A STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS OF

CATTLE FULANI ORNAMENTATIONS AND COSTUMES

BY

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A THESIS

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A. B. U.

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Dedicated to

My Mother

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Fulani are divided into three categories, the town Fulani, the semi-nomadic and the cattle Fulani.[1] This study is mainly on the latter. These are nomads, who move about in family units with their cattle, in search of good pasture. They appoint elderly men as their leaders. They live in camps (fig.1), grouped about adjacent to towns, as clarified by C. E. Hopen in his report that:

> A 'camp' is a series of households living together, all the members of which recognise a common and generally titled leader. If there are but two homesteads on a common site, one of the two households heads will be referred to as the big person (maudo). For in Fulbe theory every camp must have its leader, but these differences are historically, not functionally, significant.[2]

He also mentioned several names used such as ruga, ardo, dikko, Junwuro and magaji as titles by the Fulani leaders; and added that the Hausa term Sarki is also used by some Fulani leaders.

The Fulani are said to have migrated into Hausaland in the 13th Century[3] and moved southwards shortly after that, in search of good pasture and water for the cattle. Their movement depends on

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1. See notes on classification of the Fulani, P. 15.
2. C. E. Hopen, Report on the study of field Fulani, (Kaduna 1955), p.46.
3. F.W. de St Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, (Lagos 1945), p.5.

the climate, for instance, they rotate from dry areas to wet ones. The cattle Fulani are of the opinion that, having a permanent centre will make them lazy and eventually neglect their cattle. As their movements are controlled by the needs of the cattle, so they adjust themselves to all conditions.

Basically a superstitious race, they have several ways of protecting themselves against diseases, for example, tuberculosis, which is a common desease among cattle drovers is controlled by inserting medicine into small leather bags or winding threads round it and hanging it round the neck. When inhaled, the possibility of being infected is restricted. This medicine is known as La-yaro.[1]

As far as religion is concerned, many people particularly the town Fulani claim that the Nomadic Fulani are lax in their attitude towards religion. This is possibly true, since they are always so occupied with caring for cattle. But from past records and observation the majority of them are Muslims while a small number still hold on to their pagan practices. They did however play a vital role in the spread of Islam in Nigeria. Their great leader of the time was Shehu Usman dan Fodio. He led the Jihad[2] from 1804 to 1810, in which all the Hausa States, Nupe, Adamawa and parts of

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1. See Notes on p. 137
2. Jihad is sometimes referred to as Holy War. It is a religious campaign that was conducted against non-muslim states between 1804-1810.

REASONS FOR UNDERTAKING THE RESEARCH

It is fascinating to note that, there are still some aspects of originality in the Fulani people's costume. These apply mostly to the cattle Fulani, widely known as Mbororo, who more than any other group have retained their traditional customs. It is likely that, these will disappear from the Fulani society in the near future, therefore the writer feels it is necessary to attempt to record some of them.

In this research, the writer intends to make a record of the costume of the cattle Fulani, since it is one of the many facets of our culture, which are fast disappearing. It is sad to note that many Nigerian customs are quickly disappearing, and recently, there have been tremendous social changes. Dancing for instance, has lost much of its originality, and many religious and social observances, have died away. A typical example of this are the town Fulani, who substituted Islam for their former pagan practices, Hausa dress for their own costume, and changed even the food they eat. It is true that other countries are also facing similar problems, as such, there is necessity to record past events for future reference.

There are many reasons for these changes. There is always the tendency to immitate others, starting with our immediate neighbours and extending to even those with whom we have only second hand contact through mass media like the world press and the

television. The possible reason for this is that, as human beings, we want to raise our living standards and therefore, keep changing our habits to suit the environment in which we live. It is therefore possible that life would have been much more constant if there were no such movements of people as there is today. With these movements, ideas are being carried from one place to the other, in this way, we adopt other people's ideas quite unconsciously, and since new things seem to be more exciting than old ones, we tend to prefer them and let ours die down in the background. On the other hand, the writer thinks it is a good thing learning from foreigners, as to increase our knowledge, and also to promote understanding with other natives if only we use the new ideas to promote our original culture.

Naturally, to improve on any aspects of life, we have to look to past events and without the relevant information, we cannot achieve our objectives. To sum up, the writer is of the opinion that the understanding of the present, relies to a certain degree on that of the past, therefore the understanding of the future generation depends considerably on how well present knowledge is preserved.

The most remarkable thing about the Fulani is the fact that the three groups, the town, semi-nomadic and the cattle Fulani, though believed to be one people, do not share the same aspects of

life. It is particularly true in cases of their occupations, marriage customs and costume, and even the food they eat is different. The town and semi-nomadic groups share many practices, including that of inter-marriage with other tribes amongst whom they live. They have abandoned the game of Saro[1] which is the original marriage practice of the Fulani people, and their customs are more or less related to those of the other Nigerian tribes, particularly the Hausa. Infact, since they live amongst the Hausa, it is reasonable to believe that, they are not pure Fulani, but that most of them have Hausa blood. The Cattle Fulani are much more conservative and introvert; they still observe many of their traditional practices including saro ceremonies. Although the Fulani are generally known to be cattle drovers and shepherds, the town Fulani and the semi-nomadic are different, they are farmers. This occupational difference naturally affects their costume. The Mbororo dress the way they do because of the nature of their job. Since they roam about in the bush, they have to wear simple functional outfits. Most men wear short tight parts with animal

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1. Saro game requires the flogging of young boys of the same age group who want to marry. The significance of Saro is that it is the demonstration of maturity and manhood.

skins wrapped round their body and tied above the left shoulders.[1] They carry with them, knives, inserted into leather covers; among the other things they carry are leather hand bags in which they put everyday necessities such as matches, kolanut, pipe and tobacco. No matter how they dress and wherever they go a Fulani man carries a long stick along with him. This serves as weapon, but most of the time he uses it as a support. He either allows the stick to lie on his shoulders and rests his arms over both ends or puts one of its ends on the ground and his hands on the other end which comes as high up as his cheeks. They usually wear either large straw hats or woven caps with large floppy ear covers.[2] These are for protection against rain and sun. The writer asked one of them why he wore the large straw hat, his reply was that, it serves the same purpose as the roof of a car. The town Fulani have completely changed their way of dress to suit town life. In its place, they have adopted Hausa dress which is mainly composed of large flowing robes for men, usually known as Riga in Hausa, wrappers and blouses to march, for the women. At the same time, it is not surprising that the cattle Fulani have to a certain extent retained most of their traditional culture, since their job of cattle droving has had few modern influences over a period of several centuries.

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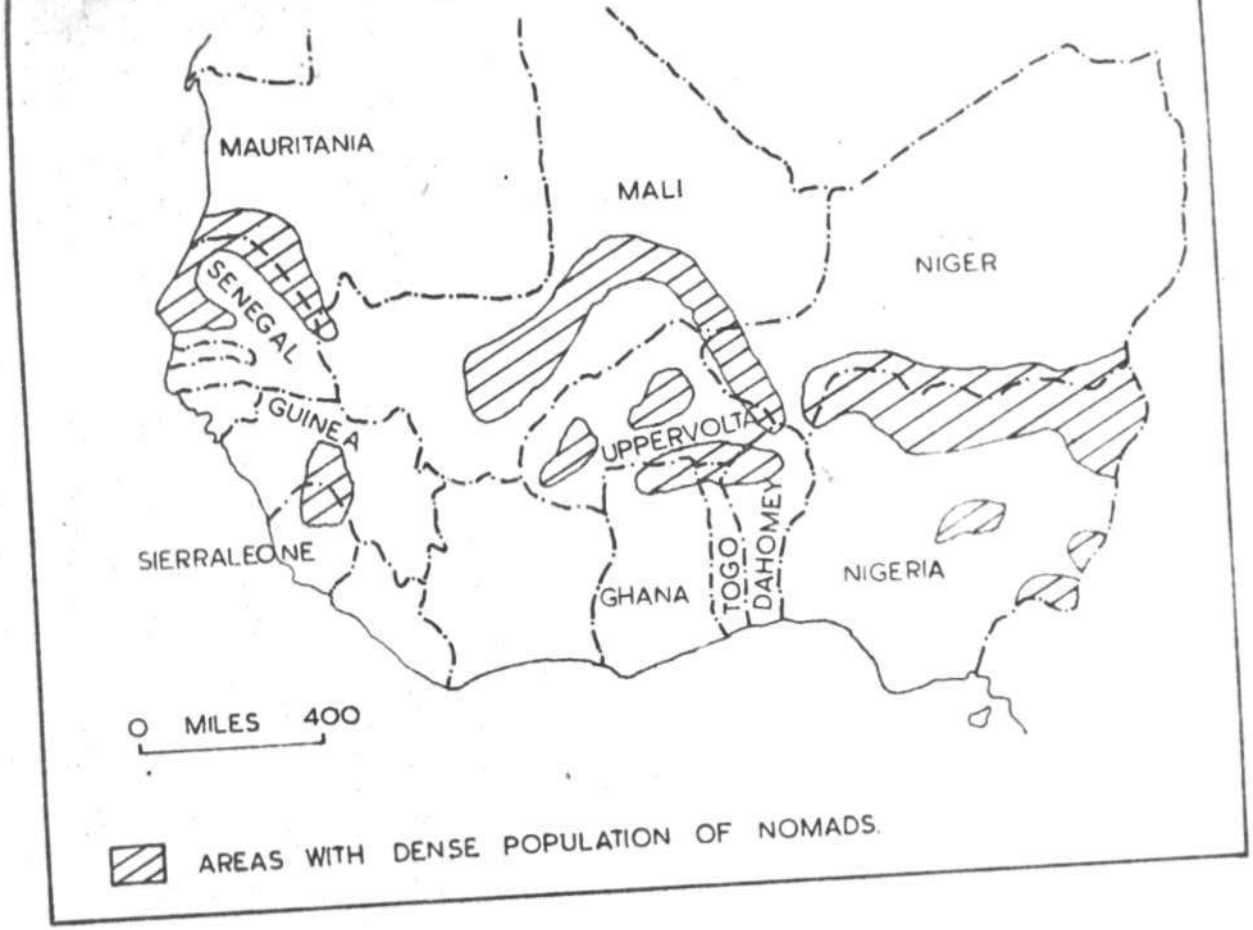
1. See notes on "Men's costume," chapter three.
2. See notes on "accessories"for the men's dress, chapter four.

thick and heavy clothes to keep their bodies warm, they wear light and simple clothes during hot seasons. In Europe where the weather is very cold women wear stockings as part of their costume, but in the tropics however, this idea is not a common one. Politics also influences costume a great deal since every group of people in the country want to be identified from others, and also to display their culture for others to see, this is one of the reasons why some people organize cultural shows. Moreover, as far as costume is concerned people like showing off to others, since they think their dresses are better. Among them all, religion has a great impact on costume since it guides the type of garments a number of people wear. For instance, Muslim women are supposed to have their heads covered whenever they are outdoors and also when they are saying their prayers. Also in some churches in Africa and Europe women are thrown out of the church when they wear very short dresses, because it is considered immoral for anyone to expose herself to avoid others being tempted.

It is interesting to see how culture diffuses from people to people as well as from country to country due to the movement of people. At the same time, people consider other's culture as a pollution of their own, particularly when their youngsters start adopting some aspects such as the way they dress and their habits.

As many people get used to their own cultures, they practise

WEST AFRICA DISTRIBUTION OF FULANI NOMADS.



a negress from Futa Toro. This couple had four children Duti, Nas, Wiya and Arabu. Today, Fulanis claim to trace direct descent from this family.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE FULANI IN NIGERIA.

The Fulani people call themselves Fulbe. Fulani, which is the most common name, is the Hausa version of Fulbe. Many of the Fulani people today are found in positions of power and responsibility in Nigeria. They also contribute a great deal to the economic welfare of the country through their role as cattle breeders. Originally all the Fulani were nomads, and therefore could possibly be referred to as Mbororo. It was not until recently, when some of the group decided to settle in towns and contribute to everyday activities of these towns that it became necessary to classify them by the ways they live. They were therefore grouped into three categories[1]. The first group is referred to as the Cattle Fulani, also known as Fulani na'i or Mbororo. This is a nomadic group. The second group is semi-nomadic,who rear a small number of cattle. Normally the head of the family remains in the town with his family. His cattle are therefore entrusted to his grown up

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1. Derrick J. Stenning, Savannah Nomads,(London, 1964), pp. 4-9.
C.E. Hopen, The Pastoral Family in Gwandu, (London, 1958), p.1.

reinforcing the Islamic doctrines on their neighbours. Some converts became fanatics and left cattle rearing, gradually, as they got involved in the new religion and decided to settle in towns, as preachers. These were the people who were later known as the town Fulani. It is possible that many Fulani sold or lost their cattle through diseases or inefficiency and in the end decided to settle down to town life.

When and why the Fulani moved down to areas in and around Zaria emirate is still not known. However, it is not unlikely that at the coming of Islam due to attempts of forcing the religion on people, wars broke out, this contributed to the westward movement of other tribes, including the Fulani people, particularly the Mbororo group whose aims were to protect their cattle. It is also true that certain groups moved westward in search of pasture for their cattle. Any of the above reasons might be the cause of the migration into Zaria emirate. Whatever is the case there is mention that Islam reached Kano and Katsina in the 14th Century[1].

By 18th Century a prominent Fulani leader, Usman Dan Fodio, emerged and led the Jihad against the pagan tribes defeating many, such as Gobir, Kebbi, Borgu Gurma and some Hausa states, he also defeated the Southern Tuaregs.[2] His campaigns contributed a great

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1. C.E. Hopen, The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu, (London, 1958), p.7.
2. Ibid., p.8.

deal to the migration, as his people were then free to move about encountering less hostility from the natives. The Fulani people dislike acts of aggression and enforcement of law on them, this results in further migration, whenever they meet hostility. The movement is conducted in groups consisting of families or clans. No matter what way it is, they prefer working in units as a means of defence.

The wealth of the Fulani lies on the number of cattle they own. The possession of cattle starts at childhood, through gifts from friends and relatives; and the time they grow up, the number of their cattle increase through more gifts and breeding. These are grouped among the family cattle to start with, but after marriage, the sons live apart with their wives and obviously start new family units. This domestic and social organization is explained by C. E. Hopen that:

> ... the basic social and cattle owing unit is the simple and compound family; a man and his wife or wives and their children and that in the more advanced stages of their development such families may also include the wives of marrie sons and their small children. But when a man has a son who is old enough to perform herding duties (seven years of age) he establishes his own discrete household. The new household head will either maintain his father as a dependant, or his father may, with his junior sons, head his own household.[1]

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1. C. E. Hopen, Report on the Study of Field Fulani, (Kaduna, 1955), p. 41.

AREA OF CONCENTRATION FOR THE RESEARCH

Since the majority of Fulani are found in the Northern States of Nigeria and are almost in all parts of the region, it is necessary to select a particular area for this research in order to cover the field in more detail. After all, what applies to one group of people, serves the other as well, for example there are few differences if any in the way of dress of Sokoto Fulani from those in Zaria Emirate, since they are not separate groups as such, but move only to certain places at different times. The writer therefore selected the area of Zaria Emirate for the research into the costume of the cattle Fulani.

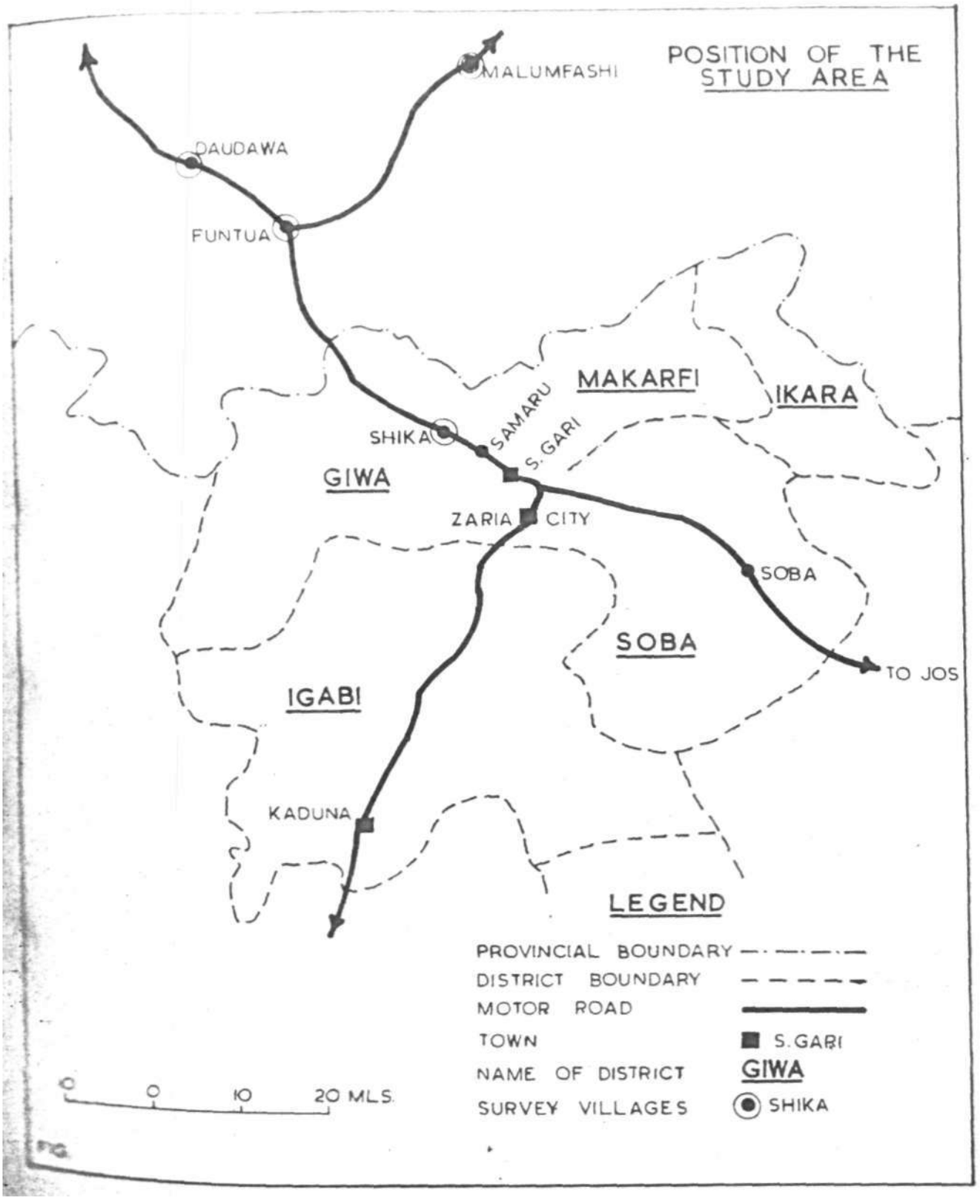
Although the Fulani are found all over the Emirate, large numbers of them live in bush areas along Zaria-Funtua road, Zaria-Kano and Kaduna roads respectively. They move about in the bush, usually following close by motor routes. Simply because it is more convenient droving cattle on the roads than through the bush. It is also safer since the possibility of coming across wild animals is smaller. A number of them today settle in people's fields with permission so that the animals dung can serve as manure for the crops. They do so after the crops are harvested so that by the time new crops are planted the soil will have been fertilized.



Market scene. Fig. 2.

HOW THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED

The writer made several visits to Fulani camps and interviewed them by means of asking them questions relating to their ways of dress. Several visits were undertaken to Fulani camps in Zaria Emirate in order to get information, required on this line of study. The research was conducted this way because there is hardly any


POSITION OF THE STUDY AREA
MALUMFASHI
DAUDAWA
FUNTUA
SHIKA
SAMARU
S. GARI
MAKARFI
IKARA
GIWA
ZARIA CITY
SOBA
SOBA
TO JOS
IGABI
KADUNA
LEGEND
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
MOTOR ROAD
TOWN
S. GARI
NAME OF DISTRICT
GIWA
SURVEY VILLAGES
SHIKA
0 0 10 20 MLS

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL WEAVING IN NIGERIA

The business of weaving is not a very popular one among the cattle Fulani, since it is not convenient to constantly carry looms, moreover, it takes a long time and much preparation to weave a length of cloth. The cattle Fulani, being so mobile, don't like engaging themselves into any craft that interrupts their livelihood. A few of them who settle temporally, do small scale weaving for domestic use, but the majority of them commission other local weavers to weave the materials, which the Fulani then buy and sew into clothes. They commission particularly the Hausa weavers, due to their close relationship with this group. A number of business-minded people today, on discovering the demand for these traditional woven materials, have started to produce them on a large scale for sale.

All traditional weavers in Nigeria, make use of either one or the other of the two major weaving looms. These looms produced locally are the Horizontal type, used by men (fig.3) and the vertical ones which are usually operated by women, (fig.7). A loom can be described as a tool in which yarns or threads are woven into fabric. Weaving is the intertwining at right angles of fibres under tension. The threads from two elements, vertical and horizontal, called the warp and weft respectively.



The horizontal "men's" loom Fig. 3.

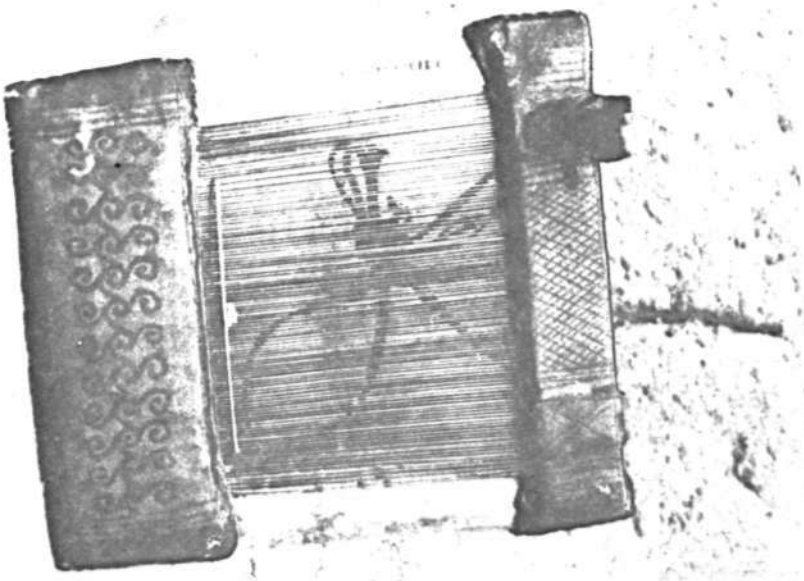
THE HORIZONTAL MEN'S LOOM

In setting up this loom the warp yarns are stretched from one end of the loom to the other, going through two shafts (fig.5) and one reed (fig.4) with one of the shafts holding the odd threads and the other holding the even ones. The bottoms of the shafts are attached to foot rods so that as the weaver's foot pushes the rods, openings are then made for the shuttle (fig.6) containing the weft threads to pass through. The shafts are then lowered alternatively creating an opening known as the shed, between the two sets. The weft yarns travel through the shed by use of the boat shuttle which contains weft yarns packed onto a bobbin. A beater, widely known as the reed, presses these wefts into the fabric. The beater does other jobs as well, such as keeping the yarns in order since they all come through it. After pressing down the weft threads, the first set of threads are dropped back into position and the second shaft lowered, the weft threads are passed through and pressed into position as before.[1] The process is repeated until the whole length of threads is completely woven into material. To cause the threads to retain their necessary tension, bars are set up, across which the warps are stretched and the surplus unwoven warp is

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1. H. Ling Roth, Studies in Primitive Looms, (Halifax, U.K., 1918)

tied around a heavy stone, which moves forward as the weaving progresses. This stone is known as Kunkuru in Hausa meaning tortoise.



The reed Fig. 4.

THE VERTICAL "WOMEN'S" LOOM

The traditional vertical looms are fixed into the ground to make them stable before use. The loom is made of two vertical poles, forming the major structure of the loom (from which its name is derived), and two horizontal poles which serve as the beams. The lengths of the poles differ in various looms.

Holes are bored through the vertical poles at about eighteen inches from the ground, through which ropes or strings are passed, and are used in joining the horizontal poles onto the vertical ones. The loom portrays a picture of a rectangle.

HOW TO SET UP THE VERTICAL LOOM

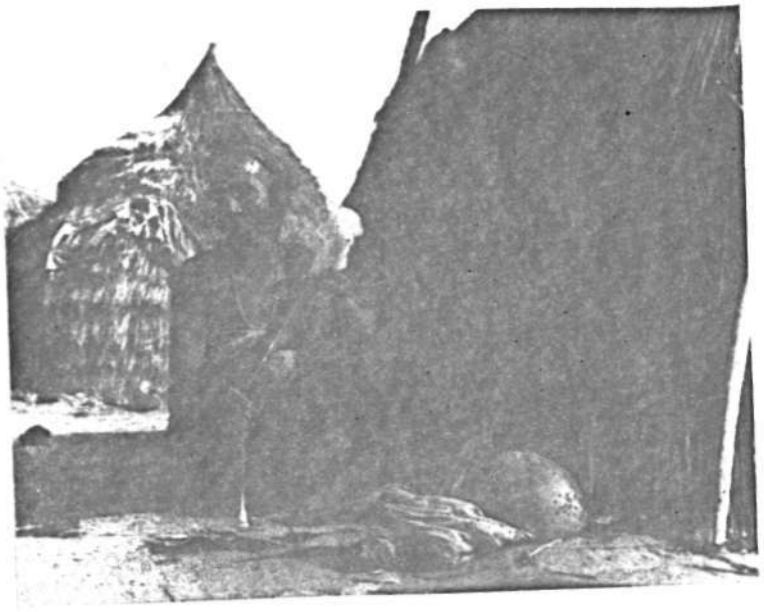
Before setting up the vertical loom, two strings are attached close to the vertical pole on the left hand side, going round the two horizontal poles, these strings are known as the tension cords. Close to the vertical pole on the right hand side, only one string is attached, but it serves the same purpose as the other two on the left. Three bamboo sticks, slightly smaller than the beams, known as cross pieces, are fixed onto the side strings in the central part of the vertical poles, by twisting the string and making a loop to hold the cross pieces, leaving the gap of about five inches in between them. The bamboo sticks are used

In making patterns on the material, other hecks are used as well, the number depending on the type of pattern. But these hecks can only be used if the warp yarns picked for designing, cross each other. When they don't cross, any flat stick or sliced piece of bamboo can be used. Another stick used in holding the woven part takes the place of the first of the cross pieces, which are sometimes used, but are not as convenient as the special stick due to their extra ordinary length. There is also a width determiner which is used in holding the woven cloth to keep the material even.

SPINNING

Weaving generally is a very fascinating and ancient craft that needs very skilful hands. However, before weaving yarn, it must be spun from the raw cotton. The spinning is started with an instrument made locally, consisting of a mould of clay and a stick which is inserted through the clay, known as spindle (fig.8) and Tagori is a Hausa name for it. To prolong the life of a spindle, the mould of clay is usually baked under high temperature, which hardens it up. Spinning is done by holding the cotton wool in the left hand and spindle in the right, the cotton is pulled upwards, while the spindle is being rotated, until the cotton forms a thin strand, which is then rolled onto the spindle. The process

is repeated until the spool, is full. The ~~the~~ ~~of~~ used in traditional weaving are fairly thick, but the degree of thickness depends on the type of material to be woven, for instance, mudukare which is a form of wrapper used by women is woven with lighter threads than those used in weaving gwodo.





The filling of the spool with yarn Fig. 9.

According to Hausa custom, men used to do the job of weaving while women concentrated on spinning,[1] but factory made threads have recently brought about a change in this arra gement since threads used in traditional weaving today, are bought from shops. This brought about a decline in dying techniques, and weavers only rarely dye their own yarns now.

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1. Even in factories the spinning turns to be done by women and the weaving by men.

Traditionally, dyes were made from various plants, sometimes barks of certain trees were peeled, pounded or soaked into boiled water, for about a day and woven material soaked into the solution. They made red dyes from Karan dafi, which is a Hausa name for the barks of guinea corn stalks. Indigo is the most popular of all the locally made dyes. It is made out of baba leaves. From the barks of Tsamiya[1] tree, they got light yellow dye. The fact that these locally made dyes are usually not fast, discourages many people from using them.

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1. Tsamiya is a Hausa name for tamarind.

CHAPTER III

COSTUME OF THE MBORORO MEN

The Mbororo vary their dress for different occasions. They developed everyday wear for cattle droving, home activities, ceremonies and other occasions. Since their job is such that, it involves going into the bush often, most of their clothing is close fitting. They tried to avoid as much as possible, having clothes thrown loosely round their body, and always wear, or tie them firmly to enable them move about freely, when need arises. Their early garments were made of hides obviously because, since they are cattle drovers, hides were always at their disposal. To a large extent, their costume is controlled by the nature of their job, which is also the cause of the originality in the costume of the cattle Fulani today.

Unlike the women, men and boys use similar styles of dress. The way they tie or wear them, is also the same, except obviously that the sizes vary considerably. The other point which is worth taking note of is the fact that, young boys plait their hair like women do, until the day they get married.[2] When they marry, they cut the hair very short, and start living as men. There are

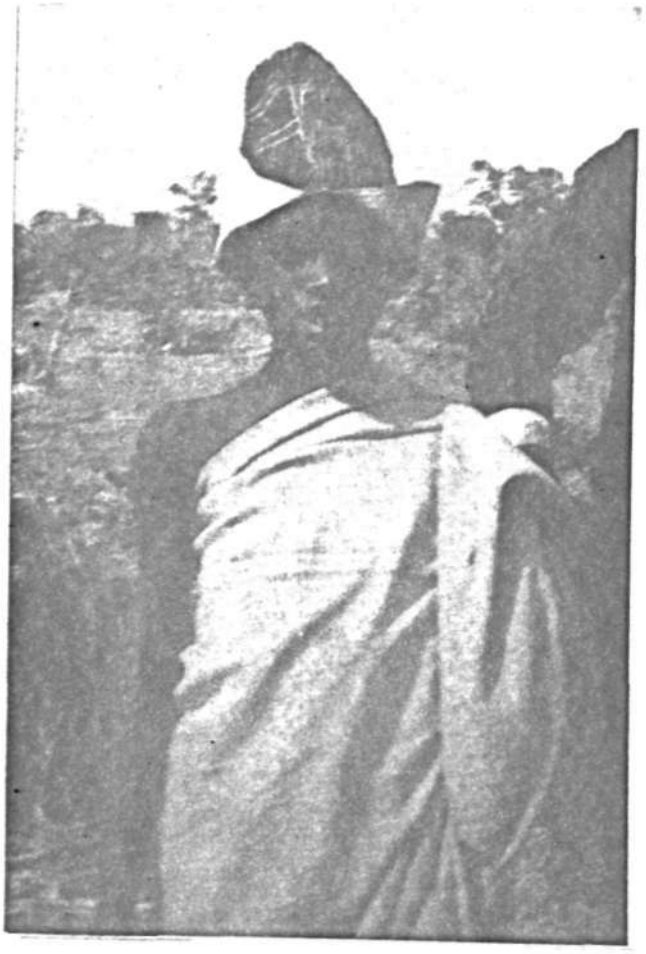
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1. See notes on hairstyles p. 101.

several reasons why children dress similarly to men, the first being that, when a Fulani boy reaches the age of ten, his attitude towards life is almost the same as that of a man, for instance, he starts droving cattle with adults, and looking round for a girl to marry. Since he encounters so many difficulties, and shoulders so many responsibilities at such an early age, he matures much sooner. If he were to be dressed like a child, even at the age of fifteen, he would think he is still a child, and might not be able to stomach any hardships.

The early woven outfits of Fulani men consisted of what they call Gwodo, usually the size of about two wrappers joined together. It is big in size, so that it can be used for covering the body when it is cold. Earlier on, when there were no other clothes in use, it served as a major outfit for a Fulani man. Although it has now lost some of its importance due to the fact that there are other outfits in use as well, most men still use it while in their homes and at work, but it is much more commonly used by the youths. Those used by children, are reduced considerably in size.

Gwodo is made in the same way as other Fulani woven garments, but the main colour is white, with either red, green, blue or black threads, running across its length, forming stripes. It is usually decorated by leaving about four inches of threads at the ends which



Gwodo flung over the left shoulder. Fig. 11.



Gwodo used for cold. Fig. 12.

ordinary and the respected men in the Fulani society use this same type of outfit since there is no specific design for any particular group of people.



Gambarire (dress style for men) Fig.13.

...ervation Blog" are according to the Ahirbs beards from shops. It ...s therefore probable that, with the "pendergi" will al... its popularity and value.



The sleeveless gowns are much looser so are possibly more convenient during the hot season. They are also more convenient for children as they can hardly become too small and so tend to be used until they are worn out.

Recently, the Fulani have introduced a new touch to the gowns, in order to improve their outlook. Like the girls' taguwa,[1] the modern gambarire have elaborate embroidery designs on them (fig.14). The idea is said to have been copied from Hausa craftsmen, who are known throughout the country for their skill. This modern approach is highly fancied by the majority of the Fulani. The designs used in men's outfits take a different shape from those on taguwa. These machine made designs, point out the fact that the designing process is a very recent idea which came with the introduction of the modern sewing machines in less than twenty years ago. Designs are embroidered in various ways, but they usually follow the neckline, and others forming V shapes both in front and at the back. The designs in front are usually more elaborate. Designs generally add more beauty, colour, and a appeal to the locally made gowns, the designed gambarire sells more than the original plain types.

The neckline of gambarire is usually round, high at the back,

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1. See notes on girls' dress, p. 99.

When droving cattle, men use quite a different outfit consisting of either sala and subgo which is a Fulani name for animal skin used for dressing or loin cloth in pl ce of sala. The outfit is causual but functional. The type of sala used for this purpose are those made out of very cheap material or the old ones that cannot be worn on important occasions.

Subgo is made, by removing the skin of sheep or goat in a complete piece, and curing it. Cow hides are not ideal since they are too coarse stiff to use as against the body. When the hides are dry straps are attached to the upper section to help tie it on successfully. When tying subgo,it is taken through the right armpit, to the left shoulder, where the straps are knotted in position. It is designed to serve several purposes, the first being to cover the body, and to avoid grass and thorns from tearing the body. It is also possible that, subgo is the earliest of the garments so it might have also served the same purpose as a blouse does today, if so, must have been used for protection against cold as well. Subgo was used to camouflage the men, while in the bush. Since cattle drovers were exposed to any attack from fellow men or wild animals, it was a good idea hiding under the cover of animal hides so as to escape attacks from enemies.

Fulani people have another type of outfit which is used during saro ceremony, consisting of long pants, and decorated hides. Hides generally play a very important role in Fulani costume because in the early days, before clothes came into use, they served as the major outfit for the natives, since animals were available in all homes, and the only alternative was the use of leaves. When weaving was introduced, and gradually modern clothes came into use, hides became less popular with the Fulani.

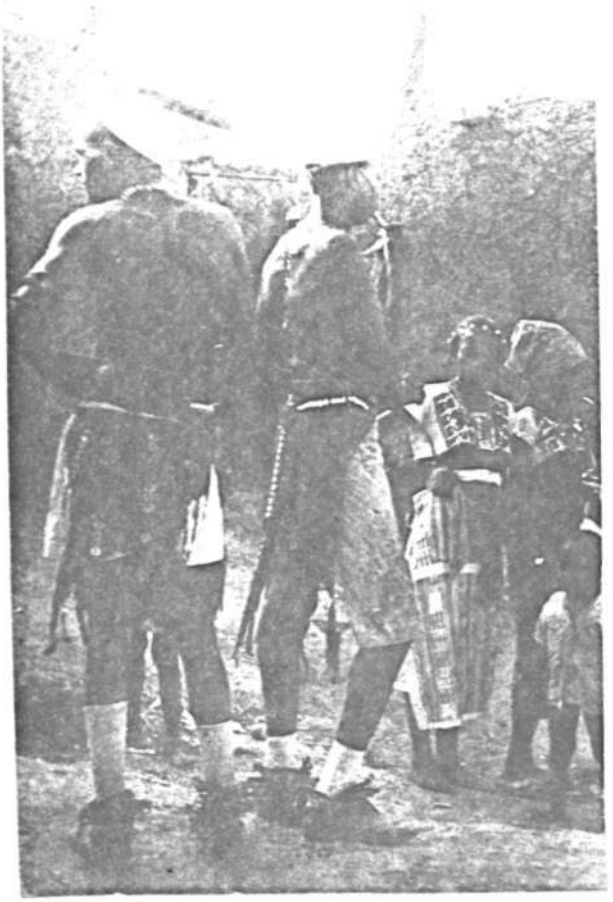
Earlier, the type of pants used during saro, were typical Fulani traditional sala (fig.18). But today, most boys prefer smaller ones, sewn by local tailors, because they are smarter. These are not skin tight, but just loose enough for one to feel comfortable in them. Since the saro practice envolves only boys, the outfits are therefore exclusively for them. After wearing the pants which have either elastic or straps fixed at the waist line to fit, the hides are placed at the back, and with the use of straps or waist band, are tied round the waist, on top of the pants. The other end, which hangs down, covering the buttocks, looks more or less like a fringe of cotton threads, similar to those used by some young girls from other Nigerian tribes, such as the Tiv.

Since the Fulani are fond of using elaborate decorations on their garments, the hides are also highly decorated with Cowrie shells, which are sewn round the waist line and also following the length of the outfit. Usually, about three or four rows of cowrie shells are sewn on one garment. The aim is to make it look more beautiful as it is worn during marriage ceremonies to attract the attention of the brides. Like subgo, hides used for this purpose are also extracted from sheep and goats since these are tender, so serve the pupose. Cow hides are coarse so unsuitable against the skin that they cannot be used as a garment. The use of animal hides during saro practice, is mainly to portray manliness, but they also serve as protection for the parts covered since the act involves beatings with sticks. To go with this, those taking part in saro also wear rubber shoes, decorated with pieces of metal, and also have their hair plaited with beads, to look more beautiful. In describing the typical way a cattle Fulani boy dresses when going through the terrible experience of saro, F.W. de St Croix introduces the following materials:

> He who is to undergo the test strips to the waist, and wears only an ornamented leather games 'kilt' and ornamented trappings, except that he wears about his middle a stout girdle cut from the hide of an ox, which prevents injury from a blow about the waist.[1]

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1. F. W. de St Croix, Op. cit., p. 44.



CHAPTER IV

ACCESSORIES FOR THE MEN'S DRESS

WALKING STICK

Walking sticks are known as Sauri in Fulani, and are made out of any hard wood, which is usually left to dry before use. They are made locally and are sometimes available in market places for sale, and are of different sizes. The usual size is about two inches in diameter. Since people are of different heights, the lengths of the sticks may vary considerably depending on who uses it. The Fulani walking sticks are designed as simple as possible, they are not decorative; usually ordinary straight dry branches are smoothed and used for the purpose.

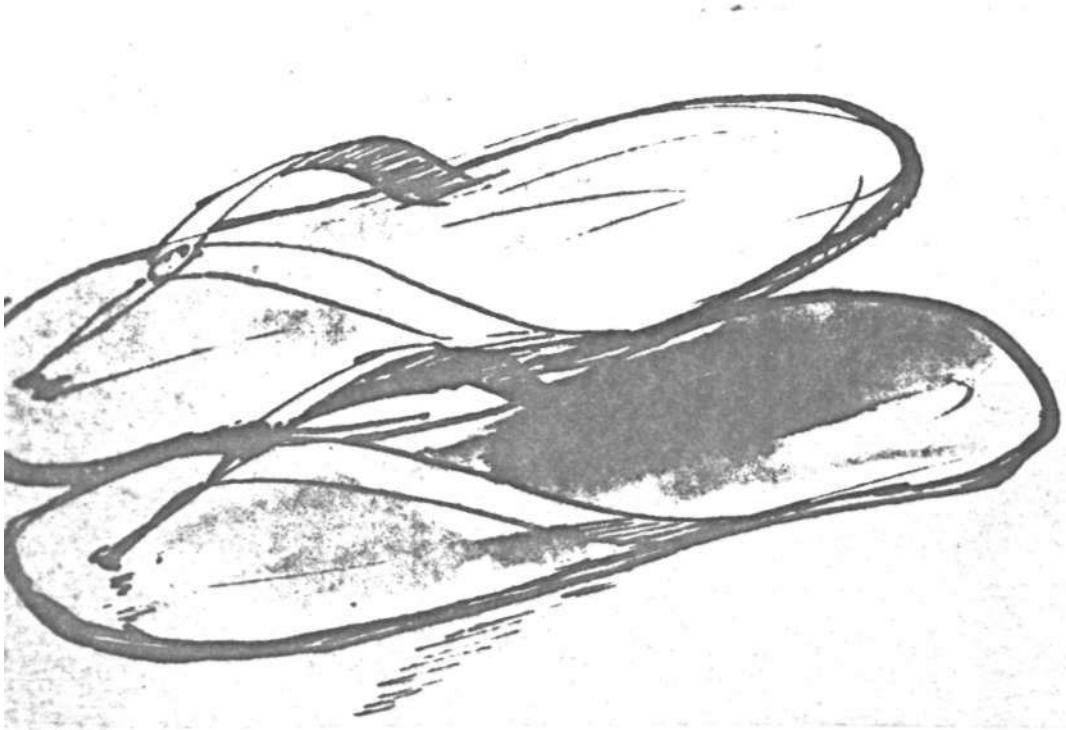
It is surprising that Fulani men who are more fond of walking sticks don't attach any importance to beautifying them. The only good reason they give to this is that, since the sticks are entirely functional and are used at all times, there is no necessity or time

for decoration. All the same, before starting to use a walking stick, the barks are peeled and palm oil rubbed on the main body of the stick, to make it smooth.

In discussing Fulani walking sticks, it is necessary to view its importance. Although they have now become a way of life of a Fulani man, they have specific uses. The most important one is that, since a typical Fulani is a drover, he needs a stick to guide his cattle as he wanders in the bush. As they support themselves against the sticks, it becomes necessary to carry them not only while herding cattle, but also to all places they visit such as markets, dances, religious gatherings and marriage ceremonies. At marriage ceremonies, sticks play a large part in the marriage practice because in the process of conducting Saro game, the boys are flogged with fresh branches of tsamiya[1] tree, which when dry, also serves as walking sticks. On the same ocassion the boys taking part in saro, play around with their sticks, many have mock fights with them, some also use theirs for controlling the crowd and making enough room for those taking part in the game.

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1. Branches of tsamiya tree are flexible, elastic-like and so, do not break easily.



Sandals made from old car tyres. Fig. 22.

HATS AND CAPS

Hats play a very significant role in Fulani men's dress. They are worn both at home, at work, and at ceremonies of all kinds. The most popular hats amongst the cattle Fulani, are of two different types. One made out of raffia, the other out of palm or coconut leaves.

Whichever they are, they serve the same purpose. Most Fulani men go about in large straw hats which give them protection against the sun, rain and cold. Originally, hats were designed to serve these purposes while in the bush with cattle. Today, some Fulani men use hats purely decoratively. Some of them wear hats for the simple reason that the practice of using hats is traditional. At Saro games, when the onlookers who are mainly Fulani wearing their best clothes, different types of hats can be seen. Although hats are meant to be worn on the head, some men hang them loosely at the back or front around their neck, wearing caps on their heads; that is all part of fashion. The hats used in dressing are much more carefully made, and cost a little bit more. These are raffia hats which are finely woven, and are sometimes decorated with soft red leather.



Hat made from raffia. Fig. 73.



Other raffia hats. Fig. 74.

Raffia hats are made specifically for grown ups. There are several reasons given to this. Due to its straw-like substance, raffia dries quickly making it more difficult to work with, and the fact that the hat making process is a very long and complex one, this craft is usually reserved for the adult members. The hats are available in large sizes, so they only fit adults. Today, some Fulani traders specialize in the making of these hats to sell, so there is a tremendous increase in the cost, due to the rise in quality. Hats used by the children, are much rougher, they are of palm or coconut leaves, but are designed to serve the same purpose as the raffia ones. They last only for a short period, because the palm or coconut leaves break easily when they are dry. Since they are cheap and easy to make, the children find it very convenient getting new ones, as the old ones give way. Whenever the weather is dry, both grown ups and children attach on their hats and hang them around their necks at the back until a need arises for them.



Hat made palm leaves. Fig. 25.

pushed upwards towards the head or spread out, covering the ears. To make them look more attractive, the caps are embroidered either by machine, or by hand.



Cap made from khaki drill. Fig. 26.

Like all other Nigerian tribes, the Fulani costume has been greatly influenced through contact with other people. This started with their immediate neighbours, the Hausa, through whom the Fulani men adopted the use of Hausa made caps, which are slightly different from theirs. The Hausa influenced caps, have intricate hand made designs, embroidered on them.[1] They have a much higher value at the local markets than the Fulani made caps.

The importation of foreign caps also has had a great impact on the traditional caps of the Fulani people. These are obtained in the market places and shops, and are slightly cheaper than the Hausa made caps. They are usually plain, and have a similar shape. They frequently come from foreign Islamic nations such as Pakistan The knitted ones are usually worn by children from the age of one, to about ten. When a boy reaches ten, he starts wearing the types of caps the men wear. The reason for this is that Fulani youth marry rather early, and behave and dress as adults immediately after puberty.

When going on a journey, a Fulani man carries both his hat and cap. He uses the hat when the sun is hot or when it rains. As soon as the weather cools down, he hangs the hat around his neck and wears the cap.

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1. In fig. 48, the boy on the right has a typical Hausa cap on.



Imported Caps. Fig. 27.

There are also special _zaro_ caps, used by young boys during _zaro_ practices. (fig. 78) these are designed to fit, so that they remain firmly on the head despite the rough handling of the boys.



zaro cap. Fig. 77.

HAND BAGS

Bags used by Fulani men are the same as those used by Hausa. These are leather bags made locally and sold in local markets. Bags of Nigerian tribes differ slightly in the way in which they are designed. For example, Tiv handbags are usually decorated with geometric designs while Hausa people prefer designing theirs with drawings of animals. At the same time other tribes leave theirs plain.

Like walking sticks, hand bags are used mainly when going out on a journey, for example herding cattle in the bush, while going to parties or ceremonies such as marriage, burial, or religious gatherings. Since the Fulani people do a lot of travelling, they find it very convenient carrying a few things in their hand bags for immediate use, such as cola-nut, which is usually eaten to keep awake though some people make it a habit chewing it as chewing gum. For people who find it inconvenient wearing both caps and hats at a time like others do, they keep their caps in their hand bag until need arises for them. Among other things, smokers carry matches, pipesand tobacco in their hand bags. A Fulani man actually does not use a hand bag just for the purpose of carrying things in them but also as part of his dress. After dressing up for any purpose at all, he hangs his hand bag on his

left shoulder, with his sandals on, he puts on his cap or hat with his arms looped over the walking stick which is usually laid across his shoulders, he is then set for a journey. When a Fulani man dresses this way, he is considered well dressed in any Fulani society. In any Nigerian society, a person's property is consi- as his wealth, therefore the more he possesses the richer he is considered to be. The way he dresses therefore portrays his wealth considerably.

The types of hand bags the Fulani use are made in various sizes, the big sizes (fig. 82) are made specifically for grown ups while the small sizes (fig. 81) are for young boys though some grown ups also use them. Both the big and the small are made by the same process except that the amount of leather to be used is obviously less in the making of bags of smaller sizes. No matter what size they are made into, hand bags are of the same signifi- cance to both the old and the young, except in cases when the hand bags are particularly small they are used for a different purpose such as carrying money, in this way a hand bag of this type is used as a purse. Some people carry only this type of hand bag while going on a short journey but some carry both this and the big ones, using the small one as a purse. Even when they are as tiny as this, they have basically the same stage as the larger ones



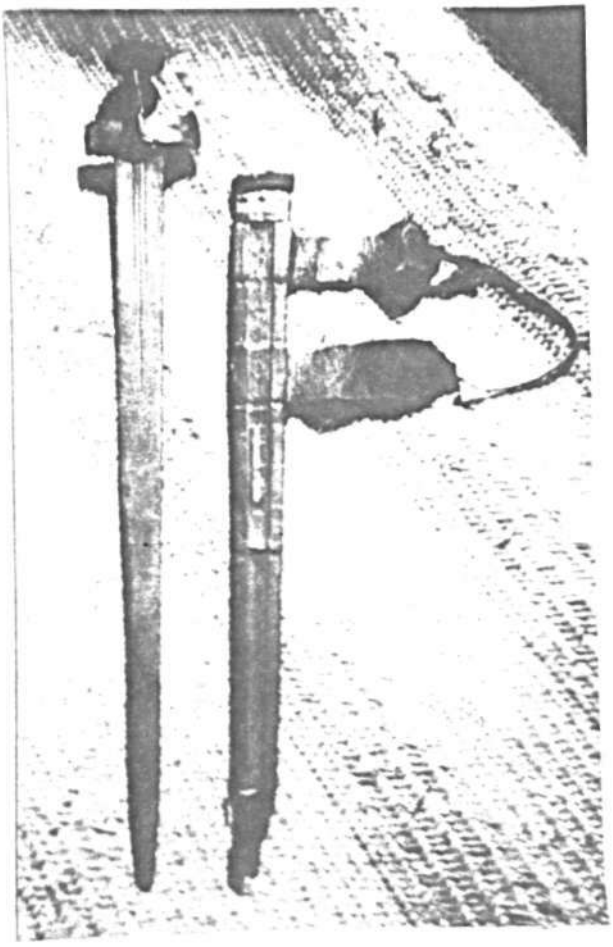
A big hand bag. Fig. 70.

Since the Fulani do not involve themselves into any complicated craft, they rarely make hand bags. In the early days, before they came into close contact with the Hausa tribe, they did not use

them but had an alternative arrangements. Their garments were instead provided with huge pockets so they could carry all their needs for immediate use. Since women wore mainly wrappers, the idea of attaching pockets onto them was completely out of question.

KNIVES CUTLASSES AND SWORDS

Although knives, swords and cutlasses are designed to serve specific purposes, they also serve as part of the costume of the Fulani people. When used in dressing, for safety sake they are usually enclosed in leather casings. The leather sheaths also serve for decoration which makes a Fulani man believe that it adds some beauty to his dress. The leather is usually dyed before sewing in order to avoid any seams remaining undyed and therefore spoiling the decorative effect. Leather strings are also attached to the handles of these articles which are also covered with leather so as to hang loosely on the left shoulder when going to a party, a dance, or any social gathering. When one of these is used on such an occasion the user simply wants to look nice or completely dressed in Fulani traditional attire, but in case any trouble arises, it becomes a weapon for defence. A sword, a knife or cutlass do similar jobs but are shaped differently from each other. However, there are a number of similarities between them both in the manner in which they are fixed into leather casings with leather strings attached close to the handle, and the way in which they are hung on the shoulder. The important thing to note about them all is that, they both serve as defensive weapons and are at the same time used to complete



Sword. Fig. 32.

CUTLASSES

A cutlass is obviously different from both a sword and a knife. It is longer than a knife but shorter than a sword. The blade is thick and broad, evenly shaped from the handle to the end. It is used only by adults because the weight of it makes it rather heavy for children to handle. The sharp part of the blade is from the centre to the extreme end. Originally, cutlasses were designed for cutting grass and trees, because in the process of going through the bush with cattle, the Fulani have to cut a passage wherever the grass might be thick or trees intertwine. Today, a number of them carry cutlasses not just when droving cattle, but whenever they are leaving their compounds on a journey or any form of gathering. It actually plays similar decorative role like a hand-bag, a cap or a walking stick.



Cutlass. Fig. 33.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN'S DRESS

The interesting thing about African women generally is that there are strong similarities between their traditional ways of dressing. The most popular outfits used by women were wrappers. Today, women from other tribes copy dress styles from each other, as well as those from Western Europe. To start with, clothes were only used as a necessity, not for luxury, except amongst the wealthy class. Due to contact with foreign countries, through various means such as trading, for instance the trans Sahara trade in which people exchanged goods, including clothes, it became possible to copy dress styles from other countries. Although, the introduction of sewing machines eased clothing problems, it unfortunately brought about the decline to eventual disappearance of some traditional aspects of our culture. Today many people are dressing in a more cosmopolitan style, at least some of the time, depending on the occasions. At the same time, it is a fact that a few tribes, including the Fulani still use locally woven materials as the basis of the main dress for women. It is therefore possible that, some traditional aspects of Nigerian costume are still valued by some people and the cattle Fulani are a major example.

Fulani women still wear wrappers known as Mudukare which can

only be tied round the waist or across the chest. The common way of tying them is by holding the two ends upright, with the centre of the material at the back. The two ends are then passed through the left and right arm-pits respectively. The left end is spread out across the chest with the right one brought over it and tucked in firmly at the left hand side. Those with babies use the same wrapper when tying their babies at the back. Usually, women start dressing up this way, as soon as they marry, but some old women find it more convenient tying wrappers round their waist as to keep them firm by tying any form of string on top of the wrapper round the waist.

The married women dress differently from the unmarried ones to show that they are married. The method of tying is the same whether the wrapper is local or bought in a shop. Since home-made wrappers cost very little, they are still popular, but at the same time many women have abandoned them and now dress fully like other Nigerian women while at home, and use the factory made ones on special occasions. Women who insist on using just their woven materials, wear old ones at home and new ones while going out of their compounds.

The traditional cloth is usually woven in strips of about two and half yards long and four inches wide, these strips are then joined together, to form a complete wrapper, which is usually

about forty mile wide. These cloth are made from two main colours, white and dark blue with some red, blue or green coloured threads running through the cloth, either forming dotted spots or strips. Most obviously the coloured threads are introduced in order to break down the monopoly of having the cloth just white or black.



[illegible] (Farmer). [illegible].



Tie and dye wrapper. Fig. 35.

shape of the pants. Bright coloured threads are used in embroidering them. The pants are known as Sala in Fulani, they cost about ninety kobo each. Usually, they are made to fit adults so are available only in large sizes. Most of the people who use them today are middle aged men.

When gambarire is worn with Sala, the two, make a complete party outfit which is acceptable in any Fulani society. They are worn mostly by adults, on special occasions, when attending any of their traditional getherings. The most respected Fulani men such as rulers, tax collectors, clan heads also use this outfit. In addition to this there are the usual accesories to complete a Fulani man's dress, Gambarire is designed to cover most of the baggy parts of Sala so only the tight section, around the knees are clearly seen, mainly to expose the decorated parts of it.

about half the size of a wrapper, but today, many women buy the types of headties used by other Nigerians (see notes on headties, page 116).

Although, among other Nigerian tribes, the Fulani costume is about one of the few that still has a large degree of originality in it, there is a possibility of its disappearance in the near future, some facets of it have already started to disappear. For instance, the Fulani woven cloth is no longer very popular among the sophisticated women. All the same, it is important to realise that, no matter the type of wrappers they use, they are treated like the traditional ones.

FULANI GIRL'S DRESS

Compared to the Fulani women's dress, that of girls is much more elaborate, though it also lacks variety. Up to the age of about four, girls do not wear any form of dress, but go about naked. The reason being that the Fulani woven material is very heavy to handle. Since the use of wrappers also involve frequent tying and untying, only older girls are capable of handling them successfully. It is possible to use these wrappers on children only if they are reduced in size and straps attached to the two ends, these can then be tied in order to keep the wrapper around the waist. Traditionally, Fulani parents give their daughters out for marriage at a very early age, (usually about ten). And when the child is about six, they start making them realize that they are women, and will have to marry one day. They are therefore, encouraged to look attractive, dress carefully, wear make-up, after which they are frequently sent out to public places like markets, usually with a few things to sell.

When a girl is capable of handling a wrapper conveniently, she is usually given a small piece of mudukare[1] which she ties round her waist, reaching just below the knees. This is tied on

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1. Mudukare is the Fulani traditional woven material used mostly by women.

the waist by placing its centre at the back with the two ends held on either side, with the use of both the left and the right hands. The wrapper is then brought forward and made to overlap infront, with the right end placed on the top of the left one and tucked in firmly.



Mudukare wrapper as tied by young girls Fig.36.

Mudukare is used by both women and young girls, but it is tied differently by the different age group, for example, girls about eight tie their mudukare in the same way as the younger ones but also wear tiny blouses known as Taguwa[1] made of the same material. It is possible that girls of this age are given this type of outfit so that they do not expose their breasts completely, but at the same time, the dress is intended to attract the opposite sex.

Whereas women's breasts are usually floppy, long and unattractive after nursing children, and they want to cover them completely instead of using a blouse that exposes half of them. It is also probable, that, mothers after marriage do not like dressing the way their girls do, this is probaly a social taboo.

We also cannot rule out the possibility that the weather in the country must have played a certain role in Fulani peoples dress. Since the weather in the country, particularly in the Northern States is extremely hot, Taguwa could have been designed to cope with it. If their way of dress had nothing to do with the weather, then, bigger blouses could possibly have been made for the married ones. If they had lived in a cold country, certainly, they would

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1. Taguwa is a name given to the type of decorativeblouses designed for the unmarried girls. It is so small that it only covers the upper part of a girl's breasts.

have developed their dress styles to those that would keep them warm. One may question the fact that woven material is generally too thick to use in such a hot country, but at th same time, we have to take note of the fact that earlier on, this was about the only garment available, and so had to be used. Although, today it is possible to buy clothing more convenient for heat, they still stick to traditional dress. The Taguwa is such a simple garment, easy to design and sew, and costs very little - about twenty kobo or so. In making Taguwa the traditional woven material known as mudukare is cut into desired shapes and sizes, the pieces are then joined at the sides, the neckline, sleeves and the lower edges are hemed down. They are usually cut out in one piece including the sleeves, in order to lessen the work of attaching them. The neckline is usually round, with the front being lower than the back. When the sewing is done, the front part of the blouse is embroidered with about three or four different colours of wool. Originally, these designs were more geometric, but today, they tend to look like designs used in the modern dresses. This is possibly due to the use of sewing machines.



Mudukare wrapper and Taguwa blouse to match. Fig. 37.

Unmarried girls also wear jewelry, although those below the age of eight do not wear as much as older girls. The younger ones are provided with single roles of beads in order to make them get used to the idea of wearing jewelry, by the time they get to the age of marriage, they are provided with many roles. Unfortunately, much jewelry do not stand out particularly well against the Tagumi as they merge in the designs.

The hairstyles used by younger girls are never as complex, since it is still the growing stage for the hair, and it has to be reasonably long before it can be styled properly. By the time she is about to marry, her hair becomes one of the major points of attraction. Although girls do not vary their hairstyles much, like women anywhere, they have special hairstyles for big occasions.

Another facet of dress in a girl's life is the headties, these are both decorative, matching wraps or functional to protecting hair from getting dusty. Frequently, the weather is so dry and dusty that if hair is left uncovered, it needs constant washing, which destroys woven hairstyles. Fulani traditional head ties are those used by married women as mentioned in the chapter on hairstyles. These are also used by some of the young girls though, most of them today prefere the one/square yard nylon headties sold in shops. These are factory made and cost about sixty kobo each.

Young Fulani girls today have changed from using their traditional dress and prefer buying blouses and wrappers available in shops and markets. On the whole, the men are more traditional than the women.



(Coloured) [illegible]

CHAPTER VI

HAIRSTYLES

One of the most outstanding features amongst the Fulani people is their hairstyles. These play an important part in Fulani dress. It should be noted that the boys wear the same hairstyles as those of the girls. Although there are many hairstyles worn by the Fulani people generally, they all have one thing in common, that is the fact that they are all hand woven, widely known as kitson hanu in Hausa. This hairstyle is very common among the indigenous people of Nigeria, but with all the other tribes it is worn almost exclusively by women, but not by Arabs in the North.

When a child is about six months old, the mother starts nursing its hair to grow, the hair they have at birth is trimmed down as they believe that it is temporary. The hair in the middle of the head is then allowed to grow first while the sides are kept cut down until the middle strip running from the forehead to the back grows to about one inch in length. In the process of cutting down the hair for the first time, some people leave a little bit of hair in the middle, as that hair grows the plaiting process starts. The hair in the middle of the head is therefore plaited by means of weaving starting from the middle to the forehead, and from the same point going towards the back.

By the time the central hair is plaited about twice, the side ones start to grow long enough for plaiting. They are woven in position starting from the upper part running towards the ears. These are just attempts to promote the growth of the hair in areas where the plaiting is supposed to be done.



The nursing sister in hair dressing. Fig. 10.

METHOD OF HAND WOVEN HAIRDO

After training the hair which is considered the first stage of the Fulani hairstyling it is then ready to be plaited properly into any of the typical Fulani styles. The washing of the hair is essential in the process because dirty hair when plaited does not look smart. After washing, the hair is oiled with animal fat then combed and divided into rows. The wooden comb which is available in local market is used. The most popular hairstyle amongst the Fulani is that which is divided into three rows, one running from the forehead to the back, one on each side running towards the ears. The hair in the middle is then woven into a row known as gadaru in Fulani. On reaching the back about two or three inches of the hair is left loose and then woven in position to stop it becoming undone. The remaining two rows are then woven, starting from the upper part of the head to the ears. Towards the end rows, beads are usually plaited into the hair and sometimes pieces of metal, garabaje are folded over on the edges of the front rows and left to hang down on both sides of the face. The Fulani believe that this makes them look more beautiful and also helps the kitso to last longer. The name given to these side rows is eriel in Fulani. For both boys and girls, new hairstyles are made about every two weeks.



Mend woven bwindo. Fig. 41.



Another style of hand woven hairdo. Fig. 42.



Kambaje folded over the ends of the woven hair. Fig. 43.

After the hair is plaited, many women put a kind of crown-band of beads across the forehead known as Shodi (fig.131) in Fulani. Some of these are threaded cowrie shells worn on the forehead along the crown-band of beads, all in the name of beauty which they refer to as Ado.

The hairstyles vary considerably depending on individuals, some are inherited and therefore are used as family hairstyles; this makes it easy to identify one family from another. Some people have theirs divided into six rows, the central one divided and then plaited into two, starting from the middle of the head, one going to the forehead and the other to the back. Two on each side running down towards the ears.

Although the boys wear the same hairstyles as that of the girls, there are slight differences between the two. The most obvious fact is that crown-band of beads are worn only by women. The reason is that this serves as an additional touch of beauty to the women who wear it. Apart from this, women hang all types of beads on their hair. The boys plait their hair for one particular reason, that is the fact that they have to look their best at their marriage. Many Fulani boys believe that hair makes them more attractive and so enables them to get the wife of their choice at the saro game. It is an occasion when several boys of the same age group from many Fulani camps undergo their saro. And the

practice is that the boys allow themselves to be flogged in full view of everyone both old and young without betraying any fear. It is actually a test to his manliness.

During saro, many of the boys plait their hair very gorgeously with beads or metal fixed into the hair. The most popular hairstyles among the boys undergoing the game of saro is that which is divided into three rows, one on the middle of the head running to the back, with two rows on the right hand side with beads or metal plaited into them, and a plain row on the left hand side. This is the only occasion when boys plait metal or beads into their hair. The obvious reason for this is to make them appear more beautiful, but some of them cut their hair quite low and put on saro caps.

After marriage, those with long hair cut it short and the boys start growing beards which they believe makes them look more like men, and responsible. At the same time the girls, after marriages continue plaiting their hair since they have to look beautiful to attract their husbands.

INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL HAIRSTYLES OF THE MBORORO

There have been little or no influence on traditional hairs hairstyles of the Mbororo. They have maintained a strong hold on the original hairstyles of their forefathers, although in Nigeria today, women are crazy on thread plaited hairstyles which are most modern in the country. This hairdo is particularly common amongst the town Fulani women who must have copied it from the people amongst whom they have settled. The thread plaited hairdo is known as kitson-zare in Hausa. The thread used in plaiting is produced in factories but obtainable in shops, kiosks and market places. The colour of the thread is black.

The method of making the hairstyles is rather more complicated than that of the hand woven types, it also takes a longer time to complete one. The hair is first of all divided into the style wanted the threads cut out into the required lengths depending on how long the hair is. About three or four of these threads are combined and used at a time, this improves the quality of the kitso, makes it smooth and fine. After plaiting the hair in sections as divided, some poeple prefer joining the whole lot into one or more lines.

Although this hairstyle is quite popular amongst Nigerians and makes a woman look so attractive, it is not very common among

the Mbororo. Only a few of them, wear the hairstyle. Probably because they don't find it convenient due to the nature of their job. Since they move about form place to place, they have to carry their loads with them, and it is very uncomfortable carrying loads on top of the thread plaited hairdo. Even when the Fulani settle in one place, the women still have to carry milk to nearby markets for sale. It is also possible that the cost of thread discourages many from attempting the kitson-zare since they normally have long hair and therefore need a number of these threads to complete one hairstyle. Apart from the cost of the thread, the kitson-zare lasts for only a short time compared to the hand woven style. After about a week or slightly longer period, it starts to unravel at the ends and begins to look dirty. When asked why they hardly plait their hair with thread, their answer is always that they prefer their own hairstyles. But I consider any of the above reasons to be the cause.



Fluted plaited hairdo. [illegible]

WOMEN'S HEADTIES

Headties are used exclusively by women, both young and old, married and unmarried. To a Fulani woman, a headtie serves the same purpose as that of a hat or a cap to a Fulani man. There are some similarities between the headties used by Fulani women and those used by women from other Nigerian tribes. With all Nigerian ethnic groups, including that of Mbororo, there are two particular types of headties worn by women. The most common headties are made out of nylon or a mixture of nylon and cotton. Theses are obtained from shops or markets. Their usual size is about one square yard. They are used mainly by young girls between the age of five to about fifteen. The cattle Fulani women adopt the use of headties from other Nigerian tribes; originally, they were supposed to go about with their hand plaited hairdo not tied up.

The square yard headtie is normally used on ordinary days. It is used at home, at work and some young or unmarried women wear them on big occasions.

In Nigeria, some seasons get comparatively cold particularly during harmattan between October to February. At this time, the use of headtie, becomes very essential. The one square yard type headtie is worn by bringing the two opposite ends to meet, making

it took like a triangle. The longest side of the triangular beadie is placed at the front of the head, leaving hair out a little bit. The three edges of the triangular beadie are then taken backwards. The single ones on each side are then knotted into a reef-knot, at the back or brought forward and knotted just above the forehead.



A woman wearing beadie. Pl. 15.

The other type of headtie can be described as the heavy type. The size of this makes it rather inconvenient for ordinary wear. It is made out of locally woven material and it is designed for special use so it is worn on special occasions. The material is usually woven in strips and then joined. The usual size of this headtie is slightly wider than half a wrapper. The method of tying differs considerably depending on the user. Before tying, it is held lengthwise, the two edges are then brought together and it is folded into half. While some women fold it once, some prefer folding it into two or three making it rather narrow. After folding the headtie is then wound round the head starting from back to front or front to back. The number of times it is taken round depends on how long it is. The ends are then twisted together and tuck in or made into a knot on the left hand side. Today, apart from woven types, some Fulani women have adopted the use of another type of headtie which is particularly common amongst the Hausa women. This is made out of slightly hard cloth with lurex threads. Both this and the woven type are now used particularly by outstanding women of the tribe.



Locally woven bowl/dish. Fig. 46.



Luron hamttie. Dec. 47.

ORNAMENTS

LANGAJE

These are earrings, mostly used by cattle Fulani from Sokoto. Although they are grouped as Sokoto Fulani, they are found in other parts of the country including Zaria emirate since they are nomads. These earrings, are made out of metal in form of rings. Separate flat pieces of metal of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch wide are folded over into half and hang loosely on the rings. They used to be worn by both men and women, but today a few men use them. Children start wearing them at the age of about ten and in most cases, once they are worn, they are never removed. There are several reasons for this, the main one being that the practice of wearing earrings, was inherited and therefore should not be forgotten; those who refuse to use them are said to be stupid in that they despise their tradition. Along with most people the Fulani believe that jewelry adds to the beauty of both men and women, they also believe that when earrings, are removed, one loses one's identity and since they think they are more attractive and beautiful with earrings, on, there is little or no reason to remove them. The same thing applies to the dresses, for instance, if one changes his dress from the Nigerian outfit to that of western

Europe, one might not be easily recognised. Fulani believe that the longer one keeps one's jewelry on, the better, as it becomes part of one's character. At the same time, some people just don't fancy removing earrings every now and then, they think it is a waste of time and energy, and being nomadic, there is a strong possibility that they may be lost. No matter what other reasons they might have for keeping the jewelry on until it wears out, when it is not terribly good quality it tends to wear out quickly, becoming rather pale in colour, and the golden ones become silvery due to constant washing. Unlike the golden, silvery and plastic earrings which are worn singly, Langaje are worn in a large number, about five pairs at a time. Each ear is pierced in about five places or more, starting from the upper part to the lower section leaving a gap of about one quarter of an inch in between the holes. The piercing of the ears takes place at childhood and it is generally the responsibility of mothers, however, some people do have their ears pierced at a much later age.

Some earrings are made from cowrie shells, these are fixed into rings coated with gold in any desired number, at least two cowrie shells in one ring with colourful leads in between the shells. These earrings are more or less like the type called Langaje except that the cowrie shells are fixed onto the rings instead of the pieces of metal as in langaje. The type of earrings

made out of shells are referred to as Cheric by the Fulani. These are designed in different ways, some people prefer theirs with only two cowrie shells fixed onto the ring some have four or even more, while some fix red beads in between the shells to make it more decorative. Although earrings with cowrie shells can be worn separately without the langaje, at times, these two sets of earrings are worn at the same time, depending on the user. No matter how they are used they look rather colourful and gorgeous, although the ears look heavily weighed down.



Langaje (earrings). Fig. 48.

THE METHOD OF PIERCING HOLES IN THE EARS

According to the Nigerian tradition, it is essential for any woman to have her ears pierced about two weeks after birth since it is thought to be less painful at that age. The piercing of ears is done by the use of thread and needle, but before then, the ears are pressed with warm water to drive away blood from the spot in order to avoid excess bleeding, also to make it less painful since the water must have made the area numb. The actual piercing takes place early in the mornings, between six to seven o'clock, the reason being that the child feels more comfortable a- and relaxed in cold weather. After pressing the ears with a hot pad every morning and evening for about a week or more the needle is then threaded and pushed right through the lower part of the ears and pulled out, leaving the thread into the space made by the needle. The two ends of the thread are then tied into a knot making them look like circular rings. Usually, no medicine is applied to it, but the threads are rotated mornings and evenings and the ears washed with warm water twice a day until they heal.

NECKLACES

Necklaces play a major role in the costume of the Fulani women. No matter how much jewerly a Fulani woman has, she wears all of it at a time. Traditionally Fulani women go about with bare chests and so can afford to display their wealth through the number of necklaces they wear. It is also possible that necklaces make them appear more beautiful but they are considered more as a traditional aspect of dress. Like earrings, necklaces are worn for every minute of the day, but usually removed at nights.

The popular necklaces worn by Fulani women are those made out of a certain stone, kodur in Fulani language. These are obtainable from local shops or markets either singly or threaded ready for wearing. Some necklaces are reasonably cheap while some are extremely expensive. The expensive ones are used mostly by high class women, in most cases, by first wives known as uwer gida in Hausa. Today, tsakiya (fig. 49) is one of the most expensive ones. It is made out of special stone, brownish in colour and made in various sizes for convenience of both adults and children. It is used for earrings, bangles, necklaces and sometimes worn at the waist. No matter in what form necklaces are bought, they are reassembled and much stronger thread used before starting to wear them. Beads are assembled in various ways

depending on personal choice but most Fulani women have similar ideas. Necklaces are named according to the way in which they are assembled. There is a form of band-like necklace worn tightly just about an inch below the chin, separately from the other necklaces, this type is known as pedur (fig.51) in Fulani. It is made of rubber and sometime beads are assembled together by skilful Fulani craftsmen. When worn, even those made of rubber look the same as the ones made of beads. In making pedur necklace, different coloured rubber or beads are used, the most popular one being white, red, blue and sometimes green is used in place of blue. The reason given for the choice of these particular colours is that they are inherited, but usually local people in Nigeria are fond of primary colours and so use them a lot in dressing. A typical example of this can be seen in Hausa costume where some people combine a number of primary coloured materials to make one outfit. These colourful scenes are most common during festivals.

The other type of necklace is known as kodi,fig. 51). This is made by winding two or more rows of threaded beads together to form one necklace. The beads used for this purpose are usually tiny and so the appearance of the necklace is more or less like rope. Some Fulani women wear one kodi at a time but many of them prefer wearing about two or three. Kodi is designed to hang loosely on the neck, but the length of it depends on the

individual, and when more than one are to be used they are usually made in different lengths. Beads for making kodi are usually of one colour, so that different strings can be used at a time.

As courtship among the Fulani people starts at a very early age, girls start making themselves attractive for boys and since necklaces play a very important part in Fulani women's dress, it becomes necessary for young girls to use them. They are the same types as those of women, except that they are made out of smaller beads and are not as long. Plastic strings of different colours are often inserted and used to provide more colour to the jewelry. These are used particularly by young girls. Today beads are no longer as popular among other Nigerian tribes as imported chains are now monopolizing the market.



Tsakiya (necklace). Fig. 49.



Ornaments. Fig. 50



Heavy jewellery. Fig. 51.

LA-YARO

This is like necklace but it is composed of tiny leather bags of about one inch by two inches, fixed onto a leather string. The length of the string depends considerably on the part of the body it is to be worn since some people prefer wearing theirs on the wrist or waist,but the majority wear them on the neck together with the necklaces. It is designed for protection against deseases and evil spirits which are believed to haunt people particularly the young ones. The number of the leather charms vary from two to about eight, each containing medicine which they believe is strong enough to scare them away possibly also to cure. They are worn by both men and women from childhood and removed only when bathing. Children between the age of one to five, go about naked with only this necklace hanging from the neck or waist. Similar to this is another type of medicine for prevention of Tuberculosis. The Fulani believe that when this is worn, it prevents the children from catching the desease which is very common among the Fulani people. Lar-yaro is made by winding several threads together to make one strong and thick strand, just long enough to go round the neck. A round ball of medicine is then wrapped with thread and fixed onto the thick strand of thread and worn on the neck with the

A fil chain coming directly below the chin. Sometimes it is just hung loosely at the neck.



Lar-Yaro. Fig. 52.

BANGLES

Gbordi is a Fulani name for bangles generally. They are rings designed to fit the wrists, arms and legs. They are made out of many different materials such as plastic, gold, silver in fact, most types of metal, the metal ones are much more popular among the Fulani people. Bangles are worn by both men and women starting from the very first year a child is born, although some people prefer using them when the child is a few years old. When used at an early age, by the time the child grows up to about five years old, they become tight and so are removed and replaced by new ones. If worn when the child is fully grown up the bangles are left on throughout his lifetime. Like other Fulani jewelry, bangles are used purely for decoration (fig. 51).

TRIBAL MARKS

Tattoo is a name, given to the marking of the skin with patterns by puncturing it and rubbing in pigment to give it the desired colour. The pigment is used together with medicine which helps the cuts to heal much faster. The art of tatooing the body was earlier used by almost all Nigerian tribes, up to about 1930. Since then its popularity has declined, possibly as the result of contact with foreigners and other Nigerian tribes for example the Ibos who have a lesser regard for body marking. This possibility cannot be ruled out since the other forms of traditional costume have been similarly affected. The fact that the Fulani, are tradition minded possibly explains why their tribal marks are still so popular with them.

The process of marking the body, is a very delicate one, since the cuts can get infected through the use of dirty equipment or lack of good treatment, which may result to deforming the person concerned. All the same, such cases are very rare. Many people believe that, in marking the body of their children at an early age, usually a few months after birth, the cuts are less painful as the skin is still tender. These children have to be contented with whatever marks are chosen for them. At the time, a few children have their bodies marked after puberty.

Although it is the responsibility of parents to have their children tattooed, when a child reaches puberty, it is left to him to make necessary arrangements for any further marking of his own body. This has its own disadvantages since the boy's attitude may have completely changed but at least he has the satisfaction of choosing the type of marks he wants. Like all aspects of costume, body marking varies considerably with time. For instance, at a certain time, it is more fashionable marking just the corners of the mouth, but afterwards the marking of the forehead became much more popular.

Tattoos differ greatly from tribe to tribe, even within a tribe there are variations. While some people mark their foreheads and corners of their mouth, others have their hands, legs and stomachs marked as well. At the same time, more importance is attached to facial marking but everyone believes that, it is much safer and convenient marking the fleshy parts, where bones and veins may possibly not interrupt with the puncturing process.

FACIAL MARKING

Whoever introduced marks to Nigerians or when, is not known, but it is obvious that the use of tribal marks for identity started in a narrow circle, consisting of families, broadening into clans and later to tribes. To start with, parents were afraid of losing their children so thought it necessary giving them marks, which were slightly different from those used by other people. As a family grew and formed a clan, it either continued using the marks started within a family circle or modified them slightly, so the majority of the people in the clan used the modified version. When the clan expanded and became a tribe, any version of marks used by the majority became the tribal marks. The Chineese are said to have invented tatooing and have been practising it for thousands of years, but now it is international and is widely practised in Europe, and is popular among Red Indians, Moaris and Australian aborigines. In Europe, tattoos are made purely for decorative purposes.

The cattle Fulani, find it convenient using tattoos for identity since they are constantly travelling and in doing so may possibly loose some members of the family. Fulani facial tattoos are made in two different ways; patterns are either cut deeply into the flesh or punctured lightly on the outer layers of the skin.

When the cuts are deep, on healing, they leave bold and obvious scars on the face. Today, the bold marks are considred old fashioned, so many people prefer faint marks. Personally speaking, I think faint marks, are more suitable, since they do not distort one's appearance as much as the deeply cut ones. At the same time, marks made for identity should be obvious, therefore, deeply cut marks are more suitable for this purpose. Today, many people are concerned about their looks so, faint marks are currently more popular.

BODY MARKING

Although Fulani tradition emphasizes facial marking, body marking, is also practised, and they use the same process in making the two styles.

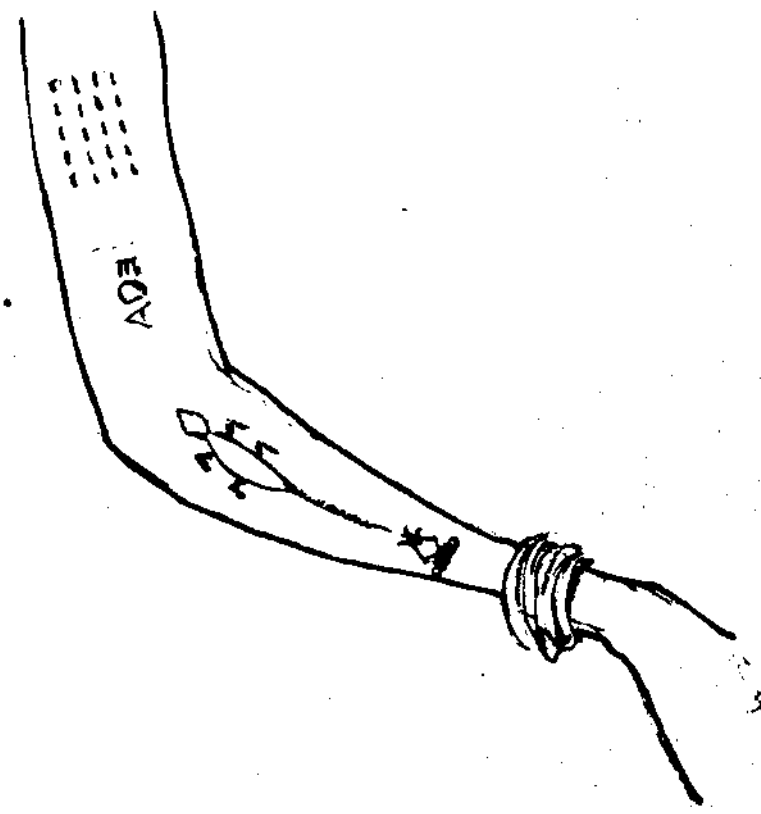
Marks made on the body, are less conspicous than facial marks and because they are decorative they tend to look like patterns painted on the body. The decorative quality is enhanced by the fact that when the cuts heal, the scars disapper, leaving a light blue colour, which contrasts against the light skin complexion of the Fulani. Like in facial marking, the aim of tattooing the body, varies from tribe to tribe, also within a tribe, it varies greatly. In most cases, it is left to individuals to decide whether to mark their bodies or not, unlike children who have their faces tatooed at birth.

The Fulani people tattoo their body with various kinds of motif, ranging from valuable objects, drawings of annimals designs, and letters. Sometimes names of loved ones, or personal names are used. The marking of the body with letters and names is one of the currently fashionable styles. When exactly it was introduced and whoever started it all is still a matter to debate on; but with the advanced stage of social development, through learning, both at school and at home, due to close contact with others, it

became possible to transfer knowledge from person to person. By so doing, the Fulani automatically came to learn of the possibility of using letters to decorate their bodies. Today, some Fulani men are fully employed as tattooists.

To a Fulani man, body marking is not as necessary as facial marking, but women however, attach much importance to both facial and body marking, since they have more of their bodies exposed, so leaving more to decorate. Although, still very popular among cattle Fulani, many other Nigerian tribes consider it out dated. Facial marks are usually much bolder than body marks with many Nigerian tribes, but with the Fulani people, it is not so. Since the method used for marking both the face and the body is the same.

The method of marking the body is not a very complicated one. A sharp pointed knife or razor blade is used. After the cuts have been made, ground baba leaves and animal fat, nai shanu are rubbed into the cuts to make the wounds heal faster, and the scars more obvious. Sometimes burnt dinya seeds which turn to charcoal are also used on the cuts. This, as well as the baba leaves give the marks their dark colour.



Body tattoo. Fig. 54.

Another stage of development in body decoration amongst the Fulani, emerged as the result of close contact with the Hausa and it is used mainly by women. This is the practice of colouring hands and feet with the use of a form of brownish red dye, which is obtained through the pounding of leaves of small shrub, known as Henna,[1] and using the juice to colour the body. These leaves are known as Lalle, in most Nigerian languages, and are used mostly on the hands and feet. The leaves are pounded, and about a cup ful of water is added to it, to make it more juicy. The mixture is then put in a deep container, and the hands are embeded into it alternatively. Some people leave their palms and feet in the solution for a complete day to make it fast. The aim of using lalle is to change the colour of the skin to a much lighter one. To a certain extent, it serves the same purpose like bleaching cream is to modern Nigerian women.

The number of marks used today by most people are far less in number than before, the reason being that the muslim Mallams have asked all Muslims to reduce the number of marks originally used since they think it is not essential covering up most parts of the body with the traditional marks. Moreover it gives people who are afraid of the pain an excuse not to have it done.

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1. Henna is also used by Pakistanis for hairdying.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Fulani, as discussed in the previous chapters, are grouped into three categories, Fulani na'i, popularly known as cattle Fulani or Mbororo. Fulani siire, or the town Fulani and the semi-nomadic group. These are names describing their ways of life. The costume of the Mbororo, is the main theme of this research.

Mbororo, dress is one of the few remaining aspects of Nigerian culture to have retained a large degree of its originality. The reason is that, they are a group of people who strongly believe in following the footsteps of their ancestors, so they insist on wearing the type of clothes evolved over many years. Indeed, the cattle Fulani consider any one of them who despises his traditions as being stupid, and they look down on the other two groups, the semi-nomadic and the town Fulani for the same reason. The fact that they have remained cattle drovers for many centuries, makes it easier for them to retain their traditional practices.

Modern civilization has influenced certain aspects of the indigenous costume of the Mbororo, and oten, they borrow ideas from other tribes mainly to enrich and improve their own costume, a typical example of this can be seen in the men's dress style, gambarire which is sometimes worn together with factory made

shirts to improve the appearance and the functional use of the outfit.

This influence is particularly obvious with the cattle drovers who prefer camping near towns or villages. Through their close contact with the town people, they have copied ideas from them unconsciously.

Traditionally, the cattle Fulani use various colours and designs in making their costume. Their interest in colour is clearly seen through their dresses and jewelry. They prefer bright colours such as red, yellow, blue and green, the reason being that the use of these colours is inherited.

Although the cattle Fulani are identified so much with traditional woven materials, they only design and sew their clothes themselves; this contributes to the individuality of their tribal dress.

The early costume of Nigerian people consisted mainly of woven materials. The weaving, is done locally, by the use of either the horizontal "men's" loom, or the vertical "women's" loom. The dying of the materials came after weaving.

The cattle Fulani have designed everyday wear for cattle rearing, home ceremonies and other activities. Before weaving came into use, the cattle Fulani used hides as their main outfit. Subgo being the main outfit is for cattle rearing, either worn with the

Fulani traditional long pants, sala, or any form of loin cloth. Hides which are decorated with beads and cowrie shells are used on special occasions, or instance, marriage ceremonies etc.

Dwolo which is one of their earliest woven garments is only used while rearing cattle, but also while at home as well as for covering the body with, when the whether is cold.

The most important outfit for the men is gumbarire, this is made from locally woven material, sometimes the more decorative mudukare, (women's wrapper) is used in making them. It is one of the most recent and popular outfits designed for the Fulani men, probably originated from the Hausa danshiki and like the danshiki it has two large pockets. Today it has received several new touches such as the use of poplin and drill material in making them. Designs are also embroidered on them, making them look more attractive.

When discussing the Mbororo men's dress, it is necessary to mention a few items that go with it as part of the dress. The accesories as discussed in chapter three, are as important in the history of the cattle Fulani costume as the dress is. Among them are walking stick hand bags, hats and caps, sandals, knife, cutlass and swords.

The costume of women is rather simple. It consists mainly of woven wrapper, mudukare, designed for tying either round the

waist or across the chest. Since there is no variety in the women's outfits, many of them now tend to copy dress styles from other people or buy factory made wrappers and blouses t match.

Mudukare materials are also used in making girl's outfits. Those who are about the age of marrying have tiny blouses made from the same material to go with the wrapper, but the younger ones usually tie small pieces of mudukare round their waist.

Fulani women are noted for their fanciful hairstyles which are also used by the unmarried boys. They make various hand woven hairstyles. Some people fix beads, cowrie shells etc. onto their hair after plaiting it, to make it look more beautiful. Crown-bands of beads are also worn across the forehead also in the name of beauty, and fashion. Garabaje which is sometimes fixed onto the end of the side rows are meant to stop the hair from getting loosened at the ends, and also to add more beauty to the hairstyles.

Headties are also used while doing dirty jobs to avoid dust from falling onto the hair. Married women use woven yards of material or lorix headties on market days or any special occasion.

Both Mbororo men and women decorate their body heavily with ornaments. Today most men have stopped wearing earring, but still decorate their hair with beads, necklaces rings and bangles. These are used by both males and females.

The practice of tattooing the body is also popular among the Mbororo. They tattoo their face, legs, arms and stomach, in order to look more beautiful, and also to distinguish themselves from other tribes or people.

What makes the Mbororo so outstanding is the fact that they are out of the ordinary to attract a great deal of attention, particularly from people who are not familiar with the cattle Fulani, such as Europeans etc. In Nigeria, although many people from other ethnic groups also use hats, walking sticks etc, they do not make use of these everyday. Walking sticks for instance are used mainly by old men as a support while they walk or stand, not as part of their dress. However, the Mbororo have an obvious admirable quality. They have kept alive their culture, which other Nigerian ethnic groups have lost, due to either direct or second hand contact through mass media, like the world press and the television.

The writer is quite aware of the fact that this research does not cover all aspects of life of the cattle Fulani, and therefore thinks that areas such as marriage ceremonies, (saro), religious observances, food, and other social activities can form good topics for further research.

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Maudi

Mallam Habiba

Mallama Safiya

Mallam Aliyu) of Limin Kambari, Zaria. These are
Mallam Habu) Hausa weavers.
Mallam Dogara)

Moh. Inuwa - of Hunkunyi village on Kano road; also a Hausa weaver.

Dawuda

Mrs. Eunice Okeji - Fine Art Department, A.B.U.

Mallam Usman

The following people gave information on men's costume:

Alhaji Haruna

Alhaji Usman Dogo

Mallam Shehu

Dan Mudo Nyawo

Hure

Auta

Mallama Melgoma

Na Mallam

Seunge

Gidoma

Gajera

Alhaji Ibrahim Sango

Alhaji S. Shika

Alhaji Yawa

Auta Maisawa

Mallam Sule

Mallam Bala

The following people gave information on women's costume:

Mallama Kera

Mallama Ibrahim

Gabriel Malkama

Mallam Bawa

Alhaji Maiboye

Chiroma

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