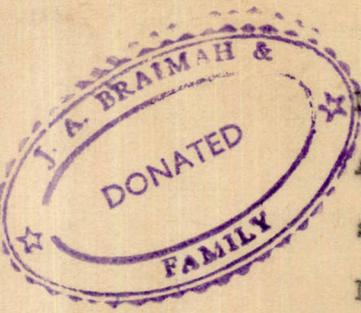


CHAPTER VIII

MAN-KUMA - THE JUNIOR STATE



It was now the 35th year of Manwura's (Imoru Bamba) expedition. Ndewura Jakpa left Bole to conquer the Wala country of the North. About four miles to Ghongbori (Bunduraya) or Bindori he met with very stiff resistance. Ndewura Jakpa camped at a stream which came to be known as "Kurma - gbing" meaning "the donkey has bared." Ghongbori's men camped on the opposite side of the stream on a hill where they could see the enemies movements. The stream near Ghongbori's camp came to be known as "Kileng-mu" meaning "point of oppression". Both streams bear these names to this day.

For two months Ndewura Jakpa could not advance. The Bolewura came in with his men to reinforce Ndewuras Jakpa's army, but it was still not possible for them to advance. It happened that another Arab named Alai, who was on his way to Mecca was heard of at Bisana-pe (Senyon). It was decided that he should be sent for to come and give aid by prayers and charms to the Ghanya army.

Mallam Alai came and undertook to do what was expected of him. He made a charm which came to be known as "Ali-che" meaning "Ali's charm". Che is the Wangara name for "charm". When the charm was completed its bearer was dressed all in white and he was to stand where the wind would blow from him to the enemy and he was to be careful that the wind did not blow from him to Jakpa's army. This is supposed to cause the weakening of the resistance of the army on which the Aliche wind blew. The instructions were carefully followed and to Ndewura Jakpa's joy, Ghongbori was mortally wounded in the battle that ensued and he was carried to the town. But his people did not carry him into the town alone. The whole army followed.

Jakpa's men did not pursue. They waited until the next morning when scouts were sent to find out what was happening.

On their arrival they were informed that Ghongbori, the fetish priest, was on the point of death. As soon as Ndewura Jakpa received this report he ordered his men to march into the town.

The fetish priest received the mortal wound on the leg. It was not to be an easy victory for the town held out for two days, and it was

only when the fetish priest died that some of the people surrendered.

It was the month of Rahamadan and it was on the last day of the fast that Ndewura Jakpa entered Ghongbori or Bindoli in Triumph. It was on this day that people began to worship Ndewura Jakpa. After Ndewura Jakpa had taken his seat the Bolewura and all the other chiefs and war captains came to swear their allegiance to him in the following words :-

- (Subject) "Have you seen me"
"I solemnly swear by the skins on which you sit that should anyone dare to prevent you from quenching your thirst this day, after this long period of fasting I would have fallen a casualty, before you lie on top of me.
- (Ndewura Jakpa) Answers "Dio - sympathy"
- (Subject) I swear by your skins that whenever, at the time of danger, by day or by night, you look behind you and find me not, I am an illegitimate son.
- (Ndewura Jakpa) "Dio - sympathy"
- (Subject) "Should any of your rivals dare attack you, and should I be present, I will fall at his blow before your skin is scratched. And should I be absent and you summon me, you will see me if even it is the dead of night"
- (Ndewura Jakpa) "Dio"

As from that day, this oath is taken every year to renew the allegiance before Ndewura Jakpa (and now the Yabumwura) on the last day of Rahamadan when the new moon is seen. This is repetition of what happened on that great day.

A shrine was erected in the town, the first to be erected and named "Jakpa-bowre" - "the god Jakpa" - These can now be found over all Gonja. At this very time the Worshipping of twins also began amongst the Gonjas for Ndewura Jakpa was a twin.

The name of Bindoli (Ghongbori) was changed to Mankuma the Junior State. Information reached Ndewura Jakpa that Manwura's son has taken

over command of the Oku army from his old and blind father. Manwura, we have noted, was called Mowura and we are informed that the Mos migrated from Jefizi after a quarrel amongst four elders over the head of a dog. Ndewura refused to recognize Sulemana as Mowura or Manwura and referred to him as the Jefiziwura, that is, chief of the Jefizis as we shall see in one of the Kuntunkure verses.

He composed a verse at Mankuma, about this change of command and this has come to be known as the Mankuma title. In the Gharya (Gonja) language the titles are called Kitande - kitang de - meaning "the founding of a town".

The verse was called "Lagipo Bamboi" - "the soothsayer who binds men" in honour of Fati Morukpe, who foresaw what would happen and caused Manwura and Ndewura Jakpa to take an oath on the Koran binding themselves not to fight against each other. The verse is:-

"The Deserter and the Great Woman allied

"You have already back-bitten me and I've heard

"That was why I came away with a swollen cheek

"My country-men have changed places, in order to be

able to reign.

"In reigning they have differentiated me with small homes.

"The Deserter came with the lady who befriended the soothsayer.

"He who is first teaches another

"He who came first is the gatherer."

In Gonja the moslems are regarded as the wives of the chiefs and they themselves call themselves as wives of the chiefs. The name woman is therefore addressed to Manwura in the verses because he was a Moslem.

Ndewura Jakpa enquired about the room without an entrance, which was built over Dereguademda's tomb and caused it to be broken down. He ordered the body to be exhumed which was done and he gained the title of the "hyena that exhumes dead bodies". Although the annual sacrifice was not disallowed, Gonja chiefs were forbidden to eat of the meat, and of a black cow or any black animal.

Mallam Alai's influence was behind this. Ndewura Jakpa was believed to have the power of the Aliti in him, because he drank

the written extracts of the Koran that was used in making the charm. This charm was twin long staffs covered all over with a white cloth. One was lost in the Sofa raids about the year 1895 and the second one was sent to Nyangwurpe - near Kusawgu - where most of Ndewura Jakpas charms and relics are said to be kept safely.

From this time onwards no Gonja chief or prince would sit near Ndewura Jakpa or on any side of him where the wind will blow from the Emperor to him. He was treated with reverence.

Before leaving Mankuma, Ndewura Jakpa appointed Jafow Sowni, twin sister of the Senyonwura Mfa Husaini, as the Mankumpua - or queen of Mankuma.

He then pursued the retreating army of Ghongbori Northwards, towards Wa. The pond "Chagna" near Tuna, and the first stream "Gbongbori-la" North of Tuna are names given in connection with the pursuit by the Njumas.

The Wala army camped near a marsh about half way between Tuna and Ypala and it was here that they were overtaken, given battle and defeated. This marsh was named "Gbongbori-baa" meaning "The hyeana's marsh" and it bears that name to this day.

Things were not quite in the rear. A message was received from Debirwura Sulgu, informing his uncle that Sulemana, Manwura's son has attacked the Ghanya forces. Ndewura Jakpa was to hurry back to give help. The Mankuma state had it's boundary at Gbongbori-baa. It was now two months after the entry into Mankuma and in the month of Salla, the second month after the Rahamadan.

Before Ndewura Jakpa returned to direct operations against Sulemana, he appointed one of his sons as Kungwura to guard and defend the boundary of Mankuma. He appointed another son as Kandia-wura who was deapatched further North into the Wala country. Both of them fought and established states of their own, subordinate to the Yabumwura, the creation of which chieftaincy, we shall soon learn about.

In the meantime the Wasipewura was driven away from his station by the Tachiman people. He took refuge in Bindoli or Mankuma. It may be because of his nearness to the Akan speaking people that he was called "Wow si pe wura". At that time the name Akan would not have had application.

At Bindoli he met Jafow Sowmi, the twin sister of Senyonwura Lamryo, Mafa Husaini.

The Wasipe got the name of Aleji meaning "The one who took refuge had defeated" for his defeat. "Le" means "take refuge" and Sulemana went to Tachiman, Jama, to take refuge and ask for the alliance of the Tachiman chief. It was he who drove the Wawsipe-wura away. But his instructions were to "bar the tortoise" or in other words he was stationed there as a guard. For running he earned the other name of "bur-gu" "the runner barred", when he was stopped at Mankuma by the Mankuma-pua and it is for this reason that we get the "Burgu-wurche" as Queen mother at Daboya. However, it is claimed that the first Wasipe-wura was an Alhazi, one who had been on prigrimage. Another name for Daboya is Gubagu, that is "Gu ba gu" meaning "Gurad come and guard".

As an exile he was just like Lata Jakpa and he become a brother migrator "Da-bo-ya" which name was given to the state he was forced to conquer. Before the establishment of the Native Authorities, the Wasipewura was the only Divisional chief who paid tribute to the Yabumwura at Damba time, and this was in salt that was manufactured at Daboya his new home.

He paid this tribute because he wanted so much food; that was the reason for his not being able to defend his post and he must be constantly reminded of this.

For this reason also he was not allowed to assume the Yabum Paramouncy, for the Yagbon chieftaincy, which in fact was an army post, demanded a person with a lion's heart, that is why they are styled Jira-lion. The Wasipewura who was afterwards called "Ale ji" (the one who was defeated by the person who took refuge) was weak of heart.

For the name Aleji there is a person in Damongo, the brother of the late Zabzuguwura, who bears that name. None of his ancestors ever went to Mecca.

Although the Wasipewura was, and is still regarded as the most senior son of Ndewura Jakpa and ranking next to the Yabumwura, his Wur-kong (seniority) is always challenged by the Kembewura who claims seniority. The reason can be found in his being driven away from his

first post. At times the Kpembewura claims that he and the Wasipewura are twins. Does the name Daboya suggest ^{that} he was just a brother migrator and not of the Lata clan?

After the Wasipewura and Kpembewura next come the Bolewura in seniority and the explanation of "Man-dari" in Chapter V as the "State of the person next after the twins" may have some justification.

The burial place for the chiefs of Bole is at a place called "Bagzain" meaning "Bag-Zai ng?" that is "Red Soothsayer-ng?" - ng for is that so "Bag-Zai" is Dagbon.

That of the Yagbongwuras is in Man-Kuma just in front of the houses. The reason for this is given in another Chapter.

That of Daboya is in front of the Residential Palace. Is this to warn the Wasipewura that ultimately all will die and "eko ma wu ne lang ba" - "no one dies to return to the world" and that it is better for him to have a lion's heart?

One Bisana who was a Dagomba built the town of Bisana-pe now known as Semyon and not very far from Bindoli. Damongo which was known as Gingbaripe before it was conquered by the Ngbanya (Gonjas) was inhabited by Dagombas.

The Wangaras call themselves Jula but the Gonjas call them "Wangara" meaning "mixed Dagombas" Kawang being the Gonja name for Dagomba. Kawang singular and Nwang plural.

It was a Wala priest who was worshipping a Dagomba tomb at Bindori. If the name of the town means a hyena then the Gonjas must give the hyena's name to the inhabitants. "Wang-kpang" meaning "illegitimate-Dagomba" became another name of the hyena in Gonja, a second name being "kuntung".

On the examination of these Dagomba names, Zulande and Nagologo appear to be names given in commemoration of the arrival of the Ngbanyas.

"Zulande" in Gonja is "Zu-lana-di" meaning "The Zu chief has arrived, and this will refer to Lata Jakpa.

"Nogologo" or Nolorgu" in Dagomba is "the cock" which in this case will refer to Manwura.

"Murugu" in Gonja is "Moru gu" meaning "Imoru has barred"

It will now seem easy to trace the place where the Lata Ngbanyas come from as suggested in the introduction.

In Ivor Wilks "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History Dagomba is spelt Dagwumba". I have found that helpful and informative. That term, and we should be convinced by the end of this book, that all the tribal names in central and West Africa, originated during and after the Gbanya - that is the Moor and Lata peoples' invasion, will most probably be true.

"Da gbong ba" or "Ada gbong ba" meaning "senior (elder) brother has come".

This might have given rise to Mr. Harold Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E. referring to the King of Dagomba in his book "Seven Across the Sahara" as follows:-

"Across the peaks of the Yaf' a'i mountains it had struck the cream-coloured minarets of Ta'ix, and coloured the Red Sea. Thence across the twin Niles it had swept Kordofan and Darfur, and passed the Emirates of Nigeria before it discovered the bust before me.

X X X X X X X X X

Strange it is that its last call before it reaches us in on an old gentleman. Sixty miles or so east who is known as King of all the World. It is strange because while he himself claims descent from Nimrod the Red Hunter, the conquering dynasty he heads rules a people who looked to forgotten 'Ad, the tribe of giants, from the 'wind carved sand hills' of the Hadramaut (Hadrawa) as their progenitors. Hither they claim came the scattered remnants of the impious race who God dispersed with a cold blast of a raging wind, bringing with them bracelets through which a modern man may pass, and the art of digging underground cisterns in the rock, which I have now seen both here and in the Hadramaut.

"So, when I visited him soon after my arrival, the King told me, from the depts of the dentists' chair which is his less formal throne, and if the legend be true then it would seem that the doom of Sura XV.V. 60 has been fulfilled."

"And a curse was made to follow them in the world and on the day of resurrection. Lo! 'Ad, disbelieved in their lord.

A far/8

Hadrawa in brackets is mine. A tribe, some of whom are to be found in Ghana and referred to by the name.

A far removal for 'Ad, the folk of Hud."

And the Mbontokurbi verses have this to say about Adam or was it 'Ad who was meant:-

"The man rebuker does not understand talks.

Adam learnt.

Understand talks,

(He who should) understand talks - don't pardon the prince;

'The arrester of Junior Lan'

Do not sit still

Use the small crocodiles (Bamba's followers) for attack."

One's attention must be drawn to the sentence I have underlined in the quotation from Mr. Ingrams book, "the conquering dynasty he heads rules a people who looked to forgotten 'Ad, the tribe of the giants". Dagomba names or words resembling the Dagomba language are found in Central Africa. Are the ancestors of the present rulers part of the Oku dynasty, who have taken on the language of the people they came to rule?

(In Gonja the fetish is called "Adman" that is 'Ad state' and the fetish priest is called Adman-wura. (Owner of 'Ad's state. In Kiito, a village six miles from Kpembe the head fetish priest is called "Lamu," that is "he is the head". He was but now he is not, for a stranger from a far off country is the head of a conquering dynasty).

A tribe can have more than one name and it is not surprising therefore that Dagomba is also Daa-gamba and 'Dagbongba (Dagwamba), as Gonja is both Gbyana, and Gunja - Gun-ja at the red man's place.

The Dagomba kingdom extended as far as Gbona and possibly covered the Wala country which was in fact called Wong-de or Wande (Dagomba land) by the Ngbanya (Gonjas.)

About eighty per cent of the land occupied by the Gonjas was either Dagomba or Namumba land, and both tribes are one and the same people. The seat of the Paramount chief of the Dagombas (Ya Na) was a few miles from the present day Tamale, which was called Toma.

The war against the Dagombas was directed by Ndewura Jakpa, with his headquarters at Nyang-wur-pe. The Commander of the forces against the Dagombas was the Kusawguwura, who came to be called Kalue - the Junior. We know from the Kuntunkure recitals that in fact it was Ndewura Jakpa

himself who was styled Kalue Wamu - the Junior Master.

Where the title Wamu (Master) was used we have "Chari Wamu" for Manwura and "Dinkeri Wamu" for Sulemana, who returned to Gbipe to become Jakpa II after his associations with the Ashantis; this was a title he give to his brother when he created the Gbipe chieftainship after Nzewura Jakpa's defeat. Dinkeri was adopted as a result of the wars fought with the Ashantis against the powerful Dinkeras.

In the "Mbongokurbi" recitals we have in the Title Jakpa I the following:-

Nwong be sin ni bi to ful dzu-mbei

X X X X X X X

Yilibila bi langar acha

Kpatinyang bi langar acha

Laribani bi langar acha

Wang-bong bi langar acha

Kachirase bi langer acha

Meaning:-

The Dagombas want to fight the stag that drives away the animals.

X X X X X X X

(Rememebr) the day of the battle of Yilibila

On the battle field of Kpatinyang

On the battle field of Laribani,

On the battle field of Wangbong*

On the battle field of Kachirase.

All the names of these places are Dagomba names and are found in the Kusawgu area.

A close study of the names Miong, Savulugu and Karga, Toma, Kpatinyang, Lamshegu and Dakpema are revealing. The first three are the three chieftaincies from which the Ya Na is appointed.

The titles of the three chief are :-

Miong Lan Na

Safulgu Na or Safulugu Na.

Karga Na

The first has "Lan" the Gonja name for Leader attached to the

name whilst the second name of the town of Miong is Sambu. "Sambu" is "saa, m bu" meaning "is that so, (the Twi Saa) I have branched (m bu in Gonja). Miong is the imitation of the cats mew, and jaramua (jara Moor - the Lion of Moor) is referred to in the drum recitals.

Safulgu is "Saa ful gu" meaning "the death stag had barred" whilst "Saa ful-lu gu" means "the escape death stag had barred." Another name for safulgu is "Kankanga" - kankan-ga - meaning the "Ant had struck" Kankang is the ant that builds raised hills which are found round Accra. Another possible explanation of Kankanga is "kan kang nga," that is "you may come to say (answer) - fe kan kan nga."

Karga is "Kar ga" meaning "Chastise much."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Commander-in-Chief of the Dagomba army is styled To Lan Na. His instructions would have been to fight Lan. (Ndewura Jakpa) "To Lan" - "fight Lan" has been corrupted to To Lon. The Tolon Na (Chief of Tolon) has a common boundary with the Gonjas on the Daboya division and he would have been so successful in retarding the progress of the Gonjas that on reporting of his success to his supreme Commander, the Ya Na, he would have received congratulations, "taa li" which would have resulted in the creation of the Taali chieftaincy from which one can succeed to the Tolon chieftaincy, "Taali" in Dagomba is "well done - congratulations". In the past the boundary between Tolon and Daboya was at the river. Gonjas always choose a river, a stream, or a hill for a boundary - always using natural demarcations.

"To Lan Na" in Gonja will mean "the war in the fight against Lan." The Gonja title "Long-na" given to princes is, as a result of fighting the Long (Longoro) war, in which the Mos were conquered, "To lan na" can, therefore, be a Gonja title in to-to, which has been adopted by the Dagombas. The bravery exhibited could warrant that title being conferred by the Gonjas, themselves, as Longna has been conferred on all Lata Gbanya princes.

The name Tamale is "Taa-ma lii" meaning "my name-sake vanish."

Perhaps 'Tama lii' it is an answer to 'Ta lii - "Ata retreat - vanish." Will it not be reasonable to suppose that at one time there was a change by imposition of new chiefs on this tribe. There is also the fact that in the past the boundaries between Gonja and Dagomba and

between Dagomba and Mamprushi were not defined. Boundaries were assumed, and cases, as a result of offences committed in one tribal area, are ~~cases~~ keeping a portion for his kola.

"Toma" is "to ma" which has two meanings. The first is "to ma" which means "fight me;" the second is "to ma" which means "desert me." After the battle in this area, the seat of the Ya Na was removed, thereby, deserting his people in that area and that is how the name came about. (There is a Toma clan also in Gonja and the address to the members of this clan is salutations and the answer of greetings is Toma. The address is, however, to the female of the clan.)

The Dagombas claim that Tamale was named Tamani because there were many shea-nut trees in the place. Accepting this fact we find that the name of the shea-nut in Gonja is Kakulu - Ka lu-lu, meaning "the withdrawal of the Okus." In Gonja one can have the expression "Tama nii" meaning "namesake vanish" The fruits of the shea-nut trees, the brown shea-nuts, are called "Akulubi," that is, "Aku lu bi" meaning the "Aku that vanquished the Prince" and the unripened fruits are called "againibi" that is "Agai ni bi" meaning "Agai and the Prince."

The Gas, we know, are called, mostly by people of Northern element, Agai.

"Kpatinyang" is a combination ^{of the} words "Kpati" and "nyang." The Dagombas have a name of "Kunpatiya" in their history. The name is Gonja but the Dagombas have claimed it for a prince of theirs. We find that even the Gonjas have borrowed names of people of other tribes for their prominent men and this is general amongst the tribes of the Northern region in particular and of Ghana in general. "Kpati-nyang" means "the fox of Kpati" "Kung-pa-tia" means "the short army guard;" tia being a twi word for short. The words kung and pa have already been explained.

"Dakpema" is the title given to the fetish priest of Toma or Tamale. At the time of the Gonja invasion, Toma was a village

according to the Dagombas themselves, and if that is so, it would not have had a large market to enable the name Dakpema to be associated with it. "Daa kpema" in Dagomba means "the market elder" or "chief of the Market." The origin must, therefore, be sought in Gonja and here one hits on "Da kpema" or "Eda kpema" - a combination of Gonja and Dagomba words meaning "elder brother". This may be so, because Ndewura Jakpa was regarded as Manwura's son, and he was the conqueror of this area and not Sulemana the (Junior) son. Even in Ashanti it was claimed that the two were brothers.

The Gonja boundary was where we have the present Regimental barracks and another name that can be associated with the Gonjs victory is Lamshegu - the village just half a mile west of the barracks. The name is also a combination of words "Lan Masa gu." "Lan" we already know is a Gonja title for "Leader", "Masa" is another name for a "chief" in Gonja, and it may be Tula and "gu" is "bar." The meaning of the name literally is therefore "the Leader Chief has barred" or "Lan the chief has barred." Lamshegu was the boundary across which the Dagombas dare not cross. It has the same meaning as "Burgu" - "Bur gu" meaning "the horse rider ("bur for the racing of a horse") is barred; for it is in that country that the advance of Ndewura Jakpa (the horse) was barred. "Masa" also means "I will not give" and since the Gonja boundary remained at this place, the true interpretation may be "Lan, I will not give" - (I) guard."

After the defeat of Sulemana, not only did Ndewura Jakpa become the Lion of the suicidal Army but also the spotted animal - master of the different groups - and so was "kurbani" - kur ba nii - meaning "son of the barge vanish."

But when he was in turn defeated by Sulemana at the battle of "Sirmanchu" - meet me water - Sulemana on assuming his position as head of the mixed groups also became "nyifir - nya fir" meaning "he who had, get out." We have in both names two words that are Twi - "ba" for "son" and "fir" for "get out."

Since every mishap was blamed on Ndewura Jakpa the twin (Atta) the proverb "ji a libi Sai Atta" - the one to receive blame is Atta the

lion - came into existence and this has been corrupted to "ji alibi
Shiate" Shiata being a name for a female, which denotes weakness
and possibly, folly.