

THE SOUTH BANK OF THE GAMBIA:

PLACES, PEOPLE, AND POPULATION

(B) NYAAMINA, JAARA, AND KIYANG DISTRICTS

By David P. Gamble

Shortly after I began anthropological work in the Gambia, 1953, the Senior District Officer had the various district scribes, who were supposed to be the Annual Assessment for tax purposes, make a serious effort to collect data on the ethnic affiliation of the various compound owners. This resulted in some more reliable data for the period 1946-1948.

When new maps were made following the first air surveys (1948), the attribution of place names was not always accurate, but at least the location of the communities on the map provided a better basis for work on the ground. In a number of areas in subsequent years I methodically visited all the places I could by motor bike, e.g. the Kiara and Jaara Districts, Kanyara and Pular East, Upper Saalum, Fouta Bafat and Fouta Nyanang-Karenai, most of the Fula area (though this has greatly changed in recent years). In these visits I tried to check both the ethnic affiliations given in the assessment data, and the current names for the communities involved. Some villages are constant, others move a short distance as the soil becomes exhausted, while the names of the places are constantly changing. When new roads are constructed, often segments of old villages break away, so as to be nearer the main line of communication. New villages are established by immigrants.

Information about the various districts was sorted out in 1955, and the results are given on the following page. In most cases the information has been verified, and given in full, though in some instances June 1996 are given.

Brisbane, California

In this series of Gambian Studies an attempt has been made to create a set of District Reports, based on notes in the files in my collection, official publications, and books. This arose primarily from an attempt to determine the general pattern of the various ethnic groups, and to identify the villages and places mentioned by early travellers, or occurring in later reports.

Shortly after I began anthropological work in The Gambia, (1946), the Senior Commissioner had the various district scribes who were engaged in the Annual Assessment for tax purposes, make a serious effort to record more accurately the ethnic affiliation of the various compound owners. This resulted in much more reliable data for the period 1946-1948.

When new maps were made following the first air surveys (1948), the attribution of place names was not always accurate, but at least the location of the communities on the map provided a better basis for work on the ground. In a number of areas in subsequent years I methodically visited all the places I could by motor bike, e.g. the Kiang and Jaara Districts, Kantora and Fuladu East, Upper Saalum, Fonyi Brefet and Fonyi Bintang-Karenai, most of the Kombo area (though this has greatly changed in recent years). In these visits I tried to check both the ethnic affiliations given in the assessment data, and the current names for the communities involved. Some villages are constant, others move a short distance as the soil becomes exhausted, while the hamlets of the Fulbe are constantly changing. When new roads are constructed, often segments of old villages break away, so as to be nearer the main lines of communication. New villages are established by immigrants.

Information about the various districts was sorted out in 1995, using the headings given on the following page. In most cases the information has been extracted and given in full, though in some instances references are given to more recent material.

General Headings

Name of District

Maps consulted

Area of District

Legends of origin/ Early History

Boundaries

Main geographical features

Early travellers' accounts

Early village lists

Population (Assessment and Census data)

Village names and location

Ethnic groups

Descriptions of specific places

Pre-Islamic beliefs

Archaeological features. Ancient monuments.

Photographs available, or seen in publications

Articles appearing in recent years

Material on certain major warriors or rulers

The material available to me varies greatly from district to district.

It is hoped, however, that the result will provide a basis for further research by people in The Gambia itself.

only

For some references/the author and date are given. For the full title

of the work reference should be made to my General Bibliography of The Gambia (1979).

NIAMINA (NYAAMINA)

NYAAMINA (General)	2- 9
NYAAMINA WEST	10-17
NYAAMINA DANKUNKU	18-25
NYAAMINA EAST	26-34

NYAAMINA DISTRICTS

Maps consulted:

1732	Leach
1905	1: 1,000,000
1931	1 cm to 2.5 kilometres
1948	1: 50,000
1956	1: 125,000
1975	1: 50,000 (Sheets 6 & 7)
1980	1: 250,000
1942	River Chart

Spelling

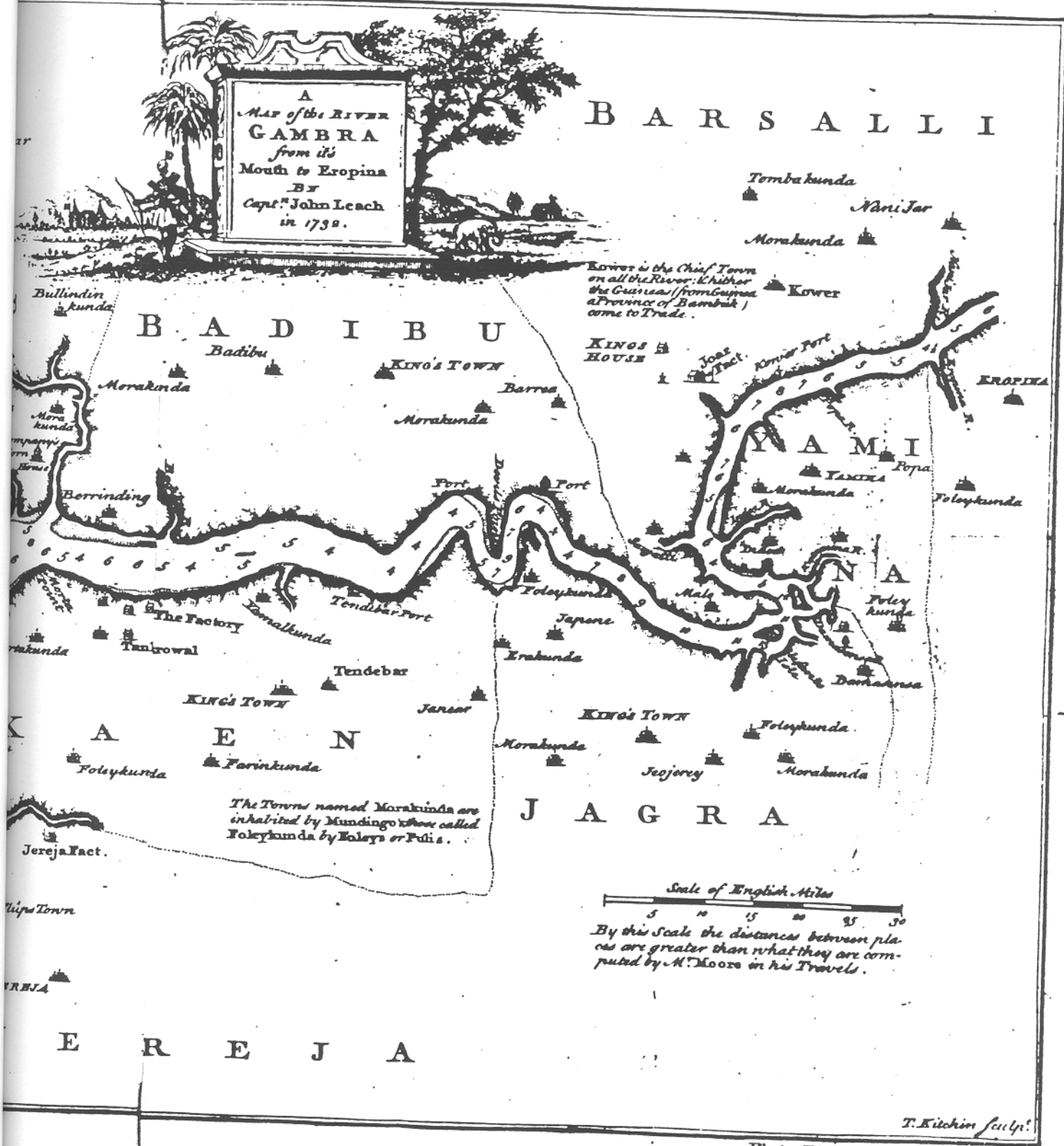
Yamina	Leach's map - 1732
Niamina	current maps
Nyaamina)	= phonetic spelling
N̄aamina)	

Research

No specific research was carried out in the Nyaamina Districts by the author, though Dankunku and Katamina were visited in July 1972 with Dr. Peter Weil.

A photograph was taken at Pinyai in 1954 of the costume of Jong-Musa, a masked figure, also known as Maamoo. Jong-Musa used to come out at the beginning of the rainy season, and predict the future. Information about the figure was obtained from a man from Nyaamina then living in Bakau. (1970).

<u>Area</u>	Nyaamina West	48 square miles
	Nyaamina Dankunku	44 " "
	Nyaamina East	141 " "



NYAAMINA DISTRICTS - GENERAL

These districts are on the south bank, bounded by the river Gambia on the north, and the Sofanyama Creek on the south, with a short land boundary on the east with Eropina (now Fuladu West). According to Galloway the boundary was a valley between Tabanani and Jaroy, but this may have fluctuated as a result of local wars.

Though having a long river front of nearly sixty miles, there are extensive swamps between the river and the upland settlements, and only three major landing places ("Wharves") - Sambang, Jesadi, and Kudang, though there were also crossing places at Jareng opposite the mouth of the Nianiya Creek, and and from Balangar to Jakoto, the landing points being up the Jareng and Jakoto creeks respectively. There was also a crossing from Ida to Kuntaur.

The main road eastwards cuts through a corner of Nyamina West, isolating Nyamina Dankunku from the main east-west flow of traffic. The region is rarely mentioned in the accounts of travellers.

At present the region is divided into three districts - Nyamina East, Nyamina West, and Nyamina Dankunku, primarily as a result of divisions and hostilities created by the Soninke-Marabout wars of the last century. In the 1850s, according to a Commissioner's report in 1894, Katamina people with Jakoto, Padiki and Barakunda made themselves into an independent group. Later Fode Kaba Dumbuya raided the eastern end of the region taking Jareng, Kudang, Sotokoy, and several other small towns, converting them to Islam.

BOUNDARIES

The Nyaamina Districts are bounded by the river on the north, by the Sofanyama Bolong on the south up to the village of Tabanani, where it follows the curves and lines of the Gambia-Senegal boundary, up to the boundary of Fuladu West.

Nyaamina Dankunku is separated from Nyaamina West by an imaginary line drawn from just west of Sambang Tenda, in a North-north-east direction for 4 miles, then to the north-east for another 9 miles when it reaches The Gambia River upstream (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from Jessadi Wharf.

From a point a mile west of Anias Kunda in Nyaamina West, a line drawn due north separates Nyaamina West and Nyaamina East.

An imaginary line drawn from a point opposite the end of Baboon Island in a south-west direction to the Gambia-Senegal boundary, separates Nyaamina East from Fuladu West.

EARLY ACCOUNTS

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa....1730.

p. 35 "...then begins the Country of Yamina, which abounds chiefly in Corn and Fowls: In it is a large Island, which is very pleasant; likewise a small Island, almost in the Middle of the Gambia, called Sea-Horse Island, full of Trees, and marshy Ground, abounding in Sea-Horses, from whence I believe it takes itsname. This country extends about fourteen Leagues, and then is Eropina, a petty Kingdom, extending about 14 Leagues along the River-Side.

Spelled: Yamina by Hequard (1855)
 n'Yarmina in Annual Report 1885.

OLD WHARFS

Bisset Archer (1906) p. 190 states:

The wharf at Setokoto (= Sitakoto) is situated on the Sofyaniama Creek, and cutters drawing 6 ft to 8 ft. can come alongside.

The Jakoto Wharf is at the end of the Jakoto Creek, up which only canoes can proceed. This is the wharf where the people from this bank cross to Ballanghar on the north bank.

RECENT ARTICLES

Jallow, Matthew K.

"Niamina Under Fire,"

Daily Observer, 19 April 1993, 15-16.

(Local politics.)

Saidy, Jay

"Jay Saidy visits a district with a perennial problem- water.

A Chief's plea "Don't give us wells, give us boreholes,"

The Gambia News Bulletin, 18 November 1976, p.3.

Early this century Nyamina was thinly populated. Bisset Archer (1906) states that there were 10 towns in Nyamina East, 11 in Nyamina West, and 3 in the Dankunku subdistrict. (Sami, Barokunda, and Jakoto)

Fula herds came in from the Casamance for pasturage during the dry season, particularly to Nyamina East.

The Dankunku subdistrict = Dankunku, Barokunda, Sami, and Jakoto. These were Muslim towns, the rest being Soninke.

Between 1956 and 1975 there was a large increase in the number of villages in the Nyaminas.

POPULATION

(Based on Annual Assessment figures - Senior Commissioner's office)

	<u>Niamina Dankunku</u>	<u>Niamina West</u>	<u>Niamina East</u>	
1944	1764	2555	4986	
1945	2172	2917	7056	
1946	2333	3100	6609	
1947	2407	3031	4662	
1948	2438	3106	4633	
1949	2523	3162	4476	
1950	2783	3400	4892	
1951	2751	3441	4967	
1952	2986	3844	5075	
1953	2727	3698	5075	
1954	2718	3747	4973	
1955	2691	3595	4885	
1956	2748	3691	4878	
1957	2750	3662	4837	
1958	2728	3531	5092	
1959	n.a.			
1960	n.a.			
1961	2570	3470	4885	
1962				
1963	2505	3576	5469	(Census data)
1973	4034	4881	9372	(Census data)
1983	4695	5192	12321	(Census Data)
1993	6028	6749	15131	(Census Data)

19

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Based on 1946 Assessment.

	Niamina Dankunku	Niamina West	Niamina East
Mandinka	46.5	38.8	33.5
Wolof	12.9	8.4	41.4
Fulbe	36.6	43.3	17.6
Jola	-	0.1	0.4
Manjago	0.1	0.5	-
Mansuanka	2.1	1.4	1.5
Jalunka	-	-	1.8
Jaxanka	-	0.2	-
Serer	0.2	3.1	-
Bambara	0.9	3.1	2.0
Serahuli	0.6	0.7	1.8
Tilibonko		0.4	-
	99.9	100.0	100.0

The Fulbe included Fuuta Tooro Fulbe, and Fuuta Jalon Fulbe, plus a small number of Firdu Fulbe, Laibe, etc.

NYAAMINA WEST

The following account is based on Commissioner's Reports (about 1933?) in the files of the Senior Commissioner's Office - now in the National Archives.

"The power over the old Soninke kingdoms of this area appears originally to have been vested in the families of Jadama, Damfa, and Sonko-yabo, with an interval during which a representative of the Sawane family (an offshoot of the Jaara Damfas) held the post of king.

"The first king was at Jareng (now Jareng Malanding) in the Eastern Niamina District, some 8 miles from Jesadi. His name was Yalang Tawane, and he **is** said to have been sent by the King of Jaara, Jaasi Bana Damfa, who lived at Japeni (Central Jaara) to rule at Jareng. Under Yalang were sub-chiefs at Kununku (Eastern Niamina), Wurupana (Casamance), and Brikama Ba (Fuladu West).

" At this time the boundaries of the Jareng kingdom were:

1. The Sofanyama Creek throughout the length.
2. The Gambia River from the mouth of the Sofanyama creek to Ida opposite Kuntawur.
3. The farm lands of Brikama Ba.

"Over this area the families of Jareng, Wurupana, Brikama and Kununku took it in turns to rule, the other towns regarding themselves as sub-chiefs to that holding the power for the time being. Jareng was however attacked by Dula Saajo, a Toranko from Nianiya, but originally from Fuuta Toro, and the power of Jareng was broken. Yalang Sawane was killed, and the people of Jareng scattered, most of them coming to Pinyai, at which time the present town of Pinyai was founded.

" The destruction of Jareng and the death of the king occasioned a general contraction of the kingdom, which was in fact divided into two parts. The swamp known as Boykoy between Jareng and Kudang, slightly north of Bambokolong was made a dividing line and to the east of this the towns of Wurupana, Kununku,

and Brikama Ba took turns to rule, while to the west those of Piniai and Katamina ruled alternately.

"At Yalang's death he was succeeded by Mansa Mansali Wuleng Damfa, and he in turn was succeeded by Mansa Nyedu Ndimbo Damfa. Both of these ruled in Piniai. During the reign of Mansa Nyedu, the Muslim leader Saalum Jobaate of Kau-ur invaded the country round Katamina and the people of Fuuta Toro came to assist him. Legend says, however, that Mansa Nyedu was captured and taken to Wurupana, but there was released, after having killed the (a fabulous snake), Ninkinanko, and later returned to Piniai.

"At his death there was no one to succeed him, but a former Suma (or King's Councillor) of Jareng, by name Mansa Sute, seized the power and ruled in Piniai. He was not in the right line, and at his death was succeeded by Tamba (or Mansa Tambaring) Jadama. The Jadama family were originally the royal line of Wuropana and were ruling there until the arrival of the King of Kaabu whose family was Sonko-yabo. Legend says that the Sonko-yabos came and asked the Jadamases for land and later, on the plea of growing population for more and yet more land until by reason of numerical superiority the Jadamases left Wuropana and came towards the river.

"The only other war of note in this area was waged against Fode Kaba Dumbuya who, after his conquest of Jimara, marched west and was called into Niamina by the Muslims of Dankunku, who were wishful to attack the Piniai-Katamina Soninke federation. Ansu Ndong was the leader in Dankunku at that time and he it was who called Fode Kaba to assist him. He is said, however, to have been beaten off by Piniai, Ansu Ndong being killed in the fighting. A call for help from Sukuta (in Jaara) next distracted Fode Kaba's attention. and he left Niamina.

This area claims never to have been conquered by the Muslims. It is said that Islam, though always having a foothold at Dankunku, Sotokoy and Kudang, received its greatest number of converts when Tambaring Jadama being old and blind, was converted. "

Note. In a version of the legend of the visit of the Kings in the Gambia to Mali, when an enormous bird (Mansa Kuno) was overshadowing Mali, given by K.F.Damfa in 1933, Malang Mariba Damfa is given as the name of the king who went from Nyaamina. He was said to be a nephew of Jaase Damfa, King of Jaara. A summary of the tale written by A.K.Rahman is given on page 45 .

	1902 Village Lists				1936		1946		1948		1973	
					Assessment		Map		Census			
Anias Kunda	(In Nyaamina East ?)											
Ba Kunda	Ba Kunda				Ba Kunda		Bah Kunda				Anias Kunda	
Choya	Choya				Choya		Choya		Choya		Bakunda	
Dalaba	Choir										Choya	
Dembakunda					Dembakunda		Dembakunda				Dalaba	
											Dembakunda	
Jaithekunda	Jaiti Kunda				Jaite Kunda		Jaiteh Kunda					
Jamali	Jamara				Jamali		Jamara		Jamara		Jamali	
Jamara					Jamara		(abandoned)					
Jamweli					Jamweli							
Jata Sutu	Jata Suto				Jatasutu		Jata Sutu					
Kartum	Kartum											
Katamina	Katamina				Katamina		Katamina		Katamina		Katamina	
Kumbane	Kumbanji				Kumbanyi		Kumbani		Kumbaney		Kumbani	
Kumbija	Kumbija				Kumbija		(abandoned)		Kumbija			
Malikunda	Malikunda				Mali Kunda		Mali Kunda		Male Kunda		Mali Kunda	
Medina	Medina				Medina		Medina		Medina		Madina Madi	
Misira	Nanna				Nana		Misira		Nana		Missira	
Nana	Niji				Niji		Nana		Nana		Nana	
Niji							Nigi				Niggi (Sambang Niggi)	
Njaaykunda					Njiekunda							
Padigara	Padigara											
Pappa	Pappa				Papa		Pappa		Pappa			
Piniai (pinvai)	Penai				Pinyai		Piniai		Piniai		Panai Mandinka	
Piniai Fula	P. Fula Kunda				P.F.K.							
Sambang	Sambang				Sambang		Sambang		Sambang (ND)		Sambang	
Sami	Sami											
Saare Sambeh Kunda									Sare Sambeh Kunda			
Sondeh Densay									Sondeh Densay			
Sowe Kunda					So Kunda		Sowe Kunda		Sor Kunda			
Tambanani	Tambanani						Tambanani		Tambanani			
Tabanani	Tabanani				Tabanani							
Tuba	Tuba				Tuba							
Wellingara	Wellingara				Wellingara				Willingara			

NYAAMINA WEST - Population

	1902	1930	1946 Assessment	1973 Census
Anias Kunda				122
Ba-kunda		43	74	136
Choya		88	135	242
Dalaba				197
Demba-kunda			39	100
Jajte-kunda		7		
Jamali			124	256
Jamara	61	44	31	
Jamweli			132	
Jata Sutu			26	
Kartum		14		
Katamina	242	311	467	549
Kumbani	115	20	64	178
Kumbija		63		
Male Kunda	193	325	214	299
Medina		64	56	158
Misira				148
Nana		72	110	129
Niji		110	340	408
Njaaykunda			69	
Padiqara		19		
Pappa		123	57	
piniai	164	249	344	384
piniai Fula		79	134	
Sambang		303	500	386
Sami		62		
So-kunda			122	
Tambanani		36	39	
Tabanani		36		
				under 100 per village
	775	2068	3077	4881

Western NiaminaTRADITIONAL BELIEFS

The inhabitants were pagans, and there were four major spirits - Jawla Jalango, Le-malibali, Sitokoto Jenung Ba, and Wulufa Konko.

(1) The spirit known as Jawla Jalango was in a well in which there lived a lizard and a dog. If any one wanted something he would go to the head of the Damfas to ask for help in begging the spirit to assist him to get his desire. The head of the Damfas would go to the well with the client, taking a red fowl. On approaching the well the head of the Damfas would take the fowl, while the supplicant would remain behind. The head of the Damfas would then repeat what had been said and kill the fowl so that the blood would run into the well, while the fowl itself would be left at the mouth of the well. If the spirit approved the lizard would be seen walking round the well. If the lizard did not appear, then the request was denied. Whenever the ceremony is performed what is asked for is usually obtained. The dog visits the Damfas whenever they have a new-born child, generally about three days before the naming.

(Lit. 'Swamp without shame)

(2) Le-malibali. This is an open area, where a ceremony is performed to bring needed rain. The people of the town collect together and cook a great quantity of food, amounting to even a hundred calabashes full. They are carried to the open area, accompanied by drumming. Everyone eats, after which all must take off their clothes, and dance naked, after stating that they wish for rain. They return home dancing naked, and before reaching the town heavy rain must fall.

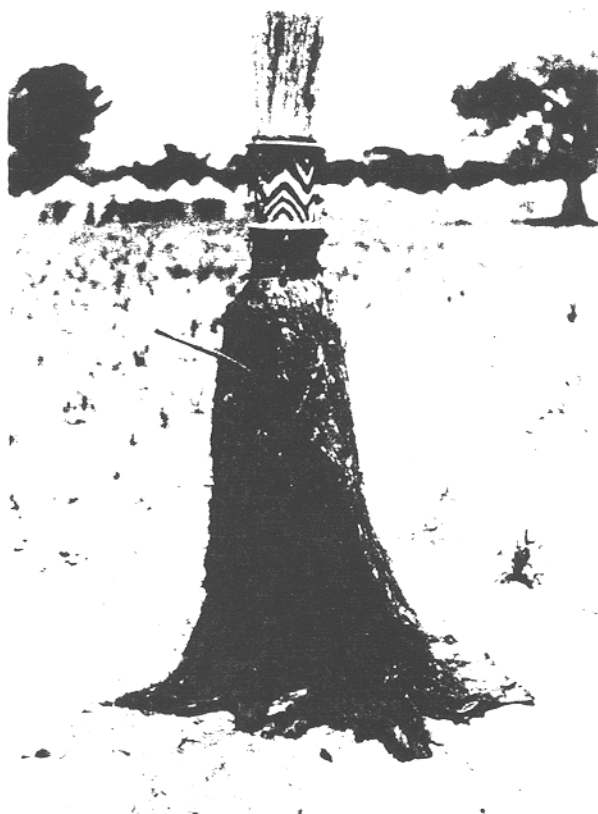
(3) Sitokoto wharf. Under a baobab tree lies a white crocodile, which only the Damfas can approach. When they need to ask help from it, a black bull is taken to the baobab tree, in which there is a hole. The bull is slaughtered and cut into pieces, ^{which are its} wrapped in hide, and thrown into the hole in the baobab. If the sacrifice is accepted by the crocodile, the desire will be obtained within a week.

Any time this crocodile barks, it is a sign of a death or a birth in the Damfa families.

(4) Wulufa Konko . This is a small hill about 300 yards from Piniai on the eastern side. Before the white man's rule, enemies were killed on the hill, and the spirit assisted the people of Piniai to fight enemies during wartime. One night the spirit came to one of the Damfas and told him to inform the King that it was troubled by people who set fire to the bush, with the result that all its children were being killed, and most of its property destroyed. It warned the man that if this happened again, the town would be set on fire. Until now the grass and weeds round the hill are not cleared (deliberately). If they catch fire (accidentally), a red hot iron is seen flying through the air, and touching each hut roof, until the whole town burns.

(Based on notes from Commissioner's files - 1930s ?
provided by an interpreter D. T. Damfa.)

The 1931 map shows a Sitto Kotto on the Sofanyaama Creek SW of Piniai, presumably an old trading site.



Jong-Musa (Maamoo) photographed at Pinvai (Nvaamina District) in 1954.

The costume is made from saara (*Bauhinia Thonningii*) bark, the crest, called kamboo from a long grass nyantang foro (*Eragrostis* sp.).

The costume was photographed at Pinyai (Nyamina District) in 1954, when I was travelling by road through the district. The vehicle I was travelling in happened to stop nearby, and I seized the opportunity to photograph the costume which was set up in the open near the village. Later I was able to carry out interviews on the subject.

It is also known to children as Maamoo, adults respectfully refer to it as Jong-Musa. But it is different from the Mama Jomboo of Kantora and Wuli, and from the Fita-kankurango (Leaf-kankurang) of the Kiyang area. The costume is made from fara (a bark), the crest on top, called the kamboo, being made from nyantang-foro (a long grass). Jong-Musa comes out at the beginning of the rainy season to bless the year. Women and uncircumcised boys are not allowed to have anything to do with the preparations in the bush. On coming out, he cries three times, a drum should respond, and call everybody, including the ngansimba (the elderly woman in charge of girls' initiation), to come to the village bantabaa, (meeting place). The ngansimba is regarded as the 'wife' of the Jong-Musa. At the bantaba the women would dance in his honor. The ceremonies lasted for three nights, during which the masked figure predicted the future of the coming rainy season. A bullock would be killed on the first day. Each evening there would be dancing until late in the night. On the third day the Jong-Musa would declare his intention of returning. If requested, and more animals - sheep and goats were forthcoming, he might be persuaded to stay up to six nights.

There were similar figures at Katamina and Wuropana, but that at Pinyai was the senior. If the figure were to fall when dancing, or a disaster happen like the costume coming loose, the women were entitled to impose a heavy fine on the men. Like the kankurang, Jong-Musa had attendants, jooboolu, who interpreted his speech to the people. In a rare exception to the rule that women were not permitted to know about the figure, a sister of one of the jooboolu would fan him, when he was tired and sitting down.

If there was a drought the Jong-Musa might be called out to beg God for rain, and he also played a role in the installation of a new ngansimba, that for Pinyai installing the ngansimba at Katamina, and vice versa.

Jong Musa was a much more serious figure than the kankurang, whom the people of Nyaamina regarded as a figure for amusement, who played just to seek for money.

After 1954 , perhaps due to Muslim pressure, there was a long interval before the figure was brought out again. But among the people loyalty to the old tradition was extremely strong.

NIAMINA DANKUNKU - HISTORY

Account by G.N.N.Nunn 1933. SECOM file 19/50.

- 1 The District of Niamina Dankunku is a political division introduced at the time of the declaration of the Protectorate. Prior to this time the area was part of the Kingdom of the Soninkes of the Niamina area and was ruled by either Jareng, Katamina, or Piniai.
- 2 What is now known as Niamina Dankunku had, however, always from the earliest times of Muslim infiltration into the south bank of the river, been a Muslim colony, surrounded by Soninkes, and their relations with the rulers of the country appear to have been comparatively peaceful.
- 3 The town of Dankunku, from which the District takes its name, was founded by Momodu Lamin Jani, a relation of the ~~Mamsa~~ Mamsajo Jani, later recognized by the British as Chief of the District of Lower Saloum. This man came from Kau-ur, where his family is still established.
- 4 The land on which Dankunku was founded was acquired by Momodu Jani from a Fula family, who had migrated from Barokunda in Western Jaara, and had settled at a place close to Malikunda, about half way between that town and Dankunku. These Fulbe had acquired the land from the King of Katamina-Piniyai, with the right to settle people on it, although they themselves 'followed' Katamina.
- 5 With regard to this Fula settlement there is a legend which tells how, at the end of one dry season when it was time for the Fulas to take their herds back to Barokunda, a bull by name Mari, refused to accompany them, but remained lying in a place where he had habitually slept throughout the dry season. Later from that place where the bull had lain a bantang or cotton tree grew up, and the Fulbe named the place Mari Bantang, and founded a town there. (No longer in existence).

- 6 For a considerable time Dankunku and Padigare (Kise) were the only towns between Malikunda and the Jesadi Creek.
- 7 At the time of the establishment of the Protectorate Fode Aliu Mboge was Headman and later became first a Sub-Chief and later a Head-Chief of the newly constituted Niamina Dankunku District.
- 8 During the time of the latter Fodi Aliu, and shortly before the declaration of the Protectorate, the settlement of the area between Dankunku and Jesadi began. Sisao Dukure, Madu Li, and Bubu Jalu Si arrived at various times, though at short intervals, from the north bank. All were Tukulors, and increased the numbers of the Muslim colony. The penetration was peaceful.
- 9 The new arrivals founded the town of Jakoto, but when this expanded, many, including Madu Li, moved to the site on which Jesadi now stands and founded a town there. This is the present Jesadi Madu Li. At about the same time Kulenya (Jesadi Wharf) was cleared.
- 10 As Jesadi expanded people moved away into the bush and in a few years the following towns were added to this area. Barokunda. Sikunda, Yoro Yaa, Modi Ka Yaa, while Padigare was rebuilt on the site of the old town, which had been deserted for some time .

Under British administration Dankunku was constituted a Sub-Chiefdom under Katamina. Tamba Jadama was the chief at Katamina, and Fode Aliyu Mboj his sub-chief at Dankunku. Later Dankunku was split from Katamina and made an independent Head-Chiefship¹. This continued until 1929 in which year the chiefdom of Katamina Piniai went into abeyance and the chief of Dankunku was made the Headchief of an amalgamated Western Niamina District, with the head town at Dankunku.

Fode Aliyu Mboj was succeeded by Lang Jabu Mboj, who died in 1928, and was followed by Madu Li. The latter was the chief at Dankunku at the time of the amalgamation of the two districts. Madu died in 1929 and Lamin Bakoto Mboj (known as Bora Mboj) became chief of the still united districts.

In February 1931 the districts were once again divided and Lamin Mboj became Sefoo of the Niamina Dankunku District Only.

1 The districts were amalgamated in 1919, but separated again in 1924.

NYAAMINA DANKUNKU - VILLAGE NAMES

1902	1930	1936	1946	1973	1948
			Assessment	Census	Map
Bamba Jallow	Bantang Koto	Bantang Koto	Bantangkoto	Bantankoto	Bamba Jallow
Bantang Koto			Bamba Ya		Bantang Koto
Bamba Ya			Barrokunda	Barro Kunda	Bamba
Baro-kunda		Baro Kunda			Baro Kunda
Bunyaadu = Ker Yoro Sowe		Bunyaadu			
Dankunku	Daukunku	Dankunku	Dankunka	Dankunku	Wharf Town
" Fulakunda	D. Fula Kunda	D. Fula Kunda	D. Fula	Dankunku Fula	
Darusalam		Darusalam			
Demba Darboe					Demba Darboe
Jakoto		Ja Koto	Jakoto	Jakoto	Ja Koto
Jamweli					Jamwell
Jallow Koto = Sami			(=Sami)		Jallow Koto
Jesadi	Gissadi	Jisadi	Jessadi	Jissadi	Jessadi
Jesadi Tenda					Jessadi Tenda
Ker N'Jugar N'Dure					Ker N'Jugar N'Dure
Ker Yoro Sowe =		= Bunyadu			Ker Yoro Sowe
Kulanya	Kulayna	Kulanya			
Madina			Madina	Madina Njugari	
Madina Njugari		Madina			Maka
Maka	Makka	Maka	Maka		Makama
Makama	Makama		Makama		
Misira	Missera	Misera	Misira	Missira	Misira
N'Dakaru			Ndakaru		N'Dakaru
Ngayen		Ngayen			
Njien		Njien	Njien		
Sambang					Sambang
Sambang Tenda					
Sambang Wolof					Sambang Tenda
Sami					Sambang Wolloff
Sikunda	Si Kunda	Sami	Seykunda		
Sabaly		Si kunda	Sabali		Si Kunda
		Sobali			Sabaly
Tuba Wolof	Tuba	Tuba	Tuba Wollof		
Tuba Mbake			Tuba Mbakeh		
Welingara	Welingara I	Welingara	Welingara	Welingara Ba	
Welingara	II			Welingara Ello	
Yoro Va	Yoro Ka Ya	Yoro Ya	Yoro Ya	Yoro Yah	Yoro Ya

NYAAMINA DANKUNKU - POPULATION

	1902	1930	1946	1973
Bantang Koto		60	133	131
Bamba			14	
Barokunda			102	192
Dankunku	378	513	674	1456
" Fulakunda		59	51	133
Jakoto	111		84	106
Jalo Koto (Sami)			18	
Jesadi		152	178	165
Ker Yoro Sow (Bunyaadu)			85	
Kulunya		35	19	
Madina Niugari				238
Madina			71	
Madina			16	
Maka		59	38	
Makama		26	12	
Misira		52	138	158
Ndakarui			79	
Njaayen		66	13	
Sikunda		60	19	
Sabali			12	
Tuba Mbake		45		192
Tuba Wolof		80	239	247
Welingara				
Welingara Ba		59	153	173
" Ello		46		147
Yoro Ya		28	16	100
				596
	489	1340	2164	4034
				Others (less than 100 each)

SPECIFIC PLACES

Sea Horse Island

Kulenyö = Jessadi Wharf

SAMBANG TENDA

SEA HORSE ISLAND

Francis Moore (1734)

p. 252 ..we anchored on the West Side of Sea-Horse Island. This island is about a Mile and a half long, very low, and full of Mangroves and navigable only of this Side, where the River is near a Mile over."

Photograph of the island in Reeve: The Gambia (1912), p.60 .

On p. 142 he writes: " it) is just high enough to bear its vegetation above the tidal level."

It is off Nyaamina Dankunku District. A long narrow island, up-river from Elephant Island, starting just beyond the Dankunku Bolong.

CULENHO = Jessadi Wharf (KULENYO)

A. Donelha : Descricao da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guine do Cabo Verde (1625)

"Past the port of Caur, which lies some forty leagues from the sea, the river up-stream turns perceptibly to the South East, as far as the port of Culenho, which lies on the South side. The ship anchors at the mouth of a creek, which goes towards the South, and a musket or cannon is fired off; soon tangomaos in canoes come along the creek to trade. To go ashore, one gets in the launch and goes up the creek a quarter of a league, to land on dry land, but there is (still) a pool of two or three pikes' length to go through, with water up to the knees, from there to the town, which is another quarter of a league or more, the ground is flat and dry. In this town of Culenho lives the falfa who is the captain; two leagues from there lives the king. In all my life I have not seen so many crocodiles as I saw in this creek..... "

SAMBANG TENDA

Jill A. Wright: "Journey down the River Gambia," includes a slide of the wharf (1973), with sacks of rice waiting to be loaded on to the river steamer. "Downstream from Kau-ur...the river banks are overgrown with mangroves... At Sambang Tenda, a rickety jetty juts out through the mangroves to deeper water...."

NYAAMINA EAST

1902	1930	1936	1946	1948	1973
District List	Assessment	Map	Map	Census	
Bagdad	Bagdad	Bagdad	Bagdad	Bagdad	
Baitit Mamu Fana	Baiti	Baiti	Baitit Mamu Fana		
Bamba Kolong	Bamba Kolong	Bamba Kolong	Bamba Kolong		
Bantanto	Bantanto	Bantanto	Bantanto		
Bati	Bati	Bati	Bati	Bati	Batty
Busura	Busura	Busura	Busura	Busura	Busura
Chicken			Chicken		
Dasilami	Dasilami	Dasilami	Dasilami		
Fula Kolong			Fula Kolong		
Gunjur	Gunjur	Gunjur	Gunjur		
Hai-Rewan = Kerewan			(abandoned)		
Hamdalai (Wolof)	Hamdalai	Hamdalai	Hai-Rewan		
" (Fula)			Hamdalai		
Ida	Ida	Aida	Yidda	Ida	
Jaffai	Jaffai	Jaffai	Jaffai	Jaffai	Jaffaye
Jallow Kunda		Jalo Kunda	Jallowkunda	Jallow Kunda	
Jamagen			Jamagen		
Jareng	Jareng	Jareng	Jaring	Jareng	Jareng
Jasan	Jasan	Jasan			
Joben			Joben		
Jockul					Jockul
Jungur	Jungur				
Kawlong (Kaolang on 1956 map)					Kawlong
Ker Biran				Ker Biran	
Ker Katim				Ker Katim	
Ker Bamba					Ker Bamba
Ker Malima				Ker Malima	
Ker Omar Dahor				Ker Omar Dahor	
Keliman		Keliman			
Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan Omar
(#Kerewan Fula					Kerewan Touray
Kerewan Wolof/Mandinka)					
(Kaiaam)					
Kudang	Kudang	Kudang	Kudang	Kudang	Kudang
K. Tenda	" Tenda			" Tenda	" Tenda
Kununku	Kununku	Kununku	Kunungko	Kununku	Kunlunku
(Kulibanta)					

1902	1930	1936	1946	1948 Map	1973 Census
Madina Dikori		Madina Dikori			
Maka	Macca	Maka			Maka
Mamud Fana					Mamud Fana
Maundeh Kunda				Maundeh Kunda	
M'Baien				M'Baien	Mbayen
M'Baien Maka				M'Baien Maka	
Misira Tuben					Missira Toben
Misira Janko					Missira Janko
Missera S.N'Gai					
Ndorna	M. S.N'Gai	Ndorna	Ndorna	N'Dorna	
Njassan -see Jassan	nDorna				
Nema	nJassan	Nema			
Ngawar - see Gawar	N'qawar	Ngawar	Gawar	N'Gawarr	
Njaay Kunda					
N'Joben -see Joeb	Njie K.	Njai Kunda	Njai Kunda	N'Jai Kunda	Njai Kunda
Nyaka Soto	Nyaka Soto	Nyakasoto		N'Joben	
Pakala			pakala		Pakala
Pakan	Pakan			Pakan	
Palane			Palane		
Pasi		Pasi			
Pate	Patti Sam	Pate Sam	Pate Sam	Pate	
Sam Joben			Sam Joben		
Sambel Kunda					Sambel Kunda
Sam Pateh - see Pateh Sam					Sam Pateh
Sare Samba Sumaleh				Sare Samba Sumaleh	
Sarre Yoro	Sarre Yoro				
Sinchu Alpha Sain				Sinchu Alpha Sain	
Sinchu Alfusaini			Sinchu Alfusaini		
Sinchu Balla			Sinchu Balla		
Sinchu Gundo					Sinchu Gundo
(Sotokoy	Sotokwoi	Sotokoi	Sotokoi	Sotokoi	Sotokoi
(Sotokoi					
Taiba	Taiba	Taiba	Taiba		
Temanto			Temanto	Temanto	
Taimang		Temeng	Temegn	Taimang	
Teneng Fara	Tennin Farra	Tenengfarra	Teneng F.	Teneng Fara	Tenneng Fara

1902	1930	1936	1946 Assessment	1948 Map	1973 Census
Tuba Demba Sama Turekunda			Turekunda		Tuba Demba Sama
Wellingara	Wellingara	Wellingara	Wellingara		
Yidda see Ida			Yidda		

The 1931 map shows Bangkoklia SE of Jarreng
 Suno Kunda - on main road near Ngawar
 Kaiang - on road to wharf from Kudang

In Bisset Archer (1906) p. 189 Suno Kunda is given as a village of 270 people, two miles from Bambakolong, and 3 miles from Jarreng.

WHARFS

Bisset Archer (1906) p. 189 states:

Eastern	Ida	- wharf good .
Niamina		
	Kudang	steamers drawing 10 ft can come alongside at Kudang.
	Jarreng	There is a creek at Jarreng about 8ft wide, and 3 ft. deep at high water, and it is about 3/4 mile long.

NYAAMINA EAST

POPULATION

	1902	1930	1946	1973	
				867	(villages less than 100)
Bagdad		41	55		
Baitit Mamu Fana		144	593		
Bamba Kolong	82	158	99		
Bantanto			60	196	
Bati		113	365	656	
Busura			183	116	
Dasilami	152	113	119		
Gunjur			48		
Hamdalai		201	160		
" Fula			72		
Ida	147	70	73		
Jafay		250	257	475	
Jallow Kunda			55		
Jamagen			12		
Jareng	213	206	386	800	
Joben			29		
Jockul				240	
Jungur		14			
Kawlong				126	
Kerewan		93	96	338	
" Fula				112	
Ker Bamba				238	(= Bamba Kolong ?)
Kaiamm	38				
Kudang	443	678	882	961	
" Tenda		36		117	
Kununku	146	75	134	104	
Maka		81	193	268	
Mamud Fana				690	
Mbaien				311	
Misira Tuben		400	441	114	
Misira Janko				187	
Misira S.Ngay		12			
Ndorna		75	74		
Njassan		70			
Ngawar		124	35		
Njaay Kunda		290	315	241	
Nyaka Soto		29			
Pakala			172	201	
Pakan		65			
Palane			19		
Pate		150	313		
Sam Joben			143		
Sambel Kunda				185	
Sam Pateh				491	-see Pateh
Sarre Yoro		8			
Sinchu Alpha Sain			16		
Sinchu Gundo				201	
Sotokoy	441	406	452	661	
Taiba		130	150		
Temanto			12		
Taimang/Temeng			61		
Teneng Fara		108	74	125	
Tuba Damba Sama				161	
Turekunda			38		
Welingara		190		190	
			189		

SPECIFIC PLACES

KUDANG

KUDANG

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia. 1912.

p. 140 Kudang Wharf, opposite Deer Island, is..the chief port of commerce
(of Niamena)

B. Rice: Enter Gambia. 1966.

p.222 At Kudang, there was no village,^{*} just a trading station huddled down
at the river's edge, beneath a clump of palm trees. Several old
groundnutters were tied up along the bank, loading peanuts....
Villagers sold heavy woven straw floor mats with colorful patterns for
one shilling..Others offered wicker chairs made with wooden nails at
one and sixpence each...

*(DPG: There is a village further inland.)

A description is provided by Malick Ceesay (Sise) in the school magazine
The Crescent July 1984.

"Kudang is a Mandinka village situated thirty miles from Georgetown on the
main road to Banjul. It was founded in 1804 by the Kurang family. Later,
other families settled there: Ceesays, Camaras, Tourays, Jattas and lastly
Marenahs.

The village has two hundred compounds and six 'kabbilars' (kabilos) (quarters).
The two most notable families in Kudang are the Marenahs and the Ceesays. The
former specialize in Koranic learning and have always given the village its
Imams. The Ceesays are the ruling family; the alkaliks have always come from
them, the richest and most learned family in Kudang. Their slaves are the
Camaras who, together with the Jattas, provide the village with blacksmiths.

.....

Our ancestors had powerful idols which protected the village from danger.
Whenever Kudang was threatened by attack...the Marenah family would go to
their idols and talk to them as we talk to each other. On their return you
would see a swarm of bees ready to fight against our enemies. The moment
the bees bit their victim he would die. These idol-bees are still there,
living in a big hole in a tree called the Taborang. The responsibility (for)
looking after the bees is borne by the Marenah family, and so every Friday
they take the bees plenty of food and water. Nobody is allowed to see
them except the villagers. "

*in Kudang*Colonial Annual Reports: THE GAMBIA. 1948 opp. p. 24.

BARGES LADEN WITH SACKS OF GROUNDNUTS

Also in:

#2696 U.A.C. STATISTICAL & ECONOMIC REVIEW, No.11. March 1953, opp. p. 18.

JARRA (JAARA)

JARA - GENERAL	36-48
EASTERN JARA	49-62
CENTRAL JARA	63-73
WESTERN JARA	79-92

JAARA

Spelled Jarra on current maps.

Maps consulted:

Leach:	1732
1: 1,000,000	1905
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	1931
1:50,000	1948
1: 125,000	1956
Land Use Maps 1:25,000	1958
1:50,000 Sheet 14	1963
1: 250,000	1980
River Chart	1942

June and

All the villages of Jaara were visited by motor bike in July 1955,
when a survey of rice growing areas was being made by C.O. Van der Plas.
(Bibliography 1979 # 3623.)

<u>Area</u>	Jaara East	73 square miles
	Jaara Central	63 " "
	Jaara West	65 " "

1732

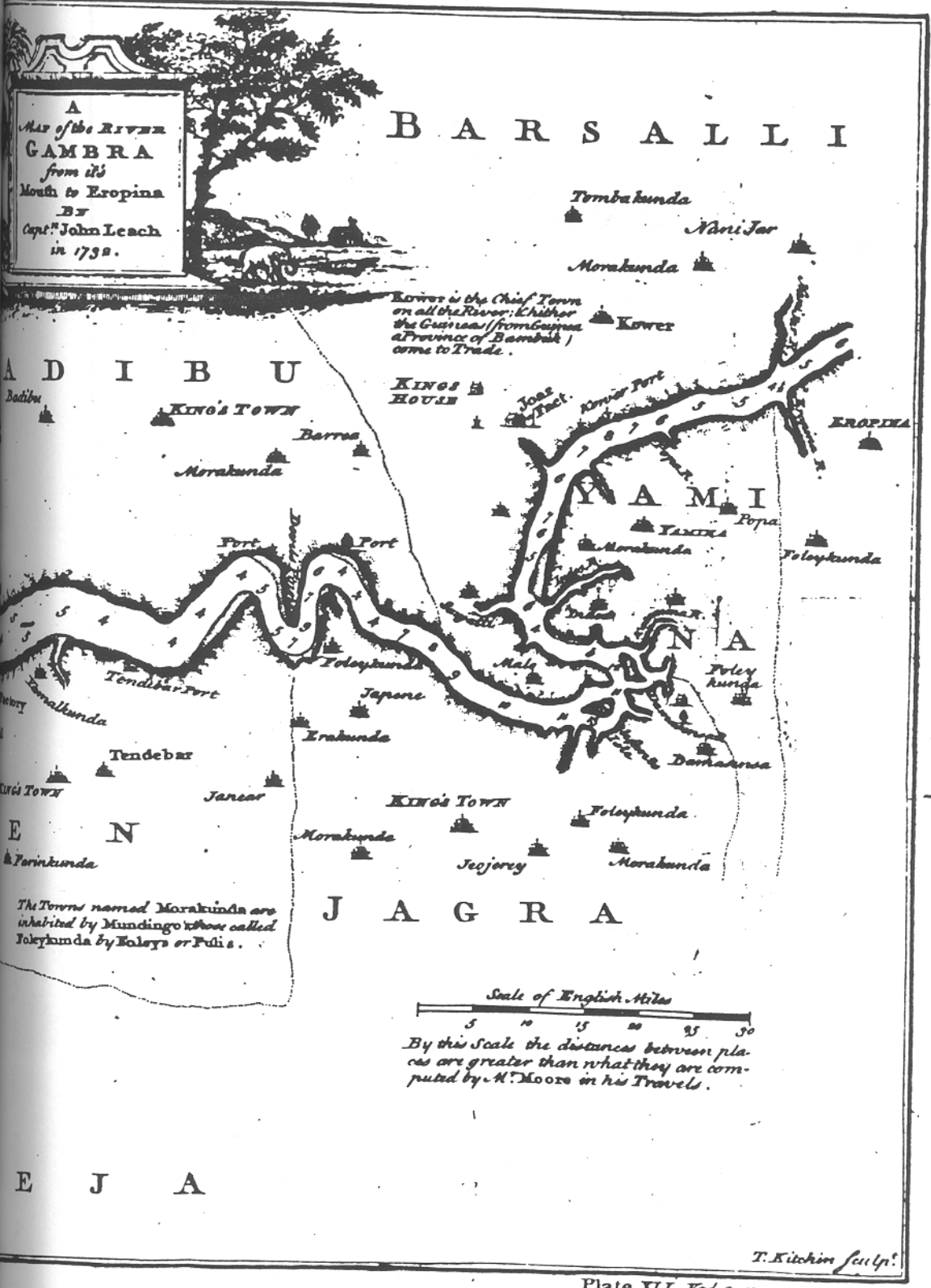
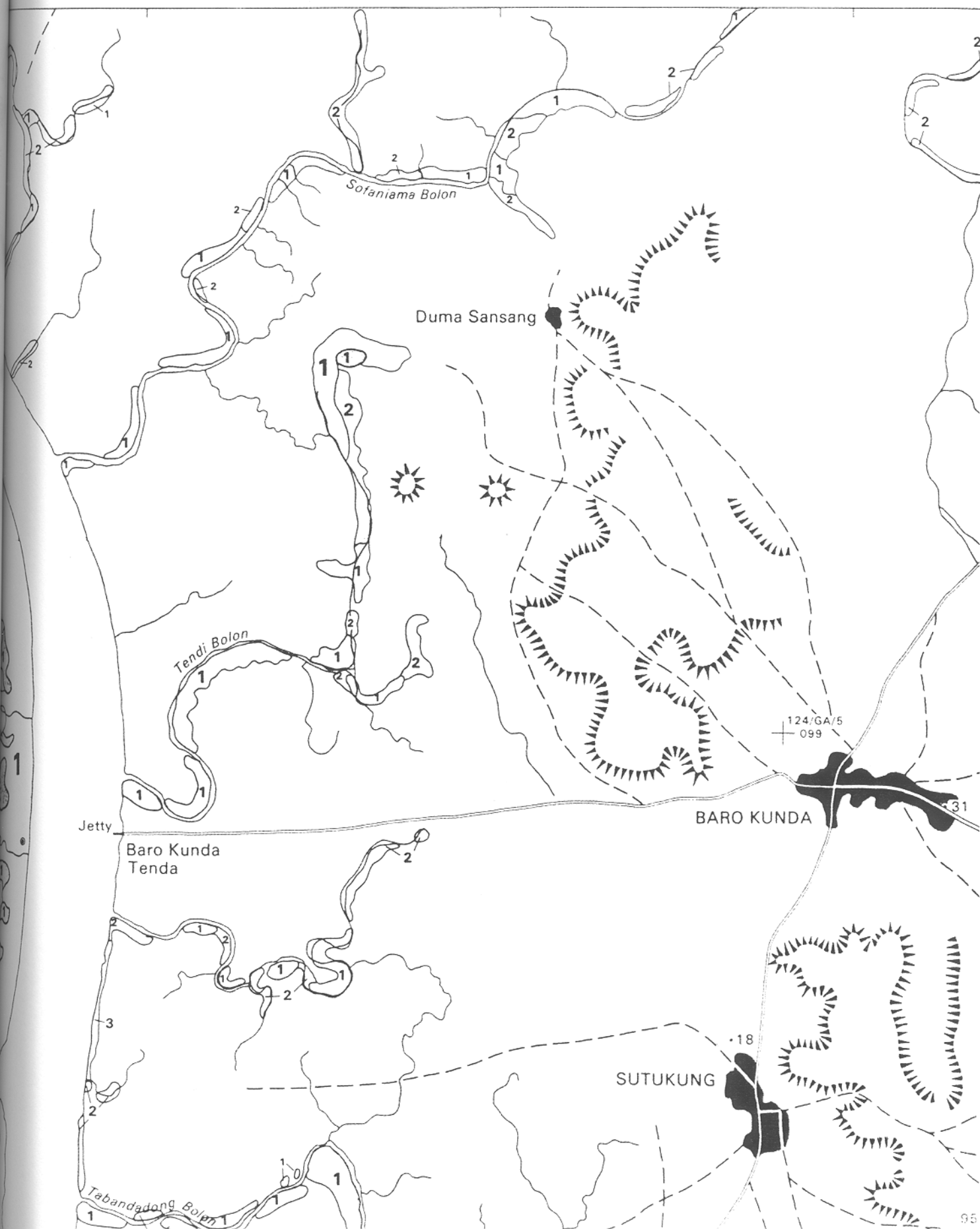


Plate XII. Vol. 2 page 159.



Map 3.

15°16'W



JARRA

An old kingdom on the south bank, divided by the British administration into three districts, Eastern, Central, and Western.

Early Portuguese writers, e.g. Coelho, (1684) called it Jagra. Moore (1730) also used the same spelling. Barbot and Dapper writing in the 1680s, use Jagre. Delisle's map (1726/27) give 'Royaume de Jagara'. Labat (1728) spells it Geagra. Hequard in the 1850s Diagara. Modern French trained writers use Diara.

The old form Jagara has turned into a lengthened vowel, so that one hears Jaara used by present day Mandinka.

The division into three districts reflects the Soninke/Marabout wars of the last century. Eastern Jarra under Bureng had been allied with Fode Kabba, a Muslim warrior. Central Jarra had been a 'Soninke' area. Western Jarra had supported the Muslim faction.

The state was ruled by the Sonko family at Badume. Later they came to share the rulership with the Damfas of Japeni, and the rulership rotated between them. (Galloway, 1980).

Boundaries

The Jaara Districts are bounded on the north by the River Gambia, and on the south by the Gambia-Senegal boundary.

On the east the Sofanyama Creek separates Jaara from Nyaamina.

A line drawn north & south about a mile east of Naneko (between Badume and Jasong), separates Jaara East and Jaara Central.

A line drawn north & south about a mile west of Seno (in Senegal) separates Jaara Central and Jaara West, (Between Karantaba and Buiba).

A line drawn north & south, midway between Kaiaf and Jifin separates Jaara West from Kiang East.

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea 1684.

Translated by P.E.H.Hair.

"From Tagamdaba, which we also know by the name of Cabaceira (Calabash-tree (= Tendaba) because there is a large calabash-tree in the port, it is eight leagues to the port of Jagra¹, a port it is extremely difficult to recognise. On the southern side there is a very small river emerging among thick mangroves; this river takes the name of the kingdom. You go up it in a boat or canoe -since ships cannot enter it- for some two leagues to the port, and from there to the village is a short distance. Whites live there. It is very prosperous and well supplied, and has plenty of trade, chiefly in the form of many blacks, husked rice, some wax, hides and ivory. The blacks are Mandingas, like all the other blacks on this river, and they observe the same (Islamic) rites.

From Jagra to Degumasamsam (Dumasansang), a port of the same kingdom is five leagues.

Between the two ports is an islet called Elephant Isle, which has mangroves everywhere, most of it being a swamp. Three leagues long, it has little width, and elephants are found only in its name. Those going to Degumasamsam must leave it on the southern side, and then there is no danger whatever.

After passing this island and skirting the land of Jagra, they will come to the mouth of a fairly large river which they should enter and proceed along for a league until they reach the village, which is situated in the port itself. The port has a very good anchorage and landing-place. Whites once lived in this village. The trade here is the same as in Jagra, since it is all the same land and belongs to the same king.

From Degumasamsam to the port of Manjagar is eight leagues..... "

1 Bai Tenda fits the description. It is the port for Jappení.

Francis Moore: 1730.

p. 25 "The next (Country) above Caen (Kiyang), is Jagra, famous for laborious People, by which Means it abounds with Corn and Rice. In this Country is Elephants Island, which is four or five Miles long, full of Trees, and withal marshy. This Kingdom extends itself for about twelve Leagues; and then begins the Country of Yamina."

Hecquard: Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale, 1855, p. 148.

"Le Diagara est borné au Sud par le marigot de Bintam et les immenses et solitaires forets de Baienbah, au Nord, par la Gambie, a l'Est par le Yamina, et à l'Ouest par le royaume de Kian or Guian. Il est gouverné par un roi absolu, pris alternativement dans deux familles, dont l'une reside a Diapina, l'autre à Badoumar."

History (Notes by Lang Koma Sanyang - 1943).

"Sankule Ba Sanyang came from Manding through Wuli, and stayed a few years at Wuli Madina...While there he heard that his uncle Jifoyang Ba Sane was at war with a nation called Birasu. It is said that Jifoya Ba Sane was helping the people of Jaara in their fight against Birasu. Then Sankule Ba Sanyang came with his followers from Wuli....The people of Birasu were defeated. Then the people of Jaara crowned their (own) king at Bureng, who ruled over all of Jaara from Jaara Sukuta up to Jaara Jifini. Afterwards the Jaara kings left Bureng and went to Badume and Japeni. Jifoyang Ba Sane and Sankule Ba Sanyang then left and went to Kiang ..."

(Field notes:) Sankule Ba Sanyang lived at Jenoy.

THE LEGEND OF JAARA KING, MANSA JASE BANNA

There is a well known legend, the Mandinka text and translation of which is given in Gambian Studies No.9 (1977), the text being written by A.K. Rahman.

A gigantic bird with magical powers had blocked out the sun from Manding in the East. A group of kings from the Gambia went to see what they could do to help. All failed except for Jase, who, with the help of his sister who also had magical powers, was able to overcome the bird. As a reward he was given, among other things, three baboons, bamboo seeds, and raffia palm seeds. The baboons were to help in opening up paths in thickly wooded areas.

The king of Nyoomi had, however, committed an offence by making the Manding Mansa's daughter pregnant and was sentenced to death. He was given leave to return home to settle his affairs, Jase standing as surety. Jase was about to be executed when the Nyoomi king arrived, having been delayed by floods. The Manding Mansa praised the actions of the two men and granted a pardon.

This gave rise to the "sanawya" relationship between the people of Jaara and those of Nyoomi - so that they cannot take offence at anything the others might say.

Also explained is the distribution of raffia palms - a nephew cut a hole in the bag Jase was carrying so that the seeds would fall out in Nyamina. Bamboo seeds and a baboon were given to the king of Kiyang; Badibu also received a baboon; Nyoomi was given bamboo seed, but it did not do well there. However, Jaara still ended up with an abundance of bamboo and baboons.

WHARFS/ CREEKS

Jaara (Bisset Archer (1906), p. 191-2.

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| EJ | Pakali Ba Wharf | road through swamp bridged in one place, is practically impassible during the rains. Pakalli Ba is on the south of the Sofyaniama Creek |
| | Buraing Wharf | Buraing Creek at the wharf, is 6 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep at high water. The creek is 4 miles long. Cutters come up 2 miles and then canoes are used for the rest of the way. |
| | Jassong Wharf | Jassong Creek is practically the same as Buraing as regards depth, width and length. |
| CJ | Bantanding Wharf | Badumi Creek is only fit for small boats and canoes. |
| WJ | Bai Wharf | Wharf situated at head of creek, 2 miles from river, dry at low water. Boats and canoes only can come up at high water. |
| | Toniatta Ba | Wharf on creek. |

JAARA - POPULATION (Assessment Data)

	<u>Jaara East</u>	<u>Jaara Central</u>	<u>Jaara West</u>	
1944	5912	2104	4474	
1945	6092	2539	4717	
1946	6589	2907	5089	
1947	6448	2835	4893	
1948	6623	2847	5334	
1949	8745	3737	5857	
1950	8078	3549	6473	
1951	8032	3312	6167	
1952	7712	3539	5958	
1953	7865	3370	5827	
1954	7896	3300	5772	
1955	7593	3518	6038	
1956	7341	3166	6343	
1957	6329	3088	6191	
1958	5990	3403	6197	
1959	n.a.			
1960	n.a.			
1961	6404	3198	6462	
1962	n.a.			
1963	6258	3474	7400	Census data
1973	8185	4159	9956	Census data
1983	9786	5249	16580	Census data
1993	11128	5995	20570	Census data

Jaara has always been regarded as an agriculturally rich area, owing to its swamps suitable for rice cultivation.

At the time the Protectorate was established the region had been depopulated by warfare. But soon many new villages came into being. Some were offshoots of old towns, others were built by people coming in from the Casamance. (Travelling Commissioner's Report, South Bank Province, 1895). On the other hand there was a great exodus of Jola, who had been captured in war, back to the Kombo and Fonyi regions.

Central Jaara is less densely populated than Eastern or Western Jaara. In 1911 the Travelling Commissioner wrote: "This is a very thinly populated district....the villages are few in number and small in size, though there is ample room in the district for many more villages. In fact, in former times before the Fode Kaba wars, there were many more inhabitants, the sites of whose villages are now desolate...."

In 1911 the Commissioner mentions that the inhabitants of the south bank were getting less and less every year. This the elders attributed to the fact that their young men were getting too 'strong-headed', and discontented with their home life, were going off to Bathurst and elsewhere in search of work.

In 1919 a Commissioner drew attention to malaria, which he felt was playing a large part in shortening lives and decreasing the birthrate.

The establishment of the Divisional Headquarters at Mansakonko in 1947 ? and the large building programme involved, and the construction of the Trans-Gambian road (opened 1949) meant that there was much more work locally for young men. In addition in the 1940s there was migration to Jaara from the poorer regions of Central and Lower Baddibu and Western Kiyang.

By the 1950s there were signs of increasing pressure on land, indicated by the number of court cases involving land disputes.

1945-46	2%	1947-49	5%	1950	13%	1952	22%
---------	----	---------	----	------	-----	------	-----

EASTERN JAARA

EASTERN JAARA

Essentially the district consists of a series of large Mandinka villages - Jasing, Bureng, Sutukung, Barokunda, Pakali Ba, Sukuta - along the riverside swamps, while inland are a number of smaller villages of Fulbe.

1894	1902	1930	1936	1946	1948	1973
	Village List	Village List	Village List	Assessment	Map	Census
Bani	Bani	Bani				
Bani Koto		Bani Koto	Bani Bajonki	Bani Bajonki		
Bani Bajonko						
Barakunda	Barra Kunda Barro Kunda Barro Kunda	Barokunda	Barrokunda	Baro Kunda	Baro Kunda	Baro Kunda
" Tenda				" Tenda		
Bureng	Burannq	Bureng	Bureng	Bureng	Bureng	
Bodeyel	Bodeyell	Bodeyel	Bodeyel	Bodeyel	Budayell	Budayel
Dabali			Dabali	Dabali	Dabaly	Dabaly
Dabatu	Dabatu	Dabatu	Dabatu	Dabato		Dabatu
Daasilami	Darsallami	Dassilami	Dasilami	Dasilami	Dasalami	Darsilame
Dem Mati Yaa		Dem Matti Ya	Dematiya	Dematiya	Demati Kunda	Demati Kunda
Dongoro	Dongoro	Dongoro	Dongoro	Dongoro Ba	Dongoro	Dongoro Ba
Dongoro-nding	" -Ndingo	" -nding	Dongoronding	" -Nding		
Dumasansang	Duma Samnsannq Dumasansang Dumasansang		Dumasansang	-		
Felleng Koto	Felling Koto	Felling Koto	Fellengkoto	Fellengkoto	Felleng Kotor	
Jaba	Jabba	Jaba	Jaba	Jaba		
Jassong (Jaassong)	Jassong	Jassong	Jassong	Jassong	Jassong	Jassong
Jawokunda				Jawokunda		
Kagu Jassong		Kagu Jassong				
Kanikunda	Kanni Kunda	Kanni Kunda				

not listed
in 1973
Census

1894	1902	1930	1936	1946	1948	1973
Village List	Village List	Village List	Village List	Assessment	Map	Census
Madina	Maddina	Madina	Madina	Madina	Madina	Madina
Nyaworu		N'yaworu	Nyawuru	Nyaworung	Niawoorung	Nya Worulung
Njobakunda					N'Joba Kunda	
Pakali Ba	Pakelle Bar	Pakali Ba	Pakali Ba	Pakaliba	Pakali Ba	Pakali Ba
Samba Ndama					Samba Ndama	
Saare Hamadi			Sara Hamadi			
Saare Jamjel ?			Sara Jamjel			
Sare Njooba		Sarre N'Jobo	Sare Njooba	Sare Njooba	N'Joba Kunda	
Sibinding kuta				S - Kuta		
" koto		Sibindinto	Sibi Nding	S- Koto	Sibi Nding	
Sincu Njay Kuntu					Sinchu N'Jae Kuntu	
Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta
Sutukung	Sutukung	Sutukung	Sutukung	Sutukung	Sutukung	Sutukung
Welingara		Welingara	Welingara	Welingara	Willingara I	Willingara Ba
				Welingaranding		II

Comments on places

Dumasansang not marked on the 1948 map, but about a mile north of Barokunda.
 Damasansang ?
 Nema not marked on the 1948 map. a mile SE of Bureng, at the fork
 in the center track.

Welingaranding near Welingara.

N'Joba Kunda = Saare Njoba .

Hamdalay on path between Dongoronding and Niawoorulung (Nyawuru),
 ½ mile south of Dongoronding.

—
 Temanto (Jai Sabali) hamlet between Demati Kunda and Budayell on map.

Jawokunda north of the path between Budayell and Dongoro,
 about 3/4 mile from Dongoro .

Samba Ndama hamlet labelled Sare Dabatu on map = Samba Ndama .

The hamlet labelled Samba Ndama on the map did not appear to exist.
 There appeared to be a small lake on this spot.

Mentions of rice growing areas.

Dalada near Sukuta

Kumbanye

EASTERN JAARA - POPULATION

	District #6 1902 SB	1930 Village List	1946 Assessment	1973 Census	
(Bani	166	20			
(Bani Koto		5			
(Bani Bajonki			95		
Barakunda	325	455	1035	1218	
Bureng	292	553	1073	*	Not in 1973 Census
Bodeyel		45	42	126	
Dabali			46	1054	✓
Dabatu		61	131	103	
Dasilami	161	100	418	628	
Dem Mati Yaa		102	61	125	
Dongoro		72	86	326	
Dongoronding		6	74		
Dumasansang	67	21	67		
Feleng Koto		65	185		
Jaba		78	111		
Jasong	430	252	531	781	
Kanikunda		6			
Mandina	196	112	146	145	
Nyaworu		105	150	100	
Pakali Ba	270	270	512	1066	
Saare Njooba		17	97	103	
Sibinding Koto		7	30		
" Kuta			50		
Sukuta	587	280	490	457	
Sutukung	243	465	1080	1145	
Welingara		24	21	191	
" -nding			58		
others				707	Villages under 100
	2737	3121	6589	8275	

* Bureng a large village does not appear in the Census data for 1973. On the other hand Dabali which was a small settlement appears with a population of over 1000. Maybe there was a printing error in the Census listing.