferred from Leipzig were respectively 32-32.5cm and 46-47cm. These measurements do not correspond to the two more complete records in Leipzig, so they most probably belong to the two slight Leipzig records, supposing that the figures were no longer available for measurement having left to Berlin when those records were made. The Leipzig records are:

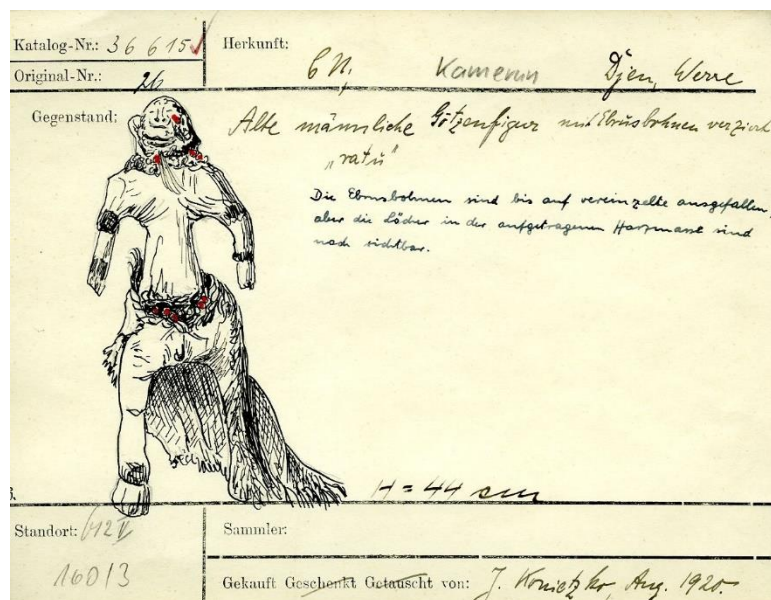
MAf 23162 MVL – 36cm in height, which does not correspond to the height noted on any of the ten sketches of figures in the Frobenius archive.

MAf 23166 MVL – 60cm in height and partially covered in resin and abrus seeds. KBA 10457 (left) is a candidate only because it meets this description, and is 59cm high, and is not accounted for otherwise.

MAf 23170 MVL – no height is provided but it is described as decorated with abrus seeds. Simply on this basis, KBA 10456 (right), now in Berlin (Berlin III C 29351), would be the obvious candidate for this.

MAf 23171 MVL – no information; simply by default this might be Berlin III C 29352 because it was transferred from Leipzig.

Dresden Museum acquired one figure, now missing, from the dealer J. Konietzko in August 1920 that is certainly from Frobenius (and is given the name 'ratu'). 44cm in height, and described on its accession card as male with abrus seed decoration and skirt, this must be KBA 10456 (left); the right-hand figure as we noted is in Berlin where it arrived from Leipzig.



Dresden 36615



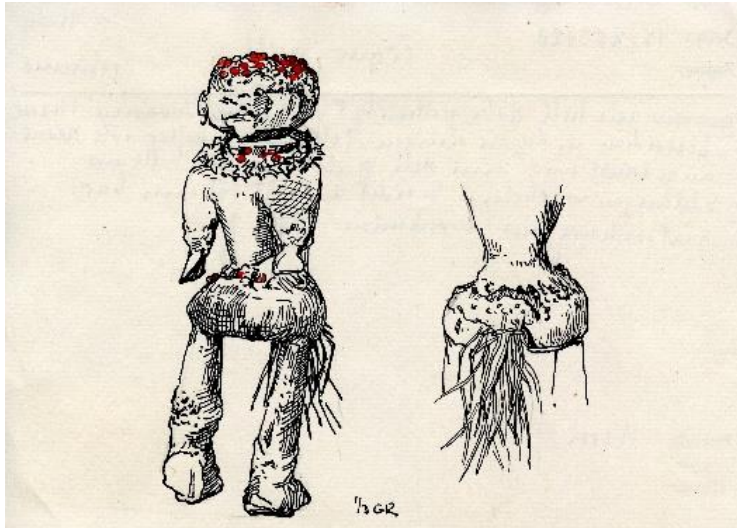
KBA 10456 (left)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg Museum received seven figures collected by Frobenius, accessioned in 1917, for which uneven documentation remains. Six sketches have survived, and these differ in drawing style in ways that might be significant to a researcher with a specialist knowledge of the authors of the collection's accession records. In only two cases, can we definitely identify these pieces with the sketches in the Frobenius archive; in four cases we can be sure the pieces were not sketched; and in the remaining instance we know nothing about the figure beyond it being 'large' (above 40cm to judge by slightly inconsistent uses of the terms 'grosse' and 'kleine' in the accession records).

Hamburg 17.20: 119 – a 'large' figure (presumably larger than the next which is described as 'small', so maybe 50cm like the similarly described 17.20: 121). Only a reference number remains with no accession card.

Hamburg 17.20: 120 – a 'small' female figure, 38cm high. Supposing it subsequently lost some of its beadwork, this is probably KBA 10455 (right) which is noted as 39cm on the sketch.

**Hamburg 17.20: 120** - 38cm**KBA 10455** – right 39cm

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg 17.20: 121, a 'large' female figure, 50.4cm tall, accessioned as 'ratu', which does not correspond to any of the ten sketches in the Frobenius archive and so was presumably one of the eleven figures not sketched. Its overall form corresponds to the stacked pair of inverted-U's described earlier, although with a distinct neck element. The feet have the pronounced heel extensions, presumably for stability, that we shall see on Verre brass figures. To judge by the surviving resin, it was ornamented with an abrus seed necklace and bracelets, as well as abrus hair, although few seeds survive, and it retains a waist band and rear covering, as well as a small lower lip ring.





Hamburg 17.20: 121

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg 17.20: 122, described as a 'large' male figure, although only 42cm tall, with iron rings in its ears, and abrus seed decoration. Like the last, this figure does not correspond to a sketch in the Frobenius archive; it was bought from Frobenius (with an item number 2820).

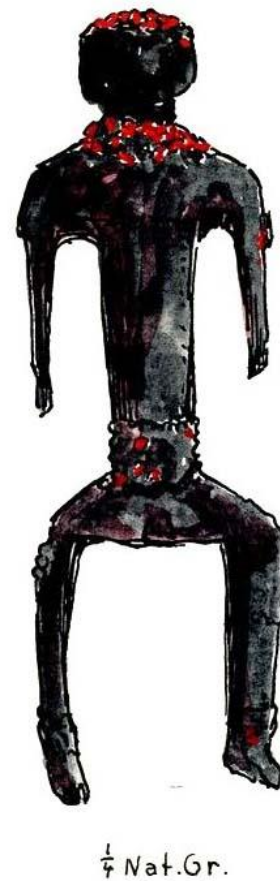
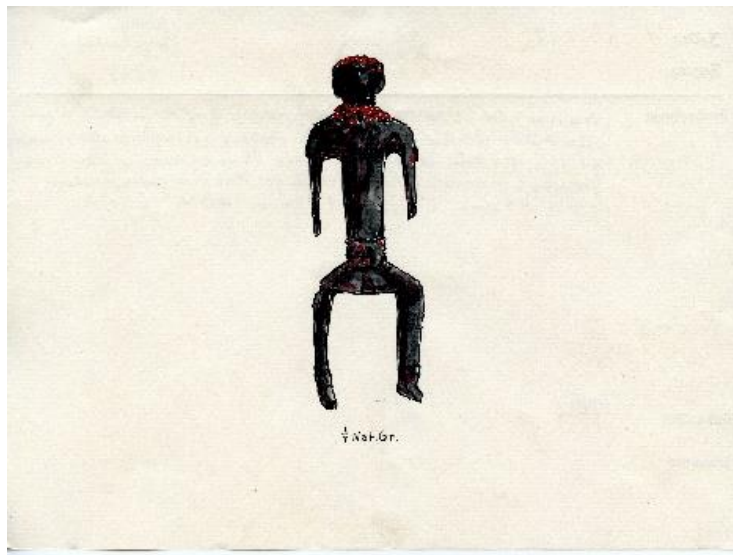
Sketches of this figure and the next show both to have been short necked and in the double inverted-U form.



Hamburg 17.20: 122

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg 17.20: 124, a 'small' blackened male figure, 41cm tall, with abras decoration, bought from Frobenius (with an item number 4824). This is another figure not to be found among the Frobenius archive sketches.



Hamburg 17.20: 124

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg 17.20: 125, a 'small' female figure of 30cm, with waist and anklet beads (illustrated as blue) as well as some abrus seed decoration in a cranial crest of hair. Another figure not identifiable among the Frobenius archive sketches.

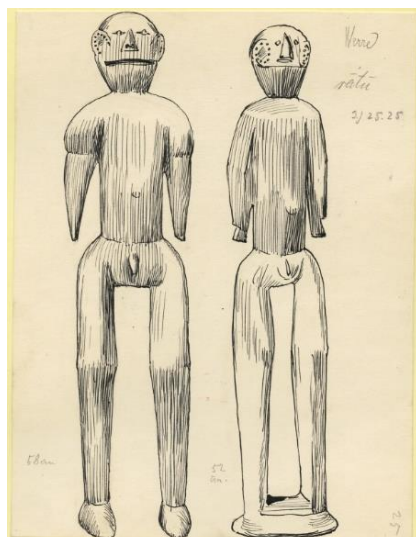


Hamburg 17.20: 125

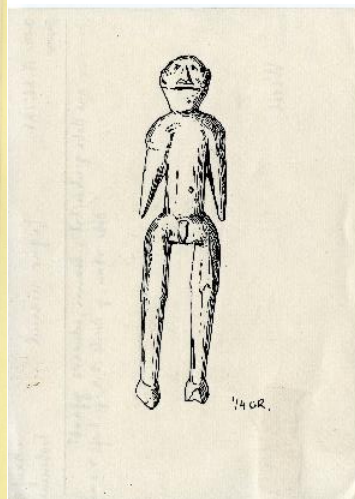
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Hamburg 17.20: 126, a 57cm 'large', unusually long-legged, male figure that, on the basis of both its accession sketch and more recent photography, does correspond to one of the illustrations in the Frobenius archive (KBA 10453 (left)) despite a discrepancy of 5cm between their recorded heights, and a broken toe. Arnold Rubin (UCLA Fowler Museum, file card) remarked on multiple piercing around the rim of the ear, possibly with nails, and holes at the bottom of the ear apparently for rings. The short arms are particularly schematic with a muscular swelling at the shoulders. The surface was good with superficial carbon, perhaps from smoke. Rubin noted Konietzko as the intermediary through whom the figure reached Hamburg.





KBA 10453 (left)



Hamburg 17.20: 126



Hamburg 17.20: 126

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Frobenius Archive Sketch KBA reference and height	Museum Accession Record/Sketch/Height	Museum Reference Current status
KBA 10453 left – 58cm	none	?
KBA 10453 right – 52cm	Hamburg: accession sketch and photograph, 57cm	Hamburg 17.20: 126 - extant
KBA 10454 left – 32cm	none	?
KBA 10454 right – 32cm	none	?
KBA 10455 left – 35cm	none	?

KBA 10455 right – 39cm	Hamburg: accession sketch, 38cm	Hamburg 17.20: 120 - <i>lost</i>
KBA 10456 left – 44cm	Dresden: accession record and sketch, 44cm	Dresden 36615 - <i>lost</i>
KBA 10456 right – 47cm	Likely to have been previously Leipzig MAf 23170 MVL; Berlin, 46cm, photograph	Berlin III C 29351 (E 422/1912) - extant
KBA 10457 left – 59cm	Could be Leipzig MAf 23166 MVL – 60cm	Leipzig - <i>lost</i> ?
KBA 10457 right – 51cm	(Berlin III C 29348?)	?
Not illustrated (unless KBA10457 right)	Accession record, 51cm	Berlin III C 29348 (E 422/1912/); <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	Accession record, photograph, 46.5cm. Similar to KBA 10453 left, 58cm, but over 10cm shorter	Berlin III C 29349 (E422/1912/); photograph; extant
Not illustrated	Leipzig MAf 23171, 32.5cm; transferred to Berlin	Berlin III C 29352 (E 422/1912/) - <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	Accession record, 36cm	Leipzig MAf 23162 MVL - <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	No accession record, 'large'	Hamburg 17.20: 119 - <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	Accession record, photograph, 50.4cm	Hamburg 17.20: 121 - extant
Not illustrated	Accession sketch, 'Item 2820 Frobenius', 42cm	Hamburg 17.20: 122 - <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	Accession sketch, 'Item 4824 Frobenius', 'small'	Hamburg 17.20: 124 - <i>lost</i>
Not illustrated	Accession sketch, 30cm	Hamburg 17.20: 125 - <i>lost</i>
Plus at least two more		

What can we generalize from these early examples? The obvious comparisons would be with sculptural styles that were predominant among some of their neighbours. Most Chamba figure statuary we know to have been carved by this time was columnar in conception, often to the degree that arms and legs were hardly separated from the trunk of the body if at all (Fardon and Stelzig 2005). Mumuye sculptural style was similarly columnar but with greater subtraction of material so that form was defined by angular negative spaces (Bovin 2011, Fardon 2011, Herreman 2016, Fardon 2019). Neither Chamba nor Mumuye columnar anthropomorphic forms bore close relations to the natural proportions of human bodies, frequently emphasising features of the head, hair or face disproportionately. Compared with these, Frobenius's group of Verre figures are typically more rounded and less angular in conception; they are also less obviously columnar and more suggestive of bodily volumes; ranging in height between 30 and 60cm, their bodily proportions are, relative to those styles, predominantly more naturalistic. With a single exception in the illustrations of the Frobenius collection (KBA 10453 (right) which has feet joined on a stand), Verre figures are long-legged

with slightly flexed knees that end in robust doll-like feet. Torsos are similarly long, and in about half the cases, the heads of figures attach directly to their bodies without necks. Arms are short; in many instances hardly reaching the waist. While the figures have gendered features, neither primary nor secondary sexual characteristics are heavily accentuated. Decoration is common, notably with abrus seeds, but also with trade beads, metal ornaments, and on occasions also clothing. Bands of abrus occur where hair ornaments, necklaces, belts, bracelets and anklets in brass might be worn. The heads of figures are not invariably modelled, like Chamba or Mumuye counterparts, to indicate elaborate coiffures, helmets, or elongated earlobes, though the tops of the heads of some of them are reddened with abrus seeds. Overall, the figures are unflexed, even rigid, and stand squarely facing the viewer, arms held stiffly at their sides. As already noted, the most common overall conformation may be summarized as a stacked pair of inverted U's or horseshoes. The arms forming the upper inverted U hardly overlap the hips of the lower inverted U, and they often end short of them in a way more reminiscent of the style of Dowayo than Chamba or Mumuye figures. Frequently, the two inverted U elements are similar in height providing the figures with approximate vertical as well as horizontal symmetry; however, the hips and legs may alternatively be either lengthened or shortened relative to the shoulders and arms, without the other stylistic features being altered greatly.

We know of three more Verre figures acquired in the same year as Frobenius's by Olive MacLeod, later Temple, when she visited Yola in 1911 on her journey to the grave of her fiancé. Her passage, facilitated through networks of colonial officers resulted, as we have seen already, in a heterogeneous collection picked up *en route* (see Chapter 2). In the absence of contrary indications, we assume it was through her contacts in Yola that she acquired her Verre figures either directly or on the market. The account of her travels she wrote on return does not suggest she visited areas south of Yola, including the Verre Hills, and the attribution of figures to the 'Duru-Verre' supports the impression that the collection was acquired through intermediaries, since the Duru (also Dourou in French, more commonly Dii nowadays, see Chapter 6) lived well to the south of Verre, then in Kamerun. Her collection was dispersed between several museums over a period of years after her return. To the best of our knowledge, she collected no Verre figures other than the three donated to the British Museum. The similarities between these figures and some of those collected by the Frobenius expedition are striking. Two, apparently female, figures are very similar in overall form, notably in the short arms, the absence of narrowing at the neck which gives the impression of a head sitting directly upon the shoulders, and the sturdy feet. Ornamentation is also similar. There are resemblances between these and several of Frobenius's sketches (for instance, KBA 10456 left or KBA 10457 right) but the closest are with a pair of similar stature, one of which has a buttock covering (KBA 10455 left and right; compare the right-hand figure with British Museum Af1913,1013.13). The white marking on the second figure below is not original but a slight bloom on the wax in which abrus seeds were originally embedded, most having by now fallen out. The Temple donation was made via Sir Reginald MacLeod of Vinters, the family home, in Maidstone, with a note on this figure transcribed by Arnold Rubin as,

'Female image from Verre juju house; Yola. A monkey? It is believed that the souls of the dead sometimes enter monkeys; this example was only obtained after months of endeavour' (File card, Fowler Museum UCLA). There is no other corroboration of this belief, and the rear appendage might as well be construed as an ornamental buttock cover as a literal tail, however, the reference to the image coming from a 'juju house' differs from the use by women when dancing documented a half century later by Chappel. Quite who undertook 'months of endeavour' is unclear given that the MacLeod-Talbot party did not spend months in Yola.



British Museum **Af1913,1013.11** Female figure (ritual) made of wood, metal, seeds (abrus).
Acquired Yola, Duru-Verre, donated by Mr and Mrs C.L. Temple 1913, 35.7 x 12.3 x 7cm
(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)



British Museum **Af1913,1013.13** Front and rear. Female figure (ritual) made of wood, hair (animal), seeds (abrus) in wax medium. Acquired Yola, Duru-Verre, donated by Mr and Mrs C.L. Temple 1913. 39.6 x 14 x 9cm.
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The third figure collected by Olive MacLeod and now in the British Museum is in the alternative style we have recognized from the Frobenius figures: relatively elongated in overall form and with a distinct neck. Although taller than this figure (between 47 and 59cm as compared to just over 42cm), examples comparable in form among the documented Frobenius figures include that extant in Hamburg (17.20: 121), and two sketches (KBA 10456 right, and KBA 10457 left). The earliest accession of which we know, the figure collected by Stephani and now in Hamburg (186.10), is another example of this Verre figure style. In common with other figures, this once had abrus encrustations in places where brass personal ornaments would be worn.



British Museum **Af1913,1013.12** Female figure (ritual) made of wood, metal.

Acquired Yola, Duru-Verre, donated by Mr and Mrs C.L. Temple 1913. 42.4 x 8.7 x 7cm.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The early post-colonial assemblage of Verre figures

The relatively few figures collected in the early post-colonial period show continuities and differences from those in our earlier assemblage. Continuities would include figures being freestanding on chunky feet, having more naturalistic proportions of head, limbs and torso than those of their neighbours, and retaining the overall form that may be described as two inverted-U's or horseshoes. Except for one pair collected by Chappel, later figures are in the more elongated of the two styles we can distinguish, at least as polar tendencies, in the early colonial assemblage. Even the squatter figures do not lack necks. The finish of both forms seems noticeably finer than the earlier figures, perhaps a consequence of new tools, particularly files which were reportedly used to finish brassworks, and the development of a regional market, and the figures are consistently more strictly symmetrical laterally. Ornamentation continues to be a concern for the artists.



Jos Museum, Nigeria

66.JII.664

66.JII.665

66.JII.709

66.JII.720

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

This much is apparent from the four figures in two distinct styles collected for the Jos Museum in 1966 by Tim Chappel. Unlike the pieces surveyed up to this point, we have some indications of their purpose, and in each case, unusually for what we know of the wider region, women's activities are cited as the occasions for their use.

A pair of figures, identified as male and female (**664 & 665**) and similar in overall form to what are known to the international art market as Dowayo or Namji 'dolls', were carved by a Verre man, Modari of Cholli, then aged around forty-five, and bought from him on 28 October 1966. Modari told Chappel he was the only person in Cholli carving such figures, which he had copied from those he had seen an old man carving. They were held by girls during the *Dei-ki*, or female initiation rites, most particularly at the *Zangazaar* ceremony (derived from the term for a beer strainer), which was also an occasion for brewing and drinking beer. The term 'doll' may not be inappropriate given their use as surrogate, or prospective, children, the same as that reported from the Dowayo (Namji) living to the south. There are some overall similarities between these wooden figures and the single clay figure Chappel collected, which has a unique arrangement of arms. The significance of the figure and its posture were a matter of disagreement between the vendor and other informants. According to the vendor, such figures represented men but all the old ones had been destroyed, and they were held by girls when they danced at cult ceremonies (Fieldnotes 5: 113). But other informants claimed that although made by women, who were the potters, they were used by senior men who would hold the figure in the right hand with the words 'I am holding my friend' (Fieldnotes 7: 63).



633

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

The other two wooden figures collected by Chappel (**709** & **720**) are more obviously a development of earlier, freestanding, Verre figures in terms of their overall proportions, relatively short straight arms, longer torso (now with prominent navel), with hips, legs and substantial feet in an inverted double horseshoe or U-shape. The fine finish and sharp detailing of the heads and facial features, with pierced ears and heavy brows, are innovations, as most strikingly are the straight-ridged hair tresses apparently substituting for the abrus encrustation of some earlier figures.

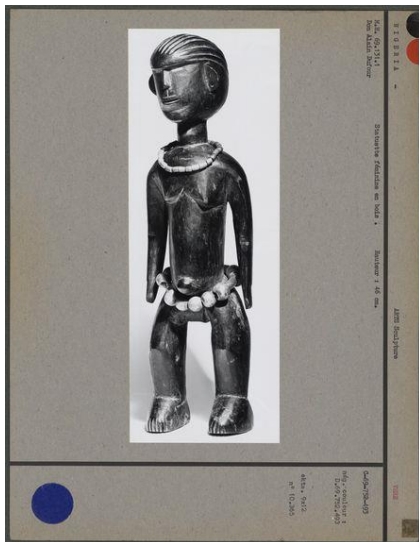
Called *won marus rap* according to Chappel's informants, the less decorated example (**709**; for a 1969, photograph taken at Jos Museum, see Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 123, figure 20a) had been bought in Cholli by an intermediary on Chappel's behalf but carved in Tɔza, a place just north of the small town of Karlahi, which is home to one of a local, seven-day cycle of markets. In common with the first two figures, Chappel was told this would be carried by a woman, dancing after the *Gangni* male circumcision ceremony (Fieldnotes 5: 25). It might also be loaned from a grandmother to her grandson who would be told, 'This is your future wife: if you run away she will leave you and go to someone else'. Chappel learnt that this use of wooden figures was restricted to non-smiths in the areas of Tɔza, Gɔgara and Guriga in eastern Verre land. Rather than a child, the figure appears to be that of a young woman. Figures in Verre styles were bought for inclusion in Mapeo Chamba cults, suggesting that the proximity of the workshop to a market was not fortuitous, and that similar figures could be made to serve different purposes.

The second, more ornamented, figure Chappel collected in the same style (**720**; for a 1969 photograph taken at Jos Museum, see Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 123, figure 20b) was bought

directly from a woman *Marus*, or licensed jester, in Uki (on 12 November 1966). She had bought it, like the previous figure, from Tōza, about seven years previously (circa 1959) because she had seen others dancing with such figures. 'This is my child. My real children are for work: this one is for play' (Fieldnotes 5: 25). But on return to Uki, where hers was the only example, she claimed to have been pestered by other non-*Marus* women who wanted to borrow the figure to hold at festivals but were not permitted to own their own, hence her willingness to sell it.

Figures in this style, and so similar as to come from the same workshop at the least, and possibly by the same hand, entered the market and museums from the mid to late 1960s onwards.

Two female figures, both in excellent condition, and differing substantially in height, were donated to Paris museums by the art dealer Alain Dufour and, on its foundation, passed into the collection of the then Musée du quai Branly. The first, and taller, was donated by him in 1969 (49cm), the second in 1970 (29cm) (see also Fry 1970: 6, figure 3; Fardon 2011: 245, figure 8.14). Given that the figures would have passed through the hands of local dealers before reaching Dufour, these dates are consistent with those for the figures collected by Tim Chappel and suggest carving activity in this style during the late 1950s and early 1960s.



Musée de l'homme 69.131.1



MQB-JC 71.1969.131.1 (49x13x16.2)



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



MQB-JC 73.1970.1.1 29x8.1x7cm 352gr

Two very similar figures are documented in the archive of Karl-Ferdinand Schädler.²



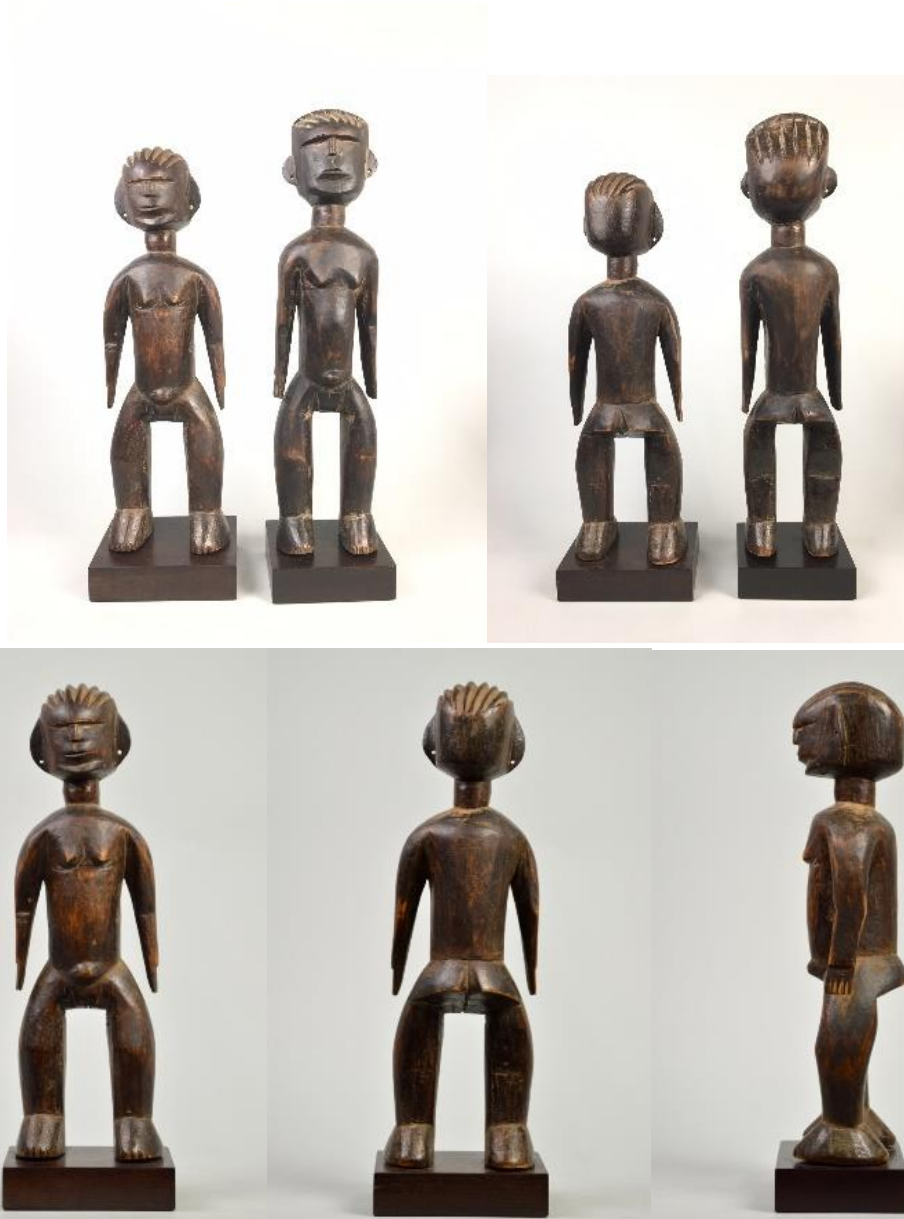
Schädler archive **Q1.01.1900** Schädler archive **Q1.02.4692**

also reproduced in Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 123, fig. 20e.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

² Schädler published Q1.02.4692 in related works (Schädler 1975: 189-90; 1994: 376f; 2009: 599). According to the van Rijn Yale Archive (Yale-Archive-No 0105197-01), the figure was offered at auction by Christie's in London (8 November 1977, lot 226) and subsequently by Galerie Wolfgang Ketterer (6 May 1978, lot 354). Stelzig and Fardon were indebted to assistance from Karl-Ferdinand Schädler and Guy van Rijn when using these images previously (see, Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 123, fig. 20d & 20e).

Another two figures, in the same style and in remarkably pristine condition, emerged recently from a cache of materials stored in Manhattan since the early 1970s of which the dealer Amyas Naegele kindly advised us. They had belonged to Sidney and Gae Berman whose dealership was incorporated in 1969 but they had not come onto the market until recently. The left-hand figure (in the first image) is 15.7 inches (40cm) according to its details at auction.³

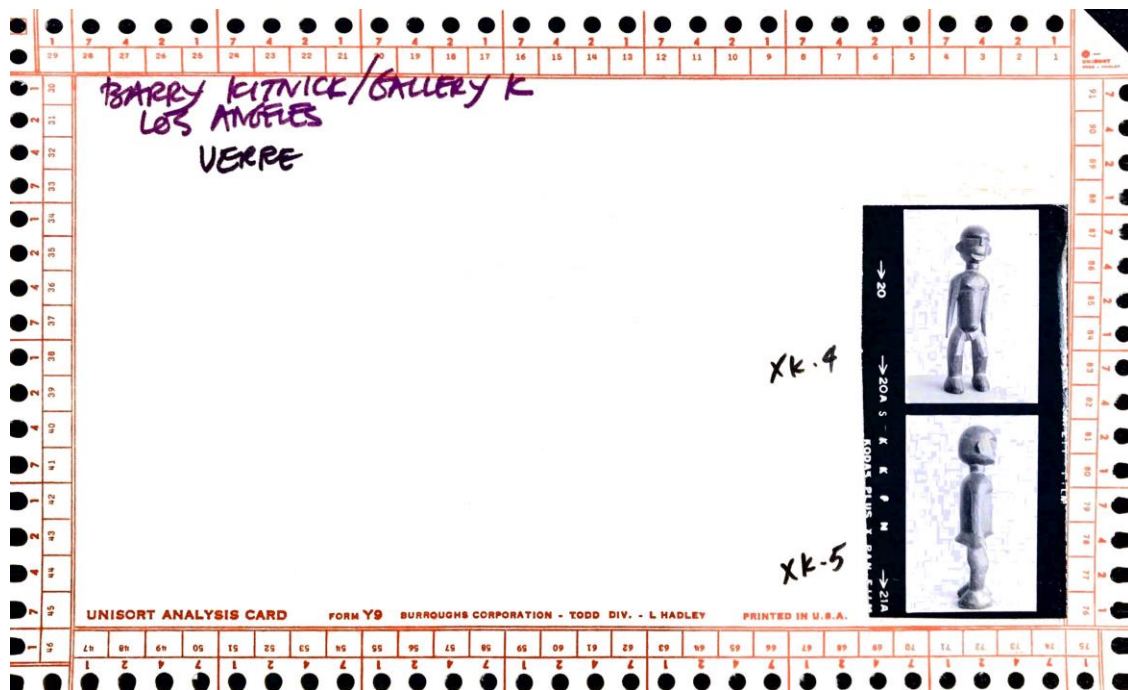


Amyas Naegele Gallery

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Further examples are to be found in Arnold Rubin's archive, including one photographed by him and attributed to Barry Kitnick's Gallery K in Los Angeles (Rubin Object Image Cards, Fowler Museum UCLA), and a photograph of two figures without attribution.

³ Zemanek -Münster lot 183 <https://www.tribal-art-auktion.de/en/auctions/object-detail/standing-female-figure-3046819/>



Left: an unannotated photograph in Arnold Rubin's archive at UCLA, related to his research on the Arts of the Benue River Valley (<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt3p300607/> Rubin papers, Box 11 : <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt3p300607/>)

Centre and right: Verre 0089625-01 & 02 Yale Archive; the same figures; the damaged ear suggests either these two or the left image have been flipped.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

These figures, and in all likelihood others of which we are unaware, are likely share a provenance to the same carver(s) working in Tōza, in the orbit of Karlahi, and active for a period that includes the late 1950s and 1960s. As noted already, Karlahi is one of the markets of the seven-day cycle of markets used by the Chamba of Mapeo, whom we know to have been purchasers of Verre wares, which leads to a further connection. In an earlier work, Fardon and Stelzig (2005) presented a corpus of works associated with the name of Soompa, a Chamba Leko carver who remained active into the 1940s, and whose volumetric figures represented an innovation in Chamba sculpture. It seems more than coincidental that we can

date the Tɔza statuary to the decade following that when Soompa was carving. Although Soompa's works are more animated, particularly in their energetic flexing of all four limbs, there are similarities of scale and form between them and the Tɔza figures.



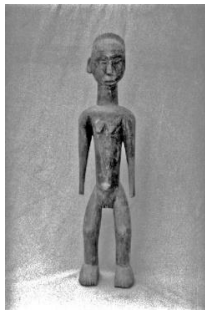




Soompa c. 1940 Private collection Brussels

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The Tɔza figures differ in retaining the seemingly frozen limbs of earlier Verre sculptures, as well as their notably short arms but, like Soompa's figures, they are finely finished, unlike the rough-hewn character of earlier Verre figures. Perhaps the availability of new tools and a small international market encouraged these developments.

In 1974 Jos Museum was to acquire four more wooden figures, probably together given their almost consecutive accession numbers and from a dealer intermediary (74.J41.194-6 & 200; see Fardon and Stelzig 2005: 77, figure 14 a-d). While there are similarities in conception between these and the Tɔza figures which suggest a knowledge of them, they are clearly not by the same hand. The overall proportions may be similar, but the carving is less sharp, and its detail reduced, notably in the representation of plaited hair, which is carved only superficially and supplemented by a lateral or vertical crest. In the early 1970s, the Museum had reacted to the outflow of artworks during and immediately after the Nigerian Civil War by purchasing directly from Nigerian dealers more than, as previously, in the field. Acquisitions were made with no more information than an ethnic attribution. The four figures, which might be by the same carver given their similarities, were attributed to Chamba rather than to Verre, so most probably came from the region between the Karlahi market and Mapeo, west of the Alantika Mountains, where Verre and Chamba are neighbours. They are in what we can recognize as a Verre style irrespective of the ethnicity of their carver, which is by now almost certainly unknowable. The museum's curators were likely to have relied on the attributions made by dealers, which presumably varied since we find that a figure accessioned a year earlier, in 1973, and which other than for its ridged hair plaits is very similar to these four, was catalogued as Verre.

	Jos Museum 73J.59.3A Female figure with tresses	
75 cm	Jos Museum 74.J.41.194 Female figure with tresses and lateral headcrest	
62 cm	Jos Museum 74.J.41.195 Female figure with tresses lateral headcrest	
63 cm	Jos Museum 74.J.41.196 Male figure with sagittal headcrest and indistinct hair features	

48 cm	Jos Museum 74.J.41.200 Shorter female figure with tresses and lateral headcrest	
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(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Wooden figures have been attributed to Verre on the basis of style more recently, and there is some evidence for continuation of carving during and after the 1970s, probably for use in more isolated communities (like those of the Koma) and elsewhere for direct sale to outsiders.⁴ However, we lack field provenance for these more recent exports.

Brass figures

As well as wooden figures, a few figures in brass have been attributed to the Verre. There are no examples in the early colonial assemblage; the first we hear of brass figures is in 1946 when Father Kevin Malachi Cullen wrote a note to accompany his donation to the Lagos Museum collected from the Mapeo Chamba and cites the presence of a Verre brass figure of a 'very old woman, sitting, about eight inches high' in the major Chamba cult of *karbangi* ('Karbongi'). He would, he writes, be unwilling to secure this 'central juju' even if he could, but he hoped to get a copy (see Chapter 1). We have, however, seen no evidence that he succeeded in his intention, and no figure resembling his description has come to our attention. Material evidence of Verre brass figures dates from two decades later when two figures entered the Jos Museum collection via the Sudan United Mission. Whether donated

⁴ Fardon heard of a young Chamba who had taken up carving during visits in the first decade of this century, and similar reports reached Klaus Piepel via the linguist Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer. 'According to a Koma elder, Yari, from the south-eastern neighbor of the Verre, who made inquiries among the elders of his region with photographs [of Verre figures in Klaus Piepel's collection], there are also Koma clans in Nigeria who could have such figures, particularly the Maani, who are also responsible for the rain. There is also a Chamba man who makes such figures and sells them (to strangers), which is why such figures have already been seen. Whether they have or had a ceremonial meaning for the Chamba, no-one could say. Neither is it known whether the Verre have such, and what meaning such figures could have for the Vere.'

'According also to a Beiya Koma, one of the three southern Koma peoples, who as a former employee of Michel Dieu, René Gardi and Eldridge Mohammadou was involved in ethnological studies in the entire area of the Alantika Mountains and visited various mountain villages on the Cameroon side in preparation for a presidential election, such figures are made by a Chamba for sale. Nothing is known about any significance among the Verre south of Yola. But he saw such figures in the Gimme rain shrine (also known as Kompana) in the southern Alantika Mountains.' Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer (Mainz) personal communication 13 August 2015 to Klaus Piepel.

to the museum or confiscated at Kano airport is unclear (see Appendix 1), but they had reached the Jos Museum by 1966 when Chappel saw them before he began field collection. They were in all likelihood then recently arrived and awaiting registration since he found no accession numbers for them and recorded them under the names of Toft and Hansen. These two figures in brass neither resemble one another nor have strikingly close resemblances to any wooden figures collected from Verre. Only one of them has a convincing Verre provenance by virtue of its close resemblance to figures bought by Chappel.⁵

This male figure, over 32cm in height, wears an apron (under which Chappel remarked detailed anatomical features) and a cap. The figure carries both a sword on its left side and a dagger on its right. The naturalistic bodily proportions, other than the large feet to make it freestanding and similarly enlarged hands presumably to provide symmetry, might be argued loosely to resemble those of some Verre wooden figures. Chappel would collect two more brass figures that were similar in style in the field both of them female. This remains the only male brass figure known to us.



Jos – Toft Hansen

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

⁵ The second Toft Hansen figure to reach the Jos Museum, although similar in height to the first (30cm), differed with respects both to style and proportions (see, Appendix 1, and Interleaf for illustrations). It might be argued to be Verre with Dowayo stylistic affinities, given some resemblance to the wooden figures **664** and **665**. But we can provide no provenance to support this hypothesis. Alternatively, the Jos attribution to Verre might have been inferred only from the fact of it arriving at the museum together with the previous figure, in which case it may have originated elsewhere, including the Cross River. This brass figure has some formal affinities with a 'clay' figure attributed to the Verre now in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, **73.1996.1.9** where it was acquired from the Barbier Mueller Collection, 13.2x25x6cm, 578gr. However, as well as bearing no resemblance to any example with field provenance, this figure was previously published by François Neyt as a bronze in the context of a discussion of Tiv copper alloy figures (1985: 203, Figure IV.52). Given such uncertainties of record, we have preferred to exclude these figures from the present discussion.

Chappel's first female figure (**753**) bought in November 1966 shares its distinctive bodily proportions, slight stoop from the waist and flexed knees, as well as its large feet and hands with the Toft Hansen figure. At almost 34cm, it is similarly sized. The attention to the head, in this case probably an elaborate coiffure, as well as to brass personal ornaments around the neck and waist are also reminiscent of the male figure's cap and weapons. The facial features are notably similar.



753

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A second female figure acquired later in December 1966 (**801**) also shares the proportions and posture of the last, and at 30cm is similar in height. It was attributed to Yawam of the village of Lainde, who was also recalled by the same vendor, Hamman of Tuki, to have made a brass beer jar, *yerk suktunu* (**802**), and by another vendor, Abila, to have cast a brass-handled dagger (**648**). Presumably this is the place that Cullen noted as the source of the brassworks he collected in Mapeo made by the Verre blacksmiths of 'Laindai Boi', 'a peak on the S.W. corner of the Verre Plateau'. Given that the names of Verre smiths and brasscasters hardly occur in Chappel's notes, it seems reasonable to attribute significance to the recollection of both a place and a name. Yawam was spoken of in a tense that suggested he was still living in 1966, describing him as a smith, *Tibaa*, a senior elder, *donda gbijaas*, and possessed of the particular powers of those called *Marus*. In many detailed respects, as well as in its overall form, this figure (**801**) is highly reminiscent of the last (**753**), notably in its ornaments around the neck and waist. There seems to be a strong likelihood the same maker, Yawam of Lainde, was responsible for both. On the basis solely of photographic evidence it is tempting to attribute all three figures to him, however, Chappel recalls that the first of these three castings he saw was finer than the two he collected later. Rather than being by another

hand, this might with equal plausibility suggest the two female figures were products of Yawam's later years, even perhaps his response to a fresh demand.



801

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A fourth figure, very similar to **801**, was offered for sale at Christie's (13 July 1977, Lot 161). The position of the hands differs, as does the length of the necklace, but in most respects the two seem uncannily close given that each figure made by *cire perdue* is of necessity cast from a unique mold. It is difficult to believe these two figures were not made by the same caster.



Christie's 1977 12¾inches/32.5cm

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Supposing the caster named by Chappel's informants as Yawam of Lainde was the maker of all four of these figures, it would appear that, as with the carver of Tɔza, we are dealing with a style created by an individual rather than a widely made type of object. Although Chappel bought the two female brass figures from different vendors, he paid similar prices for them and was quoted their 'traditional' price as the equivalent of a cow, which would put them among the most valuable of Verre wares. Another of Chappel's vendors, Yesufu, claimed to have sold the only male figure of the four we have been considering to an SUM missionary called Toft, presumably Absjørn Toft who had served in Nigeria relatively briefly between 1965-66 (Nissen 1968: 261, no. 161). This information corroborates the little we know of the back stories of these pieces. The wooden figures of Tɔza and the brass figures of Lainde were both innovations of the colonial period, which is to say late works in the history of Verre traditional art, and in this they also resemble the figures that Soompa carved for the Chamba of Yeli and Mapeo.

Whether other figures should be added to this group of four is difficult to judge from photographic evidence. A fifth figure with similarities to this group was published in an exhibition catalogue of 1973 with an attribution to the Bobo-Fing of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), specifically from the region of 'Tanzila', which might easily have resulted from confusion with Tantile, the place name of the SUM mission station among the Koma where Olga Grening

collected brasswares, including a figure we note below.⁶ At 30cm, this figure is of similar stature to all of those for which we have measurements, and it resembles them closely both in its overall form and details such as facial features, limbs and ornaments.



Henri Kamer 1973

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

A sixth figure and second possible addition to the group attributed to Yawam was offered for sale at Sotheby's in New York as late as 1999 when it was attributed to the Tiv. We do not know how long it had been in a private collection by then but, given the identity of the collector, this might well have been from the 1970s. The figure falls within the size range of the Verre figures under consideration, 30cm or thereabouts, and shares both their overall form and specific features such as ornamentation, facial features and limbs.⁷ The same figure reappeared for sale twelve years later at Bonham's from a private New York collection, by when it had been reattributed to the Dan of Liberia.

⁶ Henri Kamer, *Opper-Volta. Ausstellungskatalog*, Brüssela, 5-23. 9. 1973, p. 28. Height 12 inches/30 cm.

⁷ Sotheby's, 19 November 1999, Lot 117. Height: 11¾ inches/29.9cm, or, 11½/29.2 cm; two slightly discrepant measurements accompany the image and descriptive text. From the collection of Gerard Schraeverus. Subsequently, Bonhams, 9 November 2011, Lot 280. Unsold in both cases.



Collection Gerard Schraverus

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Another brass female figure was acquired by the SUM missionary Olga Grening, whose long-term station was among the Koma at Tantile. Elisabeth Holtegaard kindly sent us images she believes to have been taken by 1969. Grening herself attributed the figure to the Verre. Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs precludes detailed examination, and the object itself may have been lost following a domestic theft, hence we lack any indication of its dimensions. The pervasive spiral decoration of the body is dissimilar to the figures above, and we have previously noted it to be a Koma style trait in other objects, but Grening's attribution to Verre cannot be dismissed given her long residence in the region.



SUM Olga Grening – dimensions and present whereabouts unknown

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Another figure in brass, with earliest provenance to the collection of Maurice Bonnefoy, was published initially in a sale catalogue of 1971.⁸ At slightly over 30cm, its height is again comparable to those of the figures in the Jos Museum. The same figure resurfaced in a Christie's sale in Paris in 2004, with a date of first exhibition of 1970.⁹ It had been acquired in the Jalingo region, Jalingo being a town and regional administrative centre to the west of both the Verre and Koma which was an active secondary centre for the distribution of artworks in the 1960s, notably those of the Mumuye. So, a provenance from there is not an indication of where it was used. The figure subject is reminiscent of the Bronsin female figure below, although the eyes are represented differently, and it differs in height.

⁸ Villa Hügel Essen, *Afrikanische Kunstwerke. Kulturen am Niger, Katalog zur Ausstellung 25. 3. - 13. 6. 1971*, Nr 262. 'Weibliche Votivfigur, Arme nach vorn frei hängend, Schmuckketten, markiert, ebenso kugelige Haare. Im Jalingo-Gebiet gefunden. Gelbguß, 30,5 cm. Sgl. Maurice Bonnefoy / D'Arcy Galleries Geneva.'

⁹ Christie's Paris, sale catalogue, 4 June 2004, Lot 164. 'Statuette en Laiton – Nigeria. Représentant une femme debout, les jambes écartées, le bras placés devant le corps, les mains grandes ouvertes, la tête sphérique avec un nez triangulaire et des oreilles décollées, sous une coiffure en boucles stylisées, collier et ceinture perles. Belle patine d'usage. Hauteur: 31cm. Provenances: Maurice Bonnefoy, New York et Paris. Exposition : Kunsthaus Zürich 1970, no, N 42; Gemeentemuseum, La Haye, 1971, no. 222.'



Collection Maurice Bonnefoy, New York and Paris – ex.: D'Arcy Galleries Geneva
 (Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

A final example entered the collection of Christophe Evers in Brussels from the dealers Martial and Alban Bronsin. The attribution to Koma deserves serious consideration since it is possible that this, and perhaps some of the other additional figures we have been discussing, are the outcomes of adoption by Koma of Verre brasscasting techniques. This and the Bonnefoy figure share a hairstyle in bobbles like that dressed with red caolin by more traditional Koma women into the twentieth century. At 24cm it is noticeably shorter than the other figures for which we have dimensions, and its proportions seem stockier. Like the Bonnefoy and Grening figures, it lacks the extensions of the feet beyond the heels, probably designed for stability.



Collection Christophe Evers, Brussels, ex.: Martial Bronsin, Brussels
(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

Together with the three brass figures in the Jos Museum, these six brass figures make up a corpus of nine. There are probably more so far unidentified. Other than the Bronsin figure, which we know is shorter, and the Grening figure for which we have no dimensions, the other seven are all around a foot or 30cm in height. Without being able to view them except in photographs that vary in quality and have been taken from different angles, it is difficult to be certain that they are by the same hand, but we have pointed to a skein of resemblances in form and features sufficient to suggest that if not made by the same caster, they are too alike to have been made independently, and six of them are particularly close. The Grening, Bonnefoy and Bronsin figures may differ slightly in their proportions from others, but this is to judge only from photographs, and in any case variation in figures made by the same artist cannot be discounted.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: late works – Verre brasscasting in context

It seems to be accepted as fact by specialists that no evidence from Africa south of the Sahara has yet been found to suggest a period of copper or copper alloy smelting or working that antedates iron smelting (for overviews, see Bisson 1975; Geary 1982; Brincard 1982; Herbert 1984a, 1984b; Bisson 2000; Picton 2012). What in many African languages, though not Verre, is translatable as 'red iron' or 'red metal' was valued for its difference from other metals: in terms of the symbolic colour triad, it was 'red' whereas iron was 'black'; it was sonorous like iron but, thanks to modelling in wax or latex, malleable like clay; and while redder than gold, where that metal was available, it was more durable. While pure copper was worked, the more common materials were a variety of copper alloys predominantly either bronze, mostly composed of copper and tin, or increasingly brass, mostly composed of copper and zinc. Although, unlike gold, prone to oxidation, copper alloy objects in use were typically polished or abraded to maintain their shine. More detailed analyses of copper alloy materials reveal greater or lesser components of lead and other traces which provide fascinating insights into the origins of historic metals; more recent alloys might have additions of elements like aluminium given the diverse origins of scrap recycled. In the absence of analyses of any Verre metalwares, we cannot draw upon similar insights and can only report the origins of their raw material as told by Verre to Chappel. According to these informants, from the advent of the Fulani reused copper alloy scrap provided the raw material of casting (for the museological implications of recycling scrap metal in Africa, see Tana 1985). Predominantly, probably entirely, this material is likely to have been brass, which could not be produced in Africa south of the Sahara: some of it previously cast by African smiths, some of it recycled from imported artefacts, and some deriving from currencies like rods and manillas. Verre smiths recalled mining their own ores at some distant period and, as described earlier, provided accounts of what this had involved to Chappel. While copper mining is amply documented from central southern Africa, it was for long thought to be absent from tropical West Africa, but evidence of mining has been reported from the Benue Rift of southeastern Nigeria in confirmation that local ores were used to make bronzes there (Craddock et al 1997; Sutton 2001; Bisson 2000: 85). As we noted in Chapter 3, samples of ore from the Verre Hills analysed recently on behalf of Tim Chappel had 20% copper content, reopening the question of the technical capacity to extract copper or copper alloy given that iron smelted in the region was typically reported to have been sourced from fluvial deposits rather than mining.

Turning to a narrower regional context, recent research on West Africa and particularly Nigeria has built on foundations laid in the classic works of Williams (1974) and Herbert (1984a, 1984b). Writings on Nigerian copper alloy works have predominantly been concerned with one of three areas: the most extensively researched with, at least in relative terms, the most informative archaeological and historical records is in the south of the country, including the early Igbo-Ukwu excavations, and the extensive Yoruba and Benin corpuses (Neaher Maas 1976; Picton 2012). Recent research demonstrates that intensive use of records from these

sites remains able to provide entirely fresh insights (e.g. Gunsch 2018 for the Benin plaques). The artistry of the 'Lower Niger Bronzes', the second research area, as well as their immense variety has struck everyone since Fagg outlined the 'Lower Niger Bronze Industry mystery' and coined the regional term (1963: 39), but the difficulties of tying down their dates or centres of production, conceivably 'across a millennium', has hardly lessened this mystery (Peek and Picton 2016; Neaheer Maas 1979, 2011). The patiently researched account of Philip Peek (2021), based on a thousand objects, demonstrates these were produced over centuries with stylistic and thematic continuities detectable in their variety. Yet, as Peek is at pains to point out, we are far from able to relate many of the most striking objects to precise contexts of production and use, several of which are likely to have been effaced from the map. The third area of production lies to the northeast of Nigeria including areas of Northern Cameroon. The brass-casting and brass-using communities within this region were delineated by Wente-Lukas (1972, modified in 1977; see also Neher 1964, Rubin 1974, 1982) whose accounts have been refined in their details by Wade (1986) to reveal a complex patchwork presence and absence of brassworking, not just from one people to another but between different communities of people otherwise considered similar.¹ As Wade's later essays, discussed below, argue this patchwork was temporal as well as spatial. Brassworking, far more than ironworking which was essential to farming livelihoods, had a tendency to come and go at different places and times, on occasions depending on the movements of a small group of people, or just an individual. Much of the brassworking region of northeastern Nigeria and North Cameroon was in the mountains, with populations whose relatively low degree of centralization contrasted with the more powerful states of the plains. Wade believes it likely that at least the brass industries of the eastern Highlands (Higi-Kapsiki, Bana, Fali, Gude-Tchédé, Daba and Nzangi) were similar in technological terms and may all have derived distantly from that of the Sao (1986: 5). He cites Jean-Paul Lebeuf's 1982 summary of the archaeology which notes the disappearance of metalworking after several centuries by the eighteenth century (1982). Scott MacEachern has subsequently proposed a nuanced scenario of gradual displacement of plains peoples towards the hills in the past half millennium where they merged with existing peoples, raising population density and further intensifying agriculture, a picture which would have provided ample opportunities for the transfer of technologies (2012: 58-59). Given the thin documentation of brasswork in the plains, connections can hardly be pursued in more detail than this.

Highland peoples would not have provided the level of courtly demand that fuelled brass production in some parts of the southern Nigeria over centuries, and perhaps also in the plains around the Highlands. While numerous types of objects were cast, and in a few places are still, these were and continue to be overwhelmingly skeuomorphs. The range of specifically brass objects is narrow, a factor that Herbert, for instance, associates with the early stages of the uptake of brasscasting by Igbo and Yoruba (Herbert 1984a, following Shaw 1973). How might any of this bear on our understanding of the Verre assemblage?

¹ The significance, or lack of it, of contemporary ethnic identities to, say, nineteenth-century intercommunity relations would take us too far from our main subject, but we should recall that our usage may be anachronistic applied to earlier circumstances.

Peoples like the Verre, also the Tiv, may be considered intermediary in terms of the existing, tri-part, research geography. The Verre Hills lie south of both the Mandara Mountains and the River Benue; it is conceivable that they were linked with Highland populations in regional circuits that ran via the Bata and Bachama, but there is no evidence of direct connection. The Verre Hills are neither as extensive nor as formidable as the Mandara Mountains. Turning to the Tiv, although they claim origin from a hill to the southeast of their current distribution, the historically intrusive Tiv have occupied increasing areas of the plains south of the central Benue over at least the past couple of centuries. On geographic grounds, we might anticipate the Tiv to be closer to the Lower Niger Bronze and Cross River industries (Nicklin 1982; Peek and Nicklin 2002), and the Verre to have more in common with the brass industries of northeast Nigeria and Northern Cameroon, of which they are a southwestern tip. To a high degree, this turns out to be the case. Simply for convenience, and without wishing to suggest it was sealed from its surroundings, in what follows we shall refer to the copper alloy casting of the mountains and hills both sides of the northeastern Nigeria-North Cameroon border as the 'Highland brass industry(ies)'.

The variations in scale and intensity of brassworking between the Verre Hills and different parts of the Mandara Mountains within this Highland region are instructive. Having devoted a half century to its study, James Wade is the best-informed commentator on the variety within Mandara Mountain smithing. He has drawn attention to the importance of agricultural security to brass industries, a connection that is made plausible both because brass was primarily associated with prestige, status, beautification, and display, and because these distinctions were sought in societies that were relatively uncentralized (Wade 1989 [1986, cited below from 1988]). Courtly coercion was not a factor in supply. In comparative Mandara terms, Wade's intensive area of research among the Fali was both well-provided with farmland and had a productive brass industry that may have dated only from the nineteenth century but nonetheless 'on a conservative estimate ... manufactured tens of thousands of brasses' (1988: 5). If brass production thrived for eighty years, then twenty thousand brasses might have meant an annual production of 250 which does not sound unfeasible. Some commentators have applied the term caste or casted to Highland metalworkers, and other specialists with whom they may be categorized. The analogy with caste elsewhere is a shorthand to describe endogamy, restricted commensality with respect to eating and drinking, and evaluation as unclean and polluting. This last becomes self-fulfilling when it aligns with responsibilities that include the burial of non-smiths. Fali *Mihin* were specialists in a wide range of crafts, not simply smiths with potter wives; they were also weavers in a region where cloth functioned as currency. Brasscasting might easily have been added to this roster of crafts, which included such roles as barber and scarifier, as woodworking has been more recently (1988: 11).

Verre metalworking was sufficient in scale to encourage the formation of distinct communities of smiths, something not reported from the Highlands where a few smiths lived in farming communities. Recall that these Verre communities of smiths had largely dispersed in the forty odd years between Meek's and Chappel's field researches. Given that smiths are recalled not to have farmed in the past, segregated residence would have required agricultural production sufficient to support them, whether that was channelled from Verre

farmers or from wider regional markets or something of both. In the southern Nigerian and Lower Niger industries, the finest of copper alloy works were often the prerogative of chiefs and courtiers. While it seems plausible that the Fulani sourced metalwares from the Verre, direct evidence is slight. We do, however, find that the Verre smiths so prospered that they restricted, or at the least are recalled as having restricted, use of their more prestigious wares to themselves, allowing farmers to buy only the less expensive wares, or, if they did possess finer objects, not to use them. In effect, the *Tibaa*i inhabited a parallel society to the farmers; their age grades proceeded alongside one another without mixing; and their displays of wealth, at initiation and in the performance of various cults, outdid Verre farmers in their ostentation.

If the situation informants recall is at all an accurate reflection of circumstances on the ground, then at least by the second half of the nineteenth century, the Adamawa Emirate had established a wider context in which some of the Verre, though not necessarily all, were well positioned as farmers and specialists. These circumstances must have arisen after the early years of the jihad. While we do not know in detail what occurred then, we have noted the near absence of specific recollections of severe conflict between Verre and Fulani. Verre were close to the two earlier Adamawa capitals, perhaps even the original inhabitants of the lands on which they were built, and they remained in a direct relationship to Yola when the capital moved there because their Fulani overlords belonged to the Lamido of Adamawa's family rather than to the lamidates to the south of Yola, like Tchamba and Koncha, which expanded aggressively along the Faro-Deo river valleys. Whether or not the Verre brasscasting industry began under the Fulani or was of longer standing, even involving local ores, are not questions we can answer in the present state of our evidence, but the expansion of the Verre brass industry under at least the later Emirate and the early colonial periods seems clear. And the scale of production, to judge by the residence pattern, looks likely to have been at least that of any of the Highland industries of the Mandara Mountains.

The similarities between the Verre product range and that described by Wade for the Fali inspire a degree of confidence that a shared broad picture that may apply across a 'patchwork of largely undocumented, major and minor industries' (Wade 1986: 7). Supposing the precolonial population attributed the Fali of around forty thousand is reasonably accurate, then they were about twice as numerous as Verre. Although the Fali lived in politically independent kingdoms of 2-6,000 inhabitants, the functions of the chief appear to have been largely ritual (1988: 4; see also 1997). As Wade emphasises, brass was fundamentally a prestige material, 'Fali brasses are essentially symbols used in secular strategies, prominently pursued in ritual contexts' (1988: 5) and as in the Verre case, 'the Fali brass corpora are to a notable extent based upon known non-brass prototypes. There is no figurative sculptural tradition' (1988: 15). Wade's more precise calculations cannot be replicated for the Verre since he does not provide the data on which they were based. He calculates 60 types of brass objects that were certainly made by Fali (and a further eight probably made by them). Of these 68 brass objects, 43 had prototypes in materials that were not brass, leaving 25 with no known prototypes. Hence, almost two thirds of brass objects were skeuomorphs (1988: 14, 2014: 105). Unfortunately, we are not told which brass objects were based on no prototypes known in other materials; although we may deduce some of them from his earlier listing of:

'rings, beads, bracelets, arm-pieces, leg-pieces, smoking pipes, knife hilts and sheaths, spearheads, hats, waistbands, pedestalled bowls, crotals, bells etc.' (1988: 5). A list of Verre brass objects would look very similar. Although a few brass figures have been collected from the Verre, there is no evidence of a long tradition of figurative brass sculpture in their case either. Wade notes the particular importance of male and female dance 'axes' (2014: 105, fn 10), which puts us in mind of the Verre hoes, and the indications provided by at least some of Chappel's informants that they also were gendered by form. This said, quite whose criteria are being used to identify 'copies' is unclear. If we were to apply a lexical criterion to Verre brass objects, then only clapper bells, crotals and possibly arm cuffs have names that do not also apply to items made in other materials (albeit copper alloy versions of these may have the descriptor *suk-* added to them). If, however, we took close resemblance to be the defining feature of a skeuomorph, then we might argue that although a brass-handled dagger shared its name with a wooden-handled dagger, wood was never carved into the shapes into which a brass hilt might be cast. Even if the basis of a Fali-Verre comparison is not entirely clear, we can generalize with confidence that skeuomorphs predominated, and that figurative forms were rare, in both cases, and the two ranges of skeuomorphs are likely to have overlapped given the many similarities between their everyday material cultures.

Fali brasscasting was centred on two communities in particular: Bagira and Jilvu. Taking oral traditions at face value suggested to Wade that brasscasting was not adopted in Jilvu until 1860-80 upon the arrival of an escaped slave called Danakula who had learnt the *cire perdue* technique in captivity. In turn, the Bagira industry was largely or exclusively the work of a Jilvu-derived lineage settled there for three generations. By the 1940s, the brass industry was in decline, having flourished for less than a century (Wade 1989). We are not aware of an origin story for Verre brasscasting resembling that of the Fali, but circumstantially it is likely that the heyday of the Verre industry covered more or less the same period as that for the Fali.

Turning to the practitioners, *Mihin*, the Fali counterpart to the Verre *Tibaai*, constitute 5-8% (also cited as 3-5%, 2014: 108) of the population and enjoyed a monopoly on metalwork. In addition to working with metals, the men were also 'diviners, musicians, healers, sacrificers, ritual specialists and morticians' and the women 'potters, cicatrizers and midwives' (2019: 111; see also 2005, 2012). This distinction between *Mihin* and non-specialists, *Muyin*, was underpinned by a 'strong pollution concept', although, 'contact with various *mihin*, who make and mend, divine and heal, and entertain as musicians, will acquaint every child with members of the familiar "other"' (2019: 117). *Mihin* were able to become wealthy, and some, like Danakula the founding brasscaster of Jilvu, became renowned when casting became prestigious and casting centres increased in importance. Brasswares were judged in terms of *fwari*, an aesthetic category applied both to the adornment of objects and the adornment of people by objects (2014: 105-7). But for *br'bn*, the men of wealth, the important appeal of brass objects was to display their riches more than to make themselves aesthetically appealing. For both Fali and Verre, the stages by which initiation generations progressed in seniority provided occasions for brass objects to be displayed by those who could afford them (Wade cites thirty-five Jilvu life cycle rituals, 1988: 19).

Another people of the Mandara Mountains frequently cited in relation to brasscasting are the Kapsiki (van Beek 1987: 22-31, 1991), particularly because their manufactures have become well known from the artisanats on the tourist trail through the mountains developed from the 1970s (van Beek 2015: 111-14). Their long-time ethnographer Walter van Beek feels that brasscasting was of less importance to Kapsiki than it was to the Fali, the Verre, or the Bana, the last of these not well documented. Kapsiki types of brassware appear less numerous than was the case for Fali. They fell into three local categories that reflect similar considerations to those significant for the Fali and Verre: 'things to boast about' or prestige objects; women's ornaments; and the brasses worn by male initiates. The most expensive objects in the first category include daggers in brass scabbards, stemmed brass goblets, and replicas of the leather pouch worn by Kapsiki, as well as the medicine holder (van Beek 2015: 105). In the second category are the ornaments which beautify women: bracelets, rings, bells, crotals, lip plugs, beads and brass pendants which are used for pubic covers (2015: 106). The brass objects worn by male initiates are particularly distinctive, including triangular and four-cornered plaques worn on the forehead and hip respectively, as well as particular designs of bell (2015: 106-7).² Illustrations suggest that even Kapsiki brass objects of similar types are readily distinguished from their Fali counterparts: for instance, brass-handled daggers are less ornate, the pommel ornament consisting of a pair of prongs; clapper bells are cone-shaped, without the shoulder and waist of Verre bells. The closest resemblance would appear to be between the arm cuffs (see Glar 2012:13, *Stulpen* (cuffs) 6-12). Glar attributed to Werner Fischer the information that such cuffs, specifically those with the closest resemblance to the cuffs collected from Verre and Bata, were worn by Fulani slaves in warfare, which if true would account for their wide distribution.³

Conclusion

The historical characteristics of Highlands brasscasting may seem contradictory. Evidence from the plains of the Sao and the later kingdoms suggests that copper alloys have been worked for centuries, and that there has been movement between the adjacent plains and the mountains. But against this, in both the mountains and the plains, brasscasting traditions are discontinuous spatially and temporally. Wade's refinements of Wente-Lukas's casting and non-casting zones have restricted the wider temporal and spatial ranges she proposed initially: the Bana, where Wente-Lukas worked, had probably taken up casting recently; on the basis of Wade's own fieldwork, Bura cast small objects up until the 1920s-30s; Fali were brasscasters, but the number of practitioners was relatively small and restricted to particular

² For illustrations of Kapsiki brasses, see van Beek 2015: 107 fig 17, 2012: 307 fig 11.3; 308 fig 11.4, 309 fig 11.5; colour versions of images from this book can be found at:

<http://people.ucalgary.ca/~ndavid/Homepage/Mandara%20Metals%20figs/Fig%2011.05%20Kapsiki%20brasse.s.jpg>

The variety of Kapsiki rings and bracelets may be appreciated from Glar 2012. We are indebted to Clara Himmelheber for access to the database of 361 objects in brass in the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum Köln which apparently derive from the collection of Fischer (see also following note).

³ Glar's reference is to an unpublished MS dated 1987 provided to him by Werner Fischer, 'Gelbgüsse der Kapsiki', Gelsenkirchen, a claim also found in Fischer 1987: 27, and illustrated on page 18, upper.

communities; Margi may have used brasses, but Wade notes that no evidence of their casting for themselves was published by their ethnographer Vaughan; Glavda brasscasting was carried out by a Mandara who was resident once a year; and although brasscasting was carried out by a stranger family in Sukur for 60-90 years, including a non-skeuomorphic development, this did not lead to adoption by Sukur smiths (Wade 1988: 22); even the case of the Higi/Kapsiki has been moderated by van Beek's researches showing a restricted distribution of brasscasting and a small number of specialists, who he guesses, and he emphasises it is only a guess, may have introduced the craft two or three centuries before his research (2015: 116). Given a more limited range of wares than the Fali, and little evidence offered for centuries of stylistic development, even this tradition may not have been continuous. Extending our range does not change the picture. South of our immediate region of concern, but often bracketed with the Verre in early collections, the Duru or Dii, in common with the Verre had an endogamous smithing group, although theirs explicitly divided into two: *Nang nang* those who had always been smiths, and *Nang dii* whose ancestors intermarried with smiths (Muller 2009: 18). Their full range of wares is not documented but may include the male and female bracelets which signified chiefship (Muller 2002: 27). Significantly for the present argument, Dii smiths are said to have learned to make both brass bracelets and brass-handled daggers and their scabbard from smiths in the Fulani lamidate of Rei Boubu in the mid-nineteenth century, although the industry had disappeared by the time of Muller's research (2006: 136-37). The variation among Verre brass-handled daggers, we suggested previously, suggested they may have been among the longer-standing objects in the brasscasters' repertoire.

While a northern Highlands brasscasting industry, seen in the large, may have extended from Lake Tchad to the River Benue for over a half millennium, it is intermittent in both spatial and temporal terms. Hence, the brasscasting traditions studied and the brasses collected in the twentieth century do not necessarily represent longstanding traditions. This would be consistent with the preponderance of skeuomorphs and the notable absence, or at least rarity, of pieces like the figurative forms Peek illustrated from the Lower Niger Bronze traditions and which also characterize Cross River brasses. As we have seen consistently, the Highlands industries produced objects for beautification and the display of wealth, notably at life cycle events, for members of non-courtly societies. As Peek noted of the Lower Niger Bronzes over a long period, 'these are perhaps the most basic examples of the use of brass and bronze to add significance to everyday objects' (2021: 45). The skeuomorphs were based on paraphernalia in other materials that provided their prototypes and, by virtue of differences in these material cultures, the brass industries of different peoples were also differentiated. Hoes and helmets here, but pubic aprons or brass bags there, and so on. How far the skeuomorphs strayed from their prototypes varied, but it seems likely that there would be a trajectory of divergence over time as the properties of the brass material became familiar and were explored. Reverting to the Verre now, we noted terms for forms of decoration and ornamentation that could be achieved in brass (and perhaps pottery and gourd decoration, though we lack the comparative vocabulary to demonstrate this) but not, for instance, in iron. And there are suggestions of some divergence from prototypes: for instance, the oversized beads which channel decorative devices from cowry clusters and waist beads and bell domes,

and which may have been an early twentieth-century innovation. Or the brass figures which resemble some wooden prototypes in their proportions and fondness for accoutrements but in little else. We also seem to witness Verre brasses becoming heavier with the increasing availability of raw material, which may also have seen a decline in the use of delicate small crotals and the proliferation of lumpy ornamentation and spiral decoration. If these are all relatively recent innovations, then the assemblage available to us cannot be said to give an impression of centuries-long development. The overwhelming majority of objects remain skeuomorphs of man-made objects with originals in varied materials, including worked versions of iron, clay, wood, horn, and gourd: decorated gourds, horns fashioned into wind instruments with stops and so forth. Insofar as there are natural skeuomorphs, these appear only as ornaments on dagger hilts, crooks or hoes, rather than, say, in a form comparable to the enigmatic leopard skulls of the Lower Niger Bronze industry.

It may be that the evidence of a long tradition is lost to us. The societies of the Highlands did not it seems bury their dead with copper alloy treasures; these were inherited, so archaeology is unlikely to provide us with much additional evidence. If copper alloy was scarce in earlier times, then objects will have been melted down and recast as they fell out of fashion, another way in which evidence may have been lost. Notwithstanding these considerations, the high proportion of skeuomorphs in the assemblages of objects from the Highlands, and the fact of copper alloy being used almost exclusively to add prestige to a pre-existing object range, seem most readily explained by the acceptance that although copper alloy casting has a long history in the region, the traditions of which we have twentieth-century knowledge may not themselves be both longstanding and continuous. Casting in the region was characterized by intermittence that was both spatial and temporal. Depending on a relatively small number of adepts, themselves mobile, casting tended to come and go without putting down the deeper roots a courtly culture might have nurtured.

APPENDIX 1

The Verre collection in the Jos and Lagos Museums

This annotated accession list of Verre and some related objects in the Jos Museum is based overwhelmingly on the collection made by Tim Chappel for the Federal Department of Antiquities during 1966. Information comes from Chappel's lists of objects by types, his analysis of his ten field notebooks, as well as from photographic evidence, predominantly of duplicates of original images deposited in the Jos or Lagos museums. Our photographic record is incomplete, based on prints and not negatives, and of variable quality; some of it consists of contact prints (images printed directly from 35mm negatives without enlargement) with inevitable loss of detail. Nancy Maas graciously shared copies with us of her sketches made during research at the Jos Museum in 1974 of items collected by Chappel and others; we have included these to illustrate objects for which we have no photograph, and to provide additional detail about objects for which we do have illustrations. Some colour slides now in the Arnold Rubin Archive in the Fowler Museum at UCLA augment these records. We are grateful to Gassia Armenian for responding to our enquiry by adding further images from the archive to those already online and from those that came to us via Nancy Maas. We cannot reliably say in all cases, which of these images Rubin himself took in Jos Museum in 1970-71, which might have been taken there by others, and which are not from the Museum but of private collections. Sundry other records show that Verre objects continued to be added to the Verre collection of the Jos Museum after 1966, although these came to our attention haphazardly. Our list is not designed to be a reconstruction of the original accession register but to provide the best information we can offer from all these sources. The original accession register will have been a much shorter document. Given the absence of provenance for most Nigerian artworks collected in the post-colonial period, we have erred on the side of the comprehensive, for instance, noting purchase price when this was recorded. In 1966, Nigeria still used the pre-decimal British system of pounds, shillings and pence (£sd): £1 = 20s; 1s = 12d). The naira was introduced in 1973 with a value of 10s. In the almost half century since then, after initially increasing, the value of the naira against the pound has fallen from two to around five hundred. Chappel recorded the price of a goat in 1966 (see **683**) (presumably one of medium size) to be 15/-, and to have been considered equivalent 'traditionally' to four cockerels, which would have made them 3/9 each if traditional proportionalities held. It may well be indicative of their perceived decline in value that the 1966 cash purchase price of many items was below the monetary equivalent of their recalled 'traditional' cost in livestock.

To convey a sense of the entirety of at least one phase of collection for the Jos Museum in the period, we have included the non-Verre items collected during 1966 when Chappel was primarily focused on the Verre. These non-Verre items are distinguished in our list by a different and smaller font. To assist future investigation of the relationship between the metalworking traditions of the Bata, Bachama and Verre, we have also included some objects from the first two of these peoples, mostly collected in 1965. An account of historical brassworking among the Bata and Bachama would be essential to a local picture situating the Verre alongside their neighbours (who would also include Chamba and Koma).

Dimensions

Where the dimensions of bells are provided, the abbreviations refer to:

- | | |
|---|--|
| H | height overall, including handle when appropriate; |
| W | width, exterior dimension shoulder to shoulder; |

IH	interior height; LIH & SIH in the case of a double bell with large and small chambers;
WM	width at mouth (LWM & SWM for double bells);
ED	exterior depth at the widest point of the mouth (LED & SED for double bells);
ID	interior depth at the widest point of the mouth (LID & SID for double bells).

Subtracting the interior depth from the exterior depth of a bell indicates the thickness of metal at the widest point of its mouth (this would need to be divided by two in order to estimate the thickness on one face of the bell).

Accession numbers

The circumstances of Chappel's collection have been explained in our main text. The items he acquired during late 1965 included metalwares from the more northerly Bata. In early 1966, he had extended his collecting activity to more southerly Bata and begun occasionally to hear of or purchase items his informants attributed to the Verre. He was also aware of brass figures which had reached the Jos Museum before he was posted there, having most likely been bought by SUM missionaries. The objects Chappel collected in 1966, including those bought directly from Verre themselves, were later accessioned in Jos in sequence as 66.J11.number: (19)66 for the year of collection; J for Jos; 11 for the collection event that year; followed by a unique object number. Collection events might vary from single objects to some hundreds of them; Chappel's collection in 1965 began towards the end of the year, hence it being numbered 306; while his 1966 collection began early in the year, hence 11. The earliest item acquired by Chappel from the Verre themselves and prefixed in this way was (19)66.J11.98, and the latest (19)66.J11.820; making just over 720 intervening numbers. The information Chappel recorded for each item increased as the collection grew to include not just the local term for the object, and where he bought it (usually in Cholli or Tuki) with the name of the vendor, but also, when known, the place where his immediate vendor reported to have acquired the item. While there are no grounds to doubt them, these 'reported' origins could not be checked, and may well have been only the penultimate step in an object's several movements before it was acquired for the Nigerian museums.

Chappel retained the fieldnotes from which he compiled more polished reports for submission to Lagos. Three notebooks from 1965 (referenced as 65.volume number: page number), written between 10 August and 31 December, cover the collection accessioned as (19)65.J306; the earliest of the entries for 1966, from 4 January, were recorded in the last of the 1965 notebooks, after which another seven notebooks (referenced as 66.volume number: page number) covered the remainder of the (19)66.J11 collection, the final entry being made on 26 December 1966. Over 30 names of vendors of Verre materials are cited, with the majority of items coming via ten of them (see **Appendix 2**). Chappel's informants consistently differentiated between the more highly ornamented, and often larger, prestige pieces made for the use of (or possibly sale by) metalworkers, or *Tibaai*, and those made s made for *Gazabi*, or non-smiths. This distinction is not found in earlier sources, and we discuss its status in the main text. In December 1966, Chappel spent several days with some of his regular vendors/informants (principally Samuel Cholli and Yakubu) carrying out a 'final check' of the objects, their use and significance which he entered in his notebook 7. This final check sought among other matters to decide the most appropriate transcription of Verre terms and to add the prices of brassworks paid in livestock that were *recalled* as being 'traditional'. These

informants' views are occasionally at variance with the information recorded at the time an item was purchased.

Note on photographic sources and transcription of terms

Photographic records made for the museum were identified by unique negative numbers consisting of: volume, film, and exposure. A 'volume' in Kenneth Murray's classification system might cohere in different ways. In this instance, all the photographs that derived from Chappel's collecting activities around Adamawa in 1965-66 were allocated to volume 16. The folders making up a volume contained numbered sheets of negatives, each sheet accommodating three films, designated individually by the letters A, B, or C. Hence, the 1st exposure of the first film of the Verre collection filed on sheet 7 (i.e. the 21st film) would be: 16.7A.1.

For the most part, our very incomplete photographic record has two sources: the earlier part of an intended complete photographic record, initiated under the curatorship of Allen Bassing, of the Adamawa collections (65.J306 and 66.J11) by the Jos Museum Photographer (films 16.1A to 16.6C), and selected items, principally of Verre metalwork, taken by Chappel himself before his departure from Nigeria in March 1967 (from film 16.7A onwards). The Jos Museum photographic record, including the greater part of the 66.J11 collection comprising Verre metal work, had not been completed by the time that Chappel was due to leave, hence his last-minute decision personally to record selected items for possible future reference. He was able to take four rolls of 35mm film (16.7.A/B/C and 16.8A), or around 140 frames, predominantly but not solely of Verre materials (with some Bata/Bachama and Yungur). Time constraints meant that many items, including crooks, hoes and daggers, which would have been key to this account, were not included. The negatives of all these photographs remained in Jos, where they were still held when Chappel was last in touch with Jos Museum in the early 1970s. Chappel did learn from Allen Bassing that the photographic record had been completed by the end of 1967 when the task of matching images to the accession record had started. Chappel did not, however, receive copies of these later photographs which should be in Jos. A few of these images may have reached us via Nancy Maas's notes.

All the images used here of items in the Jos Museum by 1966 which bear a reference number but no further attribution were taken either by the Jos Museum Photographer, or, from 16.7A onwards, by Tim Chappel. They are copyrighted to the National Commission for Museums and Monuments and used here with kind permission. In a few cases, as noted earlier, we have been able to augment the photographic record of the materials Chappel collected from the notes of her research shared by Nancy Maas and from the archive of Arnold Rubin at the Fowler Museum UCLA. These images are also copyrighted and we are grateful to Gassia Armenian for her help in locating them. A few images of wooden figures attributed to Verre and accessioned after the 1960s derive from research carried out by Richard Fardon and the late Christine Stelzig-Kron on Chamba figure sculptures.

At his suggestion, after Chappel's departure, Allen and Carolyn Bassing installed a display-cabinet of Adamawa metalwork, and in December that year Carolyn Bassing sent Chappel the three photographs of the installation we reproduce elsewhere in this account together with our attempt to identify the pieces on show (see, Interleaf).

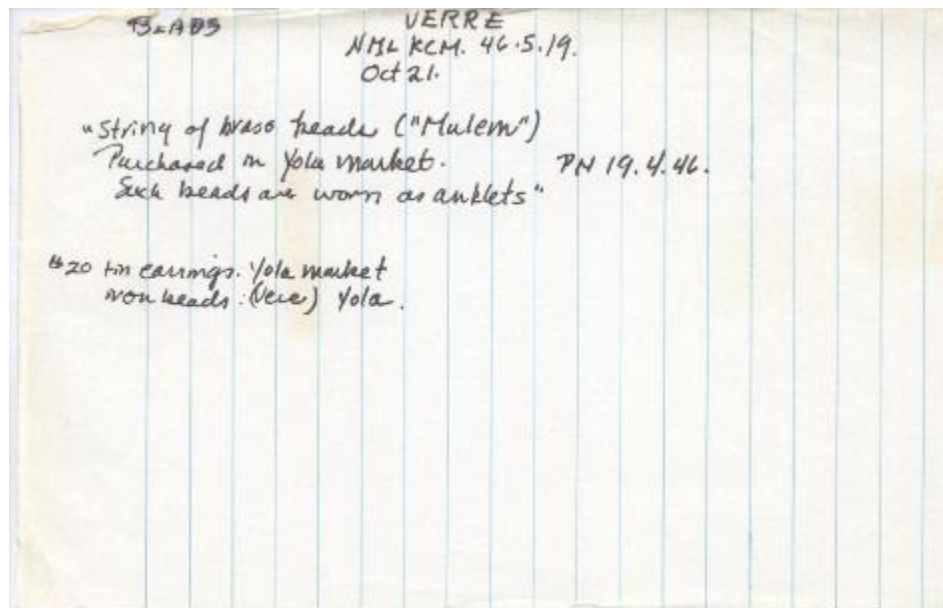
Each month, Departmental Ethnographers submitted a written report to Kenneth Murray in Lagos, the then capital, indicating their movements and outlining their activities. At the

same time, they provided information, including field photographs, for Murray's Card Index record of photographic and historical sources, which was held in the Lagos National Museum. The few of Chappel's field photographs available to us are copies he retained of those sent to Lagos (from some of the first nine films in the 16 folder: 16.1B, 16.1C, 16.2A, 16.3B, 16.3C, 16.4A).

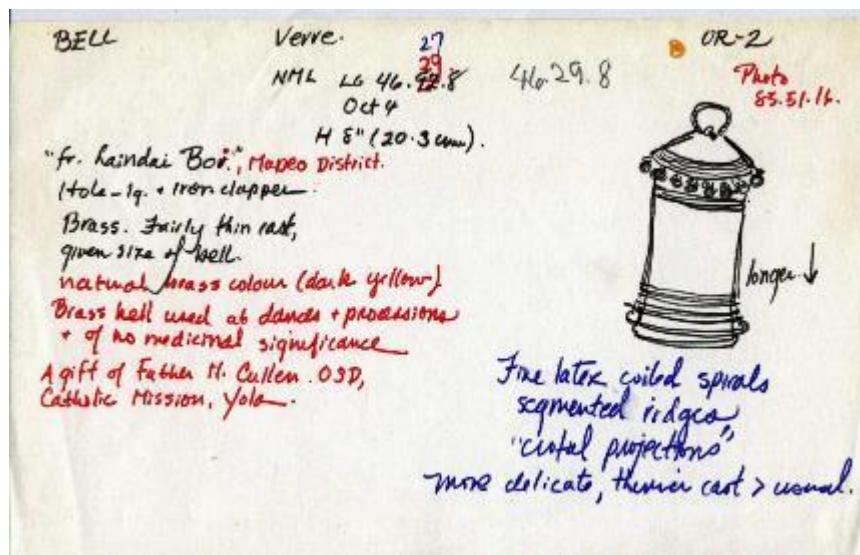
With this background, we hope that future investigators may be able to check and supplement the record we have constructed from the diverse sources available to us against those held in the Jos and Lagos museums. Verre speakers will be able to improve our transcriptions of terms for objects in their language. Chappel's versions should be recognizable to them (providing the objects designated are still known) but he would emphasise that they were not informed by linguistic training. For various reasons likely to do with different informants, dialectal variation, and his own developing ear for basic Verre phonology, Chappel's own transcriptions were not consistent. We compared Chappel's with other transcriptions, particularly a draft dictionary by Roger Blench and Adrian Edwards, where the vocabularies overlap, and on that basis chose a transcription (for a fuller account, see **Appendix 3**). However, Verre speakers are advised to treat our versions only as prompts. While we have made a best guess at vowel qualities and length, we have not attempted to mark tone throughout. When singular and plural were both recorded, they appear here as singular (s) or plural (pl), although we are not confident in the consistency of plural formation across the five Verre noun classes we present here.

Accession record (non-Verre items in reduced font size)

46.5.19 & 20 National Museum Lagos – string of brass beads worn as anklet (*mulem*) and tin earrings, purchased by Kenneth Murray in Yola market.



46.29.8 National Museum Lagos – Fr Kevin Malachi Cullen 1946



Nancy Maas sketch and note – bell made in Lainde Boi

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

BRONZES + MISC
BELL

VERRE (+CHAMBA)
NML. 46.29.1 →
gifts of Father Cullen,
Catholic Mission, Mapo
Dist, Yola.

1 of 2
iron +
wood tablean.

eq. 46.29.4.
Ring of iron bells
called Jubb' Lummi
used as a chain for snake bites.

46.29.6. Ring of iron bells called Jubb' Dogonni.

* 46.29.8. "Brass bell w. "nose ornament" around the rim. Used at dances +
procession + of no medicinal significance. Made by a verre smith at
Laindai Bori.

46.29.9 Brass necklace. "Used w. bells at dances as jingle tied w. bells + hung
at the waist. Very old ones as shown by the worn brass. The beads
are believed to have been made by winding into shape threads drawn out
of molten brass." (Dix?)

46.29.10 Brass arm band, used by women but now out of fashion. "This
is very ancient + has been among the verre always."

VERRE
NML Catholic Mission.

2 of 2

46.29.11 "Brass sheath for a knife. "Remarkable for a
different kind of ornament: plaited cords cast in brass." (?)

46.29.12 Wre — made by a verre smith at Laindai Bori. Bought at
Mapo. The circular design represents property + prestige."

46.29.18. Br. double bell or gong called Naam Balon Baani. Bought
at Mapo.

46.29.20. Hooked stick called TOMA. Held by boys dancing the
beatings undergone during initiation."

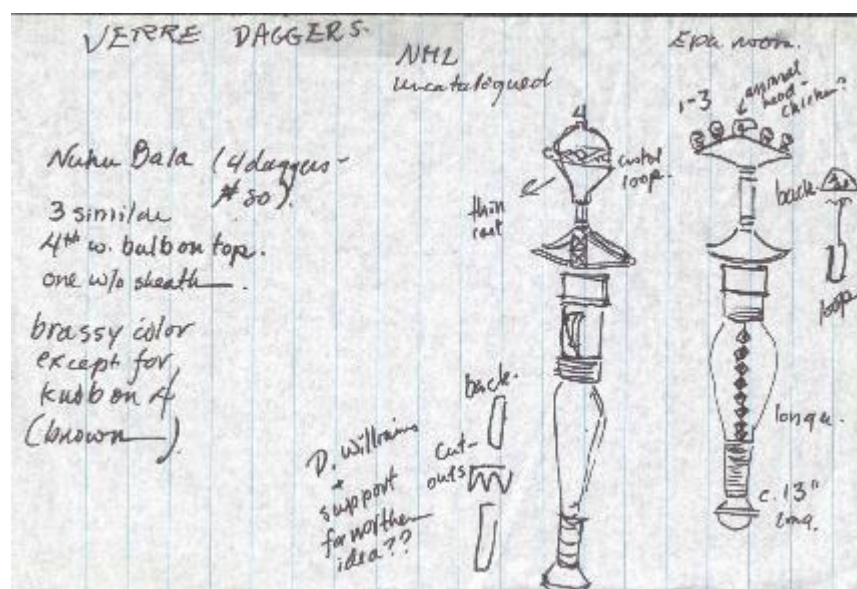
46.29.3. 19 wooden mask w. horns, called NAAM-BALONG WORL.
Worn at dances + wakes. Carved by Kargama of Boshirani,
Mapo Dist. in 1945.



Maas — notes on Cullen gift including 46.29.8

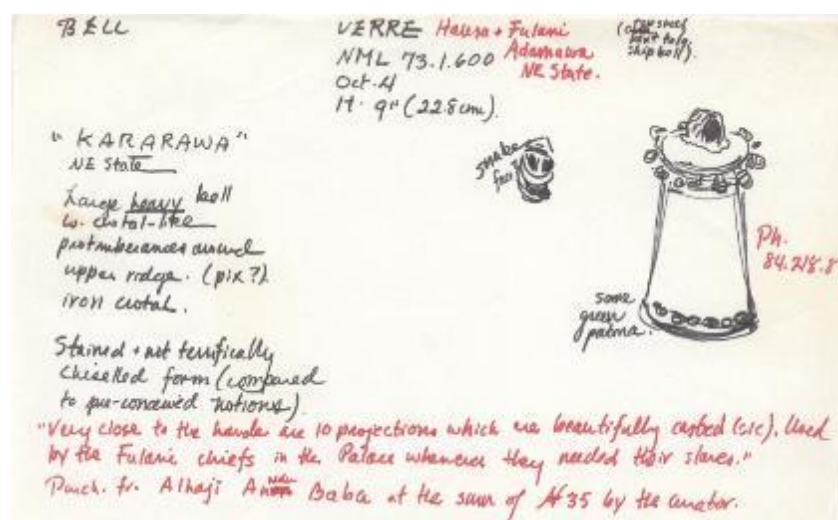
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

National Museum Lagos – uncatalogued brass daggers; no collection date (possibly early 1970s if awaiting cataloguing at the time of Nancy Maas's research in 1974)



Nancy Maas sketch and note

73.1.600 Brass bell, purchased from Alhaji Audu Baba. Verre bell 'used by Fulani chiefs in the palace'. H. 22.8. Cost: Naira 35.



(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

JOS

In the Jos Museum by 1965, accession number unknown – 'Hansen/Toft bequest' via Kano: no further details, but these surnames occur on a list of SUM missionaries compiled by Elisabeth Holtegaard (Asbjørn Toft served 1965-66, Helge Hansen 1966-71, <https://missionafrika.dk/mission-afrikas-historiske-hjoerne/>). Copper alloy male figure wearing apron (TC: beneath the apron anatomical details represented, i.e. penis, scrotum and anus). Measurements: overall height 32.4cm; height to waistband (lower edge) 14.1cm; height from waistband to shoulder 11.5cm; outer finger to outer finger 15.5cm.



16.6B.37



16.8A.22



16.8A.23



73116.8A.24



16.8B.22



16.8B.23



16.8B.24

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Fieldnotes (1966 7: 29-32) record a later discussion centring on use of brass figures during *Gangni*. Such figures were 'worn'/carried only by older initiates (in their teens or
 Vestiges: Traces of Record Vol 7 (1) (2021) ISSN: 2058-1963 <http://www.vestiges-journal.info/> 258

twenties). Both male and female figures were used, but it was said that male figures were 'very difficult' to create; those involved said that they had never seen one. Told about the figure at Jos, which I described (no photo yet being available), Yesufu then claimed that it was he who had sold it to Toft, a claim that could not be followed up. On this occasion, three types of *wan marus* were distinguished: 1) *wan marus kis [kiis]* (s), *yanga mari kitaki* (pl), a female figure, given to older boys/young men, representing the initiate's 'future wife' (cf. Blench and Edwards/B&E, *kiiz* (s), *kii* (pl), wife), who would be told by *saar*: 'Your future wife is watching you and will laugh at you if you show fear. If you run away and leave this *wan marus* we shall kill you, so that you will never see a woman to marry'. 2) *wan marus yaas* (s), *yanga mari yai* (pl), a male figure (though no longer, apparently, operative in the contemporary initiation context), (cf. B&E, *ya'az* (s), *ya'ri* (pl), husband, males, men). 3) *wan marus gorks* (s), plural not recorded, most probably meaning 'friend' – given, if at all, to younger initiates and therefore a male figure as the term was employed in the context of an initiate holding his 'friend' and being told by the *saari*: 'This is your friend. If you run or show fear, he will laugh at you'. Some allowance was made, this suggests, at *Gangni* for the benefit of younger initiates, some of whom might be expected to react fearfully, but not for their more mature counterparts. Brass figures were expensive items: the 1966 cost of a brass figure was given as £5, and its recalled traditional cost as a cow.

By 1965, accession number unknown – 'Hansen/Toft bequest' via Kano: no details, but these surnames occur on a list of SUM missionaries, see previous entry. Squat copper alloy female figure. (This might be Verre with Dowayo stylistic affinities, given these are also evident in the wooden figures 664 and 665. Alternatively, if the Verre attribution was inferred only from the fact of the collectors also acquiring the previous figure, then it might come from elsewhere altogether, including the Cross River). Measurements: overall height 29.9cm; height to waistband (lower edge) 9.5cm; height from waistband to shoulder 10.1cm; outer finger to outer finger 14.2m. Included by Allen Bassing in the Jos Museum display case of Adamawa metalwork (see Interleaf).



16.8A.20

16.8A.21

16.8B.20

16.8B.21

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Items collected by Chappel in 1965 from Bata and Bachama. For the most part, these cannot be considered to be of Verre manufacture but are indicative of a regional context.

65.J306.72-5 These four brass cuff bracelets (*wulto*, Bachama). Acquired, 11.11.1965, at Geren (Girei District) from inhabitants, who self-identified as Bachama. A member of the *kill*, blacksmith/formerly brasscaster clan, claimed to

know about, and occasionally produce brass items using, the *cire perdue* process. An iron spear (seen but not purchased) had been made by another member of the *kill* clan, Dankaro. Asked about the four brass armbands worn by women when dancing, he said that this type of object was no longer made, and he himself did not know the process involved. They had been produced 'long ago' by forefathers. No mention of Verre. Cost: 2/- each.

65.J306.72 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge and protuberances, probably crotal bells.



16.1A.4A

65.J306.73 Decorated brass cuff bracelet, including spirals, with central ridge.



16.1A.8A

65.J306.74 Decorated brass cuff bracelet, including semi-spirals, with central ridge.



16.3A.17A

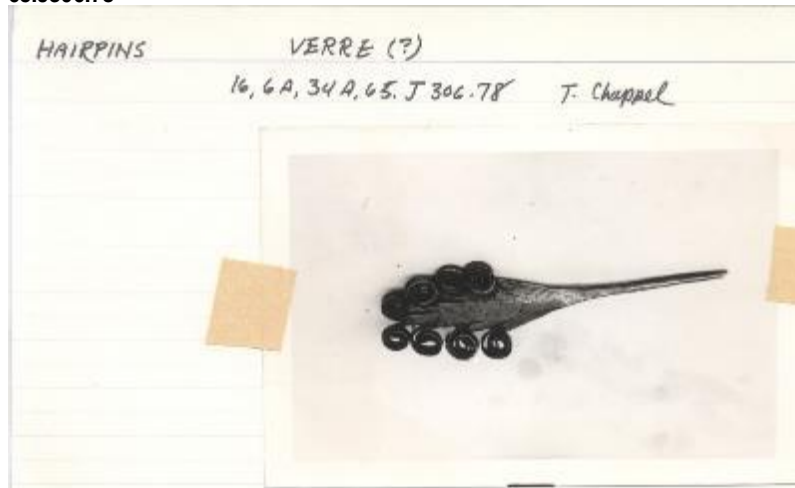
65.J306.75 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



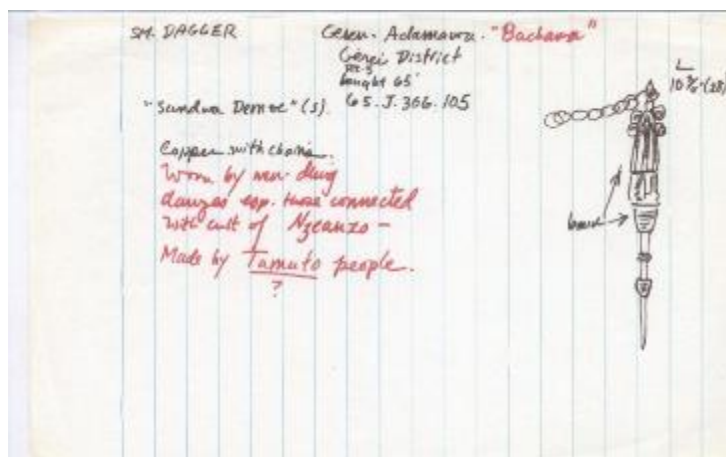
16.2A.11A

65.J306.78



Nancy Maas note with 16.6A.34A

65.J306.105



Nancy Maas note

UCL <https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt258004jz/>

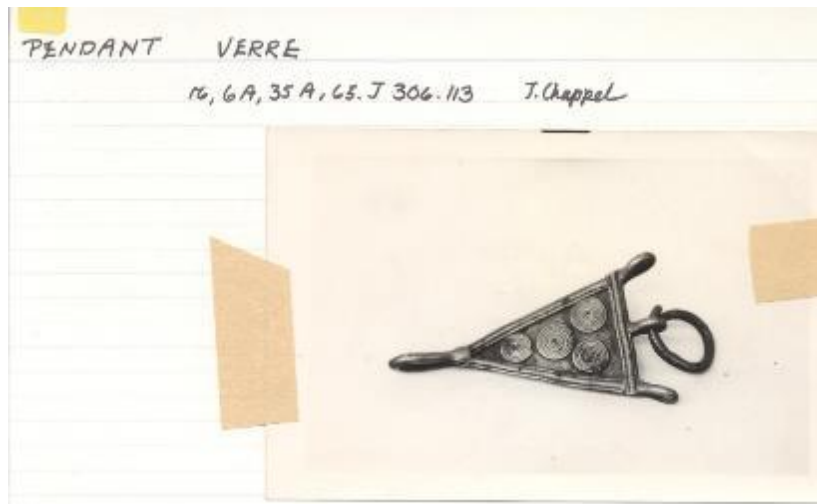
UCLA Fowler Museum [http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt258004jz/Box 11](http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt258004jz/Box%2011)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Maas' sketch suggests that the objects may have been photographed upside down.

65.J306.113



Nancy Maas note with 16.6A.35A

65.J306.210 a & b Two iron clapperless bells/handgongs (*ndingawe*, Bata). Acquired, 15.11.1965, at Bolki, near Song. Inhabitants, Bata (principal group) and Yungur (migrated here over a decade previously). Informants unsure whether manufactured here or brought here when they migrated from Sokoto via Maiduguri and Bazza. Seen but not purchased: metal archery ring pullers, made here it was claimed. Formerly, iron ore sourced locally 'from rocks', but now scrap metal was purchased from Song. Also seen, brass ankle bells for dancing (*tawai*, Bata). Claimed to have been manufactured here, but no longer made. Also, a pair of brass bowls (*pe damse*, Bata) given to his daughter by a chief when she marries. She dances with them around her neck, held together by a string of red beads. Afterwards, she returns the bowl to her father for use when his next daughter marries. Restricted to a chief and his brothers. Such bowls are no longer made here, and informants were unsure as to their origin. They were aware of the Bachama *killa* clan of brasscasters but made no mention of Verre. Also saw brass armbands (*ultu*, Bata) identical to Bachama *wulto* (65.J306.72-5 above). Cost: **a** 3/- (smaller chamber damaged), **b** 5/-.

65.J306.210a Iron double clapperless bell/handgong; small chamber damaged. H 30, W 26; LIH 19.4, LWM 16, LED 6.6, LID 6.3; SIH 12, SWM 10.2, SED 5, SID 4.7.



16.7B.5 (contact print)

16.8A.1 (contact and enlargement)

16.8B.1

65.J306.210b Iron double clapperless bell/gong with more visible flange joint than the previous. H 28.7, W 19.5; LIH 18.4, LWM 11.2, LED 6.1, LID 5.8; SIH 10.4, SWM 9, SED 4.4, SID 4.1.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



16.7B.6 (contact print and enlargement)

16.8B.2



Nancy Maas note and 16.1B.0 (?)

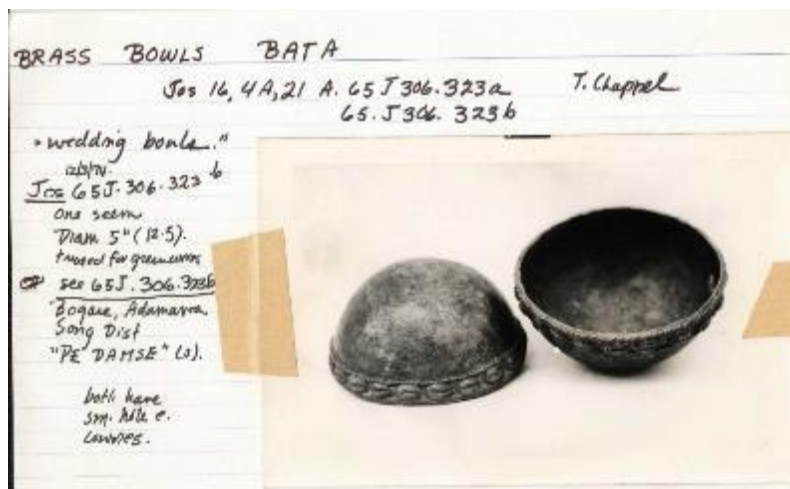
65.J306.222 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge (*bongo*, Dingai & Mboi). Acquired 17.11.1965 at Handa, near Song. The inhabitants self-identified as Dingai, having come from the place of that name, due west of Gombi, past Ga'anda, during the time of the Modibbo at Yola, when Mboi people were already at Benti, and Bata at Bolki. Later, when Abba (1910-24) was Lamido at Yola, people from those two places migrated to Handa and the whole area was placed under the jurisdiction of the Dingai chief at Handa by Hammadiko, the Sarkin of Song. The Mboi at Benti said that they originally migrated there from the Mandara Hills, near Garoua, during the time of the Modibbo. It was said that the armlet had been made at Dingai. Cost: 10/-.



16.1A.3A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

65.J.323a/b Bata 'wedding bowls' with cowry rim decoration (*pe damse*; *damse*, 'brass', Bata). Acquired, 23.11.1965, at Song, from Haman of Tarawo quarter, who inherited them from his deceased father, who inherited from his father. Not sure where they were made, but he thought at Murke, from where he had moved four years ago because he had embraced Islam, and the people of Murke remained traditionalists. Both father and grandfather were Sarkin (Chiefs) of Murke, hence the privileged possession of these marriage bowls. According to Haman, the bride danced with the bowls 'to show that she was the daughter of a chief'. She would dance to the homes of all her close male relatives, holding out the bowls for any offerings. Her junior sisters would follow behind, emptying the bowls as they filled up (in theory). The bride also wore animal horns, in brass versions in the case of a chief's daughter. No mention of possible Verre connection in the production of these items. One of them seen had a diameter of 12.5cm. Both photographs via Nancy Maas. Cost: 10/- for the pair.



16.4A.21; file card Nancy Maas



16.2A.23; file card Nancy Maas; field photograph Chappel

65.J306.347 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge (*bongo*, Bata). Acquired, 28.11.1965, at Song; cost: 8/-.



16.1A.7A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

65.J306.348a&b Together with **347** also acquired, brass wedding horns (*bome damse*, Bata). They are worn only by a chief's daughter; commoners wore horns of reedbuck (*padella* [*padala*], Fulfulde). Cost: £1/6/-.

65.J306.350 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge (*bongo*, Bata). Acquired, 28.11.1965, at Murke, near Song. Bata inhabitants claimed migration, during time of the Modibbo, from Demsa Poa, to Malabu and then to the present village, the principal attraction of which was the amount of wild game available. This armlet, it was said, had been made at Malabu by 'special people' (*kilai*, blacksmith), but no one knew how to do the work any longer. The Sarkin of Murke said that he used to possess brass bowls and horns for his daughters' weddings, but they had been destroyed in a fire. However, he had been told that such objects could still be acquired at a place called Tambo. Cost: 5/-.



16.3A.15A

65.J306.351 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge. Cost: 4/6; other details as **350**.



16.1A.5A

65.J306.373 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with edge decoration of central ridge (*wang'tso*, Bata?). Acquired, 29.11.1965, at Koribu. All there were Muslim converts who claimed migration from Sokoto, via Bazza and Furo (Ballala District), maintaining that they were already settled here when the Modibbo appeared on the scene. They had left Sokoto due to hunger/over-population. Said that this armlet, worn by women at marriage ceremonies, had been brought from Sokoto, along with a brass bell and wooden musical horn. Cost: 8/-.



16.3A.16A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

65.J306 443-5. Decorated brass cuff bracelets with central ridge (*wulti*, Bata). Acquired, 01.12.1965, at the Bata settlement of Jirai. They had come from Demsa Poa, via Dagra and Muleng, during the time of Lamido Lawal (1848-72), which was when the Bata and Bachama 'split'. All brass items in their possession were made in Demsa Poa by Bata blacksmiths (*killan*). Such objects were no longer produced; there were no local blacksmiths. No mention in this context of the Verre.

65.J306.443 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge. Cost 5/-.



16.2A.13A

65.J306.444 Decorated brass cuff bracelet, including semi-spirals, with central ridge. Cost 4/-.



16.2A.12A

65.J306.445 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with central ridge. Cost 5/-.



16.2A.10A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

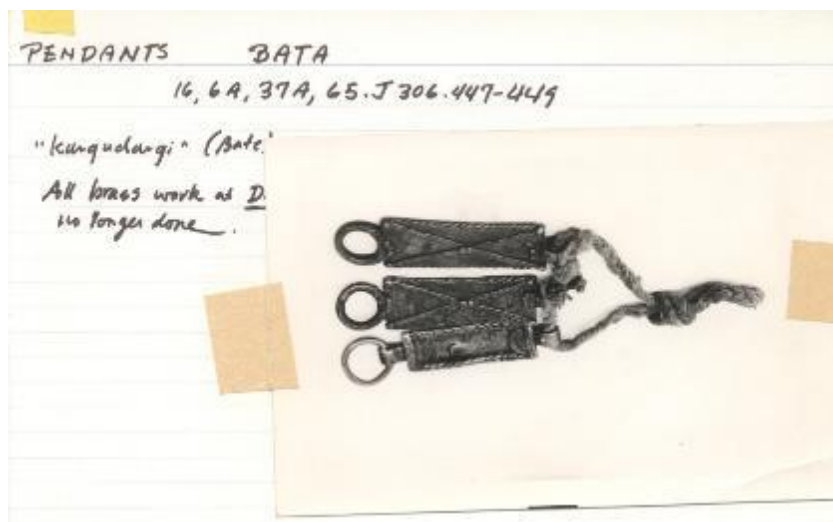
65.J306.446 Iron double clapperless bell/handgong. Acquired, 1.12.1965. Notebook 65, 3: 3, from Jirai, Bata settlement: 'Double gong from Demsa [Demsä Poa/Old Demsa, north of Garoua], *kongo* (Bata). Played when old man or woman dies'. Notebook 65, 3: 2 **432-5** *selemön* (Bata), brass ear and lip plugs, also from Jirai: 'All brass made at [Old] Demsa. Nobody can make it again now. Made by *Killan*(s), blacksmith. No blacksmiths now.' Played during funerals of elderly men and women. Said to have been brought with them when they migrated from Demsa Poa, where it was made. H 28, W 17; LID 15.3, LWM 5.8, LED 5.8, LID 5.4; SIH 14.3, SWM 6.5, SED 5.9, SID 5.5. Cost: 5/-.



16.7B.8

16.7B.9 contact prints

65.J306.447-9 'Kungudangi (Bata). All brass work at Demsa (?) no longer done'.



Note by Nancy Maas with 16.6A.37A

65.J306.493 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with cross-hatched, triangular panels (*bongo*, Bata). Acquired, 03.12.65, at Song, Bata. Other information as 347. Cost: 6/-.



16.2A.14A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

65.J306.494 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with semi-spirals within bands (*bongo*, Bata). Acquired, 03.12.65, at Song, Bata. Other information as 347. Cost: 6/-.



16.3A.20A

65.J306.603 Brass bell (*tengo*, Bata) including two other items, **604** (ankle bells) and **605** (rattle). Acquired, 29.12.1965, at Magdari, Bata settlement of mixed Muslims and Christians (two preachers had come from Kilba five years earlier). They came from Sham (location not known) via Mule to Magdari before the time of the Modibbo. Converted to Islam during the time of Lamido Maigari (Muhammadu Bello 1924-8). Not known where this and other brass items were made. No local blacksmiths. Cost: 5/- (three items).



16.2A.9A

65.J306.610-1 According to Chappel's field notebook (65.3), **610** should be a pair of brass wedding dance horns (*pe damse*, Bata) from the Bata settlement of Farang. Acquired, 29.12.1965. Cost: 4/-. **611** should be a brass buckle for a horse (*fauna duwa*, Bata, 'thing for horse'). Acquired, 29.12.1965 at Farang. The accession numbers of the following two items (noted on their illustrations) are therefore likely to be erroneous. Cost: 4/-.

65.J306.610 Decorated brass cuff bracelet with spirals.



16.1A.6A

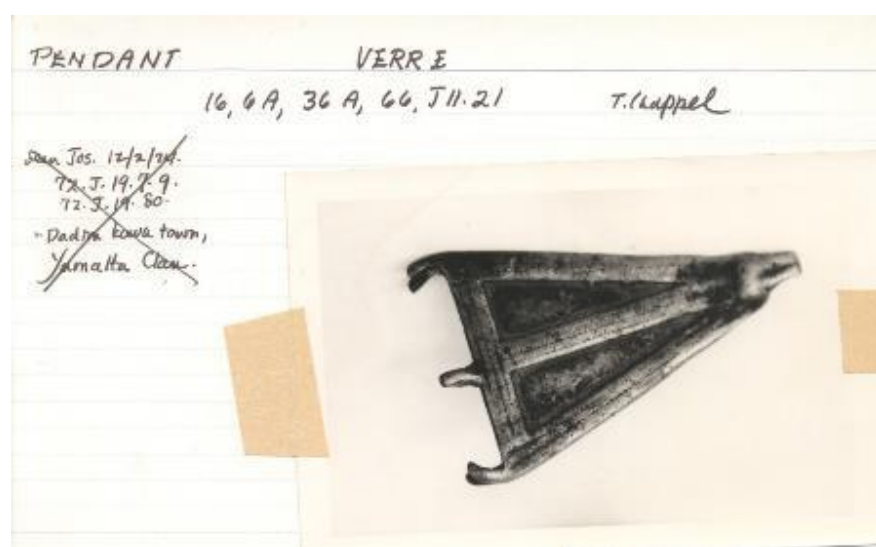
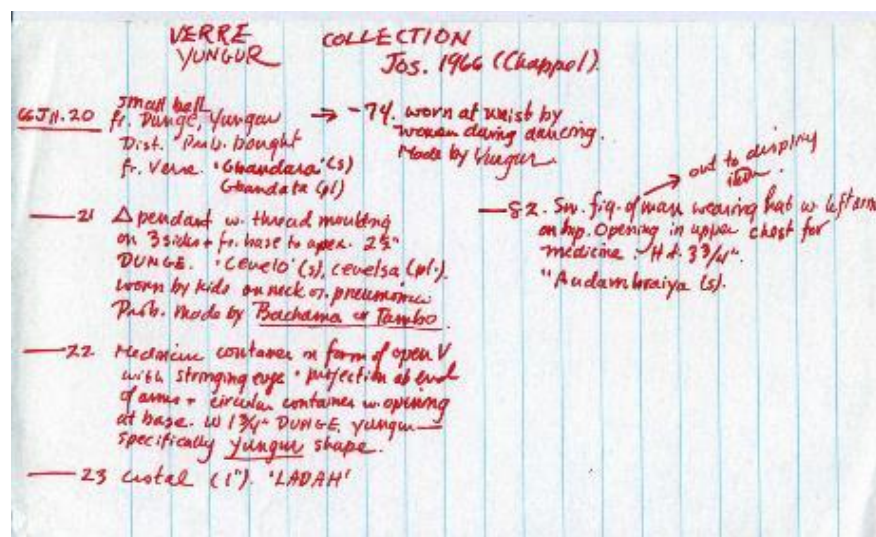
65.J306.611 Decorated brass bracelet cuff with spirals.



16.3A.18A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.20-23



Notes by Nancy Maas with 16.6A.36A

66.J11.74



Note by Nancy Maas with 16.5A.31A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.98 Women's smoking pipe, *kulang* (s), *kulangi* (pl). Acquired (with **99-111**) from Tuki, 17.02.1966. Pipe bowls in clay, *kula* (s), *kulangi* (pl), said to have been made by women at Salassah in the hills; wooden stem, *go* (s), *go'or* (pl), carved by local man; iron stem, *tewes* (s), *tewengbe* (pl), from local blacksmith; generic term for decoration, *veet*. Asked why the use of this type of pipe was confined to women, it was said that women chose the best-looking and largest pipes because they also fulfilled an aesthetic function as an attractive personal adornment when not actually being smoked. For men, on the other hand, a pipe's appearance was said to be immaterial, as it had only the one function - to be smoked. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.99 Iron sickle, *gamsus* (s), *gamsi* (pl), made by local blacksmith at Tuki. Cost: 1/6.



16.4.30A

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.100 Wooden stool, *tings* (s), *tinge* (pl). Carved by men exclusively for use by women. Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.101 Brass ceremonial circumcision crook [loosely a skeuomorph of an iron sickle] (see **66.J11.99** above), *tambus* (s), *tambi* (pl). Owned by senior men (*dɔnda*). Held with both hands by initiates (cf. Arriens sketch), with the curved end around the neck, during male initiation rites, particularly circumcision (*Gangni*), the purpose being to prevent any defensive movement on the part of the initiate which would indicate fear. Noted on **66.J11.514**. Cost: £1.

66.J11.102 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktunu* (s), *tula suktunu* (pl). A rich farmer will own many of these brass hoes, displaying them as a sign of wealth and prestige during his son's initiation. (Note: the photographs of the Verre artefacts displayed in the Jos Museum in 1967 features examples of these hoes). See Maas note with **572**. Cost: £1.

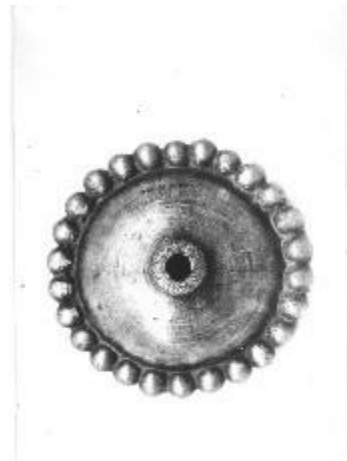
66.J11.103 & 104 Two women's hip pendants in the form of oversized brass beads, *wela* (s), *welit* (pl), from Tuki. These may be given by a man to a woman as an indication that he wishes to marry her. It was also said that if a husband gave such a gift to his wife after marriage this was a sign that there was 'no peace between them'. Cross-referenced on reverse of field photos of two Verre women. Cost: 15/- and 10/-.



16.6B.32 104

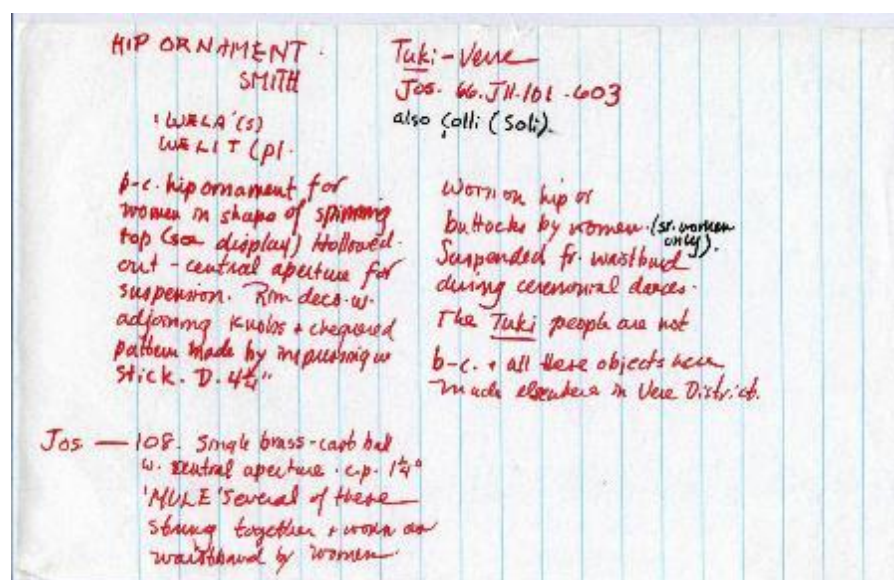
66.J11.105 Brass prestige smoking pipe, *kulang suktunu* (s), *kulangi suktunu* (pl). Exclusively for the use of priest-chief/senior men, smoked only by its owner rather than being passed around. *Suktunu* was glossed as 'melted'. Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.106 Hip pendant in the form of an oversized women's brass bead. Cost: £1/10/-.

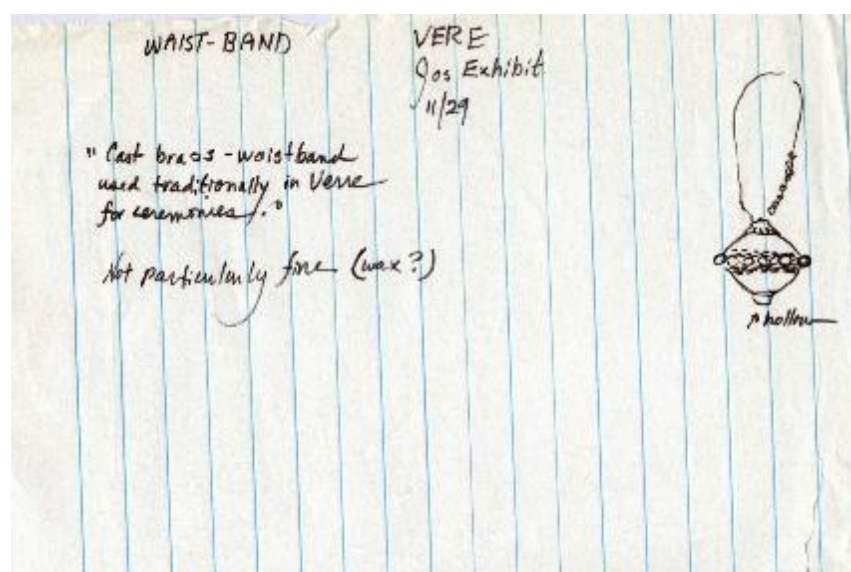


16.5B.29

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas note on 106 & 108



On display – cannot be identified with an accession number

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.107 Women's brass ring, *wal* (s), *wani* (pl). Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.108 Women's brass waistband of threaded beads, *mule* (s), *mulei* (pl), from Tuki, where it was claimed brass objects were no longer produced because the *cire perdue* techniques involved had not been passed on, except for the fact that the wax used had been honey wax, *dis wasi* (wax [of] bees), with the honey itself incorporated, i.e. not extracted, unlike the wax used on the centre of drum skins. The same drum wax, with the honey extracted, was also used to oil bodies, mixed with oil from the mahogany tree (*ke*, Vere; *karewal*, Fulfulde; *madachi*, Hausa). Blacksmiths (*Tibaa*) in this area, it was said, would only now operate, if at all, on a commission basis. It was 'suspected' that Kombowal of Lugerodele, 12 miles distant on foot, was still operating as a brass caster. Cost: 1/6.

66.J11.109 Beer strainer. Cost: 1/6.



16.2C.25

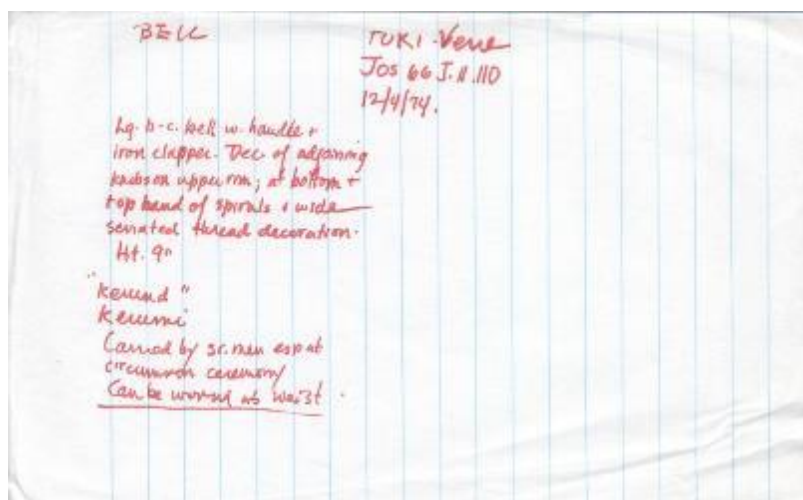
66.J11.110 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl), of a decorated type confined to the smiths (*Tibaai*). Bought in Tuki, possibly earlier from Wom. H 18.6, W 9.6. Unusually, the clapper is formed of a single piece of iron. Cost £2.



16.3C.16



16.7C.10



Nancy Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

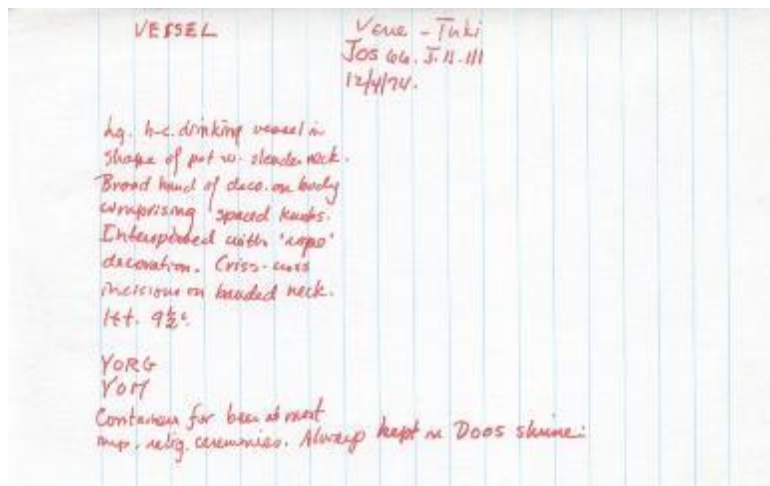
66.J11.111 Brass beer jar, *yerk suktunkak* (s), *yerm suktumam* (pl). Used by the most senior of the *Tibaai*, *donda gbijaas*, as a beer jar during the ceremony of *Baaka Do'os*, when a man of Vestiges: Traces of Record Vol 7 (1) (2021) ISSN: 2058-1963 <http://www.vestiges-journal.info/> 273

the *sari* age grade joins the senior age grade (*donda*) and may henceforth wear a goatskin on his back. The initiate offers fine beer to the chief priest of *Do'os* in a borrowed *yerk*. Most have a brass stand (see **66.J11.538**) and are one of three ceremonial items stored in the *Do'os* shrine. No measurements, but price similar to **538** estimated to be H 27, D 17. Cost £4.



16.3B.13

UCLA Rubin archive



Nancy Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.112 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Yola market, 18.02.1966. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.113-15 Two women's bracelets, *wule* (s), *wulce* (pl) (Bata), from the Bata (*Bwatiye*) settlement of Nzoboliyo on 19.02.1966. Commissioned from Verre blacksmith/s. Cost: 5/- each.

66.J11.116 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Bata. Nzoboliyo, 19.02.1966. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.117-38 pyro-engraved gourd bowls and spoons: settled Fulani. Acquired at Njoboli, 19.02.1966.

66.J11.117 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.118-20 Pyro-engraved gourd spoons. Cost: 1/6 each.

66.J11.121 Pyro-engraved gourd spoons. Cost: 1/-.

- 66.J11.122** Pyro-engraved gourd bowl. Cost: 3/-.
- 66.J11.123-30** Pyro-engraved gourd spoons. Cost: 1/6- each.
- 66.J11.131-6** Pyro-engraved gourd bowls. Cost: **131** 3/-; **132** 2/6; **133** 4/6; **134** 5/-; **135** 5/-; **136** 5/-.
- 66.J11.137** Pyro-engraved gourd bowl, with painted interior. Cost: 3/6.
- 66.J11.138** Pyro-engraved gourd bowl. Cost: 3/-.
- 66.J11.139** Coiled basketry mat: Settled Fulani. Sebore, 19.02.1966. Cost: 2/-.
- 66.J11.140-3** Pyro-engraved gourd bowls and spoons: Settled Fulani. Nbamba, 19.02.1966
- 66.J11.140** Pyro-engraved gourd bowl. Said to have been engraved at Gombi. Cost: 4/-.
- 66.J11.141-2** Pyro-engraved gourd spoons, engraved locally. Cost: 2/- each.
- 66.J11.143** Pyro-engraved gourd bowl. Cost: 4/6.
- 66.J11.144-51** Items acquired at Gengle, nr. Mayo Belwa, 21.02.1966.
- 66.J11.144-5** Women's smoking pipes. Cost: **144** 1/-; **145** 2/-.
- 66.J11.146-7** Men's smoking pipes. Cost: **146** 3d; **147** 3d.
- 66.J11.148** Iron bow-string puller. Cost: 1/3.
- 66.J11.149** Hat/helmet with horns (*inse* (s), Gengle). Hat worn by initiates before circumcision (*sosi* (s), Gengle), which takes place every 3 or 4 years. Cost: 8/-.
- 66.J11.150** Brass ankle bells (*jagolong*, (s) Gengle). Bells bought from Bata. Worn by women at ceremonies such as marriage and when going to market. Cost: 14/-.
- 66.J11.151** Iron dance wand (*kiten*, (s) Gengle), in the shape of an axe, carried by women when dancing at ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. Allegedly made by local blacksmith (*wesari* (s) Gengle). Ore (*tama* (s), Hausa) collected from sediment after river has flooded its banks. [Note: Clay pots not made here: bought from Koma.] Cost: 15/-.
- 66.J11.152-7** Items acquired from Kororo, close to Cukkol, 1½ miles from Wuro Yiya, 10 miles from Mayo Belwa, 22.02.1966.
- 66.J11.152-4** Archer's iron wrist grip: Mumbake/Kusheki. Both Mumbake of Cukkol and Kureshi of Koroko claim Koma origins, having migrated to present site, though not together, during the time of Lamido Sanda (1872-90), when the Ardo at Mayo Belwa was Delli. Most iron objects still acquired from Koma, though these wrist grips allegedly made here by local blacksmith (*lama*, (s) Mumbake; *sa*, (s) Kureshi). Cost: **152** 3/-; **153** 6/-; **154** 6/-.
- 66.J11.155** Clay smoking pipe: Nyamdang (Mumuye). Pipes (*tabune*, (s) Mumbake; *tabu*, (s) Kureshi) acquired from Mumuye; pots from Koma. Cost: 2/-.
- 66.J11.156-7** Pyro-engraved gourd spoons. Cost: 2/- each.
- 66.J11.158-9** Two brass bead waistbands (*mule* (s)) collected from Jerang on 23.02.1966. Cost: £1 each.



16.1B.4, probably **158**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.160 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Yungur (female). Dumne, 02.02.1966. Cost: 5/-.

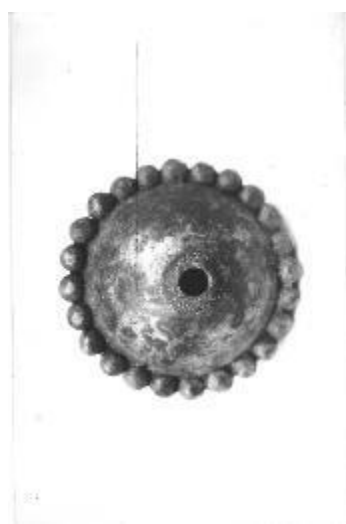
66.J11.161 Engraving tool for **160**: Dumne, 02.02.1966. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.162 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl (male, Lawan). Dumne, 03.04.1966. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.163 Engraving tool for above: Dumne, 03.04.1966. Cost: 3/-.

Chappel's field notebook records (66,1: inside back cover) that items **164-190** comprise 'Cholli brass' (dated 05.03.1966). Items **164-6** are confirmed by the photographic record, but information for items **164-173** is lacking, probably because they were acquired by Cholli intermediaries as a 'job lot' during one of his absences. We do not know where they may have sourced them. They are likely to have been made up of relatively common items such as hip pendants, waistbands, etc.

66.J11.164 Hip pendant in the form of an oversized women's brass bead, *wela* (s), *welit* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 05.03.1966 (cf. **103-4,106** above). Given by husband to wife before or after marriage.



16.5B.31

66.J11.165 Hip pendant in the form of an oversized women's brass bead. Acquired at Tuki, 05.03.1966.



16.6B.37

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.166 Hip pendant in the form of an oversized women's brass bead, *wela* (s) *welit* (pl). Acquired at Tuki, 05.03.1966. Given by husband to wife before or after marriage.



16.6B.36

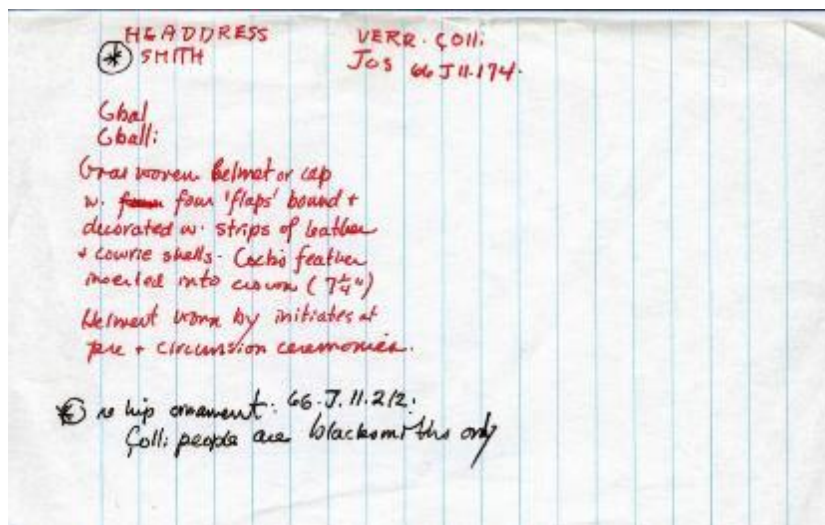
66.J11.167-72 No information.

66.J11.173 Brass bead waistband. No information. Photograph only.



16.2B.9

66.J11.174 Woven ceremonial helmet, *bal* (s), *bari* (pl), from Cholli. During the pre-circumcision initiation rites, boys dance wearing this while carrying a crook. Cost: 15/-.

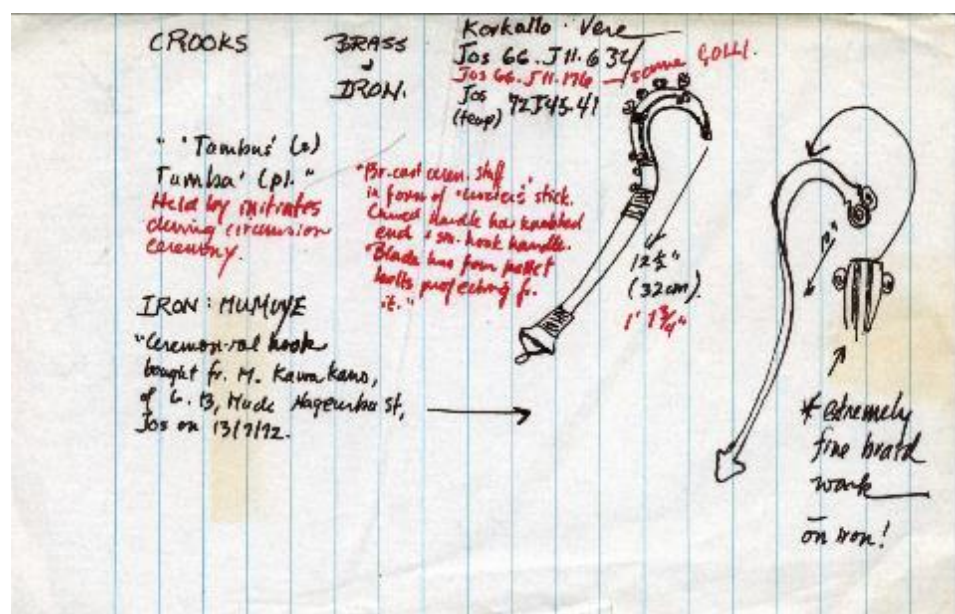


Note by Nancy Maas

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.175 Iron sickle *gamsus* (s), *gamsi* (pl), from Cholli (see **66.J11.99** above). Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.176 Brass circumcision crook, *tambus* (s), *tambi* (pl), from Cholli, 32cm (see **66.J11.101** above). Cost: £1.



Sketch by Nancy Maas

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.177-8 Two iron rings, *maas kulang* (s), *maas kulangi* (pl), specifically used as decorative adornments for women's smoking pipes, from Cholli. Cost: **177** 3/-; **178** 4/- ('with knob').

66.J11.179-85 Seven women's brass bracelets, *wan* (s), *wani* (pl), from Cholli. Cost: 8s in total.

66.J11.186 Brass and iron ceremonial smoking pipe, *kulang suktunu* (s), *kulangi suktunu* (pl), from Cholli (see **105** above). Cost: £1/15/-.

66.J11.187 Women's smoking pipe, *kulang* (s), *kulangi* (pl), from Cholli. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.188 Women's hip pendant in the form of an oversized brass bead, *wela* (s), *welit* (pl), from Cholli (see **103-4**). Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.189 Brass ankle bells for children, *sa'sol* (s), *sa'sai* (pl), from Cholli. Said to encourage walking. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.190 Iron ring for woman's smoking pipe, *maas kulang* (s), *maas kulangi* (pl), from Cholli. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.191-210 Items acquired at Ribadu, 04.03.1966.

66.J11.191 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Jafun). Vendor: Tukur of Ribadu, acquired it from owner and engraver, a Jafun woman. Cost: £1.

66.J11.192-3 Two pressure-engraved gourd bowls: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Gourds bought at Wuro Bokki for 10/- each, bisected by Daneeji woman and engraved by Wodaabe woman, Dija, for 10/- each at Wuro Mouo (not entirely legible name, 1 mile from Pariya). Cost: **192** £1; **193** £1.

66.J11.194 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Engraved by Wodaabe woman at Kabana, nr. Numan. Cost: £1.

66.J11.195 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Engraved by Wodaabe woman at Japbi Lamba, on the Song road, past Girei. Cost: £1.

66.J11.196 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl (partially damaged): Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Engraved by Dija, see also **192-3** above. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.197 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl. Engraved by owner and vendor, who resides at Ribadu during the dry season. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.198 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl. Engraved by Wodaabe woman at Little Gombi. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.199-204 Coiled basketry mats: Settled Fulani (*mbedu* (s), Fulfulde). Total cost: £1/15/- five items.

66.J11.205 Wooden floor beater. Cost: 1/-.

66.J11.206 Axe. Locally manufactured. Cost: 1/-.

66.J11.207-8 Pyro-engraved and carved gourd bowls: Hausa (*fare* (s), Hausa). Engraved and carved by Hausa woman at Dasin Fulbe. Cost: **207** (damaged - hole) 5/-; **208** 8/-.

66.J11.209-10 Pyro-engraved, with interior painted design: Settled Fulani. Engraved and painted by woman at Wafango, nr. Fufore. Cost: **209** 5/-; **210** 5/-.

66.J11.211-24 Bulk purchase, including **212**, **218**, **220** acquired at Cholli, between 06.03.1966 and 10.03.1966, in circumstances similar to **164-90** above.

66.J11.212 Hip pendant in the form of an oversized bead as cited by Maas, see **66.J11.174** above. No Chappel record.

66.J11.218 Boy's ceremonial helmet (raffia, leather and cowries), *bal* (s). No Chappel record.



16.4B.24

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.220 Brass safiru, *pat jangbi* (s), *pat jangbis* (pl). Openwork with crotal bells. Other than this piece, Chappel's fieldnotes record items **211-224** only as 'Cholli brass'. The Verre term for **220** was elicited later in December 1966 during the 'final check' of brass objects, probably because it has stylistic features atypical of Verre works, which almost certainly accounts for Chappel having photographed it.

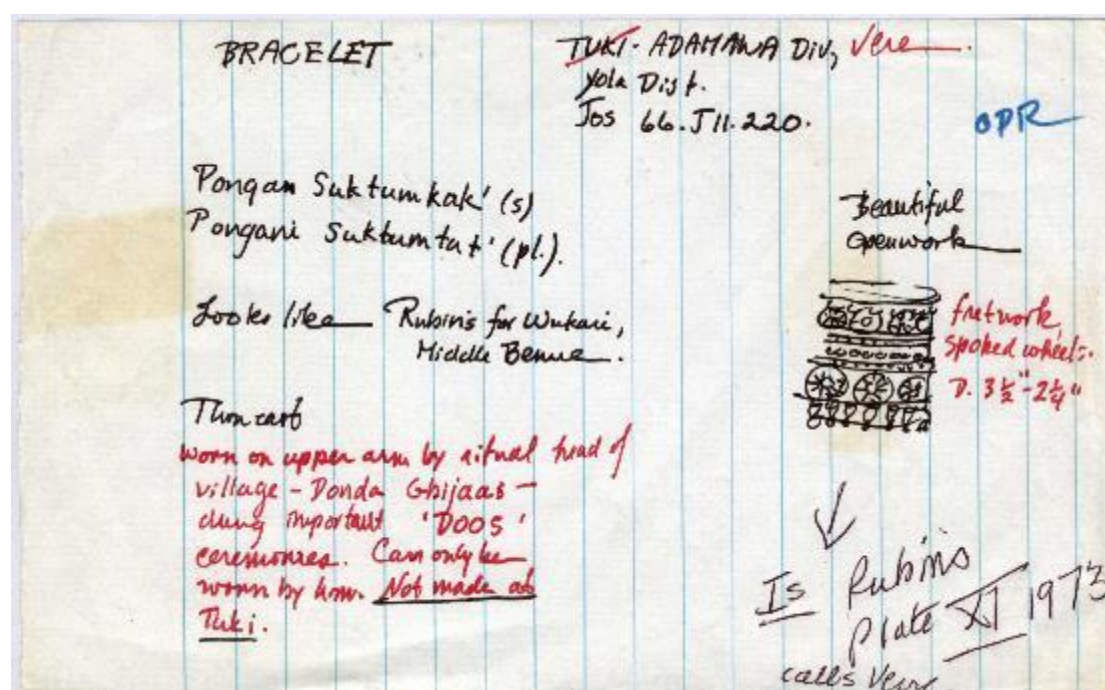


16.8A.31

16.8A.32



Rubin 1973, Plate XI (note inverted compared to contact prints)



Nancy Maas sketch and note – worn on upper arm by village head

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

This object, unique in the illustrated Verre corpus, is, as Maas notes, similar to an example Rubin found from Wukari; the intricacy is also reminiscent of some Tiv brasswork. On stylistic grounds, and in the absence of other evidence, the possibility of this piece not being of Verre manufacture cannot be discounted.

66.J11.221-4 No information, as indicated above, 211-24.

66.J11.225-6 Items acquired at Bengo, 08.03.1966.

66.J11.225-6 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Bata. Engraved by Fanta. Cost: **225** 4/-; **226** 5/-.

66.J11.227-8 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Bata. Engraved by Mahirnungatun: taught by grandmother. Cost: **227** 9/-; **228** 3/-.

66.J11.229 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls, with painted interior. Commissioned from Fulani woman at Pariya; Bata do not employ this painting technique. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.230-1 Brass bracelets: Bata. Not known where made. Cost: **230** 5/-; **231** 5/-.

66.J11.232 Brass pendant. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.233-7 Items acquired at Bagale, 08.03.1966.

66.J11.233 Pyro-engraved bottle gourd; Bata (*huboche* (s). Bata). Engraved here. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.234 Pyro-engraved bottle gourd (large); Bata (*huboche* (s), Bata). Engraved by Lucia of Bagale. Cost: 8/-.

66.J11.235-6 Brass bracelets: Bata. Cost: **235** larger 5/-; **236** smaller 3/-.

66.J11.237 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl; Bata. Similar in style to Settled Fulani. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.238 Pyro-engraved and carved gourd bowl: Bata. Ngarawo, 08.03.1966. Carving technique learnt from Hausa. Cost: 4/-.

66.J.11.239-256 recorded in Chappel's field notebook (66.1: 103) as 'Cholli brass', acquired on 11.03.1966 in circumstances similar to **211-24** and **164-90** above. The individual notes on **247-50** and **252-56** were made during the 'final check' in December 1966. No measurements (other than for **254**) or costs recorded.

66.J11.247 Small brass bell/s for use by non-blacksmiths, *Gazabi*. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Reportedly from Kopsofa, nr. Bayi.



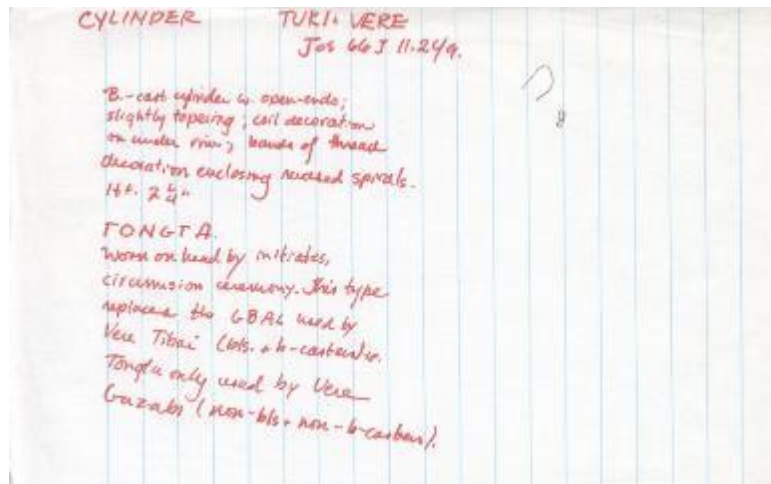
16.3C.16A

66.J11.248 Small brass bell. From Cholli. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat).



16.2C.12A

66.J11.249 Miniature brass version of circumcision head piece, *tongta suktunu* (s), *tongtai suktini* (pl). Reportedly from Womzangi, nr. Salassah Yadim. The *Gazabi* equivalent of the head piece worn by *Tibaai* initiates, *bal suktundal* (s) (see **427** below for an example).



Nancy Maas note

66.J11.250 Unidentified item. Reportedly from Wom.

66.J11.252 Larger brass bell.



16.2C.8

66.J11.253 Brass bell, with external (makeshift) clapper.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



16.5C.29

66.J11.254 Brass female figure bought at Cholli, acquired 11.03.1966. Original provenance unknown. Measurements: overall height 30.9cm; height to waistband (lower edge) 11.9cm; height from waistband to shoulder 11.5cm; outer finger to outer finger 18.5cm.



16.5C.28A



16.8A.14



16.8A.14



16.8B.15



16.8B.15

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.255 Brass bell. Acquired on 11.03.1966.



16.5C.30



UCLA Rubin Archive, centre

66.J11.256 Brass ceremonial helmet. Acquired on 11.03.1966. See also **427** below.



16.4B.25 (NB this photographic negative reference number duplicated elsewhere)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.257 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Acquired at Fufore, 13.03.1966. No price recorded.

66.J11.258 Engraving tool for above: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Acquired at Fufore, 13.03.1966. No price recorded.

66.J11.259-65 Items all acquired at Geren, 16.03.1966.

66.J11.259-60 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Settled Fulani. Engraved by Myamban. Cost: **259** 2/-; **260** 3/-.

66.J11.261 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Engraved by Mary. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.262-4 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Settled Fulani. Engraved by Kpapadi. Cost: **262** 2/-; **263** 3/-; **264** 4/-.

66.J11.265 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Engraved by Hidima. Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.266 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Girei market, 19.03.1966. Owner and vendor, a Bachama woman. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.267-72 Six smoking pipes: Bachama (**267-8** for men; **269-72** for women). Numan, 25.03.1966. Cost: **267** 2/-; **268** 2/-; **269** 1/9; **270** 2/6; **271** 2/6; **272** 5/-; **273** 3/6.

66.J11.273-77 Items acquired at Cholli, 25.03.1966.

66.J11.273 Ceremonial brass spear with wooden shaft, *tɔɔma suktunu* (s), *tɔɔma suktini* (pl). Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.274 Brass circumcision crook, *tambus* (s), *tambi* (pl). Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.275 Iron ring for women's tobacco pipe. Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.276-7 Two women's brass bead waistbands. Cost: 8/- and 4/-.



66.J11.276, 16.2B.12

66.J11.278 Fixed-key xylophone: Bachama. Acquired at Geren, 25.03.1966. Commissioned from Raimon Tavenoko. Cost: £2.

Chappel was posted back to Jos Museum for almost three months at this point. Items **279-330** were collected in his absence and purchased in batches on his return; the names of vendors are recorded from this point, but not where they acquired the object (which is noted from **394** onwards when known).

66.J11.279-82 Items acquired at Cholli, 20.06.1966. Vendor: Ali Tukur.

66.J11.279 Women's brass bead waistband. Cost: 10/- together with **280-2**.

66.J11.280-2 Three rings for women's smoking pipe.

66.J11.283-9 Items acquired at Cholli, 20.06.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.283 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Cost: £3/7/- together with **284-290**.

66.J11.284-5 Two rings for women's smoking pipe.

66.J11.286-7 Two women's brass bead waistbands.



Photograph 16.1B.3 via Nancy Maas

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.288-9 Two women's brass ankle bells.

66.J11.290 Brass ceremonial circumcision crook. Acquired at Cholli, 20.06.1966. Vendor: Jida Cholli.

66.J11.291-302 Acquired at Cholli, 20.06.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.291-7 Seven women's hip pendant, oversized brass beads, from Cholli (vendor: Ayuba, 20.06.1966). Cost: £3/7/- together with **298-302**.

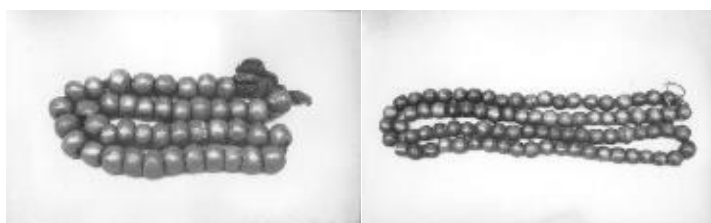
66.J11.298-302 Five women's brass bead waistbands.



66.J11.298,16.2B.8

66.J11.299,16.3B.16

66.J11.300,16.2B.10



66.J11.301,16.1B.7

66.J11.302,16.3B.16

66.J11.303 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Kablai. Girei, 29.06.1966. Engraved by Dudu, Hausa-speaking Kablai immigrant (refugee?) from Fort Lamy area of Republic of Chad. Now residing in Lainde, nr. Girei. (see also, 470). Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.304-6 Items acquired at Cholli, 01.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu.

66.J11.304 Brass short sword/dagger. Cost: £3.

66.J11.305 Brass ceremonial hoe (with square end). Cost: £3.

66.J11.306 Iron hoe, from Cholli. Cost: £2.

66.J11. 307-321 Items acquired at Cholli, 01.07.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11. 307-319 Thirteen rings for women's smoking pipes. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.320 Women's brass bead waistband, from Cholli. Cost: 15/-.



16.1B.5

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.321 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.322-6 Five musical pipes. Acquired at Cholli, 01.07.1966. Vendor: Ali Tukur. Cost £1/5/- including **327** (a Fulani hat). See also **333** below.

66.J11.328-30 Three domestic pots, purchased in Yola market. Cost: 2/- each.

66.J11.331-44 Items acquired at Cholli, 03.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli.

66.J11.331-2 Two women's brass bead waistbands. Cost: **331** 4/-; **332** 5/-.

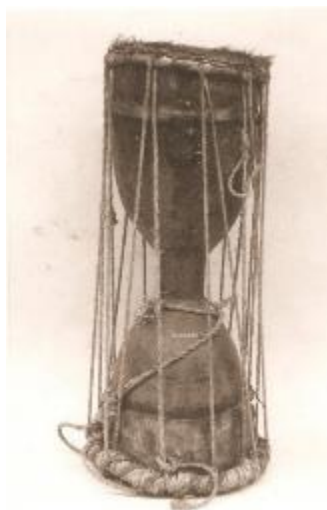


16.3B.17 **331**

66.J11.333 Musical pipe, *gul* (s), *gura* (pl). Used during ceremonies for *Do'os*. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.334 Iron bell/rattle, bell *dengkonkas* (s), *dengkonki* (pl), and rattles *doi'yaaks* (s), *doi'yaagi* (pl). Held by men only during ceremonies for *Do'os*. It was claimed that if a woman even set eyes on one, she would die. Iron bell 'incorporated' into iron rattle. H (including handle) 22.6; W 12; IH 12.1; WM 8.2; ED 7.5; ID 7.0. No photograph but see **385-6**. Cost: £1/12/-.

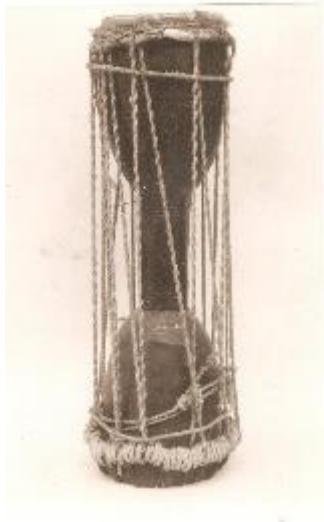
66.J11.335 Hourglass drum, *danga gbwikak* (s), *dangat gbwikak* (pl). *Gbwikak* means 'larger', referring to its deeper pitch, not size. Cost: 12/6.



16.4B.23

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.336 Hourglass drum, *danga wakak* (s), *dangat wakak* (pl). *Wakak* means 'smaller', referring to its higher pitch. Both **335** & **336** were played with hands during dancing in connection with boys' initiation rites. Both were made in Cholli from a special hard wood, *keu* (s), *ken* (pl), and goatskins. Cost: 12/6.



16.4B.22

66.J11.337 Brass medicine charm, *gul suktundal* (s), *gulal suktundal* (pl). Worn at the neck by children to ward off sickness. Cost: 10/- together with **338-42**.

66.J11.338-40 Three ear plugs, *ne'tok* (s), *ne'tet* (pl).

66.J11.341-2 Miniature women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead (*wela* (s)) worn by young, even baby, girls.



985.7.26434 This photograph, source unknown, is numbered in a system we have been unable to identify and is placed here for want of better information. The apparently small beads suggest this might be a child's version of the adult woman's waistband, though scale is guesswork. The pendant bead has two rows of decoration.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.343 Women's hip pendant in the form of an oversized cowrie cluster bead, *wela cheede* (s), *welit cheedei* (pl). *Cheede* means 'cowrie'. (*Fulfulde, ceede*, money/price.) Cost: 8/-.



16.4C.21A

66.J11.344 (& 359) Brass smoking pipe for women, *kulang suktunu* (s), *kulangi suktini* (pl). Gifted to his wife as a sign of approval by husband, and to demonstrate his wealth. Smoked at the funeral ceremonies of the elderly (men and women). Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.345-47 Items acquired at Cholli, 03.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli.

66.J11.345 Women's brass necklace/waistband of strung beads, *fe* (s), *fer* (pl). (Notebook 66.7: 6 comments: 'See brass figures wearing *fe/fer*'. Both waistbands and necklaces are depicted on these figures. The vendor clearly identified this as a necklace rather than a waistband, though it may also have been the latter. Cost: 5/-.



16.2B.13

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.346 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.347 Brass decorative ring for women's smoking pipe, *maas suktunjas* (s), *maai suktini* (pl). The stem ring was designated as, *maas kula* (s), *maai kula* (pl), additional rings as *deesire* (s), *deesirei* (pl). Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.348-55 Items acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.348 Women's smoking pipe, *kulang* (s), *kulangi* (pl). Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.349-50 Two women's hip pendant, oversized brass beads. Cost: 8/- and 5/-.

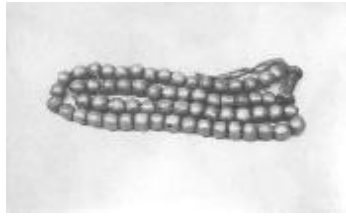
66.J11.351 Ring (mouthpiece) for women's smoking pipe. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.352 Brass circumcision crook. Subsequently noted as for *Gazabi*. Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.353 Brass earplug, *ne'tok* (s), *ne'tet* (pl). Cost: 1/-

66.J11.354-5 Two child's brass ankle bells, *sa'sol* (s), *sa'sai* (pl), to encourage walking. Cost: 6/- each.

66.J11.356 Women's brass bead waistband. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: 8/-.

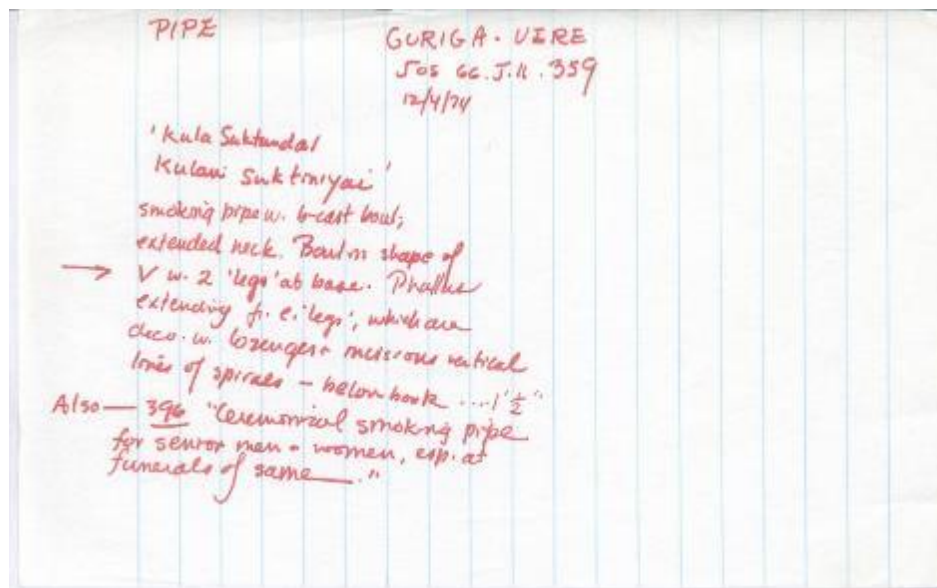


16.2B.11

66.J11.357 Women's smoking pipe with brass ring decoration. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.358 Musical pipe. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.359 Women's brass smoking pipe. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Cost: £1.



From Nancy Maas's note: 'Smoking pipe with brass bowl; extended neck. Bowl in shape of V with 2 "legs" at base. Phallus extending from between "legs", which are decorated with lozenges and incisions vertical lines of spirals – below bowl 1½ inches.' See also **396**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.360 Brass short sword/dagger [or handle thereof?], *do'gur suktunu* (s), *do'gis suktunu* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Original scabbard missing; replaced by Fulani-made leather version. Cost: £1.



UCLA Rubin Archive, probable identification

66.J11.361-6 Items acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.361-2 Two women's hip pendant, oversized brass beads Cost: 8/- each.

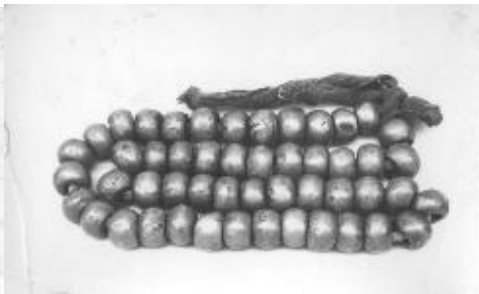
66.J11.363-66 Four rings for women's smoking pipes. Cost: 1/- each.

66.J11.367 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Cost: 8/-.

66.J11.368-9 Two women's brass bead waistbands. Acquired at Cholli, 08.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Cost: 8/- and 12/-.



66.J11.368, 16.3B.15



66.J11.369, 16.1B.2

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.370-1 Two pressure-engraved gourd bowls: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Acquired at Girei, 09.07.1966. Engraved by vendor: Kilba, a Wodaabe woman from Jiberu. Taught by her mother. Cost: **370** 15/-; **371** 10/-.

66.J11.372 Coiled basketry mat/cover: Settled Fulani (*mbedu* (s), *bedi* (pl), Fulfulde). Acquired at Girei, 09.07.1966. Vendor: Mallam Shuwaibu, whose wife made the mat. Decoration, *tobbé*. This term relates to mat decoration only: decoration for gourds, *pefdi*. Design as a whole, *ɔɔbgi*, meaning, 'flight', referring to the flight of Lamido Zubeiru in 1901. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.373 As above. Design as a whole, *dappuwal*, referring to the abrupt take-off for flight of the nightjar. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.374-5 Two pyro-engraved bottle gourds: Kablai. Acquired at Girei, 09.07.1966. Engraved by Zenabu, friend of Dudu (see **303** above), with similar background. Resident in the hamlet of Dakri, nr. Jimeta. Cost: 5/- each.

66.J11.376 Engraving tool for above. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.377 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Acquired at Cholli, 11.07.1966. Vendor: Akila. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.378-381 Four women's hip pendant, oversized brass beads. Acquired at Cholli, 11.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: £1 for all four.

66.J11.382-86 Items acquired at Cholli, 11.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli.

66.J11.382 Pipe (price paid and absence of reference to 'smoking' in notebook indicate a musical pipe). Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.383-4 Two women's hip pendant, oversized brass beads. Cost: 7/- each.

66.J11.385 Iron rattle incorporating bell. H 19.3; W 11.4; IH 11.4; WM 9.5; ED 6.2; ID 5.8. Cost: £2/5/-



16.7B.14

66.J11.386 Iron rattle incorporating bell. Similar to **385**. H 18.2; W 11.1; IH 11.0; WM 8.2; ED 5.8; ID 5.4. Cost: £3/5/-.



16.6C.31A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.387-93 Items acquired at Cholli, 12.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.387-90 Four iron leg rattles, *bogarus* (s), *bogari* (pl). Cost: 6/- **387-9**; 1/6 **390**.

66.J11.391-2 Two smoking pipes. Cost: 12/- each.

66.J11.393 Musical pipe. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.394-96 Items acquired at Cholli, 13.07.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.394 Short sword/dagger. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Womwalde, nr. Yadim. Cost: £3/5/-.

66.J11.395 Smoking pipe with brass ornamentation. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Marach [Marasio], nr. Kura. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.396 Brass ceremonial smoking pipe, *maas kula suktunus* (s), *mai kula suktunus* (pl). The knob on the pipe was designated as *dal* (s), *dari* (pl), meaning penis, and was said to be there 'just for decoration'. The decorative knob on the brass ring was designated as *deesire* (s), *deesirei* (pl), glossed as 'something to be proud of' and applied only to this type of ornament. A general term for all types of 'decoration' was given as *gɔka sɔk* (s), *eregɔruk sɔkɔ* (pl). See also **359**. Cost: £1/8/-.

66.J11.397 Iron ritual rattle composed of ten clappers and a bell on a closed ring, *doi'yaaks* (s), *doi'yaagi* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 15.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Said to be for use during ceremonies for *Do'os*: sometimes designated simply as '*Do'os*'. H 24.4; W including clappers 18.5; IH 16.9; WM 15.1; ED 10.2; ID 9.85. Cost: £1/10/-.



16.7B.12 contact

16.7B.13 contact

16.6C.32A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.398-99 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Kablai. Lainde, 1 mile from Girei, 16.07.1966. Engraved by Dudu (see **303** above). Cost: 4/- each.

66.J11.400 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Kabali. Lainde, 16.07.1966. Engraved by Zenabu (see **374-5** above). Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.401-4 Items acquired at Cholli, 16.07.1966. Vendor: Majoda.

66.J11.401 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Cost: 4/-.

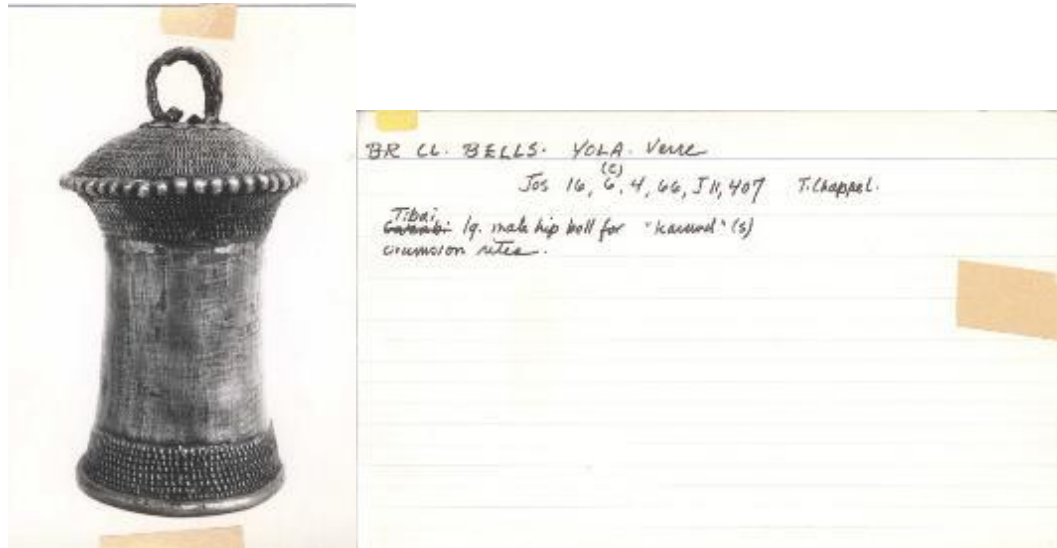
66.J11.402-4 Three ornamental rings. Cost: 2/- each.

66.J11.405 Ceremonial brass circumcision crook, *tambus seeri* (s), *tambi seeri* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. *Seeris* means locust, a reference to the type of decoration. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Gurumpa, in the hills above Cholli. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.406-8 Items acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Ezzara.

66.J11.406 Women's hip pendant, oversized brass bead. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.407 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bai, nr. Karlahi, c.25 miles from Cholli. Cost: £1/15/-.



16.1C.4 via Nancy Maas

66.J11.408 Ceremonial brass circumcision crook. Cost: 14/-.

66.J11.409-11 Items acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Ibrahim.

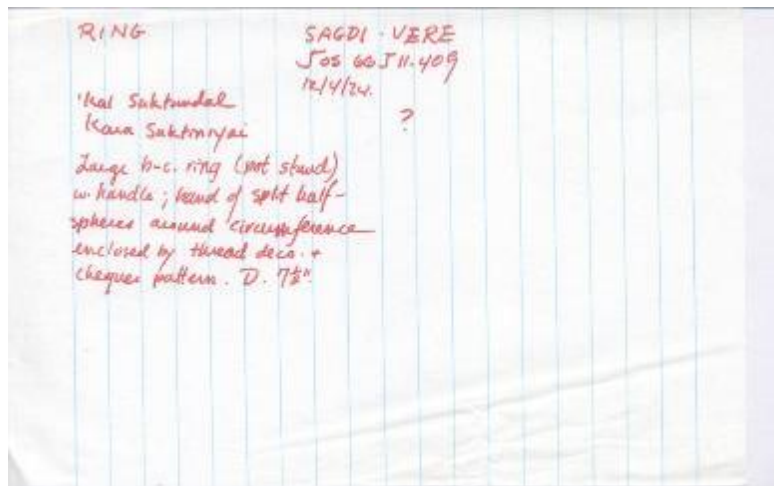
66.J11.409 A large and chunky brass pot ring, *kal suktundal* (s), *kara suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi, in hills c.40 miles from Cholli. Owned only by men and used during ceremonies for *Do'os*. Brought to *Do'os* shrine where offering of beer placed on it (see **438** below). It was claimed that these were amongst the most expensive of brass items (originally £10). Diameter 19.4. Cost: £4.



16.8B.11 with **438**

16.7C.30 with **576**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas - note

66.J11.410 Brass ceremonial musical pipe, *gul suktunu* (s), *gura suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi, in hills c.40 miles from Cholli. Played during ceremonies for *Do'os*. It was claimed that such brass pipes were the prototypes of wooden pipes, rather than the other way around. Wooden pipes were now the norm as brass pipes were no longer being produced. Cost: £2.

66.J11.411 Ceremonial knife, *wε'ga'ga* (s), *wε'maga* (pl), used during ceremonies for *Do'os*. See also **710**. Not explicitly described as brass or iron. Cost: 13/-.

66.J11.412 Women's hip pendant, in the form of a cowrie cluster oversized bead, *wela cheede* (s), *welit cheedei* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Cost: 8/-.



16.4C.20A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.413 Smoking pipe, *kula gbijaas* (s), *kulani gbijiy* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Reportedly acquired at Jili. The iron portion, *maas gbijaas* was said to have been made in Cholli. Metal upper stem/mouthpiece, *dewes*; wooden lower stem, *go*; bowl, *kulang*; stand, *do'mut*. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.414 Smoking pipe with iron elements. Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Ezzara, 18.07.1966. Reportedly acquired at Tuki. Similar to **413**. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.415 Brass smoking pipe. Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli, 18.07.1966. Cost: £1.

66.J11.416 Brass smoking pipe. Acquired at Cholli, 18.07.1966. Vendor: Akila, 18.07.1966. Cost: £1.

66.J11.417 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Yungur. Acquired at Dirma, 21.07.1966. Engraved by owner and vendor, from Pirrambe. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.418 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Burra. Acquired at Kubo, nr. Shellen, 21.07.1966. Cost: 8/-.

66.J11.419 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Yama (Tambo). Acquired at Shellen, 21.07.1966. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.420 Most probably a brass pot ring skeuomorph of a headloading pad, *wand suktunu* (s), *wand suktundal* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Notebook (66.3: 68) records, 'worn by women - also used during *Do'os* ceremonies to carry pot/drinking vessel on head'. Cost: 5/-.

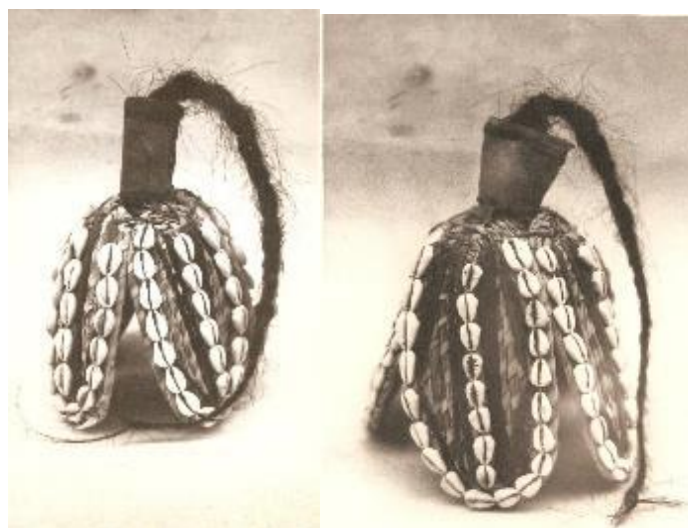
66.J11.421 Brass hoe, *tul suktundal* (s), *tula suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Nenki, nr. Lainde. See Maas note to **562**. Cost: £1/4/-.

66.J11.422 Brass smoking pipe. Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli, 25.07.1966. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Jili, nr. Tuki. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.423-27 Items acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.423-4 Two brass smoking pipes. **424** reportedly acquired by vendor at Rumde. Cost: £1 and 14/-.

66.J11.425-6 Two initiation helmets, *bal* (s), *bari* (pl). Worn by initiates in the rites preceding circumcision, including beating. Leather and raffia with cowry shell decorations, horsehair 'tail'. Cost: 5/- each. (Uncertain which photograph is which, assume that negatives are in accession order.)



16.4B.22 **425/6**

16.4B.23 **426/5**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



UCLA Rubin archive, left

66.J11.427 Brass version of initiation helmet (see **425-6** above), *bal suktundal* (s), *bari suktini* (pl). It was said the top decoration was normally a cockerel's tail feathers. Cost: £1/10/-.



16.5B.28

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.428 Iron pot stand, *tɔɔma gbaas* (s), *tɔɔma gba* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. For use in *Do'os ceremonies*. Also designated as *tɔɔma ga'ga*, the latter referring to the ubiquitous Verre 'spiral' decorative motif. [The 5 supporting arms, assuming this is the correct photograph, are in the form of hoe blades. The description would apply better to **443** which has coiled iron ornaments.] Cost: £2/5/-.



16.5B.26

66.J11.429-32 Items acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Ezzara.

66.J11.429 Ceremonial brass hoe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. Cost: £1/4/-.

66.J11.430 Women's brass bracelet, *pɔngan* (s), *pɔngani* (pl). Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.431 Brass bell (small), *kerumd* (s), *kerumi* (pl). Small size identifies it as being for use exclusively by *Gazabi*. No measurements. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Cost: 5/-.



16.2C.11A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.432 Brass charm, *saferu* (s), *safegi* (pl). [*Safiiru*, small brass bar containing 'juju' powder of *kauda*, the act or ability to stab oneself without harm, F.W. Taylor 1932 *A Fulani-English Dictionary*.] Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.433 Brass initiation helmet. Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Cost: £1/4/-.



16.5B.26



UCLA Rubin archive, right

66.J11.434 Ceremonial brass hoe. Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Vengni. Cost: £1/4/-.

66.J11.435-7 Items acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo.

66.J11.435-6 Two ceremonial brass hoes. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Vengni. Cost: £1/4/- each.

66.J11.437 Ceremonial brass circumcision crook. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.438 Brass bowl, *kur suktunkak* (s), *kurt suktunati* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 25.07.1966. Vendor: Bitrus Cholli. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Boki. Gourd-shaped drinking bowl used for beer during *Do'os* ceremonies, held in the supporting 'arms' of an iron pot stand. After the ceremony, placed on a brass pot ring while the senior men (*dondai*) drink from it. Height 10.9, Diameter 20.0. Cost: £3.



16.5B.30



16.8B.11

contact print on ring **409**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.439-40 Coiled basketry mats/covers: Settled Fulani. Acquired at Yola, 19.07.1966. Made by owner and vendor, Dada Bornu. **439** Design: *peerki poola*, Fulfulde, ? dove/pigeon. Cost: 6/- . **440** Design: *tinde wandu*, Fulfulde, forehead of monkey. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.441 Brass short sword/dagger, *wek suktundal* (s), *wem suktunmam* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tomsoo, nr. Benglengfa. Cost: £3.

66.J11.442 Brass double clapperless bell/gong, *dengkonkas suktunjas* (s), *dengkonki suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bundera, nr. Bayi. H 21.9; W 27.4; LIH 14.0; LWM 13.8; LED 10.3; LID 9.4; SIH 9.7; SWM 11.4; SED 8.2; SID 7.4. A contact print taken by Chappel shows the two chambers separated; another photograph by the Jos Museum photographer *may* be of the same piece assembled. Note the hollow handle of the large chamber: the smaller handle has been plugged near the end, and a brass socket pin created – cast as one piece with the rest of the chamber. Cost: £4/13/-.



16.2B.10 (same piece assembled?)



16.7B.1



66.J11.443 Iron pot stand, *tɔɔma gbaas* (s), *tɔɔma gba* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Here and elsewhere, the iron curlicue/spiral motif resembles the 'leopard's tail' ornamentation of brass items. *Tɔɔma* is also the name for a spear. Cost: £2.



16.5B.27

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.444 Ceremonial brass helmet for initiation, *bal suktundal* (s), *bari suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Cost: 16/-.

66.J11.445 Brass double clapperless bell/gong, *dengkongkas suktunjas* (s), *dengkongki suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lugjo [Lugzo], nr. Yadim. H 18.1, W 26.5; LIH 13.3, LWM 13.1, LED 6.65, LID 5.8; SIH 10.7, SWM 10.8, SED 10.1, SID 9.15. Cost: £4/15/-.

66.J11.446 Brass pot stand, *twoma suktunka* (s), *twoma suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Cost: £2.

66.J11.447 Brass drinking bowl, *kur suktunkak* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Yadim. A sketch in Chappel's fieldnotes (66.3: 71) confirms that this is a drinking bowl. Cost: £3.

66.J11.448 Brass pot stand. Acquired at Cholli, 28.07.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo. Cost: £2.

66.J11.449 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Yungur. Dirma, 27.07.1966. Commissioned by vendor from woman at Suku. Cost: 5/-.

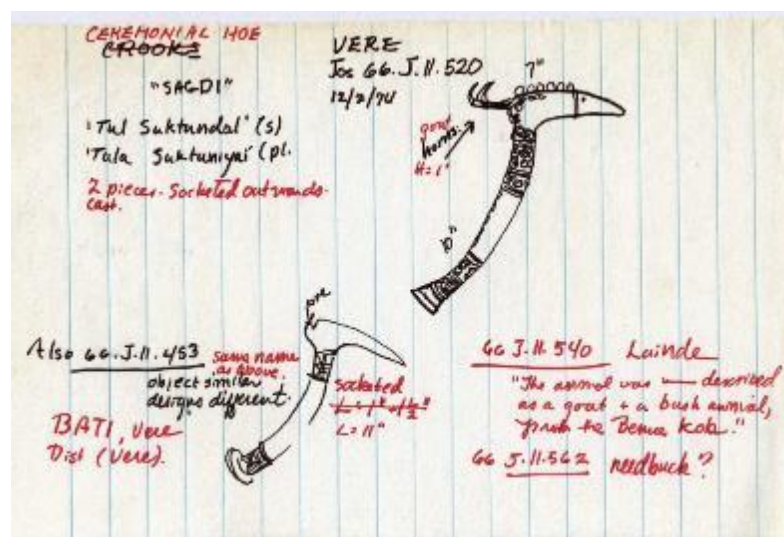
66.J11.450 Fixed-key xylophone: Yungur. Dumne, 27.07.1966. Commissioned from Remos of Dumne. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.451 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Daneaji). Location acquired not recorded, 29.07.1966. Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.452-4 Items acquired at Cholli, 29.07.1966. Vendor: Ibrahim.

66.J11.452 Ceremonial brass hoe. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.453 Ceremonial brass hoe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati, nr. Lainde. Socketed. Cost: 15/-.



Shaft sketched by Nancy Maas, bottom left

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.454 Brass short sword/dagger. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lugjo [Lugzo]. The seller (to Ibrahim) said the heads were of a bush animal (Fulfulde *lelwa*, Verre *baiyamas*, Senegal gazelle?), and the dagger had been made by Gabdewa of Chamba [Tchamba in Cameroon?] who told him this. The seller/original owner claimed to have been present at the casting. Cost: £3/10/-.

66.J11.455-457 Three women's brass arm bands. Acquired at Cholli, 29.07.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: 5/- each.

66.J11.458 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Kablai. Acquired at Girei, 30.07.1966. Engraved by vendor, Dudud (see **303, 398-9** above). Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.459 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Acquired at Girei, 30.07.1966. Engraved by wife of vendor, Mallam Shuwaibu. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.460-1 Two small pressure-engraved gourd bowls: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Acquired at Girei, 30.07.1966. Cost: 2/- each.

66.J11.462 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Acquired at Girei, 30.07.1966. Engraved by vendor, Awayu, at Jabbi Lamba. Design: *bawo huunyaare*, Fulfulde, back/shell of tortoise. Learnt in Bornu from Wodaabe relative. Cost: 14/-.

66.J11.463 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Acquired at Girei, 30.07.1966. Engraved by vendor, Hapsatu, Yola-born, but like many Yola Fulani probably of Bata origin. Since marriage, living in the compound of the Magaaji, the official who collects the tax in Yola. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.464 Brass short sword/dagger, *wək ga'ga* (s); *ga'ga* refers to the double spiral decorative pattern. Acquired at Cholli, 01.08.1966. Vendor: Ezzara. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Salassah Yadim. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.465 Brass clapperless bell/handgong, *buruk suktunkak* (s), *burum suktunmam* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 01.08.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Salassah Yadim. Fieldnotes (1966, 7: 8-9) record this is the type beaten by the *saari* age grade at *Gangni*, initiation; the size and shape of the handle, inclined downwards, led informants to identify this as for *Gazabi*. H 24.3, W 16; IH 17.9, WM 15.5, ED 9.1, ID 8.2. There appears to be a metal armature in the handle, still surrounded by the clay core. Traditional cost: 1 goat. Cost: £2/5/-.



16.8B.3



16.7A.9 or 16.7A.10

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.466 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Girei, 06.08.1966. Engraved by Hawayu. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.467 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Yola, 12.08.1966. Vendor: a Duru woman, visiting Yola market from near Garoua. She originally purchased the gourd from a woman in the Hausa Quarter, Yola, who had herself commissioned it from a Fulani woman at Mayo Ine. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.468 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Bata. Yola market, 12.08.1966. Engraved by vendor, Biscilla of Rugange, a Bata settlement near Yola. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.469 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Wodaabe). Girei, 13.08.1966. Engraved by vendor, Hawado, of Jabbi Lamba. Cost: 6/6.

66.J11.470 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Kablai. Girei, 13.08.1966. Engraved by Dudu, Hausa-speaking Kablai immigrant (refugee?) from Fort Lamy area of Republic of Chad. Now residing in Lainde, near Girei. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.471 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Yola, 15.08.1966. Engraved at Mayo Ine. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.472 Brass bracelet: Yungur (*mbongo/mbongsa*). Dumne, 19.08.1966. Said to have been cast locally. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.473-4 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Yungur. Dumne, 19.08.1966. Engraved by Lawan of Dumne (male). Cost: 473 10/-; 474 10/-.

66.J11.475-6 Beer strainers: Lala. Dumne, 19.08.1966. Made at Shellen. Cost: 475 1/3; 476 1/3.

66.J11.477 Pressure-engraved bottle gourd: Kablai. Girei, 20.08.1966. Engraved by Dudu (see also 470). Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.478 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl, with painted interior: Settled Fulani. Girei, 30.08.1966. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.479 Cornstalk 'pen' for interior painting of gourd: Settled Fulani. Girei, 30.08.1966. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.480 Silver hairpin (traditional): Settled Fulani (*masosi*, (s)). Yola, 05.09.1966. Traditionally commissioned from local silversmith using imported silver coins – initially German, then British. When new silver coins were introduced these were, it was claimed, largely commandeered by the Lamiido and his close associates and turned into bridle decorations for their horses: hence such hairpins were now hard to find. Cost: £1.

66.J11.481-2 Coiled basketry mats/bowl covers: Settled Fulani (*mbedu*, (s)). Yola, 05.09.1966. Vendor: Dija Beti. Cost: 481 15/-; 482 10/-.

66.J11.483-5 Coiled basketry mats/bowl covers: Settled Fulani (*mbedu*, (s)). Yola, 05.09.1966. Vendor: Hapsatu. Cost: 8/- each.

66.J11.486 Head pad for gourd: Settled Fulani (*tekkere*, (s)). Girei, 10.09.1966. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.487-90 Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.487 Women's smoking pipe, *kula bi'jaas* (s), *kulani bi'kiyai* (pl). Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.488 Iron sickle, *saps* (s), *sabi* (pl). Exclusively for male use. Cost: 10/-.

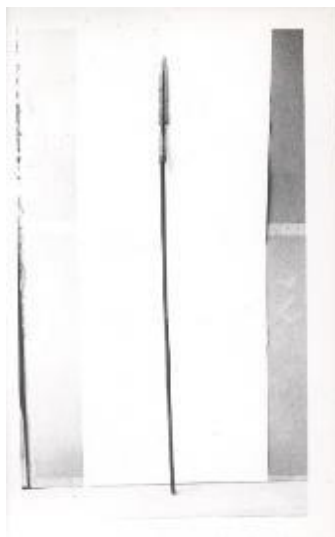
66.J11.489 Women's iron bracelet, *maas wanbogors* (s), *mai wanabogori* (pl). Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.490 Men's iron bracelet, *maas yaaks* (s), *mai yaagi* (pl). Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.491-5 Items acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli.

66.J11.491 Brass musical pipe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tomsoro. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.492 Brass ceremonial spear, *tooma suktunu* (s), *tooma suktunkak* (pl). For use of priest-chief (*donda gbijaas*). Cost: £1/10/-.



16.4B.22

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.493 Brass pot ring, *kal suktundal* (s), *kara suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Salassah Yadim. Cost: £3.

66.J11.494 Brass ceremonial shoes/sandals, *tagar suktundal* (s), *tagi suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Korkao, nr. Yadim. Said to have been cast by Yamarum at Salassah Yadim. Original cost: two goats. [Exhibited in the Jos Museum display cabinet of Adamawa Metalwork in 1967, see illustrations.] Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.495 Iron ceremonial double hoe, *tul f̄rundal* (s), *tula f̄ni* (pl). Later informants suggested this should be *tul f̄runkak* (s) which traditionally cost 3 goats. 'For *Gazabi* not *Tibaai*; for *d̄nda gbijaas* only; for use at *Wala*; held by him when leading dance and procession' (Fieldnotes 7: 59). Cost: £1.



UCLA Rubin archive – we do not know whether this hoe or that in the 1967 Jos Museum display was **495** collected by Chappel; the piece depicted seems to join rounded and squared blades, respectively associated with women and men

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.496 Unidentified brass item, initially transcribed as *balla suktunkak* (s), *ballit suktuntat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo. Probably a ritual staff *gbala* (s), *gbalit* (pl). Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.497 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.498 Spear (almost certainly of brass, judging by price paid). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.499-503 Items acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Boniface.

66.J11.499 Brass ceremonial drinking bowl (skeuomorph of gourd), *kur suktunkak* (s), *kurt suktunati* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. Two rings of decoration around rim. Blench and Edwards dictionary *k̄ar/k̄at*, gourd. Cost: £2/15/-.



16.5B.29.

66.J11.500 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wək suktundal* (s), *wəm suktunmam* (pl). Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.501 Large ring (whether a pot ring or a personal adornment is not recorded). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. Cost: **501-3** together £5.

66.J11.502 Musical pipe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Bought with **501/3** for £5.

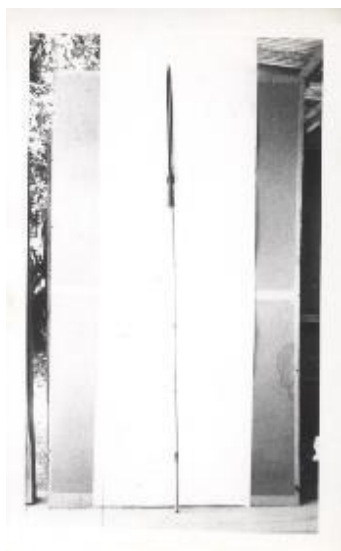
66.J11.503 Brass short sword/dagger. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Dolli, nr. Benglengfa. Bought with **501/2** for £5.

66.J11.504 Bell (iron?), *fongan* (s), *fongani* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Possibly misclassified by vendor (*pəngan*?). Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.505 Iron hoe, *tul fərandal* (s), *tula fəni* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.506 Brass short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Ezzara. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bayi or Derkopa, nr. Karlahi. Price not recorded.

66.J11.507 Spear (most probably brass head). Acquired at Cholli, 13.09.1966. Vendor: Ezzara. Price not recorded.



16.5B.29

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.508 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Acquired at Yola, 22.08.1966. Engraved by owner and vendor, Ada Beti, Yola-born, but residing in nearby hamlet of Beti. Friend of Dija Beti (see **509** below). Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.509 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Settled Fulani. Acquired at Yola, 19.08.1966. Engraved by owner and vendor, Dija Beti, who had been taught the work by her mother in Mayo Ine. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.510 No record current locatable.

66.J11.511-16 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.511 Iron bow string puller, *na* (hand) *kuti* (s), *nat kutti* (pl). Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.512-14 Three iron rings for women's little fingers, *maas* (s), *maai* (pl). Cost: 1/- each.

66.J11.515 Single brass clapperless bell/gong, *buruk suktunkak* (s), *burum suktunmam* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. H 24.35, W 17.5; IH 18.5, WM 16.9. ED 8.4, ID 7.5. There are clear indications of an iron armature embedded in the clay core of the handle. Cost: £1/15/-.



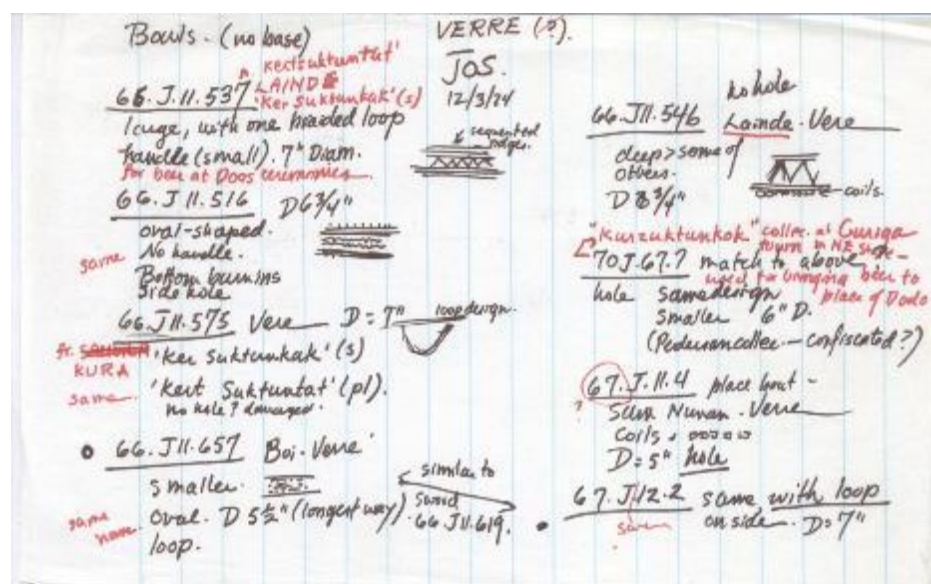
16.1B.3

66.J11.516 Brass ceremonial drinking bowl, *kur suktunkak* (s), *kurt suktuntati* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. Skeuomorph of decorated gourd. Height 9.4, Diameter 17.0cm. Cost: £2/3/-.



16.8B.3 contact print, on ring **703**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas – note

66.J11.517-20 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli.

66.J11.517 Women's bracelet. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.518 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl) (clapper missing). Decorated type restricted to *Tibaai* or smiths. Reportedly acquired from Sagdi. H 14.2, W 8.1. Cost: £1.



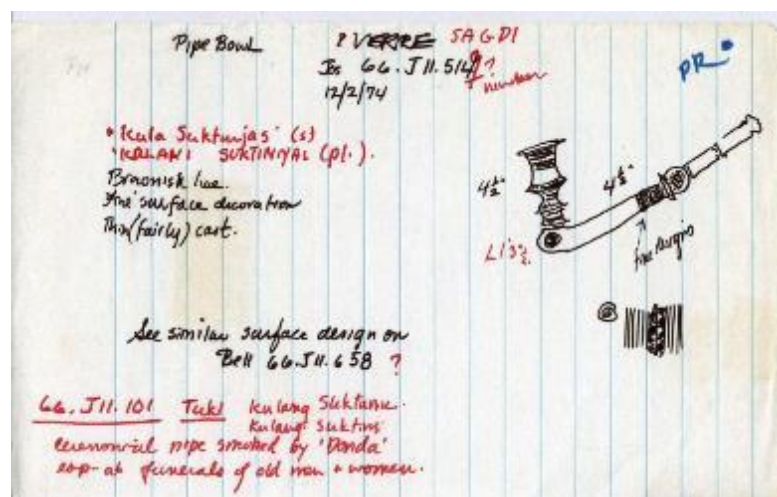
16.3C.17



16.7C.15 contact print

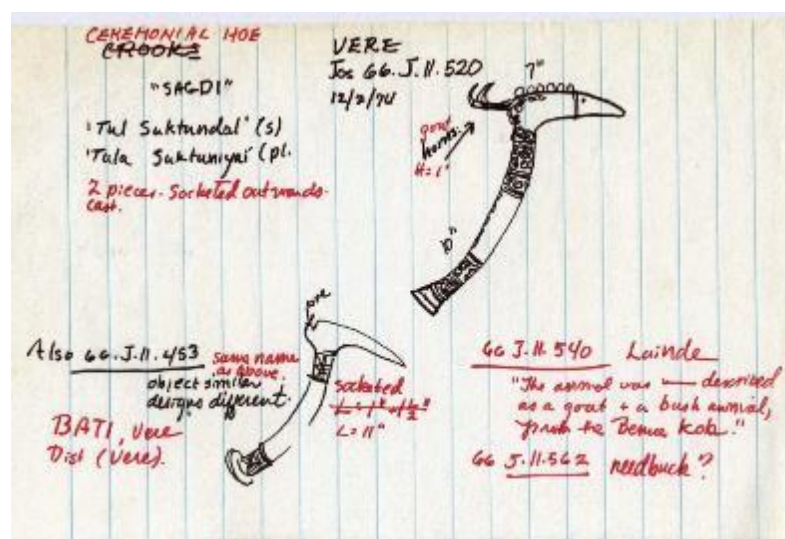
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.519 Women's brass smoking pipe, *kulang suktunu* (s), *kurangi suktunu* (pl) [transcribed below as *kula suktunjas* (s), *kula suktiniyal* (pl)]. Sketched by Maas in 1974 who compares surface decoration to that on bell (658). Reportedly acquired by vendor from Sagdi. Cost: 15/-



Maas – upper section

66.J11.520 Women's two-piece brass ceremonial hoe. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Sagdi. With female goat's horns. It was explained that the blades of women's hoes were curved, whereas men's hoes were square-sided, with ram's horns. Cost: £3/5/-.



Maas sketch of handle (top right)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

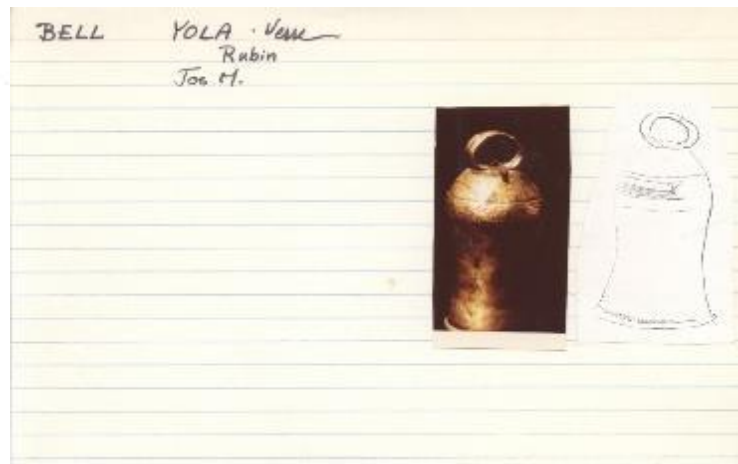
66.J11.521-28 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.66. Vendor: Yakubu.

66.J11.521-4 Four women's brass bracelets, *pangan* (s), *pangani* (pl). Cost: 7/- for all four.

66.J11.525-6 Two brass bells (for men). No measurements. Cost: **525** 15/-; **526** 10/-.



16.1C.5 525



16.4C.21 526

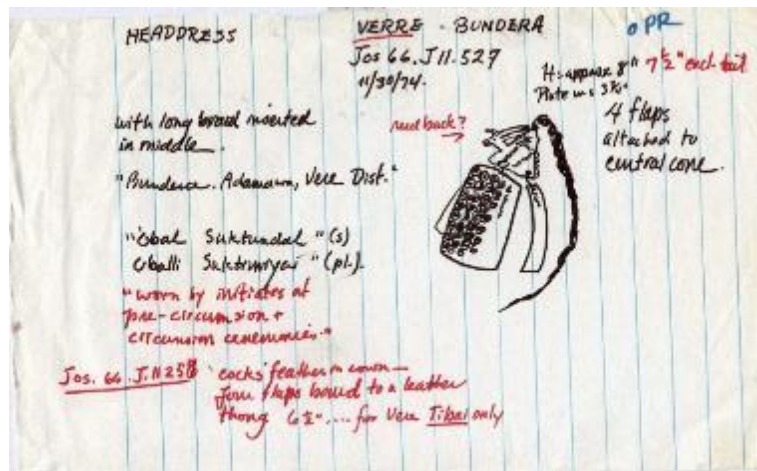
Arnold Rubin via Nancy Maas

66.J11.527 Brass ceremonial helmet for men, *bal suktundal* (s). Fieldnote records (66.5: 86), 'Cap [decorated] with *fadalla* [Fulfulde, compare *fadale*, white-tailed cow, Taylor 1932:46; more likely *padella*, reedbuck], *kwantarafi* [Hausa, reedbuck?]' . Cost: £1/5/-.



16.5C.30A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Sketch and note by Nancy Maas

66.J11.528 Pot ring, *kal* (s), *karai* (pl). Fieldnote records (66.5: 86) this item as 'for bowls'. Given price, presumably not in brass. Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.529-33 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Maudai.

66.J11.529 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl) (clapper missing). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. Decorated type restricted to *Tibaai* or smiths. H 14.9, W 9.9. Cost: £1.



16.2C.10

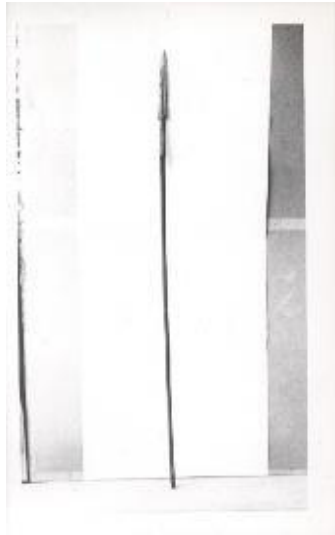


16.7C.13 contact print

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.530 Brass ceremonial musical pipe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.531 Brass ceremonial spear. Cost: £1.



16.4B.20

66.J11.532-3 Brass double clapperless bell/gong. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. Chambers now separated. H 24.25, W15.6; LIH 17.7, LWM 14.0, LED 10.3, LID 9.0; SIH 11.2, SWM 9.9, SED 7.5, SID 6.5. When joined the iron socket prong of the smaller chamber was riveted into the handle of the larger chamber. Cost: large chamber £1/15/-; small chamber 12/6.



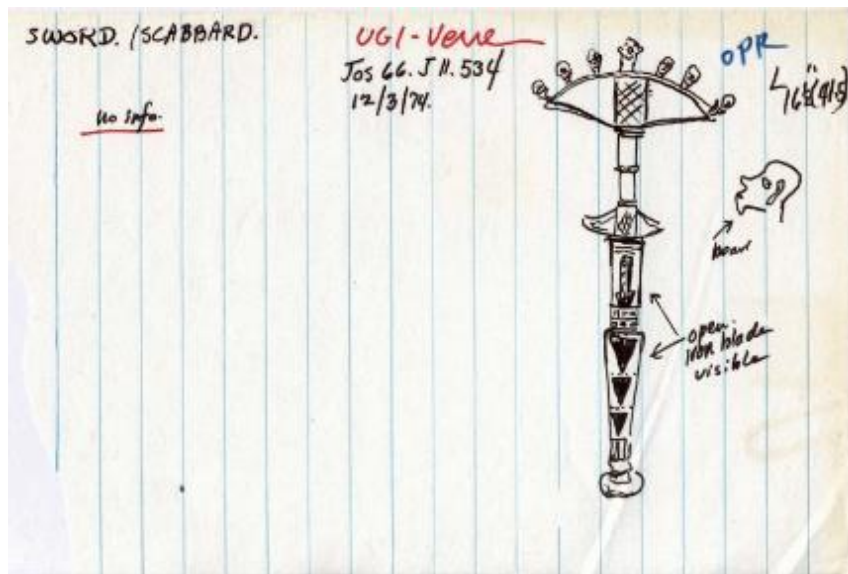
16.1B.4 large chamber



16.2B.11 small chamber

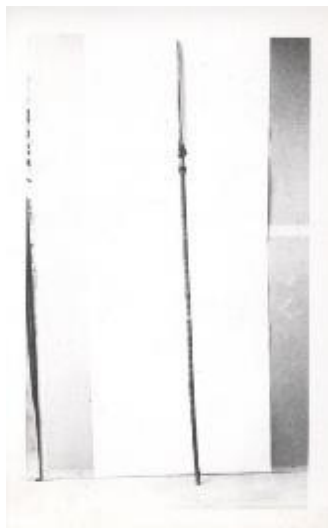
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.534 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kogara, nr. Karlahi. Fieldnote records (66.5: 87), 'with head of man'. Maas remarks 'beard'; openwork scabbard through which iron blade is visible. Cost: £2/5/-.



Nancy Maas sketch, short sword and scabbard; pommel ornamented with anthropomorphic central boss and three protrusions (crotal bells?) to either side. Overall length 16½ inches, 41.5cm.

66.J11.535 Two spears with brass heads. Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: James. Cost: **535** £1/5/-; **536** £1.



16.4B.18 **535**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



16.4B.19 536

66.J11.537-9 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Ezzara.

66.J11.537 Men's brass ceremonial drinking bowl; gourd skeuomorph; single band of decoration and small loop. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Lainde. See also Nancy Maas note on **516**. Cost: £2/5/-.



16.6B.34

66.J11.538 Men's brass ceremonial beer jar, *yerk suktunkak* (s), *yerm suktunmam* (pl). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Vengni. Supposing the ring is around 13cm then to judge by proportions of the photograph, roughly H 26, D (widest) 17. Cost: £3/15/-.



16.3B.16



16.7C.28 contact print on ring 605

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.539 Pot ring for ceremonial beer jar *yerk*, probably in iron given the price, *kal yerk* (s), *kara yerm* (pl). See **528** above. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.540-44 Items acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.540 Men's brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktundal* (s). Chappel fieldnote (66.5: 88) records: 'goat's horns/male – ram's head'; Maas: 'the animal ... described as a goat is a bush animal, probably a Benue kob' (see her note on sketch: **453** and **520**). If the animal was not a ram, as the vendor claimed, identification with Senegalese gazelle is made in other cases (**562**, **592**). Cost: £1.

66.J11.541 (Small) pot stand/ring, probably an iron ring given its price. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lainde. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.542 (Large) brass pot stand/ring. The price paid for **542** indicates an item in brass, either a large ring or a stand, hence the considerable price differential with **539**, **540** and also **528** supposing that was in metal. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.543 Ceremonial brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Wom. H 17.5, W 11.3. Traditional cost 6 goats ('final check'). Cost: £1/15/-.



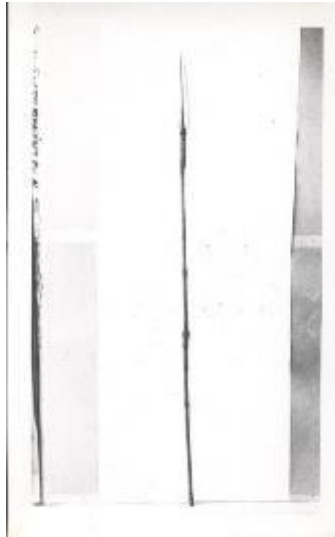
16.3C.18

16.7C.9 contact print

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.544 Men's brass short sword/dagger, *wek suktundal* (s), *wem suktunmam* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tomsoro. For the exclusive use of men of the senior age grade (*dɔnda*) during ceremonies for *Do'os*. Fieldnote (66.5: 88) records it to be of 'different type [from that] used by younger men'. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.545 Brass ceremonial spear (both shaft and head), *tɔɔma suktunu* (s), *tɔɔma suktunkak* (pl), shaft - *gbala suktunkak* (s), *gbalit suktuntat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Yesufu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sambi, nr. Lainde. Cost: £3.



16.4B.26

66.J11.546 Ceremonial brass drinking bowl, gourd skeuomorph with single band of zigzag design. Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lainde. See also Nancy Maas note on **516**. H 10.1, W 17.0. Cost: £2/5/-.

16.8A.12 contact print on ring **703**

16.5B.33

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.547 Ceremonial brass short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tomsoro. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.548-50 Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli.

66.J11.548-9 Two brass spear heads. Cost: **548** £1/10/-; **549** 15/-.



UCLA Rubin Archive – probably identification

66.J11.550 (Small) brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Wom. Smaller and less or un-decorated type for *Gazabi* or farmers. H 7, W 5.6. Unusually, the clapper/hanger is a single piece of iron. Cost: 6/-.



16.6C.31

16.7C.26 contact print

Arnold Rubin via Nancy Maas

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.551-58 Acquired at Cholli, 19.09.1966. Vendor: Suliman.

66.J11.551 Brass drinking bowl, *kur* (s). Cost: £2/5/-.

66.J11.552 Musical pipe, *gul* (s), possibly brass given price. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tomsoro. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.553 Musical pipe, *gul* (s), possibly brass given price. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati. Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.554 Smoking pipe, *maas kulang* (s). Cost: 3/6.

66.J11.555 Not identified specifically, but probably brass fan/fly whisk, *duma suktunkak* (s), *dumit suktuntat* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Wom. Fieldnote (66.5: 98) records 'for

men'. See **765** below. [N.B. *duma* is the name for a brass fan or fly whisk in other entries.] Cost: £1.

66.J11.556 Men's brass bracelet, *kambu suktunjas (s)*, *kambol suktini (pl)*. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Wom. Cost: 9/-.

66.J11.557 Brass spear shaft, *gbala suktunkak (s)*, *gbalit suktuntat (pl)*. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Bayi. Cost: £1.

66.J11.558 Brass double clapperless double bell/handgong. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Vengni. H 22.7, W 29.2; LIH 15.1, LWM 16.2, LED 8.1, LID 7.5; SIH 10.5, SWM 10.9, SED 7.3, SID 6.4. There appears to be a second casting over the socket joint at the handle: perhaps the handle was inadequate after the first casting. The socket prong, embedded in the core of the larger chamber, projects into the chamber of the smaller. Maas: note includes photograph of the same object from its other, damaged side. Cost: £2/15/-.



16.7A.16



Nancy Maas, reverse, including 16.2B.16

66.J11.559 Ceremonial brass stemmed goblet, *telkal suktundal (s)*, *tenkari suktini (pl)*. Acquired at Cholli, 23.09.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sambu, nr. Lainde. No measurements available. Cost: £4.



16.4B.27



16.8A.25

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.560 (Small) iron sickle, *tambus*. Acquired from Cholli, 23.09.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Initial fieldnote (66.5.: 92) records 'for young girl'; later fieldnote (66.7: 34) records, 'A practice version made by brass-caster – not for use' or, it was also suggested, this might be a small version of the larger *Tibaai tambus* for use by *Gazabi* at their own *Gangni* initiation ceremony.

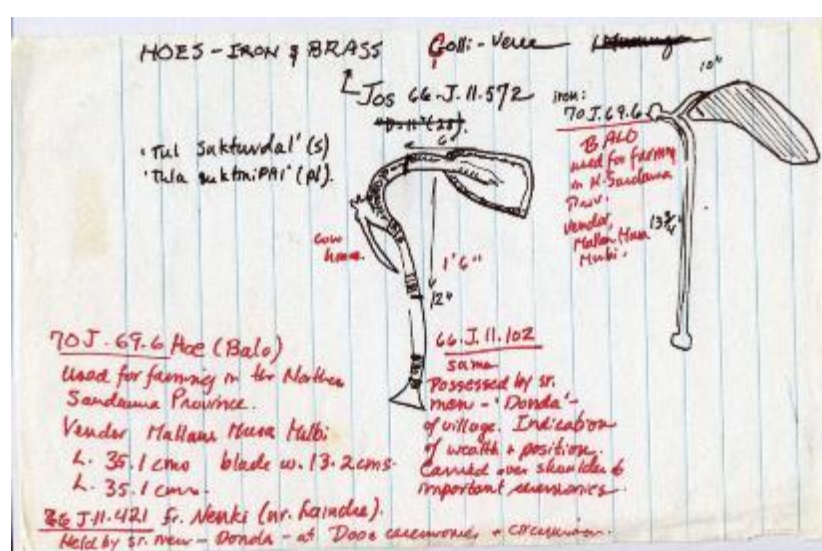
The strong association of the sickle with masculinity argues against the accuracy of the vendor's view. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.561-64 Acquired at Cholli, 23.09.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo.

66.J11.561 Brass ceremonial circumcision crook. Fieldnote (66.5: 92) records, 'with *kwantarafi* (Hausa, reedbuck?)'; see Maas, **562** below. Cost: 17/-.

66.J11.562 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktundal* (s). Fieldnote (66.5: 92) records, 'with *kwantarafi* (Hausa, reedbuck?)' see **561** above). Maas also suggests reedbuck with query (see her note on her sketch of **453** & **520**). Cost: £1.

Maas's sketch labelled **572** gives dimensions of 12 inches for shaft and 6 inches for blade. According to Chappel's notes, **572** should be a dagger, so we are assuming a slip and placing the sketch here until this can be checked. Cost: £1.



66.J11.563 Women's brass bracelet, *pangan* (s). The coil motif on plaited background is identical to that on three bracelets collected by the Frobenius expedition in 1911 and illustrated in the Frobenius archive and on accession to museums in Dresden and Hamburg. Cost: 6/-.



16.8A.33

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.564 Women's brass bracelet, *pangan* (s). Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.565-67a & b Acquired at Cholli, 23.09.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.565 Women's brass smoking pipe, *kula bi'jaas* (s), *kulani bi'kiyai* (pl), see also **413** and **487** for alternative Verre terms. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Jili. Cost: 13/-.

66.J11.566 Men's bracelet, *kambu* (s), *kambol* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Jili. Cost: 10/-.

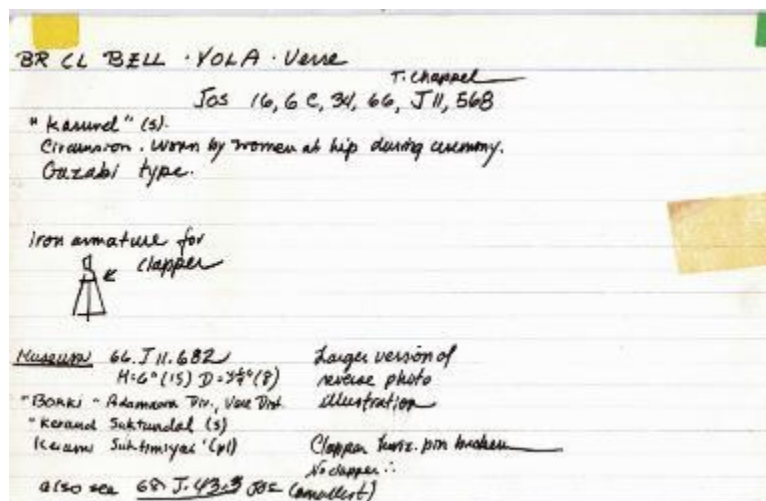
66.J11.567a & b Men's brass dance fan (note circular central motif) and handle, horsehair now missing, *duma* (s), *dumit* (pl). Cost: 7/6.



567a, 16.2C.7A

567b, 16.2C.8A

66.J11.568 Ceremonial brass clapper bell. Acquired at Cholli, 23.09,1966. Vendor: Maudai. Maas: brass bell with clapper. Height 6 inches (15cm), Diameter 3½ inches (8cm). Cost: 7/6.



Maas notes, including 16.6C.34

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.569 Men's brass dance fan, *duma* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 23.09,1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Marachi. Same term as **567a & b** above. Cost: £1.

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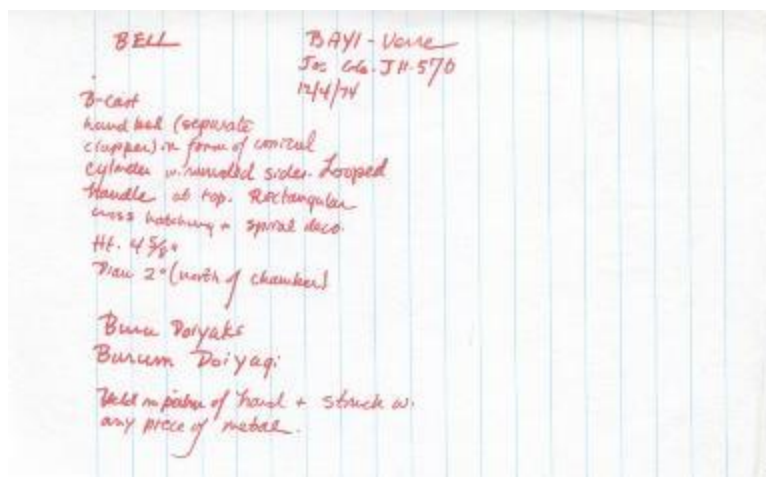
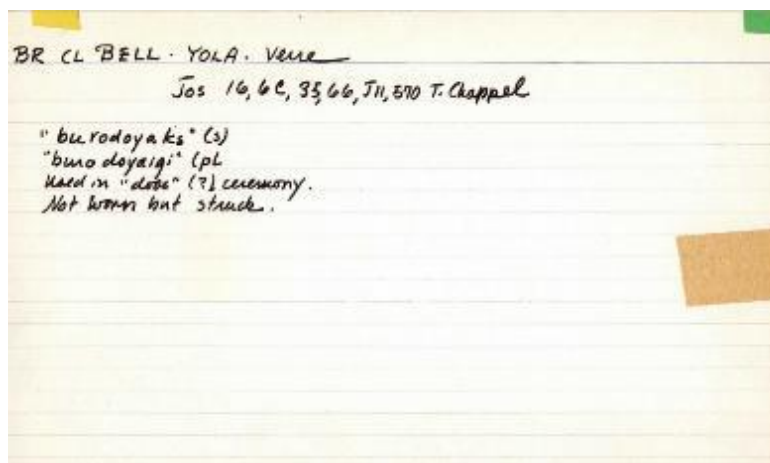
66.J11.570 Brass clapperless hand bell, *buruk doi'yaaks* (s), *burum doi'yaagi* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 10.10.1966. Vendor: Akila. Reportedly acquired by vendor from Bayi, nr. Uki. Fieldnotes (66.5: 98) record, 'can be struck with anything made of metal. Used during *Do'os* ceremonies'. Fieldnotes (66.7: 53) notes use by *Gazabi* at *Gangni*, initiation. H 11.5, W 6.5; IH 9.3, WM 4.9, ED 3.4, ID 2.7. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels. Cost: 18/-.



16.8B.6



16.8B.7 (reverse side, contact print)



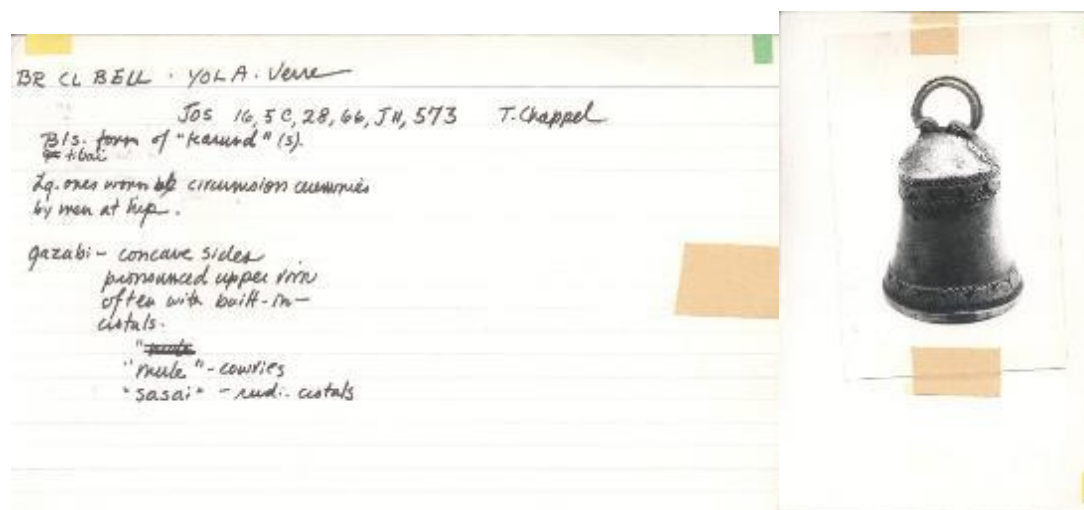
Nancy Maas notes including 16.6C.35

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.571 Brass ear plug. Acquired at Cholli, 10.10.1966. Vendor: Akila. Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.572 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 10.10.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Initially fieldnotes (55.5: 98) suggested a 'man wearing cow's horns', but 'final check' (66.7: 18) records, 'Not man's head, goat's head. Explanation provided by Yakubu [one of the most frequent Cholli vendors]: the maker [caster] wanted to show that his work was better than others. So, he said, "I will make a goat's head and see if the others can do the same". He was proving his ability to do something different.' Cost: £3.

66.J11.573 Brass bell. Acquired at Cholli, 10.10.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Maas has an extensive note. Cost: 5/-.



Maas note, including 16.5C.28

66.J11.574 Scabbard for missing brass ceremonial short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 10.10.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Boi, nr. Lainde. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.575-78 Items acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Samuila.

66.J11.575 (Damaged) brass ceremonial drinking bowl, decorated gourd skeuomorph. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Kura, nr. Yadim. See also Nancy Maas note on **516**. H 9.5, D 18.2. Cost: £1/10/-.



16.6B.35

16.7C.34 contact print, 605 UCLA Rubin archive

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.576 Brass ceremonial drinking, gourd skeuomorph (undamaged); decorated rim. H 9.6, D 19.1. Cost: £2.



16.5B.31



16.7C.33 on 409

66.J11.577 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger. Reportedly acquired by vendor from Sagdi. Fieldnotes from 'final check' (66.7: 19) describe it as a *wek ja* short sword for *Gazabi*. *Ja* refers to the interlace motif replicating plaited grass as in *zana* mats. The rounded projections are *porg* (s), *porm* (pl) replicating medicine containers. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.578 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.579-87 Acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Ezzara.

66.J11.579 Double clapperless brass bell/handgong. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Guriga. H 26.3, W 32; LIH 19.4, LWM 18.6, LED 12.1, LID 10.6; SIH 11.6, SWM 12.5, SED 8.8, SID 7.9. Core remaining in smaller handle, the iron socket prong of which projects well into the larger chamber; leather binding covers socket. Decoration bears some similarity to **532-3**. Cost: £2/15/-.



16.7A.15

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.580 Musical pipe (price indicates brass). Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.581-4 Four women's brass rings, *wal suktundal* (s), *wana suktini* (pl). Cost: 5/- together.

66.J11.585 Men's brass medicine container, *gul gbondunal* (s), *gura gbodini* (pl). Fieldnotes (66.5: 10) record '*safiru* medicine container. Worn by men on the right hip only'. Openwork, elongated object with belt loop; presumably phallic. Cost: 10/-.



16.8B.33

66.J11.586 Brass bell. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Maro, nr. Cholli, or Kura nr. Yadim. H 13.1, D 9.6. Cost: 15/-.



16.2C.11



6.7C.17 contact print

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.587 Women's smoking pipe. Cost: £1.

66.J11.588-90 Items acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Stefanus.

66.J11.588 Ceremonial brass drinking bowl. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Vengni, or Kura, nr. Yadim. Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.589 Men's medicine container (large), *gul gbondunal* (s), *gura gbodini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Marachi. 'Worn by men on the right hip only', note that women's bells and pendants are worn on the left hip. See **586**. Cost: 10/-.



16.8B.34

66.J11.590 Men's medicine container (small), *gul gbondunal* (s). Cost: 1/-.

66.J11.591 Single chamber brass clapperless bell/handgong. Acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. H 34, W 16.5; IH 22.2, WM 15.8, ED 10.5, ID 9.9. The handle is core-filled: there is no sign of an armature. Cost: £1/15/-.



16.7A.8 contact print



16.8B.4 contact print

66.J11.592 Women's brass bracelet, *pɔngan* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.593 Ceremonial brass short sword/dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Brass hilt filial with an anthropomorphic central boss flanked by two crotal bells (two, or two pairs, more may be missing). Cost: £2/15/-.



16.7B.33, 34, 35 contact prints

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.594 Ceremonial brass pot stand. Acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Simon. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Yadim. Cost: £2/5/-.

66.J11.595-7 Items acquired at Cholli, 14.10.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.595 Ceremonial brass hoe. Fieldnote (66.5: 102) records, 'with *kwantarafi*' (Hausa, reedbuck?), presumably horns thereof. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.596 Bracelet. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.597 'Brass knobkerrie' (Notebook 66.7: 102), *ballal* (s). Probably a brass ceremonial staff, *gbala* (s), *gbangla* (pl). Cost: £1.

66.J11.598 Hunting bow etc. Recorded (66.7: 102) as *rab lugujare* (s), *rat lugujare* (pl). *Lugujaare* (s), *lugujaaje* (pl), is a Fulfulde word referring specifically to an archer's pull ring (Taylor, 1932:128). It was said that Verre learnt the technique for using it from the Fulani. *Rab* is a Verre word translated as 'catch'. Presumably part of a hunting set. (See also 699.) Cost: £1.



16.3B.66

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.599-601 Three brass bracelets, *pangan* (s). Cost: **599** 7/-; **600** 5/-; **601** 5/-.

66.J11.602-10 Items acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: James.

66.J11.602 Ceremonial brass clapper bell, *kerumd Tibaai* (s), *kerumi Tibaai* (pl). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Kesa, nr. Cholli. Also classified as: *kerumd sa'sai Tibaai* (s). *Sa'sai* indicates 'ankle bells' or crotal decoration; *Tibaai* indicates that use is restricted to smiths. H 15.6, W 8.8. Traditional cost 2 goats ('final check'). Cost: £1/5/-.



16.3C.15



16.7C.12

66.J11.603 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (clapper missing). Also classified as *kerumd mule Tibaai* (s); *mule* indicating brass-beaded waistband type of decoration at the shoulder of the bell, and *Tibaai* that this kind of decoration is restricted to smiths. H 14.1, W 8.0. Cost: £1.



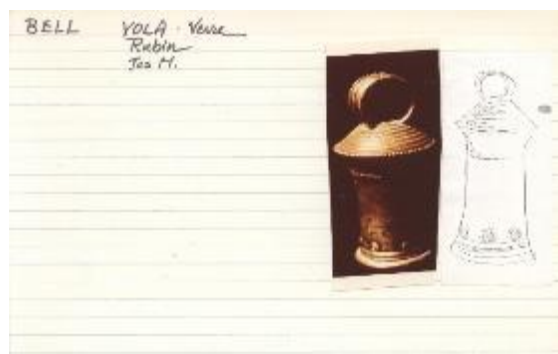
16.1C.1



16.7C.16



UCLA Rubin Archive, left



Maas

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.604 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s), *kerumi Gazabi* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. *Gazabi* indicates exclusive use by farmers. H 13.1, W 7.8. Traditional cost one goat ('final check'). Cost: £1.



16.7C.24



16.5C.26

66.J11.605 Brass bowl ring *wand suktundal* (s), *wani suktini* (pl). Note it is not designated a *kal* or pot stand, presumably on account of its size being that of an armband. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Boki. Photographed with **538**, **575**, **623**. About 13cm to judge by the photographs for two jars for which we have dimensions. Cost: 12/-.

16.7C.29 supporting **623**16.7C.28 supporting **538**16.7C.34 supporting **575**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.606 Brass bracelet, *pɔngan*(s). Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.607 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd suktundal* (s), *kerumi suktini* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. Also classified as *kerumd Tibaai*, see **603** above. H 11.7, W 7.4. Traditional cost one goat ('final check'). Cost: £1.



16.4C.23



16.7C.20 contact print

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.608 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger (without scabbard), *wek tɔngta Gazabi* (s), *wem tɔngtai Gazabii* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tosa [Toza], nr. Karlahi. Fieldnote (66.5: 106) records that 'tɔngta (s), tɔngte (pl) refers to "funnel" worn on head by [Gazabi] initiates (two bought)'. See **712** below. Cost: £1.

66.J11.609 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek wan marus Tibaai* (s), *wem wan mari Tibaai* (pl). Use restricted to smiths. Fieldnote (66.5: 106) records 'wan marus = head (of anything)'. Claim that heads were female is probably from a later source. Cost: £2.

66.J11.610 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek sokkol Tibaai* (s), *wem sokkoli Tibaai* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Togaro. *Sokkol* refers to a particular style in which women plait their hair (later communication elaborates as, plaits running from the ear to the side of the chin). Cost: 10/-.

Fieldnote (66.5: 106-7) records, 'All other daggers and knives for use by *Tibaai*, and all from Bosibani, nr. Karlahi'. Additional note on knives: 'Verre term for knives, generally, *wek* (s), *wem* (pl); handle, *do'gur* (s), *do'gi* (pl); brass handle, *do'gur suktundak* (s), *do'gi suktini* (pl); wood handle, *do'gur rap* (s), *do'gi rat* (pl); all iron knife, *wek dengbur* (s), *wem dengbi* (pl). Knives may also be classified according to the type of decoration employed, e.g. **544** *wek ga'ga* (s), *wem [wema] ga* (pl), *ga* referring to spiral motif (wherever found), *ga'ga* to a double spiral; **664** *wek ga'ga deesire* (s), *wem [wema] ga'ga deesirei* (pl), the term *deesire* being applied generally to this knob-like form of decorative motif; **500**, *wek deesire* (s), *wem [wema] deesire* (pl).

66.J11.611 Two brass ornamental bracelets, *pɔngan*. Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Elli. Cost: **611** 5/-; **612** 6/-.

66.J11.613 Brass bell, *kerumd Tibaai* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Elli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bositani, nr. Karlahi. Cost: 5/-.

Fieldnote (66.5: 107) records, 'Decoration/motifs: *bit* (s), *bir* (pl), a generic term. No special terms for different types of decoration other than *ga* (s) (spiral), *bix* (s), *bigi* (pl) (snake pattern), *mule* (knobs on women's waistband), *sa'sai* (s) ankle bells.'



16.4C.22

66.J11.614 Brass ceremonial, clapperless double handbell/handgong. Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Simon. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Doladi, nr. Guriga. Both handles are core-filled; no sign of a metal armature. Leather binding covers handle and socket joint. H 27.3, W 28.4; LIH 20.3, LWM 14.3; SIH 12.1, SWM 11.7; LED 7.9, LID 7.0; SED 7.0, SID 6.2 Cost: £2.



16.2B.7



16.7A.13 enlarged contact print



UCLA Arnold Rubin archive

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.615 Bracelet. Acquired at Cholli, 17.10 1966. Vendor: Simon. Cost: 6/-.

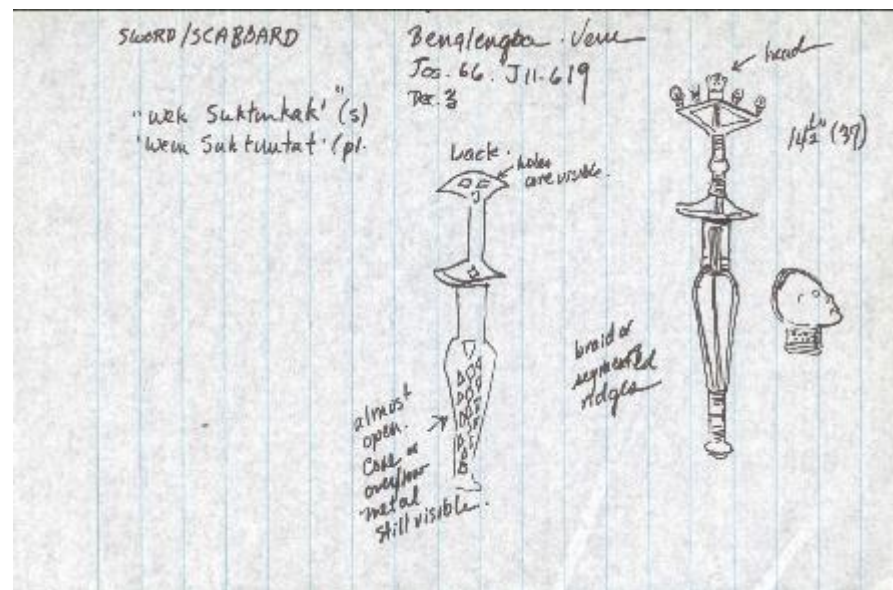
66.J11.616-18 Items acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Akila.

66.J11.616 Bracelet. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.617 Men's brass arm ornament, *wand'na* (s), *wani'na* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. *Wan+na*? Elsewhere *na* is translated as hand, recorded as 'worn on upper arm'. Cost 5/-.

66.J11.618 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek ja* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Guriga. *Ja* refers to the interlace motif replicating plaited grass as in *zana* mats. The rounded projections, *porg* (s), *porm* (pl), replicate medicine containers. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.619 Brass dagger/short sword and scabbard. Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Benglengfa. Noted as *wek wan marus Tibaai*. *Wan marus* implies an anthropomorphic element in the decorative motifs on the pommel, in this case the central boss being a head. Possibly the dagger in the 1967 Jos display cabinet. Cost: £2/10/-.



Nancy Maas sketch: right, front of dagger; left, back of dagger (not including back of protuberances). The overall sheathed length is 14½ inches = c.37cm. Of scabbard back, 'almost open. Core or overflow metal still visible'; front: 'braided or segmented ridges'. Pommel: 'holes, core visible'.

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.620-22 Items acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.620 Brass ceremonial bowl, shaped like a drinking gourd. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Boki, nr. Lainde. Rim decoration (including loop), and two vertical lines of decorative spirals. Cost: £2/10/-.



16.5B.32

66.J11.621 Brass pot stand/ring bought together with **620**. More likely to be a small ring given price. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.622 Brass pot stand for *do'os* rituals, *ṭṭṭma gbaas* (s), *ṭṭṭma gba* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bokli, nr. Lainde, or Vengni. If complete it would have had a brass shaft. Cost: £2.



16.5C.29A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.623 Brass ceremonial vessel, *dens suktunjas* (s), *denda suktini* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 17.10.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bokki, nr. Karlahi, or Boki, nr. Lainde. Information from 'final check', called *gurme suktunu* (s), *gurmei suktini* (pl). Measurements taken when photographed: Height 15.4, Diameter at mouth 12.0. For senior *baaba gbijaas*, *Gazabi* woman only and used during *Ris Kaguri* first fruits [shaped like a water storage jar rather than a beer jar, *yerk*]. Cost: £3.



16.3B.14



16.7C.29 contact print, on ring 605

66.J11.624-5 Two raffia baskets: Settled Fulani, *kindaire* (s), *kindaije* (pl), Fulfulde. Acquired at Yola, 17.10.1966. Made at Jada, Sardauna Province. Used as containers for gourds. Cost: 6/- each.

66.J11.626 Identified by vendor as *gamsis* (s), *gamsi* (pl) [probably *gamsus* (s), sickle]. Acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor Bapi Cholli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bayi. Fieldnotes (66.5: 112) on acquisition record it be held by priest-chief during *Do'os* ceremonies. Later checked with informants who disagreed (66.7: 33-4 'final check') and thought **626** a type of crook for farmers, *tambus Gazabi*; it was singled out (with accompanying sketch) as an example of the 'flatter-curved' blade characteristic of this type of ceremonial object, in contrast to the more sharply curved *Tibaai* variety of *tambus*. It was additionally described as *tambus nengtabungs* (s), *tamba nengtabungni* (pl), the descriptor said to designate horizontal bands of decoration. An analogy with Chamba suggests this might be a sickle-like priestly insigne such as that on the left in the plate below. If **626** is indeed the piece in Rubin's photograph, resembling a crook with a sickle blade, then it is understandable informants might disagree whether to class it a sickle or crook. Cost: 15/-.



Possibly, Rubin archive, left

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.627 Men's brass container (for snuff), *gul taba* (s), *guri taba* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor Bapi Cholli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Yadim. Cost: 6/-.

Fieldnote (66.5: 112) records *gul* as general term for container used by men; with a stopper of leaves. Chappel's later informants (66.7: 56 'final check') revised this account to suggest this object was *ja jaks suktunkak* (s), *ja jagi suktuntat* (pl). For *Tibaai* only, and then restricted to *dondas wajaas* and *gbijaas* (not *sari*). Used during *Gangni*: held hanging from second and third fingers of left hand. Snuff, *anfideka run* (s & pl), put in it. Traditional cost: 1 cockerel.

66.J11.628 Unidentified object. Acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor Alim Cholli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Marachi. Fieldnote (66.5: 112) identifies this object as *saferu* [cf. Taylor, 1932:163, *safiru*, Fulfulde, brass medicine container]. So most probably a brass medicine container. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.629-32 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.629 Brass bell, *kerumd bix Tibaai*. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Noted that *bix* refers to snake-skin decoration. Traditional cost 1 goat. Cost: 8/-.



16.1C.6

66.J11.630 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd bix Tibaai*. Reportedly acquired from vendor at Sagdi. H 12.1; W 6.4. Cost: 8/-.



16.4C.19



16.7C.21 contact print



UCLA Rubin Archive, right

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.631 Men's ivory bracelet, *wand* (s), *wani* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kesa. Informants commented, 'probably not Verre'. Cost: 8/-.

66.J11.632 Smoking pipe (presumed brass from price). Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.633-36 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli.

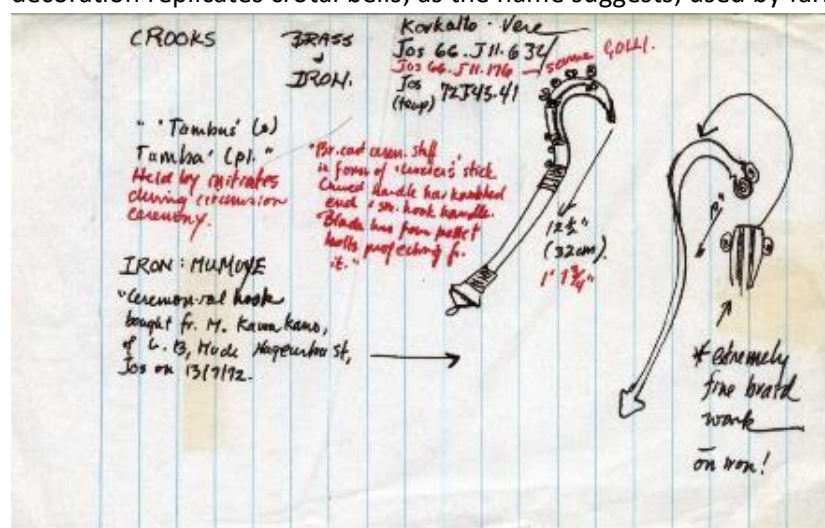
66.J11.633 Clay male figure, *wan marus wops* (s), *yanga mari wops* (pl). Cost: 2/-.

Musa, the vendor, claimed that it was made in Cholli by local women and held by girls dancing during various ceremonies for *Do'os*. This account was contradicted by Chappel's regular informants (66.7: 63), during his 'final check', 'For *Tibaai* only; for *sari*, *donda wajaas*, and *donda gbijaas* if can't afford brass; must also be *marus* person. Held during *Serkana* festival in right hand against hip [sketch showing pose similar to that of clay figure] [whilst] saying: "I am holding my friend". Made by women – not for women. Kept by owners in sleeping rooms.' 'My friend' may be a reference to a special or specifically joking relationship. These informants were adamant that such figures were never used by women.



16.6C.34A

66.J11.634 Ceremonial brass crook, *tambus sa'sai Gazabi* (s); *sa'sai* indicates that the decoration replicates crotal bells; as the name suggests, used by farmers, *Gazabi*. Cost: 15/-.



Nancy Maas sketch, 12½ inches = 32cm

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.635 Crook, *tambus mule Tibaai (s)*; *mule* refers to women's waistbands. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Cholli. Subsequently noted as for *Gazabi*. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.636 Crook. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Korkalo. Subsequently noted as for *Gazabi*. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.637-42 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.637 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd mule Tibaai (s)*; for *mule* reference see **635** above. Cost: 15/-.



16.2C.7

66.J11.638 Brass ceremonial clapper bell with extensive decoration, *kerumd sa'sai Tibaai (s)*; for *sa'sai* reference see **634** above. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lainde. H 14.4, W 9.9. Cost: 15/-.



16.1C.3



16.7C.14 contact print



Sketch Nancy Maas; slide Arnold Rubin

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Rubin (with 672)

66.J11.639 Brass ceremonial clapper bell, *kerumd ga Gazabi* (s). The term *ga* refers to the ubiquitous spiral motif. Among smaller bells (all identified as being for use by *Gazabi*). No measurements. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Cost: 10/-.



16.6C.32

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.640 Brass medicine container, *saferu*. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. See also **432** and **628**. Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.641 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktundal* (s). Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.642 Identified only as a pipe. Most probably smoking, rather than musical (latter usually indicated), and probably brass, given price (an ordinary smoking pipe, 2/-). Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.643 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd mule Tibaai* (s). Acquired at Choll, 24.10.1966. Vendor: James. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Decorated type restricted to *Tibaai* or smiths. H 17.6, W 9.6. Cost: £1.



16.1C.2

16.7C.11 contact print

66.J11.644 Women's bracelet, *pɔngan* (s). Acquired at Choll, 24.10.1966. Vendor: James. Cost: 6/-.

6.J11.645-47 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Samuila.

6.J11.645 Iron smoking pipe, *maas kulang* (s). Cost: 6/-.



UCLA Rubin Archive, upper, probable identification

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.646 Brass ceremonial clapper bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Smaller and less or un-decorated type for *Gazabi* or farmers. From Sagdi. H 10.2, W 6.2. Cost: 7/-.

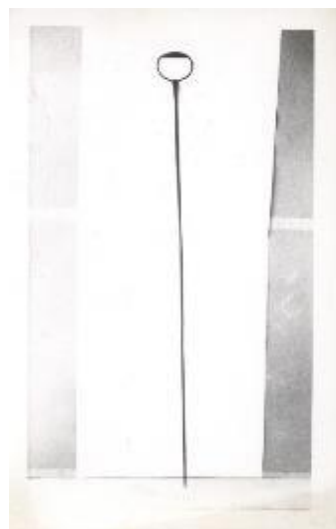


16.4C.20



16.7C.22 contact print

66.J11.647 Ceremonial iron spear/staff, not pointed but with rattle top, *tɔɔma bogarus* (s), *tɔɔma bogari* (pl). Note that *bogarus* is an iron leg rattle. Owned by senior *dɔnda*, *dɔnda gbijaas*. Traditional cost: 2 goats. Cost: £1.



16.5B.25

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.648-50 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Abila.

66.J11.648 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wɛk Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Ragin, nr. Uki. Said to have been made by Yawam of Lainde. Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.649 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd ga Gazabi* (s). For *ga* reference see **639** above. Among additional smaller bells (all identified as being for use by *Gazabi*). No measurements. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Cost: 6/-.



16.6C.33

66.J11.650 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Among additional smaller bells (all identified as being for use by *Gazabi*). No measurements. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat) ('final check'). Cost: 4/-.

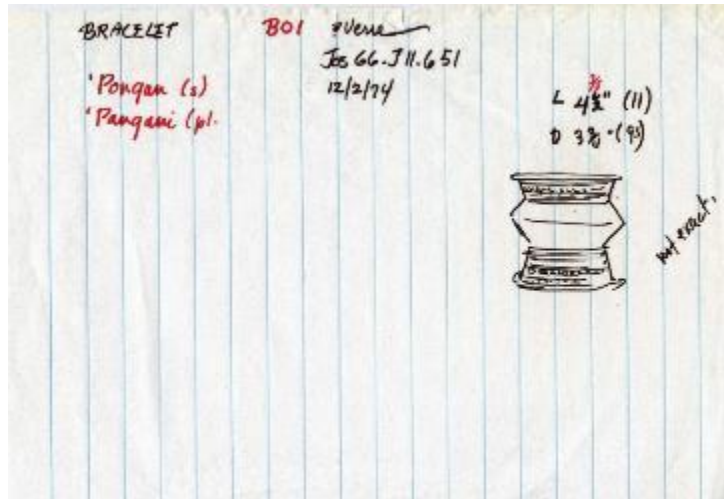


16.2C.10A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.651-57 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Layi.

66.J11.651 Two brass armbands/sleeves, *pɔngan suktunkak* (s). *Gazabi* do not have these, just *Tibaai*: they are worn only at the *Serkana* festival. Women's bracelets are also termed *pɔngan* (653, 563, 617, 659) despite being different in form; they are worn only by *baaba* (women of senior age-grade). Traditional cost of both the armband and bracelet was 2 goats. Cost: **651** 10/-; **652** 6/-.



Nancy Maas sketch of *pongan*; with flared central section, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches (11 x 9.5cm)

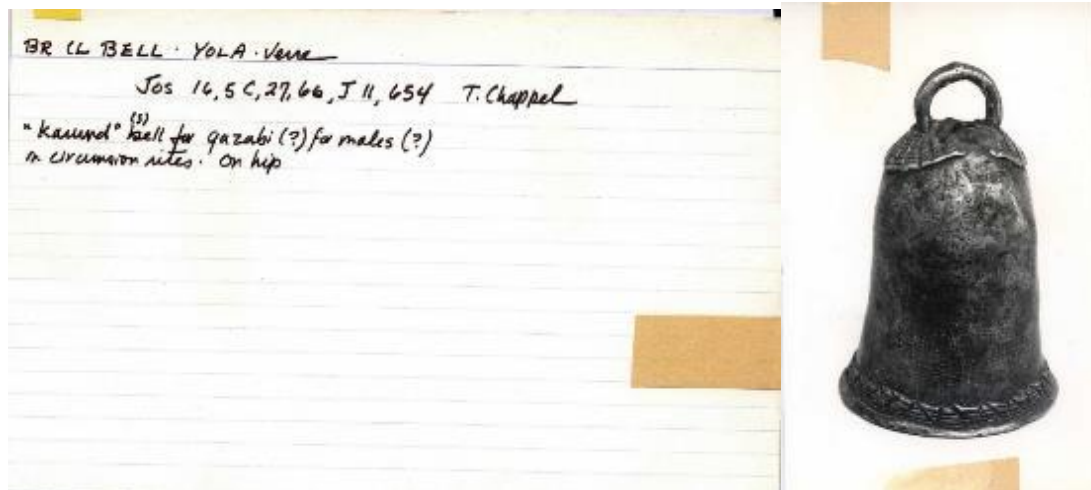
66.J11.653 Men's ivory bracelet, *wand* (s), *wani* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lainde. A brass version of this, worn by women, and similar to a *pongan*, is called *wan suktundal*. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.654 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Boi. Smaller and less or un-decorated type for *Gazabi* or farmers. As well as an unusual form, this bell has a single-piece clapper (one prong of which has broken off), whereas most clappers for larger bells are suspended from a hanger. H 9.0, W 7.4. Cost: 3/-.



16.7C.23

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas note and photograph 16.5C.27

66.J11.655 Ceremonial staff, *gbala* (s), *gbalit* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Guriga. Cost: £1.

66.J11.656 Brass bracelet, *pɔngan* (s). Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.657 Brass ceremonial bowl, *ker* (s), shaped like a drinking gourd with two decorative bands and a small loop. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Kura. No measurements available. See also Nancy Maas note on **516** where it is described as a smaller example, oval and 5½ inches at its widest diameter. Cost: £1.

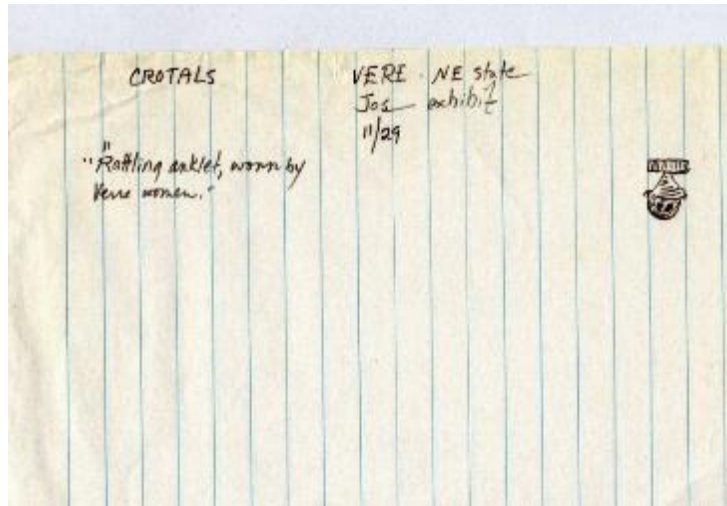


16.6B.36

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.658-61 Items acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Ardo Sambo.

66.J11.658 Brass crotal ankle bells, *sa'sai* (s). Cost: 3/-.



Exhibited Jos 1974, not necessarily this accession number

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.659 Men's ivory bracelet, *wand* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. See **653**. Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.660 Bracelet, *pangan* (s). Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.661 Ritual brass staff, *gbala arandu* (s), *gbalit arandi* (pl). See **655** above. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Seba, nr.Maró, or Rumde, nr.Cholli. Traditional cost 3 goats and 30 cowries. Cost: £1/10/-.

Fieldnote (66.7: 10 'final check') records,
 'Only for *Tibaai*: though both *Tibaai* and *Gazabi* may own iron versions. Within *Tibaai*, *donda wajaas* and *donda gbijaas* may own brass versions. These are used during the ceremony of *Baaka Do'os*, relating to inauguration of *donda wajaas*. Iron versions can be owned by *was* and *sari* and used for many purposes, including hunting. Formerly, they were also a weapon of war. The brass versions can be used for the ceremonial pre-circumcision "beating" of initiates. Only *sari*, *donda wajaas* and *donda gbijaas* are/were allowed into the *Do'os* cult house, *lug Do'os*. If someone else entered, a *donda gbijaas* could use his *gbala* to beat him and, formerly, kill him, it being announced that "*Do'os* has killed him".'

66.J11.662 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd ga Gazabi* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Ezzara. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Boki [Bokki]. Smaller and less or un-decorated type for *Gazabi* or farmers. Iron cross-piece for a clapper is brass-welded to the inside of the bell. H 12.7, W 13.75. Traditional cost: 1 goat. Cost: £1.



16.7C.25 (reversed)

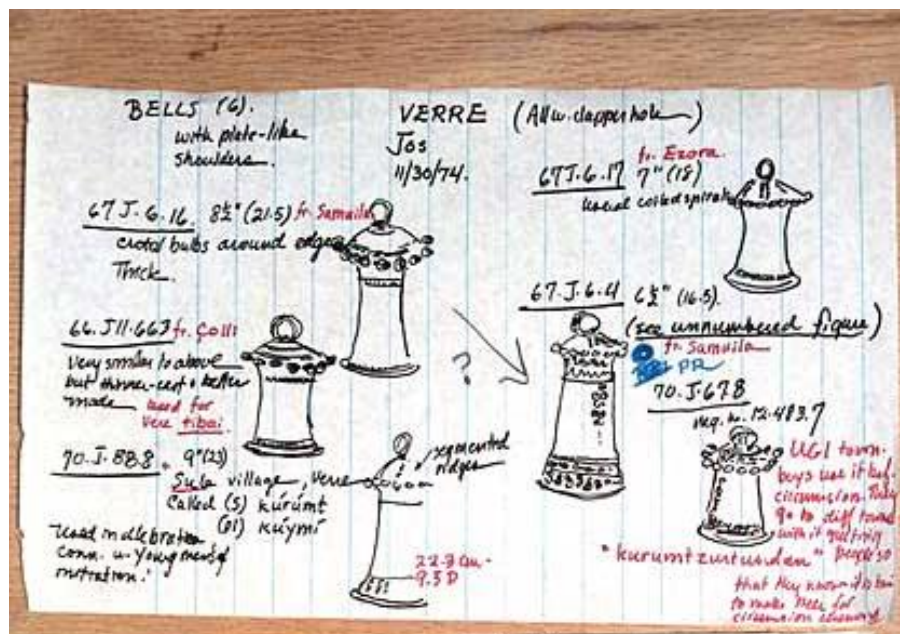


16.7C.25 contact print



16.4C.24

66.J11.663 Brass clapper bell for *Tibaai*. Acquired at Cholli, 24.10.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Cost: £1.



Nancy Maas sketch (centre left); five additional Verre bells illustrated were acquired after the Chappel collection in 1967 and 1970

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.664-5 Male and female pair of squat carved wooden figures, *wan marus rap* (s), *yanga maari rat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 28.10.1966. Vendor: their carver, Modari Cholli, (male aged around 45 years). Type of wood (*rap*) used: *bomp* (s), *boms* (pl); *danawal* (Fulfulde). Modari recounted that he saw an old man carving and copied him, and that he was the only person in Cholli making such images. The figures were held by girls during the *Dei-ki* initiation rites, particularly the *Zangazaar* ceremony which involved making and drinking beer. It was described as like *Do'os* for women and seen only by them. The beeswax in which abras seeds are embedded is called *dis sawosi*. The seeds are called *dukomberli* (s), *dukomberlui* (pl.). Cost: 10/- each.



16.4C.24A female

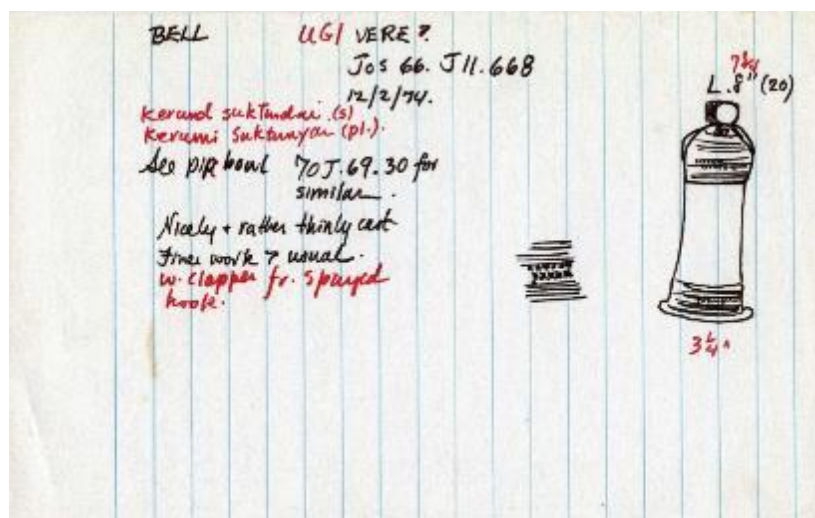
16.4C.25A male

66.J11.666 Fixed-key xylophone: Laka. Acquired at Jimeta, 29.10.1966. Commissioned (23.08.1966) from Musa of Jimeta. Cost not recorded.

66.J11.667 Decorated gourd bowl. No further information recorded. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.668-74 Items acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Elli.

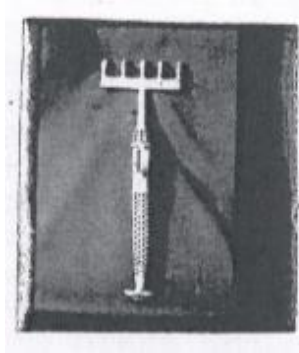
66.J11.668 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd bix Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. Cost: 15/-.



Nancy Maas sketch: Height: 8" (20cm) Diameter: 3.25" (8.5cm)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.669 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek ja Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. The term *ja* refers to plaited *zana* matting, here referencing the cut-out patterning. May be owned but not used by *Gazabi*. Cost: £1/10/-.



16.7B.36



Rubin 1973, Plate XVa



Left - Arnold Rubin Papers Box 11

<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt5z09p0rn>

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

The composition (front-light on a dark ground) suggests this photograph belongs to the series recording items in the Jos museum. We are unable to identify the central and right-hand daggers with accession numbers. They appear neither of them is **619**, the dagger drawn by Maas, nor the dagger on the left-hand side wall of the Jos display cabinet of Adamawa metalwork.

66.J11.670 Brass smoking pipe. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.671 Knife, *wék do'gur Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Fieldnote (66.7: 19) records, '*do'gur* because of the shape of the handle/hilt'. Price paid suggests iron, not brass. Note accessioned as 'knife' and not 'short sword' or 'dagger'. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.672 Brass clapper bell, *kerumd mule Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Guriga. The term *mule* indicates a decorative replication of the form of a woman's waistband. This bell has unusually elongated proportions; its clapper is missing. H 14.5, W 7.5. Traditional cost 1 goat. Cost: 10/-.

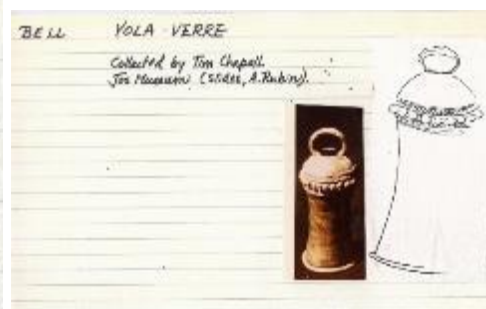
The print and contact prints look to be the same piece, although taken at different times. Nancy Maas's sketch is from a colour slide, without Jos accession number, that is also found in Arnold Rubin's collection of photographs from Jos, now in his archive at the Fowler Museum.



16.3C.13



16.7C.19 contact print



Nancy Maas/Arnold Rubin

Rubin (with **538**)

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.673 Ceremonial hoe, *tul* (s). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Bayi [Bai], nr. Uki. Price paid suggests brass. Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.674 Brass scabbard only. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Guriga. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.675 Brass ceremonial musical instrument (horn?), *fɔra suktunkak* (s), *fɔrt suktuntat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. Price paid suggests an exceptional item. Field note (66.5: 121) records 'for calling people to *Do'os* [shrine]; if blown they must leave whatever they are doing'. Later note (66.7: 57 'final check'), that it is 'for the use of *Tibaai* only; a *dɔnda gbijaas* being the only person permitted to own one. Used during *Taaki* ceremony. It may be loaned to *sari*, who pay 1/- each for the privilege of playing it in turn. Traditional cost of 3 goats inhibits ownership of more than one.' (Chappel was told there were none such at Cholli because of the expense.) Cost: £4/10/-.

The expense suggests that this item may be the horn of which there is a slide in the Arnold Rubin archive below. But that image lacks a reference number to the Jos Museum.



<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt6p3007xm/>

UCLA Fowler Museum <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt6p3007xm Box 11>

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.676 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wɛk japs Tibaai* (s), *wɛm jabi Tibaai* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sagdi. The term *japs* refers to a decorative motif replicating crocodile scales. The informants from whom Chappel assembled final comments demurred, claiming the dagger was for *Gazabi*, as was **500**, because both had a triangle at the top, referencing the *Gazabi* initiation helmet, *tɔngta*, also lacking the *ga* [or spiral] decoration appropriate for *Gangni* circumcision ritual. The proper term, in their view, should have been *wɛk tɔngta*. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.677-80 Items acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki.

66.J11.677 Double brass clapperless bell/handgong, *dengkonkas* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Womledi. For use of *Tibaai* during *Gangni* circumcision rites and the *Ris Kaguri* first fruits festival. Riveted (iron) at socket joint. The socket prong of the smaller chamber projects into the chamber of the larger bell. Large chamber seems to have cracked. Similar to **579**. H 23.9, W 32.5; LIH 18.1, LWM 18.7, LED 8.1, LID 6.8; SIH 11.2, SWM 10.7, SED 6.05, SID 5.15. Cost: £1/15/-.



16.2B.8



16.8B.5 enlarged contact print



UCLA Arnold Rubin archive

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.678 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek wan marus Tibaa* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Womledi. The description *wan marus* refers to anthropomorphic figure(s). Cost: £1.

66.J11.679 Beer strainer, *zangazaar* (s), *zangaza* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tuki. Cost: 5/-.



16.4B.24

66.J11.680 Beer strainer (wood version), *zangazaar rap* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tuki. Formerly a (bottle?) gourd would have been used instead of metal, similarly for **679**. Cost: 5/-.



16.4B.26

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.681 Bracelet, *pɔŋgan sa'sai* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendo: Samuel Cholli. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Bati. Presumably with crotal bells (*sa'sai*). Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.682 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd ga Gazabi* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati. The term *ga* refers to the spiral decorative pattern. Noted by Maas as 16x8cm (see **66.J11.568**). Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Cost: 14/-.



16.5C.25

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.683 Brass ceremonial circumcison crook, *tambus ga'ga Tibaai* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Akila. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sarap, nr. Cholli. Supposedly made by Yasaruma of Ragin. The duplication of syllables, *ga'ga*, describes a double spiral pattern. Fieldnote (66.7: 24 'final check') records the traditional cost as 2 goats (in 1966 goats cost 15/-; hence two of them would have cost £1/10/-, so the purchase price in 1966 was apparently less than half the initial cost). Cost: 12/-.

66.J11.684-87 Items acquired at Cholli, 4.11.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.684 Women's brass waistband, *mule werinis* (s), *mule werini* (pl). Fieldnote (66.5: 123) records that *werinis* refers to 'things' in *maas* in between (metal/iron rings?). 'Only wives of very rich men would own these'. This may have been an ornate version of the brass waistband with some more elaborate beads, perhaps those with protuberances similar to pipe rings, or else small, curved pendants. Traditional cost would have been three goats. Cost: 1/5/-.

66.J11.685 Women's hip pendant in the form of an oversized brass bead, *wela cheede* (s). The term *cheede* relates this pendant with that formed of cowry clusters and worn similarly. Cost: £1.

66.J11.686 Type of stringed instrument, 'violin', *bank* (s), *bangrum* (pl). Cost: £1.

66.J11.687 Sample of ore supposedly from 'copper mines', *wutu wes* (s), *wuta wengbi* (pl). Sent to Thurstan Shaw at Ibadan University for analysis, which proved inconclusive. Chappel's side of this correspondence survives in the Rubin Archive of the Fowler Museum UCLA.

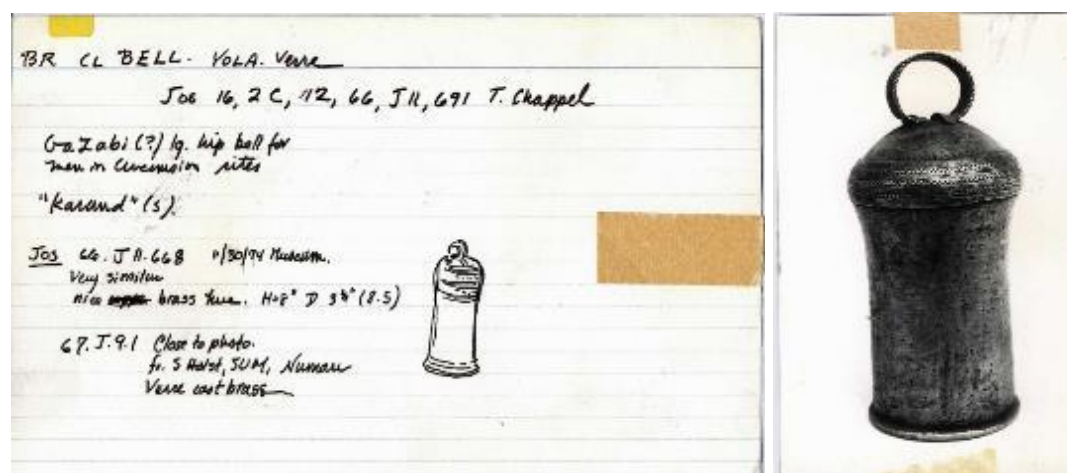
66.J11.688 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktundal* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 31.10.1966. Vendor: Manu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lugjo, nr. Cholli. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.689 Ceremonial circumcison crook, *tambus Gazabi* (s), *tambi Gazabi* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 04.11.1966. Vendor: Manu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lugjo, nr. Cholli. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.690 Ceremonial (brass?) short sword/dagger, *wek danga Tibaai* (s), *wem dangat Tibaai* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 04.11.1966. Vendor: Bapi Cholli. Later informants (66.7: 19 'final check') identified this as *wek tngta Gazabi*, a dagger bearing the device of the circumcison Vestiges: Traces of Record Vol 7 (1) (2021) ISSN: 2058-1963 <http://www.vestiges-journal.info/> 350

helmet worn by farmers. The term *danga* does not recur in the accession list (except as an hourglass tension drum, supposing the tone is the same) and so might be a dialectal variant (compare **608**), or a mistake on the part of the vendor or Chappel's transcription, or a comparison to the waisted shape of the tension drum. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.691 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd bix Tibaai* (s), *kerumi bigi Tibaai* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 04.11.1966. Vendor: Salimu. No measurements recorded, but Maas notes similarity to both **668** with dimensions H 8 inches (20cm), W 3¼ inches (8.5cm), and **69.J.9.1**. Cost: 12/-.



Nancy Maas sketch

16.2C.12

66.J11.692 Clay oil lamp, *fitila* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: name not recorded. Fieldnote (66.5: 125) records 'similar to Fulani oil lamp: ground nut oil used'. Term is a Fulfulde loan. Cost: 4/-.



16.6C.35A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.693-5 Three men's ivory bracelets, *wani* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: name not recorded. Fieldnote (66.5: 125) records: 'two serrated for *Tibaai*; non-serrated for *Gazabi*'. Cost: 6/- for three.

66.J11.696a & b 'White-skin' bag to contain medicines, *buna* (s), *bunut* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Owner and vendor: Yakubu of Cholli. Ingredients and recorded in fieldnotes (66.5: 127-31, on 10.11.1966). Cost: £3.



16.6C.37A

16.6C.38B

66.J11.697 Ritual staff, *gbala Tibaai* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.698 Brass pot ring, *kal Tibaai* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Cost: 14/-.

66.J11.699 Bow and quiver with arrows. Acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Cost: £1.

Fieldnotes (66.5: 132): vendor explained the three grades in relation to ownership of bow types: pre-circumcision, *wasas wasas* (s), *yangi tuma* (pl); post-circumcision, *was* (s), *yangi* (pl); senior grade, *dɔnda*(s), *dɔndai* (pl), after many gifts and sacrifices to *Do'os*. This bow was for the middle grade, *was*. A bow bought previously (see **598** from Samuel Cholli) was for *dɔndai*.



16.3B.17

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.700-3 Items acquired at Cholli, 08.11.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki.

66.J11.700-1 Two brass ceremonial bells, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Cost: **700** 6/-; **701** 6/-.



6.3C.13A



16.3C.15A

66.J11.702-3 Two women's arm bands, *wan bi* (s), *wani bi* (pl). **703** photographed as a pot stand with **516**, **546** and **802**. Note the knobs probably in the pattern derived from brass waist beads. **703** D 12.6. Cost: 9/- each.



16.7C.30 with **802**



16.8B.11 **516**



16.8A.12 **546**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

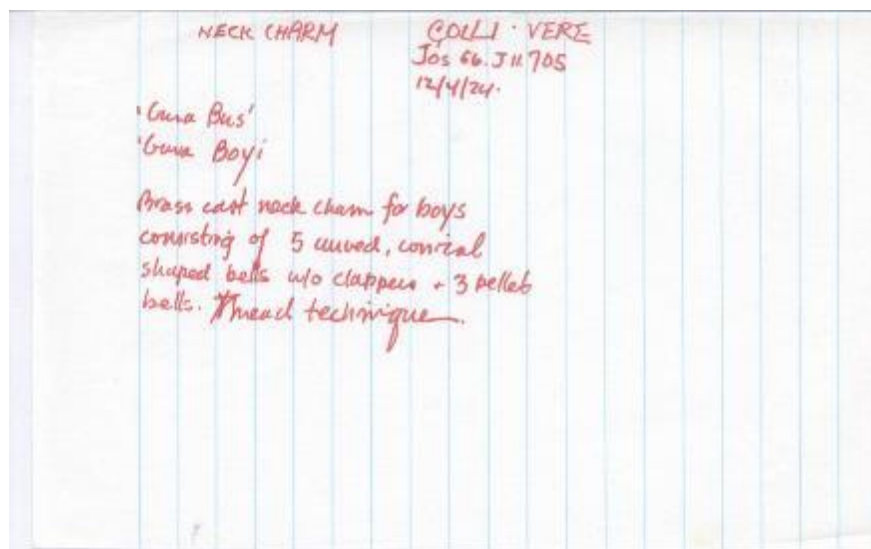
66.J11.704-6 Items acquired at Cholli, 11.11.1966. Vendor: Usuman.

66.J11.704 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Cost: 6/-.



16.3C.18A

66.J11.705 Boy's neck charm, *gura bus* (s), *gura boyii* (pl). Cost: 6/-.



'Brass cast neck charm for boys consisting of 5 curved, conical shaped bells without clappers and 3 pellet bells. Thread technique', Nancy Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.706 Women's hair decoration, *kumsas* (s), *kumsai* (pl). [Probably in iron with an arrow-like head, to judge by similarly named item for Mapeo Chamba, which also accords with Chappel's recollection.] Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.707 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 11.11.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Cost: 3/-.



16.3C.17A

66.J11.708 Leather bow-string puller (field photographs of this in use), *lugujaare* (s) (Fulfulde). Acquired at Cholli, 11.11.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Said to have been adopted from the Fulani. Cost: 1/6.



16.4C.19A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.709 Wooden female figure, *wan marus rap* (s), *yanga maari rat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Elli. Carved at Toza, near Karlahi. Cost: 12/6.

Fieldnotes (66.5: 25-29): may be carried by women dancing after *Gangni* (male circumcision) ceremony. Loaned by a grandmother to grandson: 'This is your future wife: if you run away, she will leave you and go to someone else.' It is also recorded that the use of wooden figures was restricted to non-smiths and to Toza, Gogara and Guriga areas. Further information on the production and use of these figures may also be found here.

Arnold Rubin file card with photograph (UCLA Fowler Museum) identifies this figure as **720** with a height of 14¾ inches (37.5cm). **709** and **720** are similar in overall form, so one or other record has been transposed.



16.4C.23A

66.J11.710 Knife (lacking scabbard), *we' gā'gá* (s) unusually tones marked. Compare **411**; described in fieldnotes as a knife rather than a dagger. Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Yesufu. The description *ga'ga* refers to the double spiral decorative motif. Fieldnotes (66.7:11 'final check') contain a sketch of **710**, showing 'split' hilt, possibly in brass though this is not explicit, with two opposed, enlarged spiral forms serving as a pommel; iron blade is straight-sided. Used during *Gangni* and to cut the throat of sacrificial goat during *Guri*, a funeral ceremony for a *dɔnda*. Worn on the right hip. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.711-13 Items acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli.

66.J11.711 Women's brass ceremonial pipe, *kulang suktunu* (s). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Salassah Yadim. Fieldnote (66.5: 30) records 'for *Gazabi* - *Tibaa*i pipes have "feet"' [i.e. ridges on the bottom of the bowl allowing the pipe to stand upright and unsupported]. Cost: 15/-.

66.J11.712-13 Two brass initiation helmets, *tɔngta* (s), *tɔngtai* (pl). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Bareji, nr. Tuki. Said to have been made at Womzangi, nr. Salassah Yadim. Undecorated version of the crown of the helmet for *Gazabi*, equivalent to the *Tibaa*i *bal*. Cost: 12/-.

16.3B.15 **712**

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.714 Musical pipe/horn, *gula delel* (s), *guri deli* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Ezzara. Fieldnotes (66.5: 41) record that the instrument, having been adopted from the Koma people, is referred to by its Koma name. It is 'blown when a) all taxes have been collected in December; b) a hunter is in trouble in the bush, e.g. an SOS; c) when a senior *donda* dies.' Cost: 10/-.

66.J11.715-17 Items acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Abila.

66.J11.715 Men's brass ceremonial smoking pipe, *kulang suktunjas* (s). Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Yawom, nr. Salassah Yadim. For *Tibaai*. Cost: £1.

66.J11.716 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wək ga'ga Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Yawom, nr. Salassah Yadim. Cost: £1/10/-.

66.J11.717 Brass ceremonial beer jar, *yerk* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Yawom, nr. Yadim Salassah. For *Tibaai*. No measurements available. Cost: £2/10/-.



16.3B.12

66.J11.718 Hair scratcher, *kumsas* (s), *kumsai* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Samuel Cholli. Fieldnote (66.5: 57) records item is 'also referred to as *jalbal* (s) (Fulfulde), indicating Fulani origin.' [Note same term for hair tool in Chamba.] Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.719 Women's brass necklace. Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli. Cost: 7/6.



16.4B.20

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.720 Wooden female figure, *wan marus rap*, decorated with abrus seeds. Acquired at Ragin, 12.11.1966. Vendor: a woman from Uki who had bought it from Tōza people about 7 years earlier. Cost: £1/10/-.

Fieldnotes record (66.5: 39) that the vendor bought it because she saw people dancing with such figures; she was the only person with such a figure in Uki. She was willing to sell it because other women bothered her too much by wanting to hold it at a recent harvest festival and did not buy their own. Further note that she was a *Marus*, and that she regarded this figure as 'her child' and that 'her real children are for work; this one for play'.

Arnold Rubin file card with photograph (UCLA Fowler Museum) identifies this figure as **709** (see note above) with a height of 11¼ inches (28.6cm).



16.4C.22A

66.J11.721 Women's brass bead waistband, *mulε*. Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Ali Tukur. Cost: 7/6.



16.1B.6

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.722 Stringed musical instrument, *bank* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 18.11.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Lainde. For *Tibaa*i. Resonator of goatskin. Cost: £2.



16.1B.4

66.J11.723-4 Two stringed musical instruments, *bank* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 12.11.1966. Vendor: Ayuba. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Uki. For *Gazabi*. Cost: £1/17/6 each.



16.1B.3 723

66.J11.725-9 Four cow horns and one antelope horn musical pipes. Acquired at Cholli, 18.11.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Pipes played during *Ris Kaguri* festival. Five is the correct number of pipes, each of which is individually named. Audiotapes sent to National Sound Archive in 2019. Cost: **725** *leruma* 5/-; **726** *segu* 6/-; **727** *dupser* 5/-; **728** *gotus* 5/-; **728** *bambi* antelope horn 6/-.

**66.J11.726** 16.1C.1A**66.J11.727** 16.1C.2A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

**66.J11.728** 16.1C.4A**66.J11.729** 16.1C.6A

66.J11.730 Fixed-key xylophone: Bachama. Commissioned from Mallam Llamu (no further information, including cost).

66.J11.731-34 Items acquired at Tuki, 21.11.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki.

66.J11.731 Brass ceremonial stemmed goblet. Reportedly acquired from Arnado Dagi of Tɔza, nr. Karlahi. The vendor claimed the goblet to have been cast by his grandfather. For *Tibaai*. H 18.5, D 20.4. Cost: £2.



16.8B.10

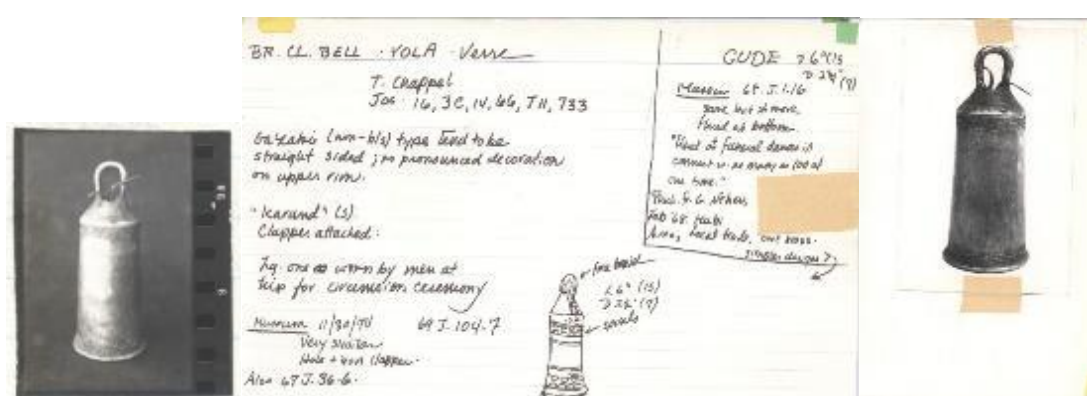
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.732 Ceremonial brass bell, *kerumd Tibaai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Ngurore, nr. Karlahi. Cost: 12/-.



16.2C.9

66.J11.733 Ceremonial brass bell, *kerumd Gazabi*. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Ngurore, nr. Karlahi. H 14.6; W 7.2. Cost: 8/-.



16.8B.8

Maas including 16.3C.14

66.J11.734 Iron double clapperless bell/handgong, *dengkonkas (s) dengkonki (pl)*. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tuki. For use of *Tibaai* during *Gangni* circumcision rites and *Ris Kaguri* first fruits festival; *Gazabi* use it for *Gangni* only. H 21.6, W 28; LIH 13.2, LWM 11.6, LID 9.4; SIH 10.5, SWM 7.3, SED 6.3. Traditional cost: 2 goats. Cost: £1/10/-.



16.7B.10

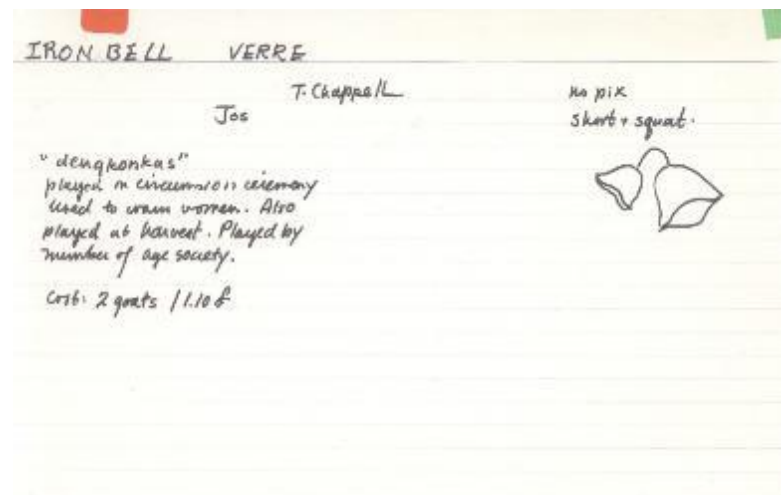


16.7B.11



16.1B.1

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas note

66.J11.735 Ceremonial small brass bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Acquired at Uki, 21.11.1966. Vendor: Gidado. Traditional cost: 2 cockerels (= ½ goat). Cost: 2/6.



16.3C.14A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.736 Girl's miniature brass smoking pipe, *kula suktunus yanga nui* (s). Acquired at Uki, 21.11.1966. Vendor: Gidado. Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.737 Women's bracelet, *pangan Tibaai sa'sai* (s). Acquired at Uki, 21.11.1966. Vendor: Akila. Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.738-9 Pressure-engraved bottle gourd snuff containers: Yungur, *gumtabe* (s). Dumne, 25.11.1966. Engraved by Dingene of Dumne. Cost: 2/- each.

66.J11.740 Pressure-engraved bottle gourd snuff containers: Yungur, *gumtabe* (s). Dumne, 25.11.1966. Engraved by Lawan of Dumne. Cost: 2/-.

66.J11.741-3 Pressure engraved gourd bowls: Yungur. Dumne, 25.11.1966. Engraved by Lawan of Dumne. Cost: £1/4/- for the three.

66.J11.744 Pressure engraved gourd bowls: Yungur. Dumne, 25.11.1966. Engraved by Akao of Dumne. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.745 Pressure engraved gourd bowls: Yungur. Dumne, 25.11.1966. Engraver not known. Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.746-48 Items acquired at Tuki, 28.11.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki.

66.J11.746 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek suktunu* (s), *wem suktini* (pl). For *Tibaai*. Cost: £2.

66.J11.747 Staff/knobkerrie in iron, *gbala* (s). For *Tibaai*. Cost: 11/-.

66.J11.748 Brass ceremonial circumcision crook, *tambus suktunus* (s). For *Tibaai*. Cost: 11/-.

66.J11.749 Alleged sample of 'raw' copper alloy supposed to have been smelted from locally acquired ore 'a long time ago', *jumnet suktuntat* (s). Acquired at Ragin, 28.11.1966. Vendor: brass-caster Ɔfa Kila of Ragin. Cost: £3/10/- including **751**.

Note: The person detailed by Ɔfa Kila to collect a sample from the 'mines' in the Verre Hills announced that he had failed to complete the mission because a) the *zam*, hill spirit guardians of the mine had 'closed it up' (allegedly with *wops*, a mixture of clay and cow dung) and b) that the essential medicinal protection that he used may have been out-of-date, too old and dried out (see **751**). After a prolonged argument, he reluctantly agreed to try again, using a fresh supply of the required medicine.

66.J11.750 Mineral ore sample(s) resulting from the second attempt to procure copper ore as outlined above. Acquired at Cholli, 14.12.1966. Vendor: Ayuba, acting as 'agent' for the brass-caster Ɔfa Kila of Ragin (as 749). Letter of 27.01.1967 from Chappel to Thurstan Shaw refers to 'two' samples sent to the University of Ibadan for analysis. There was no way of knowing whether a genuine attempt to source the ore was made. Cost: £1.

66.J11.751 Twigs, *dersers* (s). Acquired at Ragin, 28.11.1966. Vendor: brass-caster Ɔfa Kila of Ragin. A medicine is made from this tree with which to frighten away the *zam* spirits so as to permit mining to take place. In Fulfulde this tree is *yotere* (Taylor 1932: 238, *youtere*, mistletoe [W.Indian]: *Loranthus Pentagonia*); in Hausa it is *kause*. Also, require 'moss from stone', *tautau* (Fulfulde). Cost: included in **749**.

66.J11.752 Iron pot stand, *tooma gbaas* (s). Acquired at Ragin, 28.11.1966. Vendor: Akila. Reportedly purchased by vendor from Ndakpa and Samurai of Kesa. Cost: £1/10/-.

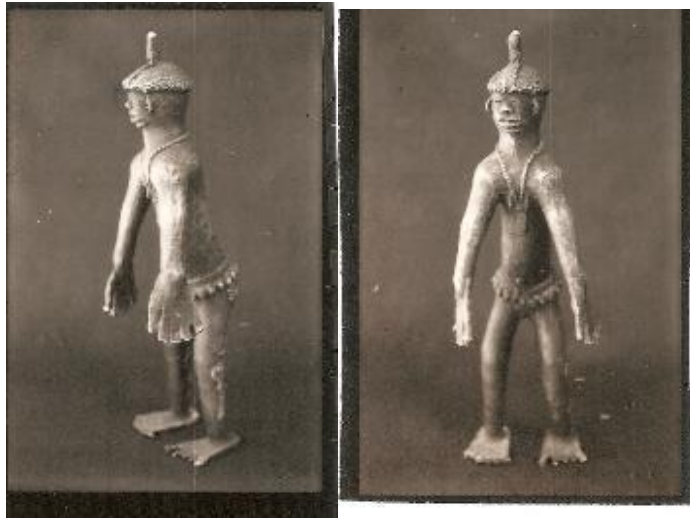


16.5B.28

(Clicking on the image will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.753 Brass female figure, *wan marus* (s), *yanga mari* (pl). Acquired at Ragin, 28.11.1966. Vendor: Akila. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bori, nr. Beti. Overall height 33.9cm; height Vestiges: Traces of Record Vol 7 (1) (2021) ISSN: 2058-1963 <http://www.vestiges-journal.info/> 363

to waistband (lower edge) 12.4cm; height from waistband to shoulder 12.2cm; outer finger to outer finger 11.9cm. Cost: £5.



16.8A.16

16.8A.17



16.7B.18

16.7B.19

16.8B.16

16.8B.17

66.J11.754 Brass ceremonial bowl in the form of a gourd drinking vessel with decorative rim band. Acquired at Cholli, 1.12.1966. Vendor: Usumanu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Salassah Yadim. Unlike other examples, appears not to have a loop. Cost: £3.



16.5B.28

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.755-60 Items acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Musa Cholli.

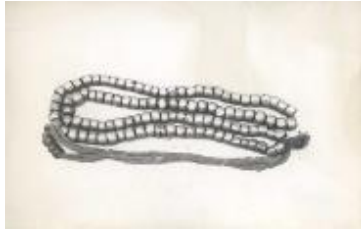
66.J11.755 Bracelet, *pongan Tibaai* (s). Cost: 7/-.

66.J11.756 Men's ivory bracelet/armband, *wand Tibaai* (s). Noted to have decorative *mule*.

Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.757 Men's ivory bracelet/armband, *wand Tibaai* (s). Cost: 3/-.

66.J11.758-60 Three brass necklaces, *fɛ* (s), *fer* (pl). For *Tibaai*. Cost: **758** 6/-, **759** 7/-, **760** 7/-.



16.3B.19 758

66.J11.761-64 Items acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.761 Brass initiation helmet for *Tibaai*, *bal* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Sarap, nr. Cholli. Cost: £1.

66.J11.762 Brass bracelet, *pɔngan sa'sai* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Tangbi, nr. Cholli. Cost: 8/-.

66.J11.763 Brass necklace, *fɛ* (s). Cost: 6/-.



16.3B.21

66.J11.764 Brass smoking pipe. For *Gazabi*. Cost: £1.

66.J11.765 Dance fly whisk, *duma* (s), *dumat* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Akila. Held by *dɔnda gbijaas* (priest-chief) when dancing during ceremonies. Cost: 4/-.



16.2C.9A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

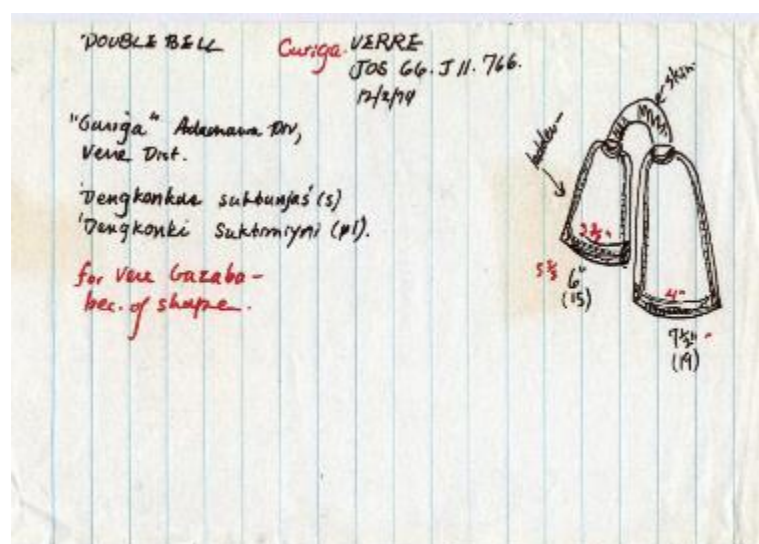
66.J11.766 Brass double clapperless bell/gong, *dengkongkas* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Wakili. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Guriga. For *Gazabi*. The cores remain in both handles which are covered with a layer of grass and leather binding. Noticeably heavier than other double brass clapperless bells. H 25.0, W 21.3; LIH 17.7, LWM 10.0, LED 9.3, LID 8.7; SIH 11.2, SWM 8.7, SED 8.1, SID 7.1. Cost: £3.



16.2B.9



16.7A.12



Nancy Maas sketch

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

Fieldnotes (66.7: 8 'final check') record that when discussing the differences between brass bells for *Tibaai* and those for *Gazabi*, informants observed that one of the principal differences – the others being size, shape and amount of decoration - between the two was the curve of the 'head' (*juri*), i.e. handle. In the *Tibaai* version, the curve is 'up', e.g. **766**, singled out as an example, rather than 'down', as in the *Gazabi* version. Informants also noted that both types of bell were beaten, with a stick, only at *Gangni*, the circumcision ceremony, and then only by *sari*, members of the penultimate age-grade. Traditional costs: *Tibaai* double bell, 2 large goats, *Tibaai* single bell, 1 goat; *Gazabi* double bell, 1 goat and 1 cockerel, *Gazabi* single bell, 1 goat.

66.J11.767 Brass ceremonial bell, *kerumd Gazabi* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Wakili. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Guriga. Cost: 5/-.



16.6C.36 (cropping per original image)

66.J11.768 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul suktunu* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Wakili. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Guriga. For *Gazabi*. Cost: £1/-.

66.J11.769 Brass ceremonial short sword/dagger, *wek suktunkak* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki. Reportedly acquired by the vendor at Karlahi. For *Gazabi*. Cost: £2/10/-.

66.J11.770 Beer strainer, *zangazaar* (s), *zangaza* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 01.12.1966. For *Tibaai*. Vendor: Elli. Cost: 7/-.



16.4B.25

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.771-75 Items acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Ayuba.

66.J11.771 Smoking pipe, *kulang* (s). Cost: 9/-.

66.J11.772 Brass initiation helmet, *tongta*(s). For *Gazabi*. Cost: 9/-.



16.6B.35

66.J11.773 Ritual brass staff, *gbala* (s). For *Tibaa*i. Cost: £1.

66.J11.774-5 Two bracelets, *pɔngan* (s). Cost: 5/- each.

66.J11.776 Ritual brass staff, *gbala* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Usumanu. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Lugjo [Lugzo], nr. Salassah Yadim. For *Tibaa*i. Cost: £2/8/-.

66.J11.777 Hunter's bird mask/decoy, *suk tigi* (s), *suktak tigi* (pl). Acquired at Cholli, 05.12.1966. Vendor: Usumanu. Described as 'a Verre thing' not borrowed. Cost: £1/5/-.



16.5C.26

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.778-88 consist of brass bracelets etc. from Mubi market; hence there must be an error in relation to

66.J11.789 Pyro-engraved gourd bowl: Pastoral Fulani (Jafun). Uba market, 08.12.1966. Engraved at Yeroua, nr. Maiduguri, by Mallam Magunga, his name inscribed on two Muslim prayer-boards depicted. Cost: £1.

66.J11.790 Coiled basketry mat cover for **789**. Uba market, 08.12.1966. Cost: 6/-.

66.J11.791 Penis sheath: Verre. Yola, 07.12.1966. Gift of Mallam Shehu of Jimeta.

66.J11.792 Coiled basket with heading attached: Margi. Uba market, 08.12.1966. Cost: 4/-.

66.J11.793 Pressure-engraved gourd bowl: Kilba. Hong, 9.12.1966. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.794 Brass women's bracelet: Ga'anda. Ga'anda, 10.12.1966. Cast by Sasitamin of Ga'anda. Cost: 5/-.

66.J11.795-6 Pressure engraved gourd bowls: Ga'anda. Ga'anda, 10.12.1966. Engraved by Redap of Ga'anda. Cost: 795 3/6; 796 4/6.

66.J11.797 Pressure-engraved gourd spoon: Ga'anda. Ga'anda, 10.12.1966. Engraved by woman at Gabin. Cost: 2/6.

66.J11.798-9 Two cow horn pipes, *gul* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 12.12.1966. Vendor: Salimu. Cost: 6/- each.

When added to the five pipes (**725-9**), with new addition **798** (*ya'ar*) and **799** (*mangre*) replacing antelope horn (*bambi*), these six pipes perform at the *Gura Bai* ceremony. Fieldnotes record details of playing, etc.; audiotapes donated to UK National Sound Archive of these horns and also of Salimu's stringed instrument (not purchased).



66.J11.798 16.1C.3A

66.J11.799 16.1C.5A

66.J11.800 Brass ceremonial hoe, *tul* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 12.12.1966. Vendor: Abila. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Uki. For *Tibaa*i women. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.801 Brass female figure, *wan marus* (s). Acquired at Tuki, 13.12.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki. Copper alloy female said to have been made by Yawam of Lainde, also a *marus* person himself, to whom were also attributed a dagger/short sword (**648**) and a brass jar *yerk suktunu* (**802**). Measurements: overall height 30cm; height to waistband (lower edge) 11.1cm; height from waistband to shoulder 11.1cm; outer finger to outer finger 12.7cm or 11.9cm. Cost: £5/5/-.



16.5C.27A

16.8B.18

16.8B.19

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



16.7B.20

16.8B.18

66.J11.802 Brass beer jar, *yerk suktunu* (s). Acquired at Tuki, 13.12.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki. Reportedly acquired by vendor from Yafora of Lainde, and to have been made by Yawam of Lainde (see **648** and **801**). Fieldnotes (66.6: 38) contain a sketch and record the offer of accompanying brass 'stand not bought, too expensive'. The lower half of the vessel appears to replicate the technique involved in the production of a coiled pot. Alternatively, perhaps, the caster, or other hand involved in the process, could simply have abandoned, for whatever reason, an original intention to cover the complete vessel with spirals. The enclosed shape with a long neck is that of a pottery beer jar rather than a water container. H 27.8, D (widest) 16. Cost: £2.



66.3B.15

16.7C.30 on 703

66.J11.803 Musical/wind instrument. Acquired at Cholli, 14.12.1966. Vendor: Yakubu. Composite construction of a gourd and animal horn. Cost: £2/5/-.



16.1B.2

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.804 Brass ceremonial smoking pipe, *kulang suktunu* (s). Acquired at Cholli, 14.12.1966. Vendor: Boniface. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.805-8 Pyro-engraved gourd bowls: Yungur. Dumne, 16.12.1966. Cost: **805** 4/6; **806** 6/-; **807** 6/-; **807** 4/-.

66.J11.809-12 Items acquired at Tuki, 26.12.1966. Vendor: Hamman of Tuki.

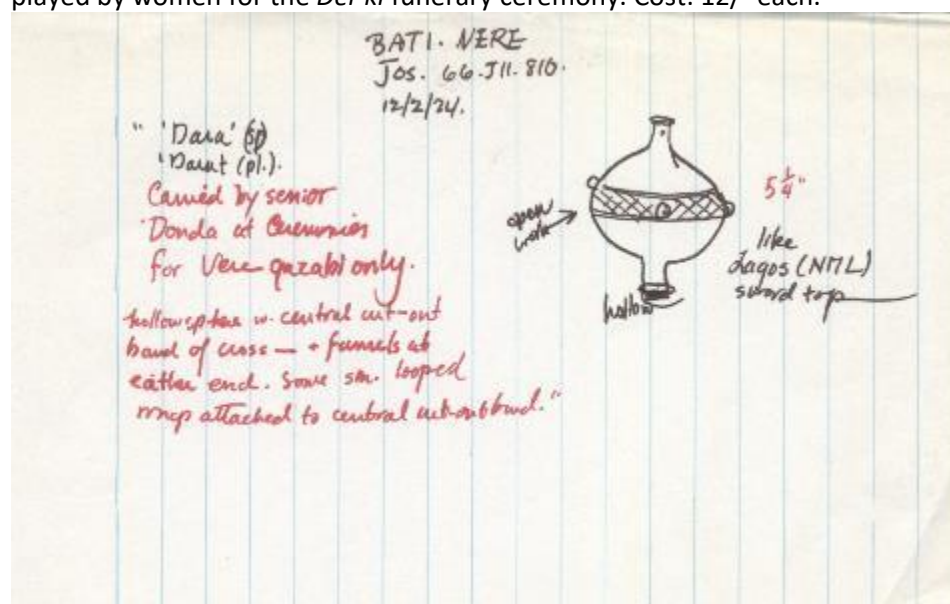
66.J11.809 Brass bowl of smoking pipe, *maas kula* (s). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati, nr. Karlahi. Fieldnote (66.6: 40) records 'Hamman a *Tori* man. [Pipe] for *Gazabi* only. Animal (bull?) referred to as *Do'os*. For *donda gbijaas* only.' For more on *Tori*, see main text. RF: the head is identical to that of the Chamba theranthropic, i.e. animal-human, in this case bushcow and human skull, fusion, masquerade which may perform in cult contexts. Karlahi is in the local cycle of markets of the Mapeo Chamba. Cost: 6/-.



16.8B.37

16.8B.38 contact prints

66.J11.810-11 Two rattle instruments, *dara* (s), *darut* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati. Fieldnote (66.6: 40) records that these are for *donda gbijaas* only during circumcision ceremony (*Gangni*). 'Stones put inside: stick through holes; held in right hand by *donda gbijaas* who swings it around'. Used by *Gazabi* only. Blench records *daará* as a bottle-gourd rattle played by women for the *Dei-ki* funerary ceremony. Cost: 12/- each.



'Hollow sphere with central cut-out band of cross lines and funnels at either end. Something with looped rings attached to central cut-out band', - Nancy Maas note.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

66.J11.812 Men's brass arm band, *wand na* (hand) (s), *wani na* (pl). Reportedly acquired by vendor at Bati. Fine, openwork arm ring in the shape of a manila. Fieldnote (66.6: 40) records, Vestiges: Traces of Record Vol 7 (1) (2021) ISSN: 2058-1963 <http://www.vestiges-journal.info/> 371

'worn on right arm by *dɔnda gbijaas* only at *Gangni*. For *Gazabi* only'. TC: In spite of the fact that Hamman of Tuki appeared well-informed about matters relating to metal artefacts, there was some doubt at the time that his classification of **809-12** as 'for *Gazabi* only' was altogether correct, given their relative decorative refinement. Unfortunately, this was the last occasion on which it might have been possible, time allowing, to pursue this line of enquiry further. Cost: 15/-.



<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt5b69p08g/>

UCLA
Box 11

Fowler

Museum

<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt5b69p08g>

66.J11.813-20 Items acquired at Cholli, 26.12.1966. Vendor: Salimu.

66.J11.813 Women's brass oversized bead pendant on a bead necklace, *wɛla* (s) and *fɛ* (s). For *Gazabi*. Cost: 10/-.



16.3B.18

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

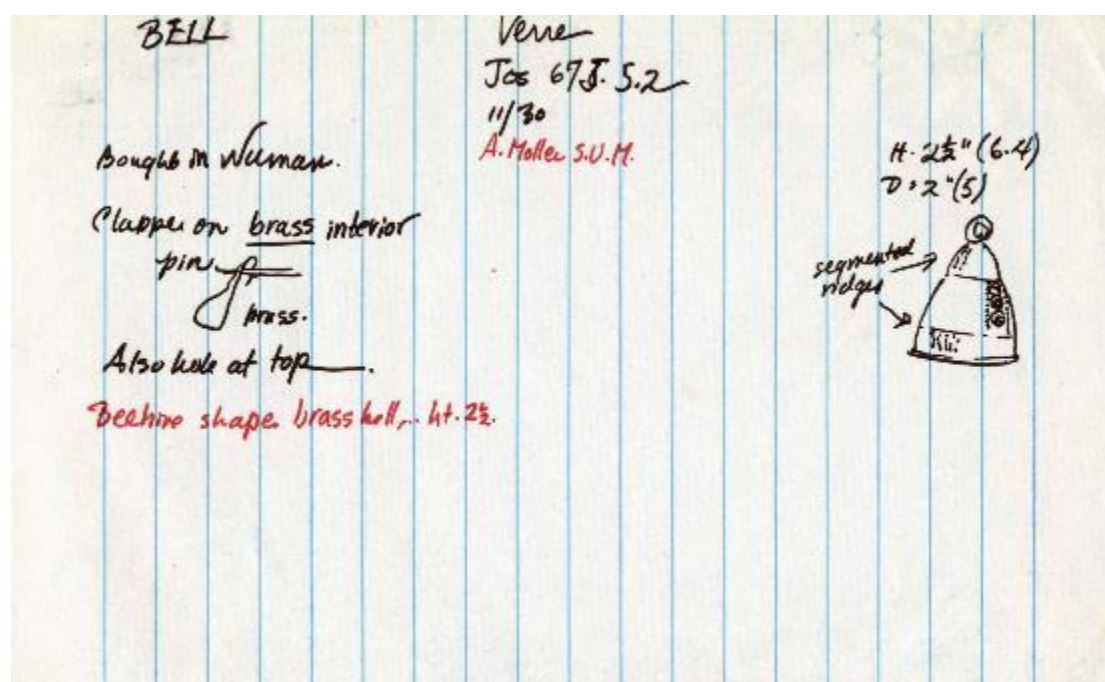
66.J11.814-5 Two daggers. Reportedly acquired by vendor at Geren (?). Cost: £1 each.

66.J11. 816-8 Three head pads *tekere* (s) [*tekkere* Fulfulde, Taylor 1932: 192]. Adopted from Fulani. Cost: 1/-.

66.J11.819 Brass necklace. Cost: £1/5/-.

66.J11.820 Small dagger, *wɛk*. Cost: 18/-.

67.J5.2 Small bell bought in Numan, by (probably) A. Moller of the SUM. Although with a different initial, served with the SUM Erling and Dorothea Møller between 1968-87 (<https://missionafrika.dk/mission-afrikas-historiske-hjoerne/>). Note the clapper is suspended from a welded cross-piece, although there is also a hole at the top of the bell.

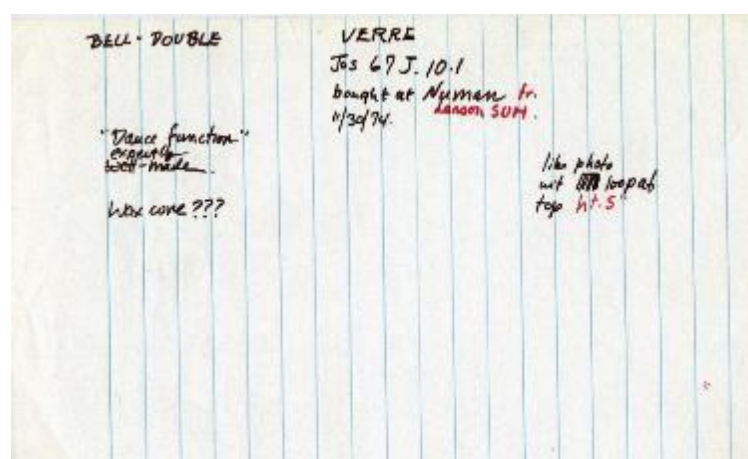


Nancy Maas sketch 6.5x5cm.

67.J6.4 – 16.3cm brass bell from Samoulan (sp?) – Nancy Maas note, see **663**.

67.J6.16 – 21cm brass bell with decorative crotal bells on shoulder, Nancy Maas note, see **663**.

67.J10.1 – brass double bell; accession and purchase dates apparently inconsistent

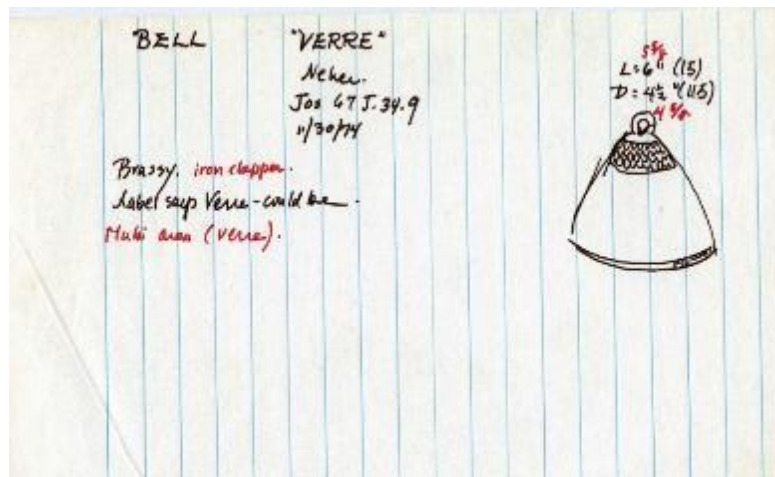


(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

67.J11.4 – Brass bowl described by Nancy Maas, see **66.J11.516**

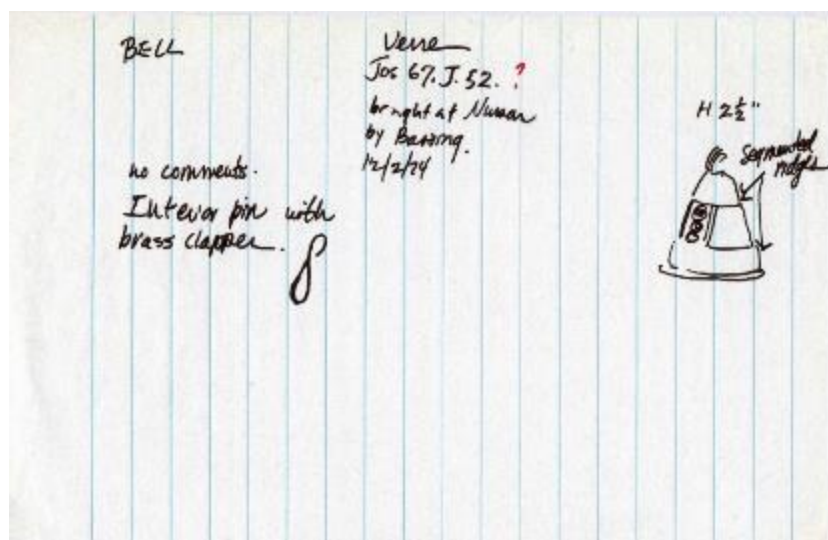
67.J12.2 – Brass bowl described by Nancy Maas, see **66.J11.516**

67.J34.9 – small brass bell, possibly Verre and labelled as such.



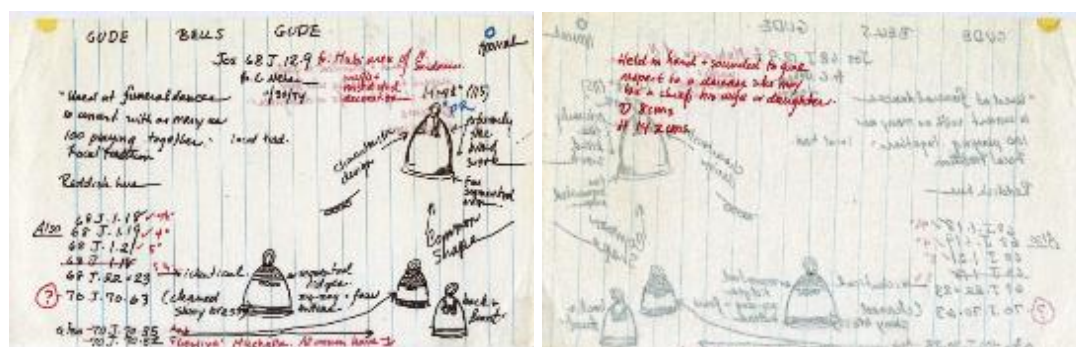
Nancy Maas sketch 15x11.5cm

67.J52.? - Small brass bell bought at Numan by Allen Bassing for museum. Interior cross-piece; brass clapper would be unusual.



Nancy Maas sketch H: 6.5cm

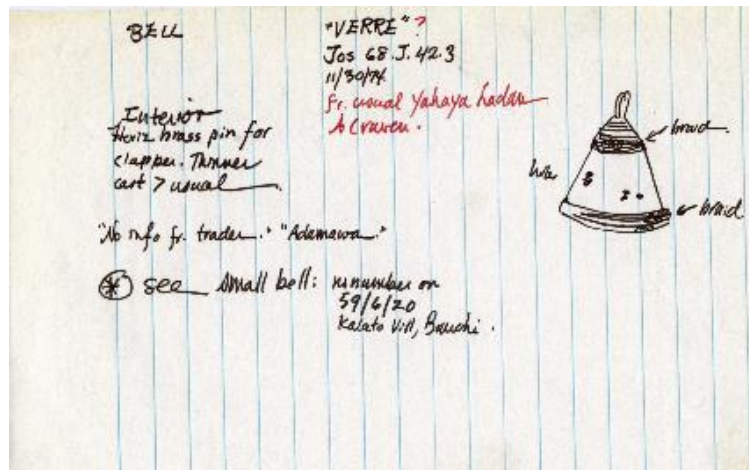
68.J12.9 etc



Note by Nancy Maas (and reverse)

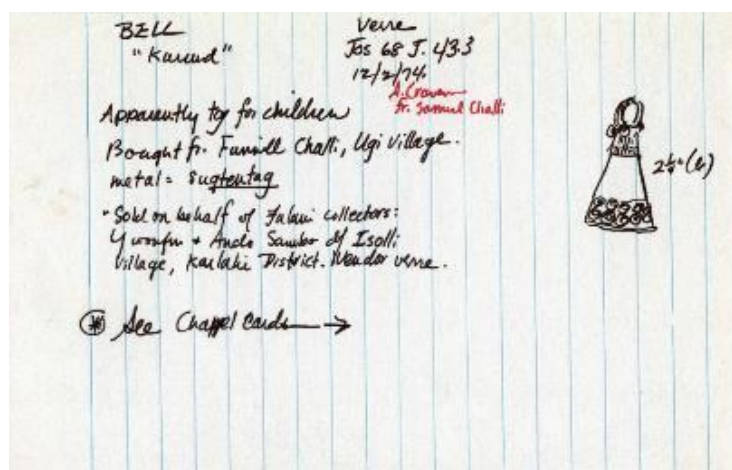
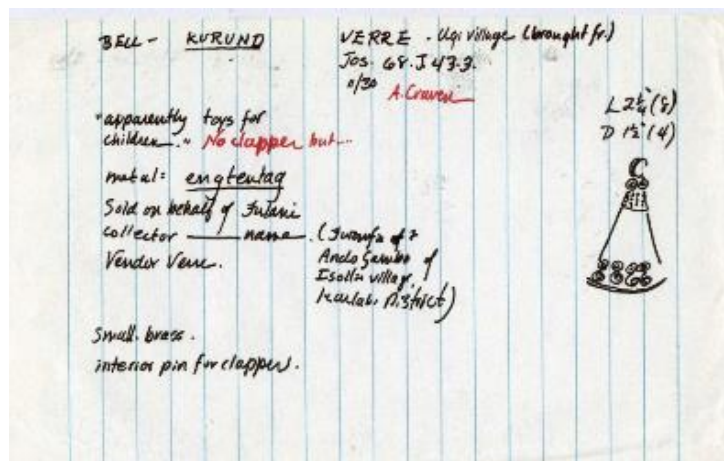
(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

68.J.42.3 – Small thin-cast, bell, possibly Verre, bought from Yehaya [trader?], by Anna Craven for museum. Interior, brass cross-piece for clapper.



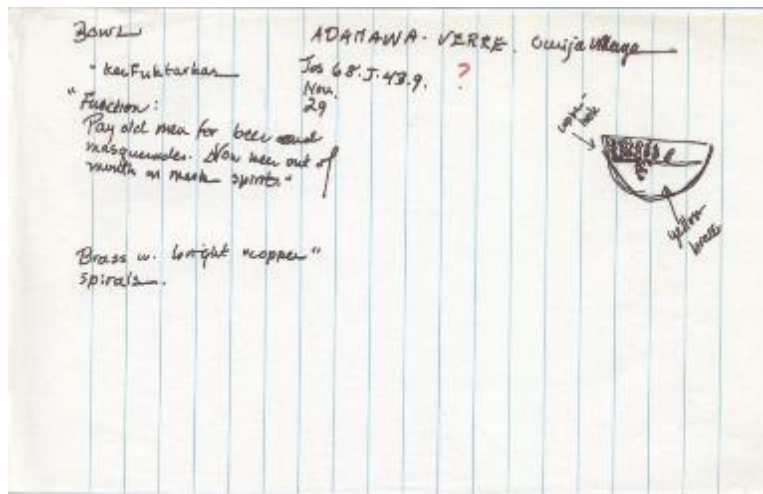
Note and sketch by Nancy Maas

68.J.43.3 – Small bell bought for museum by Anna Craven. Sold on behalf of a Fulani collector from Karlahi (a market town in the vicinity of Verre). Interior cross-piece for clapper.

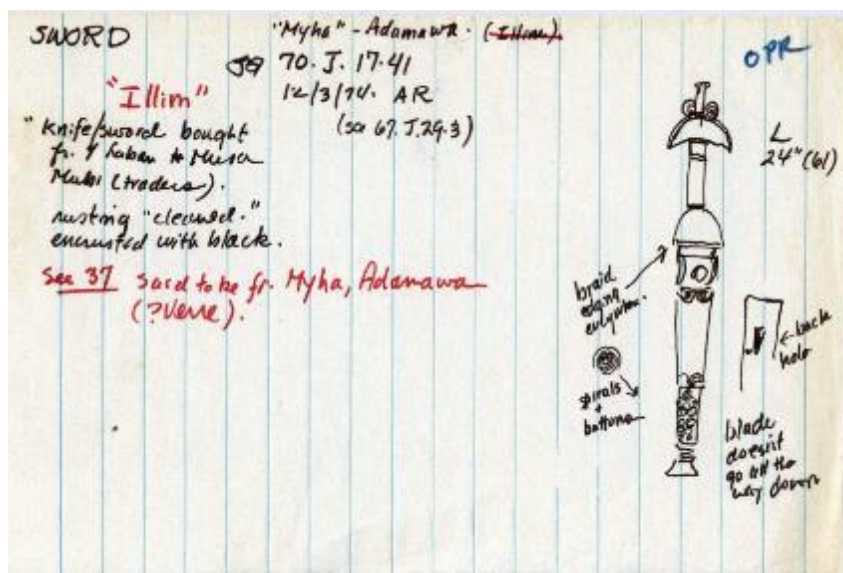


Nancy Maas sketch

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

68.J.43.3 – Brass bowl with bright ‘copper’ spirals.

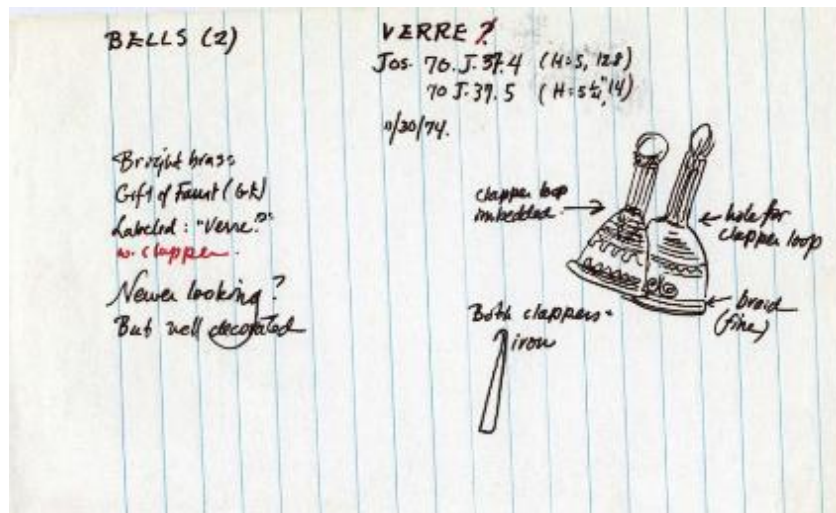
Nancy Maas note and sketch

69.J6.17 – Brass bell, height 18cm, Nancy Maas note, see **663**.**70.J17.41** – brass short sword/dagger, bought from Musa Mubi (trader).

Nancy Maas sketch

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

70.J37.4&5 – Two brass bells with handles, gifted to Jos Museum with Verre attribution.



Nancy Maas sketch

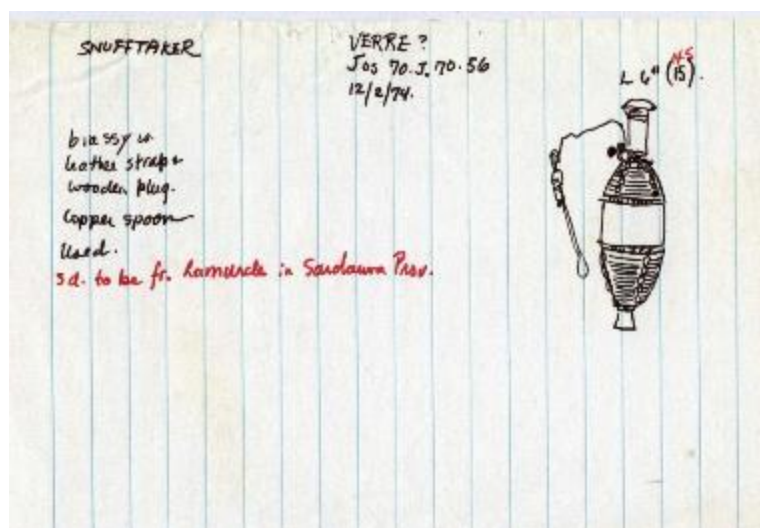
70.J67.7 – Brass bowl described by Nancy Maas, see **66.J11.516**

70.J67.8 – Brass bell from Uki town, noted by Nancy Maas, see **66.J11.663**.

70.J69.6 – All-iron hoe bought in Mubi, compared to Verre brass hoe by Maas, see **562**.

70.J68.30 – Brass bell noted as similar to **66.J11.668** by Nancy Maas.

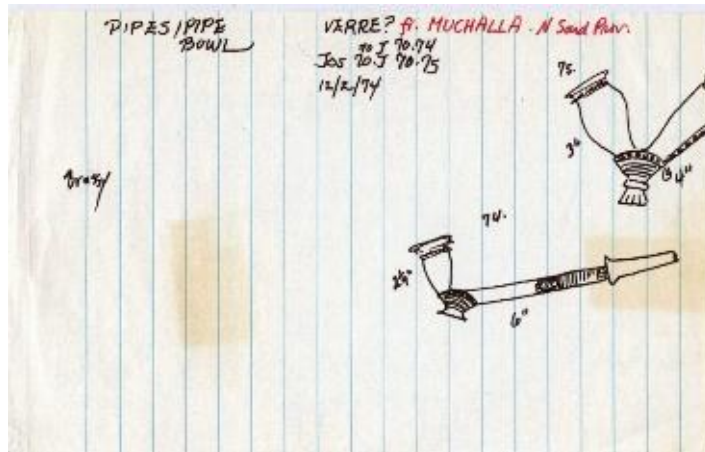
70.J70.56 – snuff bottle and spoon



Nancy Maas sketch

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

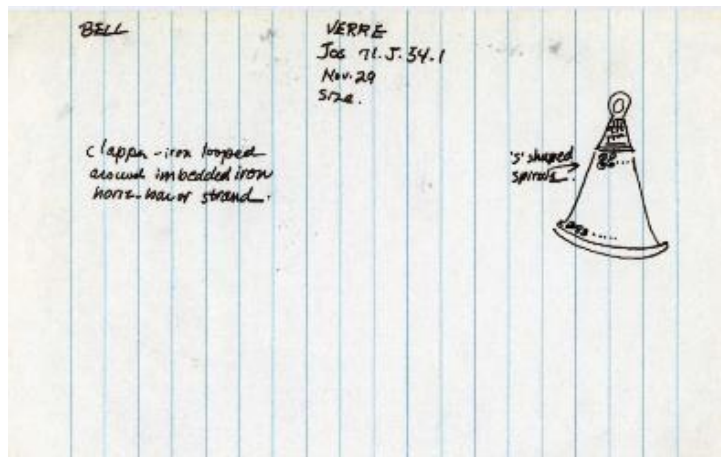
70.J70.74 & 75 – Brass tobacco pipes



Nancy Maas sketch

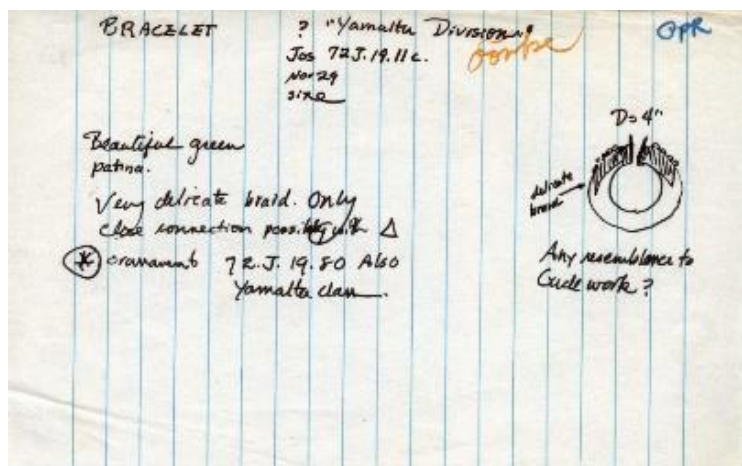
70.J88.8 – Small brass bell from Suma village, *kurumt*, pl. *kuymi*, noted by Nancy Maas, 2.3 x 9.5 cm, see **663**.

71.J54.1 - Small brass bell with iron clapper suspended from internal iron cross-piece.



Nancy Maas sketch

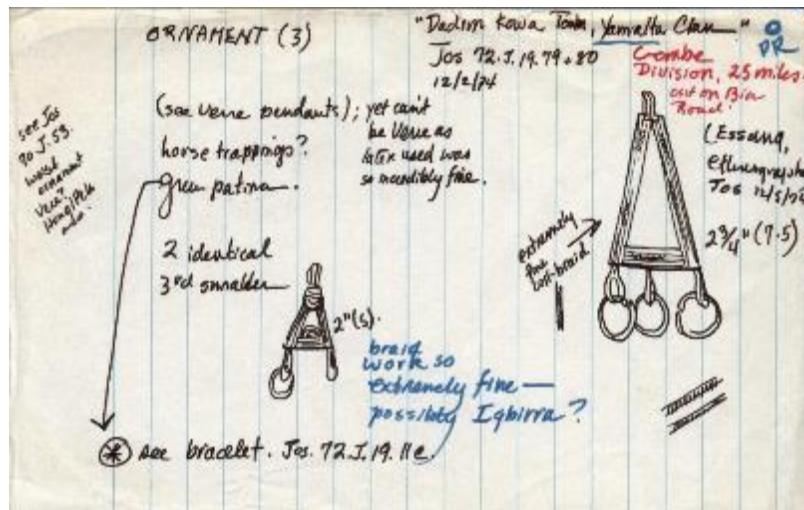
72.J19.11c



Nancy Maas sketch

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

72.J19.79 & 80 – horse trappings?



1973.J59.3a Figure in wood accessioned as Verre.

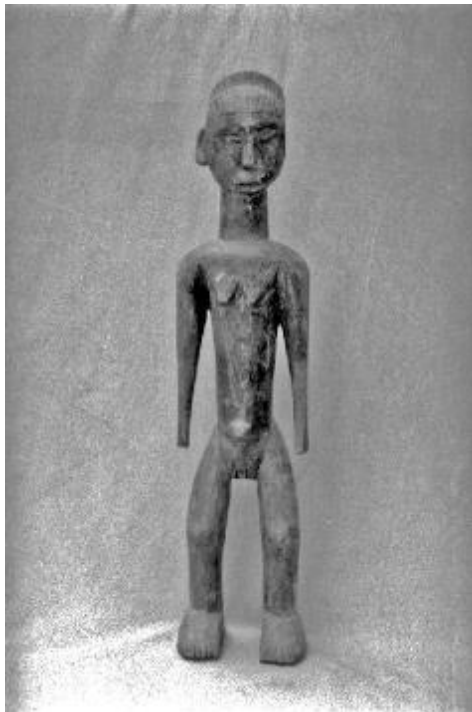


1974.J41.194 Figure in wood accessioned as Chamba but stylistically as likely to be Verre.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



1974.J41.195 Figure in wood accessioned as Chamba but stylistically as likely to be Verre.



1974.J41.196 Figure in wood accessioned as Chamba but stylistically as likely to be Verre.

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

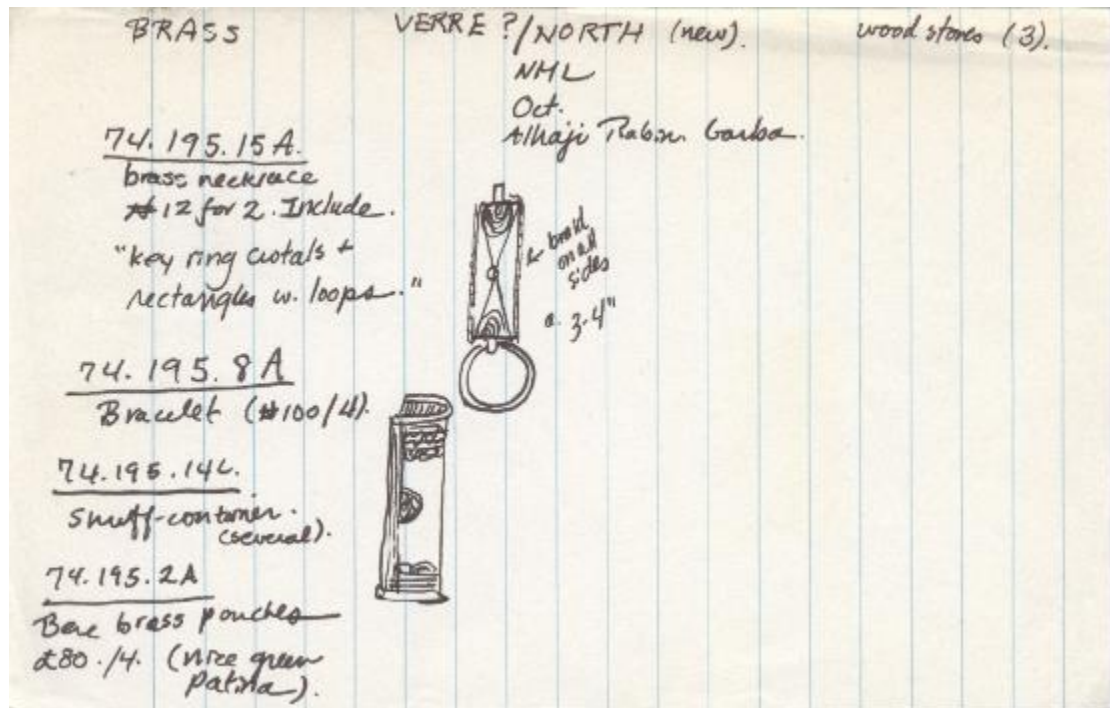


1974.J41.200 Figure in wood accessioned as Chamba but stylistically as likely to be Verre.



Lagos 74.195.2A & 8A & 14C & 15A

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)



Nancy Maas note

(Clicking on the images will open a higher quality version)

APPENDIX 2 Tim Chappel's Verre vendors

31 vendor names are attached to sale events (i.e. of one or several items on a given date), but one name may well be a duplicate, which would reduce the number to 30. Vendors were recorded consistently from **66.J11.279** (20 June 1966) onwards. The overwhelming majority of purchases were made from Cholli vendors. The number of recorded sale events is 46. These provide a measure of frequency of interaction: 25 vendors were involved in fewer than 10 sale events (22 of these in 5 or fewer), while 6 featured in 10 or more. Of the 453 items acquired with the name of a vendor, 259 were bought from the 5 vendors (including the main informants Samuel Cholli and Yakubu, plus Akila, Ayuba, and Yakubu) who each sold 40 or more items.

Abila	3 (7) 648-50 (3); 715-17 (3); 800 (1)
Akila	15 (76) 307-21 (15), 348-55 (18), 377 (1), 394-6 (3), 416 (1), 423-7 (5), 487-90 (4), 511-6 (6), 565-67 a&b (13/14), 570-1 (2), 616-8 (3), 683 (1), 737 (1), 752-3 (2), 765 (1)
Ali Tukur	3 (10) 279-82 (4), 322-26 (5), 721
Alim Cholli	1 (1) 628
Ardo Sambo (District Head)	5 (18) 435-7 (3), 447-48 (2), 496-7 (2), 561-64 (4), 65-61 (7)
Ayuba	15 (57) 283-9 (7), 291-302 (12), 359-60 (2), 433-34 (2), 540-44 (5), 559-60 (2), 591-2 (2), 620-22 (3), 637-42 (7), 684-87 (4), 699 (1), 707-8 (2), 723-4 (2), 750 (1), 771-75 (5)
Bapi Cholli	2 (3) 626-27 (2), 690 (1)
Boniface	6 (13) 445-6 (2), 465 (1), 499-503 (5), 534 (1), 622-23 (2), 804 (1)
Elli	4 (12) 611-13 (3), 668-74 (7), 709 (1), 770 (1)
Ezzara	9 (24) 496-8 (3), 414 (1), 429-32 (4), 464 (1), 506-7 (2), 537-39 (3), 579-87 (9), 662 (1), 714 (1)
Gidado of Uki	1 (2) 735-6 (2)
Hamman Tukur of Tuki	7 (22) 677-80 (4), 700-3 (4), 731-34 (4), 746-48 (3), 769 (1), 801-2 (2), 809-12 (4),
Ibrahim	2 (6) 409-11 (3), 452-4 (3)
James	3 (12) 535 (1), 602-10 (9), 643-4 (2)
Jida Cholli	1 (1) 290
Layi	2 (8) 102 (1), 651-57 (7)
Majoda	1 (4) 401-4 (4),
Manu=Usumanu?	1 (2) 688-89 (2)
Maudai	2 (6) 529-33 (5), 568 (1)
Modari Cholli (carver)	1 (2) 664-5 (2)

Musa Cholli	10 (25) 345-47 (3), 358 (1), 368-69 (2), 412-13 (2), 422 (1), 548-50 (3), 573-4 (2), 633-36 (4), 719 (1), 755-60 (6)
Ofa Kila of Ragin (brass caster)	1 (1) 749 & 751 (2) (see also 750),
Salimu	16 (4) 356-57 (2), 361-66 (6), 378-81 (4), 405 (1), 428 (1), 455-57 (3), 504 (1), 546-47 (2), 572 (1), 595-97 (3), 619 (1), 629-32 (4), 691 (1), 761-64 (4), 798-99 (2), 813-20 (8)
Samuel Cholli	13 (42) 331-44 (14), 382-86 (5), 397 (1), 415 (1), 443-44 (2), 491-5 (5), 505 (1), 517-20 (4), 593 (1), 681-82 (2), 697-98 (2), 711-13 (3), 718 (1)
Simon	2 (3) 594 (1), 614-15 (2)
Stefanus	1 (3) 588-90 (3)
Usumanu=Manu?	2 (3) 754 (1), 776-77 (2)
Wakili	1 (3) 766-8 (3).
Woman dancer (anon) of Uki	1 (1) 720 (1)
Yakubu	13 (40) 304-6 (3), 367 (1), 420-21 (2), 441-42 (2), 498 (1), 521-28 (8), 569 (1), 663 (1), 675-76 (12), 698a/b (2), 722 (1), 725-29 (5), 803 (1)
Yesufu	2 (2) 545 (1), 710 (1)

APPENDIX 3 Glossary of Verre terms for objects, their uses and description

C.K. Meek included a list of 154 words and phrases in Verre that he had collected in the late 1920s in his 1931 *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria* (1931 I: 439-45). Like the list below, Meek's vocabulary derives from the Cholli dialect (in his spellings: 'Soli', 'Soli', or 'Sholi', 1931 I: 414, 439) spoken by people to the north of the Verre Hills. We are aware of two contemporary transcriptions of Verre. The earlier of these was developed by Roger Blench and Adrian Edwards for their 1988 draft *Dictionary of the Momi Language* (referred to below as B&E) and is based on the Yadim dialect spoken west of the Verre Hills. Their work draws upon Blench's analysis of texts transcribed by Edwards, as well as Blench's own brief work with Verre informants. Our second source is a 2013 pamphlet *Reading and Writing Verre* produced under the auspices of the Verre Language Project (referred to below as VLP), which was an initiative of the Gweri Language Committee and the Luke Partnership (Wycliffe Global Alliance). A copy of this document was kindly sent to Tim Chappel by Isabelle Hopkins of the Northern Nigeria Theological College. This second initiative appears to have been unaware of the first and does not specify the dialect on which it is based. Because of the only slight overlaps in vocabulary, we are able to draw on these two resources to a limited extent when choosing among the transcriptions of terms in the Verre dialect of Cholli made by Chappel, which he would emphasise are those of a layman. We aspire only for the terms to be recognizable to any Verre who might wish to correct them.

Verre is an Adamawa Eastern language which retains five noun classes. As will be apparent below, nouns of each class form their plurals differently and have agreements with their adjectives. In the VLP transcription, Verre has eight vowels, one more than in B&E, who do not see a need to distinguish between ϵ and e. We shall retain eight vowels where Chappel's informants distinguished them (a e ϵ i o ɔ u). Long and short vowels are contrasted, and there appear to be three level tones, though we are unable to represent them here, let alone the glides between tones. There are twenty-two or twenty-three consonants in the contemporary transcriptions. Those unfamiliar to readers that appear here may include: the simultaneous plosives kp gb, ' (glottal stop), b d (implosive b and d, stops that are produced by drawing breath in rather than out).

Terms are in the final form transcribed by Chappel unless indicated otherwise. Singular and plural (s) and (pl) are provided where we have an indication of both. The vowels e ϵ a and o ɔ are not separated in alphabetical order, reflecting in part our lack of confidence in having distinguished them accurately and consistently.

anfipdeka run (s) snuff

baaba (s), *baabai* (pl) female elder; women's senior age grade; also, general term for grandmother; B&E, *baaba*(s), *baabai*(pl), grandmother, old woman

<i>Baaka Do'os Banjas</i>	ceremony through which a man of <i>saari</i> (see below) age grade achieves the senior age grade, <i>dɔnda</i> (see below); it involves large offerings of corn, goats, beer etc., after which he may wear a goatskin, <i>wok</i> (s), <i>wogrum</i> (pl), be permitted to own brass items and be addressed as <i>dɔnda</i> ; cf. B&E, <i>baar kulee</i> , name of traditional ceremony
<i>baiyamas</i> (s)	with reference to an animal head on a brass dagger, also identified as <i>lelwa</i> in Fulfulde, Senegal gazelle (Taylor 1932: 122)
<i>bal</i> (s), <i>bari</i> (pl)	dance helmet worn by initiates during <i>Gangni</i> , the circumcision ceremony; a brass skeuomorph, <i>bal suktundal</i> (s), <i>bari suktini</i> (pl), may be worn by <i>Tibaai</i> (see also <i>tongta</i> for <i>Gazabi</i>)
<i>bank</i> (s), <i>banks</i> (pl)	stringed musical instrument; B&E, <i>duuka kpank</i> , to play the harp
<i>Bila Fil</i>	Sky God, Supreme Being; indirect source of 'everything', but not supplicated directly, only through <i>Do'os</i> and the ancestors; B&E, <i>biil</i> (no pl), sky, heaven, God (see also <i>Ula</i>); Meek, 1931 I: 430, <i>Bil</i> , God (in one group), God/Sun (in another group), <i>Ula/ula</i> , sun
<i>bit</i> (s), <i>bir</i> (pl)	generic term for decoration (offered in the context of brass bells); possible relationship to <i>bix</i> (below); B&E, <i>biská</i> to colour, in turn possibly related to B&E, <i>biikwá</i> to be red
<i>bit gangs</i> (s & pl?)	female scarification marks
<i>bix</i> (s), <i>bigi</i> (pl)	snake (to describe pattern on a brass bell); B&E, <i>biikz</i> (s), <i>biigi</i> (pl) snake; Meek, <i>biks</i> , snake (1931 I: 441)
<i>bogarus</i> (s), <i>bogari</i> (pl)	iron leg rattles
<i>bome damse</i> [Bata]	brass wedding horns
<i>bomp</i> (s), <i>boms</i> (pl)	type of wood used for carving a figure (in collected example); <i>danawal</i> , Fulfulde (cf. Taylor 1932: 28, <i>dalewal</i> a plank of mahogany)
<i>bongo</i> [Bata; Dingai]	decorated brass bracelet
<i>buna</i> (s), <i>bunut</i> (pl)	medicines
<i>buruk</i> (s), <i>burum</i> (pl)	single iron clapperless bell/handgong, the same term also applied in one instance to a clapperless bell in brass 570 ; single clapperless handgong skeuomorphs in brass are specified as <i>buruk suktunkak</i> (s), <i>burum suktunmam</i> (pl) 465, 515 ; handgongs used in cults are <i>buruk doi'yaaks</i> (s), <i>burum doi'yaagi</i> (pl), compare with <i>doi' yaaks</i> (s), <i>doi' yaagi</i> (pl) iron rattle, where <i>doi'</i> is probably related to <i>Do'os</i> cult; cf. B&E, <i>bürk</i> , large single iron clapperless bell used at funerals, B&E, <i>yakz</i> , an initiate to secret ceremonies
<i>Bwatiye</i> [Bata]	ethnic term used by Bata in self-reference
<i>cheede</i> (pl) [Fulfulde]	cowries; plural form of <i>serre</i> (s), a cowry shell (cf. Taylor, 1932: 24, in plural form used to mean money)
<i>Daaka Gangni</i> (s)	full title of <i>Gangni</i> circumcision/initiation rites; initiates referred to directly as <i>gangs</i> (s), <i>gangni</i> (pl)
<i>dal</i> (s), <i>dari</i> (pl)	penis, also decorative feature resembling a penis; e.g. <i>dal bambde</i> , penis of a donkey, to describe the knob at the end of the <i>tambus</i> circumcision crook;

	before the advent of the donkey, said to have been brought by the Fulani, this feature was called <i>dal pirums</i> , penis of [generic term] animal
<i>damse</i> [Bata]	brass
<i>danga gbwikak</i> (s), <i>dangat gbwikak</i> (pl)	larger (as in deeper pitch) hourglass drum; <i>danga wakak</i> (s), <i>dangat wakak</i> (pl), smaller (higher pitch) hourglass drum; cf. B&E, <i>dɔnga</i> , single-headed hourglass drum played for dances
<i>dara</i> (s), <i>darut</i> (pl)	rattle instrument used by elders during the circumcision ceremony; cf. B&E <i>daará</i> bottle gourd instrument played by women for <i>Dei-ki</i> funeral ceremony
<i>Dei-ki</i>	performance associated with women's life-cycle events, including initiation and funeral (see <i>daará</i> or <i>dara</i> above); <i>Dei-ki Peena</i> , scarification ceremony for girls
<i>dengkongkas</i> (s), <i>dengkongki</i> (pl)	iron double clapperless bell for <i>Do'os</i> (see below); cf. B&E, <i>dengkong</i> (s), small iron double bell played by newly circumcised boys to warn away women; B&E also note this to be played together with <i>bùrk</i> ; <i>dengkongkas suktunjas</i> (s), <i>dengkongki suktini</i> (pl), brass double clapperless bell
<i>wék dengbur</i> (s), <i>wem dengbi</i> (pl)	iron knife, see <i>wék</i> (below)
<i>dens suktunjas</i> (s), <i>denda suktini</i> (pl)	brass ceremonial drinking vessel (shaped like a water pot)
<i>dersers</i>	medicinal twigs to frighten away <i>zam</i> guardian hill spirits in order to mine for ore; <i>yotere</i> Fulfulde (cf. Taylor 1932: 238, <i>youtere</i> , mistletoe [W.Indian]: <i>Loranthus Patagonia</i> ; <i>kause</i> , Hausa)
<i>deesire</i> (s), <i>deesirei</i> (pl)	additional rings on a pipe stem
<i>dewes</i> (s)	metal upper pipe stem
<i>dis wasi</i> or <i>dis sawosi</i> (s)	beeswax; honeycomb which together with its honey is used in <i>cire perdue</i> modelling to cast brasses; beeswax (from which honey has been extracted) used for drumskins. B&E, <i>wɔɔgà wáshi</i> , honey; <i>wasəz</i> , honeybee; <i>wɔɔk</i> , oil; <i>diis</i> , gum, resin, glue
<i>Do'ga Sas</i> (s), <i>Do'ga Saari</i> (pl)	in the Ragin area, the title used for the 'head of <i>Do'os</i> '; cf. Blench, 1993: 3, <i>Sas</i> , rainmaker, 'the single most important figure respected by all clans ...'
<i>do'gur</i> (s), <i>do'gis</i> (pl)	dagger/knife; possibly the knife handle only: <i>do'gur suktundak</i> (s), <i>do'gisi suktini</i> (pl), brass handle, <i>do'gur rap</i> (s), <i>do'gis rat</i> (pl), wooden handle. <i>Do'gur</i> also used to refer to the shape of a hilt (671)
<i>doi' yaaks</i> (s), <i>doi' yaagi</i> (pl)	iron rattle, possibly with bell, for <i>Do'os</i> (see below) performance; may be referred to simply as <i>Do'os</i> ; compare <i>buruk doi'yaaks</i> (s), <i>burum doi'yaagi</i> (pl) iron clapperless bell (570); cf. B&E, <i>yakz</i> , an initiate to secret ceremonies
<i>do'mut</i> (s)	stand for tobacco pipe
<i>dɔnda</i> (s), <i>dɔndai</i> (pl)	male elder; senior male age grade; <i>dɔndas wajaas</i> , <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i> senior elders; cf. B&E, <i>dɔmdá</i> (s), <i>dɔmdái</i> (pl) 'a courtesy title of senior old men. To be formally given this title it is necessary to pass through a number of ceremonial stages. Also grandfather, in general'

<i>do'og biis</i> (s)	men's iron leg rattles
<i>Do'os</i> (s)	cult(s) of the Cholli Verre; direct source of all aspects of life beneficial to the local community, such as good crop yields, health and, above all, the individual's age-grade related, social status and exponentially increasing 'life force' or 'vital essence'; cf. B&E, <i>dooz</i> (s), <i>deeni</i> (pl), 'a class of traditional ceremonies associated with the development of traditional magical power'; Meek 1931: 431, <i>Do'os</i> , 'employed as a personification of all the occult powers'
<i>Do'[os] jubarus</i> (s)	'a piece of wood' kept in the <i>Do'os</i> cult house; if a farmer's crops were failing, he could request (payment, one cockerel/five shillings) either the <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i> , or a <i>dɔnda wajaas</i> , to bring the <i>do'ju</i> (shortened form) to his farm to perform a ceremony
<i>Dor</i> (s)	hunting shrine, outside the village, maintained by <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i>
<i>dukomberli</i> (s), <i>dukomberlui</i> (pl)	abrus seed(s)
<i>duma</i> (s), <i>dumit</i> (pl)	fly whisk, <i>duma suktunkak</i> (s), <i>dumit suktuntat</i> (pl), brass version
<i>fauna duwa</i> [Bata]	'thing for horse' (brass buckle in case cited)
<i>fɛ</i> (s), <i>fɛr</i> (pl)	women's necklace composed of strung beads; might simply refer to smaller beads of more cylindrical appearance; examples collected and named thus were in brass, but this may not be a necessary quality
<i>fitila</i> (s),	oil lamp; <i>fitila</i> , Fulfulde
<i>fongan</i> (s), <i>fongani</i> (pl)	bell (apparently in iron unless specified as brass)
<i>fɔra suktunkat</i> (s), <i>fɔrt suktuntat</i> (pl)	brass ceremonial wind instrument (skeuomorph of an animal's, cow's?, horn, 675?)
<i>ga</i> (s)	ubiquitous spiral/coiled decorative motif, whether in brass or iron, said to replicate the coiled tail of a sleeping leopard
<i>ga-ga</i> (s)	double spiral/coiled decorative motif whether in brass or iron, e.g. <i>wɛk ga-ga</i> (s), <i>wɛm ga-ga</i> (pl), knife/dagger with double spiral decorative motifs; <i>wɛk ga-ga deesire</i> (s), <i>wɛm g-'ga deesiei</i> (pl), knife/dagger with double spiral and knoblike decorative motifs
<i>Gaaka Yalan</i>	preparatory ceremony for <i>Gangni</i> (see below)
<i>gamsus</i> (s), <i>gamsi</i> (pl)	iron sickle with wooden handle; B&E, <i>gamsɛz</i> (s), <i>gamsi</i> (pl), sickle
<i>Gangni</i>	male initiation/circumcision ceremony
<i>Gazabi</i>	non-smiths/farmers; considered by smiths, <i>Tibaa</i> (see below) an inferior status to their own
<i>gbala</i> (s), <i>gbalit</i> (pl)	used of clubs, staffs and brass spear shafts; <i>gbala suktunkak</i> (s), <i>gbalit suktuntat</i> (pl), brass club or spear; <i>gbala arandu</i> (s), <i>gbalit arandit</i> (pl), brass ritual staff; Meek, <i>gbala</i> stick (1931 I: 443)
<i>gbijaas</i>	in <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i> , senior elder, priest-chief

<i>galkaz</i>	B&E, iron
<i>gɔ (s), go'or (pl)</i>	wooden lower pipe stem
<i>gɔka sɔk (s), eregɔruk sɔkɔ (pl)</i>	general term solicited in relation to pipe decoration
<i>gul (s), gura (pl)</i>	musical cow horn pipes played at <i>Do'os</i> ceremonies; brass version, <i>gul suktunu (s), gura suktini (pl)</i> ; specified number of named pipes for different festivals, e.g. at <i>Ris Kaguri</i> (see below) ,5 pipes: 725 <i>leruma</i> , 726 <i>segu</i> , 727 <i>dupser</i> , 728 , <i>gotus</i> , 729 <i>bambi</i> (antelope horn supplying higher pitch); <i>Gura Bai</i> (see below), 6 pipes: the above plus 798 <i>ya'ar</i> (additional cow horn), 799 <i>mangre</i> (cow horn replacing antelope horn <i>bambi</i>); c.f. B&E <i>guul (s), guur (pl)</i> , set of six conical cow horns – names of which differ from those given to Chappel - blown transversely in wet season only
<i>gul (s), gual (pl)</i>	medicine charm worn around a child's neck; <i>gul suktundal (s)</i> , brass version
<i>gul gbondunal (s), gura gbodini (pl)</i>	brass medicine container for men, worn on the right hip
<i>gul taba (s), guri taba (pl)</i>	container for tobacco or snuff
<i>gula delel (s), guri deli (pl)</i>	musical pipe fashioned from horn; adopted from Koma
<i>Gura Bai</i>	part of the <i>Ris Kaguri</i> cycle of agrarian rites involving all-night singing, dancing accompanied by pipes
<i>gura bus (s), gura boyii (pl)</i>	boy's neck charm
<i>Guri</i>	funeral ceremony for elder
<i>gurme suktunu (s), gurmei suktini (pl)</i>	brass receptacle like a water jar
<i>gwerag rag (s)</i>	rope around the neck of girl dancing at scarification ceremony
<i>jap (s)</i>	crocodile, or reference to decorative motifs replicating crocodile scales; B&E, <i>zaus (s), zai (pl)</i> , crocodile; VLP, <i>zabes (s), zawi (pl)</i> , crocodile
<i>Jauro (s) [Fulfulde]</i>	Village Head. At Cholli in 1966, Jauro Diwa was the next most senior <i>dɔnda</i> , <i>dɔnda wajaas</i> , to Ardo Sambo, the Fulani-appointed District Head (<i>Ardo</i>), who was also <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i> and priest-chief of <i>Do'os</i> . Jauro Diwa's principal title in relation to his ritual duties, <i>Do'[os] Gagas</i> , 'giver of medicine', involved providing pain-reducing medicines for the initiates, and generally organizing both <i>Jela</i> (see below) and <i>Gangni</i> (see above)
<i>Jela</i>	ritual beating before <i>Gangni</i>
<i>jo jaks suktunkak (s), jo jagi suktuntat (pl)</i>	brass snuff container
<i>jumnet suktuntat (s)</i>	'raw' copper alloy, allegedly smelted from locally sourced ores; 749 , sample said to have been smelted 'a long time ago'
<i>kal (s), kara (pl)</i>	a ring on which to stand a pot; compound forms include: <i>kal suktundal (s), kara suktini (pl)</i> , brass version; <i>kal yerki (s), kara yermi (pl)</i> , iron version; <i>kal Tibaai (s)</i> , version used by smiths, i.e. heavy and/or elaborately decorated
<i>kambu (s), kambol (pl)</i>	men's bracelet (566)
<i>ke (s)</i>	mahogany oil, mixed with honey as a body oil (equivalent to <i>karewal</i> , Fulfulde, <i>madachi</i> , Hausa)

<i>kerumd</i> (s), <i>kerumi</i> (pl)	bell; occurs in numerous composite descriptions: e.g. <i>kerumd suktundal</i> (s), <i>kerumi suktini</i> (pl), brass bell; <i>kerumd Tibaai/Gazabi</i> for the use of smiths or non-smiths, with the implication of more and less large/ornate; <i>kerumd bix Tibaai</i> , where <i>bix</i> refers to decoration resembling snakeskin; <i>kerumd mule Tibaai</i> , where knoblike decorations recall women's waistbands, <i>mule</i> , of threaded beads; <i>kerumd ga Gazabi</i> , where <i>ga</i> refers to the spiral decoration appropriate for non-smiths; c.f. B&E, <i>karamda</i> small brass bell
<i>keu</i> (s), <i>ken</i> (pl)	a type of wood from which hourglass drums are carved; B&E, cf. <i>ke'er</i> (s), <i>ke'</i> (pl), shea-butter tree (<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>)
<i>Killa</i> [Bachama]	blacksmith/brasscaster
<i>Killai</i> (s), <i>killan</i> (pl) [Bata]	blacksmith/brasscaster
<i>Konjo</i> (s) [Bata]	iron clapperless double handbell/gong
<i>kula</i> (s), <i>kulani</i> (pl)	tobacco pipe, or pipe bowl; <i>kula bi'jaas</i> (s), <i>kulani bi'kiyai</i> (pl) type of pipe with metal main stem, <i>dewes</i> , and stand, <i>do'mut</i> ; wooden lower stem, <i>go</i> ; <i>kulang bi'jaasi</i> (s), <i>kulangi bi'kiya</i> (pl), women's smoking pipe; <i>kula suktunus yanga nui</i> (s) girl's miniature brass smoking pipe; <i>kulang suktunu</i> (s), <i>kulangi suktunu</i> (pl), brass and iron smoking pipe; <i>kulangi tuko</i> (s), pipe bowl; <i>kulang maas</i> (s) decorative ring for pipe
<i>kumsas</i> (s), <i>kumsai</i> (pl)	women's iron hair decoration/hair pin; 'hair scratcher', <i>jalbal</i> , Fulfulde
<i>kur</i> (s), <i>kurt</i> (pl)	drinking vessel/bowl; <i>kur suktunkak</i> (s), <i>kurt suktunati</i> (pl), gourd skeuomorph in brass; B&E, <i>kar</i> (s), <i>kat</i> (pl), gourd, <i>kar gbiina</i> decorated gourd
<i>kwantaraŋfi</i> [Hausa]	offered as identification (fieldnotes 1966, 7:30) of horned bush animal (type of antelope/gazelle/cob) referenced in decoration; probably, <i>kwanta</i> , lie down, in the stream, <i>rafi</i> , reedbuck; see also <i>padella</i> , Fulfulde (below)
<i>Lams</i> (s), <i>Lami</i> (pl)	an older term for blacksmith/brasscaster, <i>Tibaai</i> (see <i>Tori</i> below); the term, <i>Lami</i> , or its variants, also meaning blacksmith, is found in a number of other ethnic groups in the area; Cholli informants said that their settlement was originally divided physically into two social groupings, the <i>Lami</i> being in the majority, cf. Meek, 1931: 415 '... the villagers of Soli [Cholli], being blacksmiths, only intermarry with fellow blacksmiths ...', see also Meek 1931: 423; B&E, <i>lamz</i> (s), <i>lami</i> (pl), gravedigger, also teacher (from Hausa 'mallam')
<i>lug Do'os</i> (s)	<i>Do'os</i> cult house; containing five material items, a) <i>Do'gupse</i> (s), a 'stone' inside a skin bag, b) <i>daak'pai</i> (s), a long, deep-throated wooden horn, <i>baranga</i> (pl), metal and wood bull-roarers, d) <i>gura'dai</i> (pl), musical pipes of animal horn, e) <i>Doi'yaaks</i> , iron ceremonial instruments (see also, <i>Do' jubarus</i> , above)
<i>lugujaare</i> [Fulfulde]	leather bowstring puller; adopted from Fulani
<i>maas</i> (s), <i>maai</i> (pl)	ring(s); <i>maas kulang</i> (s), <i>maai kulangi</i> (pl), decorative iron rings for smoking pipe stems; <i>maas suktunjas</i> (s), <i>maai suktini</i> (pl), decorative brass rings for smoking pipe stems; additional pipe rings may be described by the adjective <i>deseere</i> (see above). Women's iron bracelet, <i>maas bogorɔs</i> (s), <i>maai bogori</i> (pl); men's iron bracelet, <i>maas yaaks</i> (s), <i>maas yaagi</i> (s); c.f. B&E, <i>maa'az</i> (s), <i>maai</i> (pl)

<i>Maas Kataaki</i>	final stage of the <i>Ris Kaguri</i> agrarian cycle involving an early morning procession around the village
<i>Marus</i> (s), <i>Maari</i> (pl)	ritual ‘clowns’, with significant socio-ceremonial roles, especially during <i>Do’os</i> rites; inherited role, for both male and female; also identified as human personifications of <i>zam</i> (s & pl?) (see below): ‘they are the same’, i.e. like brothers; possible connected with witchcraft matters; cf. B&E, <i>wa mārāz</i> (s), <i>wa mààrí</i> (pl) ‘anthropomorphic carvings used in ceremonies’; VLP, <i>máz</i> (s), <i>mari</i> (pl), man
<i>mule</i> (s), <i>mulei</i> (pl)	women’s prestige waistband of brass beads; the knobs on women’s waistbands; <i>mule werinis</i> (s), <i>mulei werini</i> (pl), where <i>werinis</i> refers to ‘things in between’, worn by wives of rich men (spacer beads of some kind; perhaps those with knobs)
<i>na kuti</i> (s), <i>nat kuti</i> (pl)	bow puller; probably from <i>na’</i> (s), <i>nat</i> (pl) arm/hand (B&E)
<i>ndingawe</i> [Bata]	iron clapperless hand bell/gong
<i>Nenga Kabusum</i>	penultimate stage of the <i>Ris Kaguri</i> agrarian cycle; takes place at night, when <i>Do’os</i> ‘takes hunger and throws it away into the bush’; women must remain indoors throughout; it involves a deep-throated horn, the beating of stones, gourds, and pots, and also wooden bull-roarers
<i>nengtabungs</i> (s), <i>nengtabungni</i> (pl)	horizontal bands of decoration in the form of ridges possibly with vertical patterns running between them, the term occurs in this form in descriptions of brass crooks, <i>tambus/tamba</i> , and hoes, <i>tul/tula</i> , e.g. <i>tambus nengtabungs</i> etc. Probably a composite term.
<i>ne’tək</i> (s), <i>ne’tet</i> (pl)	earlobe plug; B&E, <i>tək</i> ear
<i>nex</i> (s), <i>negi</i> (pl)	penis sheath
<i>Orka Baar</i>	ceremony for childless woman to induce pregnancy
<i>Orka Maam</i>	ceremony performed by priest-chief, <i>dɔnda gbijaas</i> , if rains delayed or falter after starting; supplications addressed to skulls of ancestral <i>dɔnda</i> brought out from <i>Do’os</i> cult house; following these rites, after two days ‘rain must fall’
<i>padella</i> (s), <i>padala</i> (pl) [Fulfulde]	reedbuck
<i>pat jangbi</i> (s), <i>pat jangbis</i> (pl)	women’s brass amulet
<i>pe damse</i> (s) [Bata]	brass wedding bowl
<i>pɔngan</i> (s), <i>pɔngani</i> (pl)	flat brass bracelet (as distinct from rounded ring); compound forms include <i>pɔngan sa’sai</i> (s) with crotal bells, <i>pɔngan Tibaai</i> (s) for smiths, <i>pɔngan suktunkak</i> (s) in brass, etc.
<i>pog</i> (s)	charm of some kind (or variant transcription of <i>porg</i> , see below)
<i>porg</i> (s), <i>porm</i> (pl)	medicine containers cited to have been replicated as decoration of a knife pommel
<i>rab lugujaare</i> (s), <i>rat lugujaare</i> (pl)	bowstring puller; <i>rab</i> , to catch

<i>Ris Kaguri</i>	first fruits stage of harvest celebrations; see also <i>Gura Bai</i> , <i>Maas Kataaki</i> , <i>Nenga Kabusum</i> , <i>Taaki</i>
<i>ritimaro</i>	social/occupational grouping, (clan/lineage/guild); term used by Cholli informants to describe the former division of their village into two distinct sections: <i>Lami</i> , the blacksmiths, and <i>Tori</i> , the non-blacksmiths
<i>sa'a/sa'sol</i> (s), <i>sa'sai</i> (pl)	children's ankle rattles or bells to encourage walking. Also, <i>sa'sai</i> (pl) crotal bells
<i>saari</i> (pl)	members of the age grade after <i>was</i> (see below) and before <i>donda</i> (see above); they assist in <i>Do'os</i> and initiation ceremonies as musicians and dancers; responsible for stripping the outer skin of the corpse of a deceased elder before burial; B&E, <i>Saara-sarii</i> (pl.?), 'the agents of the rain-maker, <i>Saa'az</i> , stationed in a number of villages, who report to him on the rain'
<i>saferu</i> (s), <i>safegi</i> (pl)	brass charm, medicine container; cf. Taylor 1932: 163, <i>safiiru</i> 'small brass bar containing "juju" powder of <i>kauda</i> , the act or ability to stab oneself without harm'
<i>Sambaz</i>	B&E, Fulani; <i>Sambak</i> , Fulfulde
<i>seeri</i> (s)	decoration featuring a locust, e.g. <i>tambus seeri</i> (s), <i>tambi seeri</i> (pl), circumcision crook decorated with such
<i>Seerkaana</i>	festival for the guinea corn harvest usually held in January. Every seven or so years, when <i>Gangni</i> the boys' initiation rites take place, two preparatory ceremonies – <i>Jela</i> which involves beating (see above), and <i>Gaaka Yalan</i> (see above) – are included 'under' <i>Seerkaana</i>
<i>sops</i> (s), <i>sobi</i> (pl)	iron sickle (488); exclusively for male use and different from both <i>gamsus</i> and <i>tambus</i>
<i>suk tigi</i> (s), <i>suktak tigii</i> (pl)	hunter's bird mask/decoy
<i>suktunu</i> (s)	copper alloy metal (brass); possibly derived from a verb 'to smelt'. Note the verb <i>sùkis</i> is defined as to cast by the lost wax method in Michel Dieu and Louis Perrois 2016 <i>Dictionnaire encyclopédique Koma Gimbe/Français</i> . Koma are eastern and southeastern neighbours of some eastern Verre who claim to have taught them the art of casting
<i>tagar suktundal</i> (s), <i>tagi suktuni</i> (pl)	brass sandals
<i>Taaki</i>	third stage of the <i>Ris Kaguri</i> agrarian cycle of festivals that takes place at night during the time of the new moon; no pipes or drums are involved, only gourd rattles and iron bells to accompany dancing by women
<i>tambus</i> (s), <i>tambi</i> (pl)	brass circumcision crook, skeuomorph of iron sickle, <i>gamsus</i> (s), <i>gamsi</i> (pl); <i>tambus wees</i> (s), <i>tambi wesa</i> (pl), iron crook; <i>tambus rap</i> (s), <i>tambus rat</i> (pl) wooden crook; crooks may be further identified by their decorative motifs and whether they are for use by smiths or non-smiths
<i>taap</i>	bow (Meek 1931 I: 441)
<i>tawai</i> [Bata]	brass ankle bells
<i>tekkere</i> (s) [Fulfulde]	headpad

- telkal suktundal* (s), *tenkari suktini* (pl) brass ceremonial stemmed goblet
- tengo* (s) [Bata] brass bell
- tet* (s), *tet* (pl) medicine for *Bus Kabili*
- tewes* (s) *tewengbe* (pl) iron pipe stem
- Tibaas* (s), *Tibaai* (pl) blacksmiths/brasscasters; in the past, at least, endogamous, enjoying an elevated, if probably ambivalent, social status, exemplified in the clearly defined range of a variety of prestige brass ceremonial items reported to have been reserved for their exclusive use; B&E, *Tibààz* (s), *Tibààì* (pl), blacksmith; see also Blench, 1993: 1, who, having noted that the Verre of the Yadim area were divided into eight, originally endogamous, clans observes: 'In addition, there is a more strictly endogamous group, the Tibaye, who are blacksmiths'; VLP, *tibaaz*, blacksmith; Meek 1931 I: 423, '... the village of Soli [Cholli] ... consists of blacksmiths (known as *Tibei*); Meek 1931 I: 441, *tibas*, smiths
- Tibaas timniyai* (s), *Tibaai timniyai* (pl) term for blacksmith in the Ragin area
- Tibaas suktunjas* (s), *Tibaai suktini* (pl) term for brasscaster in the Ragin area
- Tibaai suktini* (pl) term used for both blacksmith and brasscaster in the Uki area
- tikp suktu nanet* (s) 'office for brass', i.e. smelting furnace; associated terms: *ba tikp*, furnace fire, *bongs* (s & pl), furnace opening, *bus* (s & pl), inverted crucible, *tam* (s & pl), bellows, *woops* (s & pl), clay core and wax mould (no other specific terms for these, see *woops* (s), (below)
- tings* (s), *tinge* (pl) women's wooden stool
- Toj* (s), *Tori* (pl) formerly the term used (at least in Cholli) for non-blacksmiths, who were a minority group (see *Lami*, above)
- ṭṭoma* (s), *ṭṭoma* (pl) spear; *ṭṭoma suktunu* (s), *ṭṭoma suktunkak* (pl), brass ceremonial spear; *ṭṭoma bogurus* (s), *ṭṭoma boguri* (pl), iron spear with a rattle top (formed like an ankle rattle) of the kind owned by senior *dṇṇda gbijaas*; *ṭṭoma gbaas* (s), *ṭṭoma gba* (pl), tall iron pot stand for use in the rituals of *Do'os*, also called *ṭṭoma ga-ga* (s) if it has a double-spiral motif; *ṭṭoma suktunka* (s), *ṭṭoma suktini* (pl) brass version of pot stand; B&E, *ṭṭoma* (s), *ṭṭmr* (pl), spear; Meek 1931 I: 441, *ṭṭoma* (s), spear
- tṅṅta suktunu* (s), *tṅṅtai suktini* (pl) brass male initiation helmet for *Gazabi*, a (possibly smaller) version of the central element of the *bal suktunu* (s), or *Tibaai* helmet, lacking the four pendant flaps suspended from the central element both of this skeuomorph and of the fibre, leather and cowry, non-metal helmet. We do not know whether the central element of the non-metal helmet is also called *tṅṅta*. Also used to describe a design of dagger with funnel-shaped boss.
- Tos* [Toz] (s) in Cholli area, formal title of 'head[priest-chief/high priest] of *Do'os* who, by definition, is a *dṇṇda gbijaas*; cf. Edwards, 1991: 312, *toz*, 'the priest responsible for the main agricultural rituals ...'; B&E, *toz*, 'priests concerned

with agrarian rites'; also, Blench, 1993: 2, reference to 'the master of the *toos ...*', described as an 'animal like a ram with the head of a human being'

- tul* (s), *tula* (pl) hoe; *tul furan* (s), *tula furani* (pl) iron hoe iron; *tul furundal* (s), *tula foni* (pl), iron double-bladed hoe; *tul suktundal* (s), *tula suktuni* (pl), brass prestige hoe used by women dancing; B&E, *tuul* (s), *tuuli* (pl), hoe
- ula/Ula* sun/Sun (see *Bila Fil*, above); B&E, *ula* (s), *ulet* (pl), God, sun, day; Meek 1931 I: 440, *ula*, sun, *ula*, day
- ultu* [Bata], *wulto* [Bachama] brass armbands
- veet* decoration (of pipe in this case, but also more generally; perhaps related to B&E *veeya* adj. red)
- wadel* (s) settlement/village
- wal* (s), *wani* (pl) ring, may be specifically for those which are rounded in cross section; *wal suktundal* (s), *wana suktini* (pl), brass ring; *wan bi* (s), *wani bi* (pl), women's arm band; *wand* (s), *wand* (pl), headloading pad/ring, *wand suktundal* (s), *wani suktuni* (pl), skeuomorph of headloading pad in brass used during rituals of *do'os*; *wand* (s), ivory men's bracelet; *wand na* (s), *wani'na* (pl), men's brass arm ornament, *na* is hand. All these terms are likely to be variant transcriptions of compounds formed with the term for 'ring'.
- wan marus* (s), *yanga maari* (pl) brass anthropomorphic figures for male use in ceremonies, purportedly with no suffix, i.e. *ipso facto* brass; *wan marus rap* (s), *yanga maari rat* (pl), anthropomorphic figures of wood (*rab*) made by men but held by women when dancing (wood for 664-5 said to be *bomp* (s), *boms* (pl), *danawal* Fulfulde); *wan marus woops* (s), *yanga maari woops* (pl), clay anthropomorphic figures made by women but held by men during *Seerkaana* festival (see above); all such figures for use by *Tibaai* only; *wan* glossed by Cholli informants as 'something without life/image', *Marus* (s) (see above). The derivation is unclear because Blench and Edwards record different plurals for figure and for child: B&E, *wa màràz* (s), *wa màràrí* (pl), figure; B&E *wáz* (s), *yángbì* (pl), child. Note that the singular form of *wa* (figure) also differs in tone from that for child, *wáz* (respectively mid and high); while B&E record that *wàn* (low tone) means 'thing', though with a plural *net*. The gloss offered by Chappel's Cholli informants does not suggest they understood *wan* in *wan marus* to mean child. On the other hand, referring to a figure as 'child' (also used more generally as a diminutive) is common (for instance in neighbouring Mapeo Chamba, *tɔɔ meembu*, assenting/enabling children). We have to leave the derivation for others to resolve. Meek, *raap* (s), *rat* (pl), tree(s) (1931 I: 441); *uwas* (s), child, *yangi* (pl), my children (1931 I: 440, 443)
- wang'tso* (s) [Bata] women's brass decorated cuff bracelet
- wasas* (s), *yangi tuma* (pl) pre-circumcision age grade
- was* (s), *yangi* (pl) post-circumcision age grade (see *saari* for next grade); B&E, *wáz* (s), *yángbì* (pl), child
- wees* (s), *wengbi* (pl) metal, iron, e.g. *tambus wees*, iron sickle; B&E, *wèès* (s), *wèngwi* (pl), hour, metal, money, *galkaz*, iron; *wes*, iron (Meek 1931 I: 441)

- wɛk* (s), *wɛm* (pl) knife/dagger; *wɛk suktundal* (s), *wɛm suktunmam* (pl), brass dagger; *wɛk dengbur* (s), *wɛm dengbi* (pl), iron knife; *wɛ'ga-ga* (s), *wɛ'maga* (pl) ceremonial knife used for *Do'os* ceremonies – *ga-ga* refers to the double-spiral decorative pattern; *wɛk wan marus Tibaai* (s), *wɛm wan maari Tibaai* (pl), brass dagger for *Tibaai* with a head on its boss usually, if anthropomorphic, said to be female; *wɛk sokol Tibaai* (s), *wɛm sokkoli Tibaai* (pl), brass dagger for *Tibaai* with a head that references a particular way of plaiting a woman's hair; *wɛk japs Tibaai* (s), *wɛm jabi Tibaai* (pl), brass dagger for *Tibaai* with a decorative motif like crocodile scales; *wɛk ja* (s), brass dagger with the pattern, *ja*, like the plaited grass of a *zana* mat; *wɛk ga-ga desire* (s), *wɛm ga-ga desire* (pl), brass dagger with knob-like projections as well as double spirals; Meek 1931 I: 441, *weik*, knife
- wɛla* (s), *wɛlit* (pl) oversized brass bead worn by women as a pendant on the left hip, loosely a skeuomorph of a similarly sized ornament composed of ball of cowries (see next entry)
- wɛla cheede* (s), *wɛlit cheedei* (pl) women's belt pendant in the form of a ball of cowries (Fulfulde: *ceede* money or price); the same term was applied in one instance to a brass skeuomorph (see **685**)
- wops* [*woops*] (s) general term for clay, used for pottery, encasing the wax model during casting, lining granaries etc.; see *marus wops* (s), *yanga maari wops* (pl), clay figure (above): B&E, *wò* (no plural), potter's clay
- wule* (s), *wulche* (pl) [Bata] women's brass cuff bracelet, also *wulto* (s), [Bachama]
- wutu wɛɛs* (s), *wuta wɛngbi* (pl) sample of purported copper ore from 'mine' in the Verre Hills, see **750** for further details
- yaks* (s), *yagi* (pl) an initiate to secret ceremonies
- Yallabatus* (s), *Yallabati* (pl) annual ceremony in honour of metal workers
- yerk suktunkak* (s), *yerm suktunmam* (pl) brass skeuomorph of a beer jar used during the ceremony (*Baaka*) of initiation to the senior age grade, *dɔnda*. Typically placed in a brass stand or on a brass ring on this occasion. B&E, *yək/yək* a type of pot
- zàm* (s & pl?) 'hill spirits', associated with death and disease (see *Marus* (s), above); feared custodians of the alleged copper 'mines' in the Verre Hills; VLP, *zam*, 'evil spirits'; brass figures were identified as coming from *zam* (unlike their wooden counterparts)
- zangazaar* (s), *zangaza* (pl) beer strainer; also name of a ceremony, *Zangazaar*, involving the making and drinking of beer during girls' initiation

APPENDIX 4 Leo Frobenius's untranslated Verre ethnological notes and part inventory

Apparently it was Frobenius's practice for extracts from the field journals kept by members of his expeditions to be collected by ethnic group and typed up in preparation for composition of his published accounts. The technique, once the reader is aware of it, is apparent in the episodic character of the final versions themselves. The typed-up notes on the Verre following the Frobenius expedition are slight, reflecting the lack of success in securing informants remarked in the main text. There was to be no chapter on the Verre.

This translation of the document held in the Frobenius Institute Frankfurt, catalogued as LF 660, retains original spellings (hence Verre is transcribed as Werre). A number of presentational changes have been made: African language terms have been italicized, which is not the case of the original; punctuation and format have been adapted from the original which is a listing; matter in square brackets has been added while that in rounded brackets is original (including the question marks, which are likely to remark on the illegibility of the handwritten notes being copied).

* * *

LF 660 - Leo Frobenius, *Aethiopien Kameruns. Vereinzelte Notizen über verschiedene Stämme*
[Ethiopians of Kamerun: summary notes on various tribes]

5. *Werre* [Verre]

The Werre [Verre] call themselves *Django*; they call the Komai [Koma] *Koba*, the Batta *Batta*, the Dakka [Chamba Daka] and Tschambe [Chamba Leko] *Sambenjare* or *Tsambenjare*, the Namdji [Dowayo] *Djerrepa*, the Baschami [Bachama] *Djerre-ma*, the Fulbe *Sambe* or *Tschambe* (!), the Kanuri *Kolljenn* (which is also the name that the Fulbe use of the Kanuri).

* * *

The king [*König* in the German original] is *gban* (the emblem of his rank is a tunic made from goat skin). The high priest is *risu*. The diviner is *ganna*: he tells a person's fortune using seven stones: these are arranged in two lines, four behind and three in the front; then he picks them all up and casts them; next he contemplates their position, takes each one and looks at it; then he formulates an answer to the question posed to him. They call this way of fortune telling *pinni*.

The smith is called *tiba*. Above his fire there hangs the head of a bird. After the harvest every farmer gives him a bundle of sorghum as a gift.

The circumciser is called *naba*. He performs his office every seventh year. His circumcision knife

is called *ae*. For the occasion, he is dressed in leather. The appearance of the lads is very peculiar with the iron neck holder [i.e. crook hooked around the back of their necks]. (See the sketch book.)

If no rain comes, the *ganna* [diviner] goes to a mountain together with the old and young men carrying beer, each of them is equipped with a tobacco pipe and tobacco. They all smoke vigorously and blow their smoke to the east. The *ganna* sprinkles beer in the same direction and also drinks some of it.

The dead are buried in a seated position covered in cow hides, their legs stretched out in front of them, body upright, the head leant back so that the face looks upward, and the hands 'on the trouser seams'.

The Werre are strongly split into dialects, and their customs have been shattered by the Fulbe.

Verre [smiths]

The smiths – *tiba* – form their own caste and marry only between themselves. They smelt their iron ore themselves which they find washed up in the river sands and they provide no insight into this activity to third parties. It was possible to learn, that the ore – *motu* – was smelt in pits – like the Nupe – and that the air was blown through a twin bellows without valves – *janu – teba* – (?) – which was made from fired clay or wood. The furnace is *luru tiba*: the smithy *roru* is round with secco (matting) walls. The fire, *ra*, is fed by charcoal, *tora*, and constantly pumped by the same bellows as used for the iron smelting. The following tools are used: a stone anvil – *pindu* – (no iron anvil); an iron hammer [*Schlegel* original German] – *nititikpu*; tongs – *tikpu*; chisel – *gotiba el*; file – *bui* – (?)

The products made are:

farm hoes – *jischu* – with a socketed blade

wood axe [*Holzaxt*] – *riratu* – with a socketed blade

wood hoe [*Holzacker* – distinguishing an adze?] – *sanuko* – with socketed blade

sickle – *ganza* – with a socketed blade

hairpins – *kuntscha*

bow puller – *nitak*

razor blade – *pont jo*

tweezers – *gat ju* – for pulling thorns

knife – *e* – with cross section

sword – *koba* – with iron guard and iron pommel

arm rings – *wundu* – used by men and women

ankle rings for dancing – *kerre* – for men

flint iron – *ratona*

Verre pottery

The potter – *womawi* – does not have to be the wife of a smith. The clay – *landa* – is mixed with goat droppings; the woman sitting on a small stool uses a pot sherd as potter's wheel to form the vessel, smoothing the inside with a stone and the outside with a sorghum stalk, and patterns it with a blade of grass. After drying for a half a day the pot is coated inside and out with a red clay wash and smoothed again with a stone. After three days drying the pots are fired for an hour in piles of 20-30 interspersed with wood and straw. The sprinkling with *Parkia* water is unusual.

- 1) cooking pot – *bikok* [silhouette sketch of rounded pot with wide flared neck]
- 2) cooking pot for beer – *bala i* [ditto, of pot with straight sides and wide mouth]
- 3) water pot – *ji* (plural *jinu*) [ditto, flagon shaped pot]
- 4) beer pot – *ji woa* (like 3)
- 5) food bowl – *tengu* [ditto, of open bowl]
- 6) filterpot for water – *kuru* – [ditto, of wide pot with slightly flared mouth] filled with ash with a hole in the bottom [arrow points to bottom of outline]

Verre weaving

The construction of the Werre loom – *nitu palatschinu* – resembles that of the Komai [Koma].

weaver – *jere pilatschinu* [variant spelling is original]

shuttle with spool – *datingbela*

comb – ? – heddle – ? –

bobbin – *nikaschilu*

thread – *jilu bulu*

Only white cloth is made – *jalu – bumu*. Dying with indigo is not practised.

LF 840 Frobenius Institute Frankfurt: Verre handlist

Below is a transcription of the surviving handlist of Verre items packed for shipment. As our main text explains, we know this is not an exhaustive listing because there are surviving brasswares, decorated gourds and weapons that do not appear, and there are indications of other objects that were collected but have not been traced which we note at the end. The original transcription features three superscripts: a dash, a small u-shape or cup, and an acute accent. The acute accent can be combined with the dash and cup. The dash may have signified a long vowel; the cup a short vowel; and the accent what was heard as a stress or high syllable. We have not attempted to reproduce them. As well as an English translation, the note in square brackets cites the relevant sketch of the object in the Frobenius Archive where one can be identified. On occasions the Verre term is more legible on the illustration. Many items were collected in multiples reflecting the sponsorship of, or potential market to, several museums.

Werre

4757-59	<i>ji schu</i>	Farmhacken [3 farm hoes; KBA 06403]
4760-62	<i>dja</i>	Biersieb [3 beer sieves; KBA 05050]
4763-66	<i>ja</i>	Lederner Essenssack [4 leather food sacks]
4765-70	<i>kerre</i>	Fußtanzschelle der Werremänner [6 Verre men's ankle rattles; KBA 14967]
4771-73	<i>w/m/rundu</i>	Handring [3 hand rings]
4774-75	<i>fere ssu untu</i>	Frauenfussring [2 women's ankle rings]
4776-77	<i>njengschu</i>	Tabaktasche – Männerarbeit [2 men's tobacco-bags]
4778-87	<i>jinu</i>	Biertöpfe [10 beer pots; KBA 03450, 04003 66cm, 04004 84cm]
4788-89	<i>jinugo</i>	Leopardenbiertopf [2 leopard beer pots; KBA 04000 highly decorated 125cm, KBA 04002 decorated 88cm]
4790	<i>jibaschu</i>	Biertopf [beer pot; KBA 04001 decorated with small side spout]
4791-92	<i>goba</i>	Biertopf b. Tanz [2 beer pots for dancing]
4793	<i>kuru</i>	Biertopf b. Tode alter Frauen [KBA 03999 beer pot for the death of old women; with handle and two spouts]
4794-99	<i>bitaba</i>	Tabakpfeifen [6 tobacco pipes; KBA 05856 (2) clay and brass, 05857 (1) clay, 05858 (2) clay]
4800-01	<i>tingam bana</i>	Trommel [2 drums; KBA 09921]
4802	<i>balawi</i>	Trommel [drum; KBA 09923]
4803-05	<i>kussu</i>	Tanzkappe f. junge Leute [3 dance caps for young people; KBA 14866]
4806	<i>forra</i>	Horn z. Blasen b. Tanz [horn blown at the dance]
4807-08	<i>burku</i>	Tanzschelle [2 dance rattles; KBA 09732, double clapperless bell]
4809-11	<i>penja</i>	Kornkorb Männerarbeit [3 men's corn baskets]
4812	<i>jalagon die</i>	Lendenschurz f. Männer b. Tanz vorne zu schliessen [man's loincloth for dancing; to be closed in front]
4813-33	<i>ratu</i>	Holzfiguren [21 wooden figures; KBA 10453 (2), 10454 (2), 10455 (2), 10456 (2), 1057 (2)]
4834-39	<i>gulu</i>	Flöte [6 flutes; KBA 09176 40cm]
4840-42	<i>nossu</i>	Gebr. Lehmkuigel z. Glätten d. Wänden [3 fired clay balls for smoothing of walls]
4843	<i>rya</i>	Harfe [harp; 'nja' KBA 09534 5-stringed harp]
4844-45	<i>girrata</i>	Blasinstrument [2 wind instruments; KBA 09177, 68cm, <i>ginala</i>]
4846-48	<i>bigetoko</i>	Trommeln (Sanduhersarg) [3 (hourglass coffin) drums gr. Trommel [tall drum; KBA 09943]
4849	<i>ratt</i>	
4850-52	<i>patu</i>	Tanzschelle [3 dance rattles; KBA 09480]
4853-55	<i>kaireme</i>	Tanzsschelle f. Fuss [3 ankle rattles for dancing]
4856-58	<i>buno/baran (?)</i>	Lederschild [3 leather shields; KBA 06903]
4859-61		Schädel der Werre [3 Verre skulls]

4862-64 Ceremonienstöcke aus Eisen [3 ceremonial iron staffs;
KBA 09384 (2)]

LF 840 (later listing)

5207 *ragatu* Frauenstuhl d. Werre [Vere woman's stool]
5212a-d Knabenspielzeug der Werre, Djukun, Yoruba, Benin,
Fante (Goldküste) [boys' toys of the Vere ...]
5229 *nossu* Kugel z. Glätten der Wände Vere [ball for smoothing walls,
Vere; see also 4840-2 above]

Although we have as yet found no inventory, the expedition's collection in brass must have been listed separately from other objects, a conclusion we were able to draw on the basis of surviving illustrations and museum accession records in the main text. To guesstimate the entirety of the Vere collection made by the expedition, we would additionally need to add the decorated gourds attributed to Vere, as well as a collection of bows and arrows (see KBA 07732 Vere bows and arrows for an illustration), both also discussed in our main text, and other weapons including swords donated to Munich. A number of illustrations in the Frobenius Archive suggest a yet more extensive inventory.

KBA 02322 Koma weaver at loom (noted as similar to Vere and Chamba)
KBA 08316 loom weight
KBA 02368 *jalagondie* Stoff mit Musterbesatz ['cloth with decoration applied'; probably
agama lizards]
KBA 05271 Lampe aus Didango- Were gebiet. Werrearbeit? 14cm [(goblet-shaped) lamp
from Didango, Vere area. Vere made? (material not specified, pottery?);
previously in Munich]
KBA 08314 18cm metal bracelet
KBA 08314 Chamba shield, similar to Vere [note duplicated reference number]
KBA 08315 small iron ring, coiled + cast brass? finger ring
KBA 08900 'Eis. Spannung Vere', *niditak*
KBA 08905 2 bow pullers
KBA 09371 *karenschi* – Tanzschelle Komai. Werrearbeit, 14cm [Koma double clapperless
bell for dancing, made by Vere, 14cm]
KBA 10626 *tamba* – iron circumcision crook 30cm (illustrated as used by a youth)
KBA 10937 *jischu* – double iron hoe for dance

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