TRADITIONAL FASHION INDUSTRY AND JUKUN CULTURE, NORTH CENTRAL NIGERIA

BY

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Abstract

This is an enterprise devoted to the business of making and selling of clothes among the Jukun and Abakwariga in North Central Nigeria. The traditional fashion industry is cottage industry not modern fashion industry and it forms part of larger social and cultural phenomenon known as Kyadzwe. It is a concept that embraces not only the fashion business but arts and craft of fashion. It involves not only production (Weaving, dyeing and beating) but also selling and wearing. The industry distinguishes between the fashions of AkuUka and other notable as well as ordinary people.In other words, the colour for Aku is quite different from the colour of ordinary people. Fashon is simply defined as the styles of clothing and accessories worn at any given time by group of people that is Jukun and Abakwariga. Thus, every ethnic or religious group has their peculiar cultural clothes which are symbols of their cultural heritage. In the case of Jukun people of Central Nigeria, they are known for their "Akya" wrapper clothes which are confined to them alone. Therefore, the fundamental concern of this paper is the methods and processes involved in the production of Jukun "Adire" clothes so to speak; Challenges in the production and marketing. Then, finally, the paper focuses on the cultural, political and economic importance of "Adire" cloth to the Jukun and Abakwariga.

Introduction

Culture can be defined in many ways. Collectively, culture encompasses ideas, customs, belief system, dress and social behavior of a particular group of peoples or society. It is an art and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement. Culture is an umbrella term which encompasses the social behavior and norms found in human societies as well as the knowledge, beliefs, arts, dress/clothes, laws, customs, capabilities and habits of individuals or particular ethnic groups which distinct it from another. It is important to note that, peoples, through the teaching and learning processes of aculturisation and socialization which is shown by the diversity of cultures across societies.[1]

In the word of anthropologist E. B.Taylor, it is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, dress/clothes, morals, laws, customs, capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society."[2] Alternatevely, in a contemporary variant "culture is defined as a social domain that emphasizes the practices, discourses and material expression, whichever time express continuities and discontinuities of social meaning of life hold in common."[3] In a nutshell, culture is the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs of a particular group of people at a particular time.[4] Based on the above definition, it is important to note that the culture of Jukun and that of Abakwariga in terms of clothes pattern, design and fashion are the same. Then, who are the Jukun and Abakwariga in central Nigeria?

Jukun is the name by which the people of the Jukun ethnic group call themselves and are understand as such by many other peoples. The word "Jukun" is derived from the word *PAJUKUN* which has been shortened by the Hausa and other neighbouring tribes to Jukun due to difficulties in pronouncing the word. The Jukun however, claim migration into the Benue Valley, particularly Middle Benue Region (MBR) from outside Nigeria that is from the Middle East (Yemen). But this is not true. This is in the view of the fact that, Hamitic Hypothesis has no basis in the Jukun history. The original abode of the Jukun was in Upper Benue Basin, and the Lake Chad.[5] Later, they moved into the Middle Benue Region (MBR) that is North Central Nigeria. Majority of them are found in Taraba, Benue and Gombe states respectively. That is in places like Wukari,

Kona/Jalingo, Takum, Abirisi and Pindiga.[6]

For better understanding of the history of Jukun cultural clothes and design (Adire) or (Kyadzwe), let briefly explore into Jukun-Abakwariga economic relations which consequently led to the evolution of their traditional textile industry. The term Abakwariga can be defined from two perspectives. First, from an economic point of view, the term originated from centuries of the commercial link between Hausa land (Katsina and Kano) and the people of Middle Benue region particularly Jukun Abakwariga were mainly decedents of Hausa traders, Malams and craftmen who came and settled in Jukun land. The name was given to them by the Jukun because of their dying garments industry (I,e Traditional Textile Technology).[7] The etymology of Abakwariga is a bilingual term from both the Jukun and Hausa languages. Therefore, the term "Abakwariga" consist of three syllables which are in terms of phrase or sentence, so to speak. The three syllables are '*Aba*' which means people in Jukun; '*Kwa*' in Jukun means sew or sewing; whereas '*Riga'* is a Hausa word for clothes or garment (shirt). Thus, when the three syllables are brought together, we have 'people who sew garments or clothes or people that wear sawn clothes'.[8]

Apart from the economic perspective of the definition of Abakwariga, it can also be defined from the cultural point of view. The Jukun traditional dress, which is popularly known as *Akya* is a pair of wrappers which are unsewn in the form of *Riga* and are mostly very thick. They always use the pair (except on occasions, whereby they use only one wrapper), one for covering their upper parts of the body, while the other they tie it round their waist.[9] Therefore, the concept of Abakwariga refers to the people (Hausa) who wear sawn-dress in contrast to Jukun who use *Akya* culturally. Based on the above introductory analysis, it should be borne in mind that no culture is an island in itself. Thus, there was cultural interdependence between the Jukun and Abakwariga in north central Nigeria. Thius cultural interdependence was not confined to clothes alone, but also in economic, religious, political and other aspect of life.

Evolution and Management of Traditional Textile Technology

Adire/Akya or Kyadzwe and *Riga*has been in production by the Jukun and Abakwariga since time immemorial in order to combat nudity and also to portray the cultures of the

two ethnic groups. In fact, there was cultural diffusion and symbiotic relationships in the management of the local textile industries in places like Wukari, Takum, Abakwa and even Katsina Ala. Thus, the traditional cottage industries were co-managed by both the Jukun and Abakwariga. It was in view of this fact that, in this study, both Jukun and Hausa terms/words are used concurrently under each sub-topic. Textile technology in this context means the local traditional weaving, dying and beating or pressing i.e ironing of clothes (Adire/Akya/Kyadzwe and/or Riga).

Weaving (Dzo-Dzo/Saka)

Weaving is a method of textile production in which two distinct sets of yarns or threads are interlaced at right angles to form a fabric or cloth. Similar method are knitting, and braiding or plaiting. The longitudinal threads are called the warp and the laterals are the weft or woof. The methods in which these thread are interwoven affects the characteristics of the cloth. The cloth is usually woven on a loom, a device that holds the warp threads in a place while filting threads are woven through them. A fabric band which meets this definition of cloth (warp threads with a weft threads winding between them) can also be made using other methods. The way the warp and filting threads interlace with each other is called the weave. Majority of woven products are created with one of the three basic weaves namely: Plain weaves, Satin weaves, and Twisted weaves. Woven cloth can be (in one colour or simple pattern) or can be woven in decorative or artistic design and colour (i.e Adire).[10]

In places like kororafa, Katsina Ala, Awe, and Abakwa village which are inhabited by Jukun, Abakwariga, Tiv and Etulu. Weaving was undertaken on a large-scale and on a cooperative basis.[11] These enterprises were generally taken in the form of "cottage industry" i.e operating from houses or in front of their houses with both full-time and part-time weavens spinning the threads they required. People ordering bulky cloths brought their own threads with them. As a result of this, many families in Wukari were engaged in the processes of weaving. The products of the weaving industry were however of high quality, judging by the scope of their demand and distribution before the 19th century. This suggests the existence of high skilled weavers, especially among the Jukun and Abakwariga.

Thus, Wukari and Kororafa cloth were reputed to be of excellent quality.[12] This type of cloth was known as Kwashe and it was woven on the double-handled horizontal form. Commenting on the cloth (kwashe) in 1913, Captain A. E. Churcher remarks that:

> The celebrated Kwashe cloth formally made by Jukun are now weaved by the Abakwariga and are sold. Small ones 4 shillings, larger ones 20, the former taking two days and the latter 8 days to make.[13]

The above submission is an indication that both Jukun and Abakwariga were highly skilled in textile production and there was highly demand for their quality products (kwashe) both within and outside the Benue valley. Cotton is one of the most indispensible items or row material required in weaving. Jukun and Abakwariga weavings are said to have had a particular kind of cotton known as **worzi**. The identity of this species, **worzi,** is yet to be ascertained. However, it should be noted that there is evidence that most of the cotton used in the textile industries was grown locally, though, with some imports from Hausa land and Borno.[14] On the economic and political importance of Jukun clothes, B. Z. Abubakar says:

> They were widely used as part of the regalia for chiefs (Aku, Abocio and Kinda). The value attached to the Wukari cloths known as Akya or Kyadzwe in Jukun was signified by the fact that among the people, a person's wealth was reckoned by the number of clothes (Adire/Riga) he possessed. Some taxes and tributes were also paid with clothes.

For example, when Wukari became a tributary state to Muri in the early decades of the 19th century, its tributes were mainly paid in slaves and clothes, particularly the variety known as **Kwashe**.[15]

Dying (Wowokyan/Rini)

Weaving is incomplete without dying, more especially weaving of clothes. Weaving and dying are interwoven,

that is goes *pari passu*. The word dye is from *deie*, *dag* and or *dah*. The first known use of the word dye was before the 12th century. Dyeing is the process of adding colour totextile products like fibres, yarns and fabrics. As we shall see, dyeing is normally done in a special solution containing dyes and particular chemical materials. Dyeing was one of the earliest local handcraft in pre-colonial Hausaland and to a lesser extent Benue vally among the the Jukun and Abakwariga, Indigo dyeing has been done since ancient times. Certainly, dyeing has been practice in this area for many centuries. In fact indigo dyeing in this region is at least five hundred years old or probably much older.[16]

There are mainly two classes of dye: Natural and Man-made. The primary source of dye has generally been nature, with the dye being extracted from animals and plants. Human efforts have produced artificial dyes to achieve a broader range of colours and render the dyes more stable to resist washing. Different classes of dyes are used for different types of fibres and at different stages of textile production process, from loose fibres through yarn and cloth to complete garments.[17]

Indigo is a fairly simple dye, and for this reason is one of the earliest plants used by man. Dying involves the formation of a chemical bond between cloth and dye and is distant from the staining (as might be done with certain berries) which involves no chemical bonding. It is essencial to note that, indigo is a colour that is traditionally regarded as colour in viable spectrum as well as one of the seven colours of rainbow, with colour between blue and violet. Since dying produces faster colour than staining, its development as a real advanced over the presumed more ancient practices of staining cloth. Indigo is not soluble in water and a mordant is essential to the process of dying.[18] After the cloth is immersed in a solution of dried indigo, water a mordant, the final colour is fixed by oxygen in the air where the cloth is spread for drying.

Beating of Cloths (Hun Huntswin/Bugu)

Having seen weaving and dying processes in the local making of clothes among the Jukun, now let proceed to beating that is ironing. The beating of dyed cloths was long considered as part of the local dyed process. In some dyeing centres, it is done by the dynes themselves. For this reason, the development of the art beating of dyed cloth is an integral part of the formation

of specialist dying centres in Unguwar Karofi Wukari, in present Taraba State.[19] Beating of dyed cloths is like modern ironing or processing of clothes to make it smooth and ready to be worn. Beating improves the quality of the finish products and attracts more customers. The art of beating cloth undoubtedly predated the development of indigo dyeing, for it was a standard procedure for treating all clothes. The beating was the process by which wrinkles were removed from clothes after initial sewing as well as after laundering; it was also used to make somewhat course materials softer.

In its simplest form, anyone could, and probably did, beat cloth occasionally. In fact, it involved nothing more than placing the cloth on the smooth stone and beating it with stick until the desired effects was achieved. This still done locally in some areas of Wukari and Awe.[20] This method would not have been very practical when a lot of cloth was to be beating. One of the challenges of beating cloth on a stone was not only shortens the life span of the cloth and natlet, but it is also exhausting for the person who has to do the beating. When large amount of cloths are to be beating, it is much more practical to beat the cloth on a wooden log which has been scrapted smooth. Such beating logs were sometime plced in the entrance room (azure) of a compound, but because of the considerable noise produced beating logs have subsequently been placed far away from houses, sometimes under the shed or shelter made from straw matting, and sometime in a separate hut constructed for this very purpose. Some of these logs were used by whole communities, but in areas where there was a lot of beating to be done, specialist cloth beaters would have had their own logs. Water was sprayed on to the cloth to be beaten, folded flat and beaten again until the whole article was been neatly folded for storage. Despite the introduction of charcoal irons, and later electric irons, many people particularly kings and chief imams, still prefer this kind of beating (farin bugu).[21]

The beating of dyed cloth had to be done on a different stone or log because some of the indigo always rubbed off on to the stone or log and would have stained white garments which might be beaten afterward. This is in view of the fact that all newly dyed cloths have to be beating; dyers always had a beaten stone or log located right next to the dying centres where the dyers themselves could beat the cloths after they dried. Initially, this process had

no purpose other than that of white beating; to iron and wrinkles, to make course materials softer and to enable the cloth to be folded conveniently for storage.[22]

One of the most significant developments in the beating of dyed cloth was the discovery of how to prepared concentrated dried indigo. *shuni shuni* is prepared by cooking indigo and then whipping the cooked solution into a foam which is then poured out into lumps which later dry.[23] The fact that the Hausa word for *shuni* was probably borrowed from the Kanuri of Borno, and by the mid-nineteenth century, the word has in turn been transmitted to the Songhai, suggests that the discovery was not made either in Hausaland or Jukunland, and that the discovery was made at least over three hundred years ago and probably much longer.[24] *Shuni* had a number of uses among which are medicinal (as a medicine for certain eruptions of the skin. The main significance, economically of the introduction of *shuni* to Hausaland and subsequently to Jukunland was that it meant that beating was no longer used simply to smooth out the cloth, but now was an additional process for impacting colour to cloth.

Beating *shuni* into cloth does not constitute dyeing as it is a mechanized process which does not involved the formation of chemical bond between the cloth and dye. Nevertheless, by beating *shuni* into cloth which has already been dyed with indigo, the dye is "over loaded" and a much darker colour is obtained. If the cloth is beaten, a greater deal and a considerable amount of *shuni* is spread on the cloth, the sheen is achieved. Thus, beating improves the quality of the finished cloths. One of my informants asserts that:

> Wukari became an important weaving and dyeing centre because their women spurn the finest thread and their weavers were able to weave the finest cloths, and after dying, the cloths were beaten ready to be worn. Therefore, these well beaten qualitative materials in Wukari, attracted many customers from within and outside the Benue valley and thus created high demand in the market.[25]

Economic, Cultural and Religious Important of Clothes

It is worthy to note that cloth/clothes promote cultural identity, unity and is also a symbol of civilization. It enhances economic development, self-reliance and encouraged relationship and integration between various ethnic groups. We are all fully aware that, clothing, feeding, and shelter are basic and indispensable necessitates of life to all nations and responsible human beings irrespective of race, culture and religion. Cloth has played and is still playing a significant role in the history of West African peoples not only Jukun. This is because, it is such an essential product, but also because it has stimulated cultural, economic and technological changes as well as brought about movements of peoples between different areas. Thus, it is the cloth that facilitated the movement of Hausa traders from Hausaland into Jukun land. The cloth itself has a number of important functions not only in north central Nigeria but in the whole of African life and the world in general. It served as a symbol of cultural and religious identity. It is not only important for clothing and adornment, but also has frequently been used as a medium of exchange, paying a ransom and tributes, as a way of transferring wealth, as an important item in religious rituals, and as a social, religious, economic, political and for clothing that leads to the innovation to textile technology in the world.

In order to combat nudity or "Clothes Free" man has to develop the knowledge and techniques of textile technology independently or borrowed it from somewhere. In the case of Jukun land, "Cloth Free" was combated thoroughly with the presence of **4 abakwariga** in the area. More so, economic importance is also attached to the industry of clothing. In fact, textile industry produces one of the larget expert products from this region. Mahdi Adamu says:

> Informants in Wukari showed Kwararafa and later Wukari as the only Jukun market town of great importance south of the Benue. This was because, the Aku'Uka (Supreme king of the Jukun) preferred to control the sale of salt, clothes and antimony product in the kingdom and which together with slaves, were used to purchase horses and cotton garments imported

> from the north. So Wukari become to the southern Jukun what Birnin**Ngazargamu** was to Borno, that is, the main commercial centre of the kingdom. [26]

Challenges in Production and Marketing

Since antiquity, the traditional fashion industry is a product of local cottage industry managed privately by individuals Jukun and Abakwariga weavers at home or in a family. In other word, prior to the mid-19th century, virtually all clothing was handmade by local weavers either at home production or an order from local dress makers and local tailors. However, from the beginning of the 20th century due to industrial revolution vis a vis the rise of new technology such as the sewing machine, the rise of global capitalism and development of the factory system of production, and the proliferation of retail outlets such as department stores, clothing has increasingly come to be mass produced in standard sizes and sold at fixed prices. This inevitably had adverse consequences on Jukun traditional fashion industry. Thus, the emergence of modern fashion industry with superior quality products, many consumers turns their demands to new products instead of local products. Hence, the collapse of traditional fashion industry.

From the above submission, we understand that cloth played and is still playing a significant role in inter-regional trade between Jukun land and Hausa land since pre-colonial time to present.In fact, not only Jukun land, in many places in the world, certain kind of textiles or clothes are required for a wedding, tributes, marriage and naming ceremonies, **installation**, **turbaning**, and/or swearing ceremonies of kings, presidents, governors, and chairmen, taxation, burials, spirit-possession et cetera. These non-clothing functions of the textile are symbolic of the importance of this commodity to many West African peoples, not Jukun and **Abakwariga** alone. In both its practical and symbolic aspects, the cloth was an expression of the cultures of many ethnic groups which produced and used it.

The factor which most clearly distinguished the trade in textiles from trade in other commodities such as gold, salt, ivory and palm oil is that textiles/clothes are finish products which represent not only the material resources of an area but also demonstrates

the culture of the people. Different uses often require different kinds of cloths, varying according to size, quality, texture, texture, colour, design, durability and artistry. In addition to these various requirements, there are also, of course, significant differences in trade, technology, and specialization. It is all of these differences taking together which in explaining the development of trade in textiles. If there were no much differences, trade would have been very limited and restricted, as textiles have been produced in most areas of West Africa not only in Jukun land and Hausa land. As it is, the textiles trade was not limited to the transfer of cloth from where it could be produced cheaply to areas where it couldn't, but it was common for cloth producing areas to import different kinds of cloth from other cloth producing areas.[27]

Apart from socio-cultural and economic importance, prestigious and political values are also attached to cloths. The value attached to the Jukun cloth known as *Akya/kyadzwe* was signified by the fact that among the peoples of Wukari, a person's wealth was reckoned by the number of cloths which he/she possessed. Beside this, political importance was also attached to cloths. In fact, there is only one VIP Jukun cloth meant only for Aku and not any ordinary Jukun man. Again, professor Mahmond Hamman points, out that:

> Some taxes and tributes were also paid in them. When Wukari became tributary to Muri in the 19th Century, its tributes were mainly in clothes, particularly the variety known as Kwashe.[28]

To sum up, from the above analysis, cloths played and are still playing a great roles in all aspects of haman life ranging from culture, economic and political. However, with the advent of new technologies witnessed great transformation in the pattern of production from traditional fashion industry to modern fashion system of production which adversely affected Jukun traditional textile manufacturing industry (Kyadze).

Endnotes:

1. E.B. Taylor, 1971, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. 1. New York, J. P. Putman's son, pp. 50-94 and Y. Jackson, *Encyclopaedia of Multicultural Psychology* Toront. Pearson Prentice Hall, P. 203.
2. J. S. Gbanda `*The Impact of Colonialism on African Indigenous Religion*` in J. S. Mangut, and T. Wuan (eds.) *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa,* Ibadan, San-Adex Printers Sanyo, pp. 482-483.
3. Paul Behanan and Philip Curtin *Africa and Africans*, New York: The Natural History Press, 1964, pp. 173-174.
4. Paul Behanan and Philip Curtin *African and Africans*, ----pp. 173-174.
5. C.k. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical study of the Jukun speaking people of Nigeria.* London: OUP, 1931, P. XV.
6. Sa'ad Abubakar "*people's of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau Before 1800*" in Obaro Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc, 1980, pp. 170-180.
7. B. Z. Abubakar "*The Abakwarcg and their contributions in the Economic and Educational Development of some North-Eastern states of Nigeria.*" A paper presented during the Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN). Summit on the History of North-East Nigeria, National Conference, held at the Taraba State University, Jalingo on 2nd to 5th September, 2012, pp. 2-10.
8. Interview, Yerima Atoshi, Master's Student, Dept of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University Wukari, 17/08/2021.
9. Interview, Mr. Ahmad Ataki Arume, Civil Servant, Wukari, 20/08/2021.
10. P. J. Shea, *The Development of an Export Orientated Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century*, PhD. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975, pp. 20-30.
11. A. G. Rubin, *The Arts of the Jukun-Speaking peoples of Northern Nigeria*, PhD. Thesis, Indiana University, 1965, pp. 56-160.

12. M. Hamman, *The Rise and Fall of the Emirates of Muri (Hamanruwa) C. 1812-1903*, PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 1983, p. 66.
13. See A. E. Churcher, NAK, 'Wukari District Assessment Report' SNP 10/1686/1913. Apart from Churcher, Ruxten also commented on the high quality Kwashe cloth weaved by both Jukun and Abakwariga. Captain Ruxten observes that "The Jukuns were once noted for their clothes, their shirts or plaids of peculiar design (Kwashe) were much admired….' For more technical details of the textile industry in Wukari, see C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria,* Vol. I, London Keqan Press, 1979, p. 107.
14. For further details on cotton production locally and some imports from Hausa land and Borno see: P. J. Shea, *The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth*…..pp. 63-64.
15. B. Z. Abubakar, *Abakwariga-Jukun Relations in the Benue Valley in the 19th and 20th centuries,* PhD. Thesis, Benue State University, Makurdi, 2019, pp. 128-129.
16. Interview, Alhaji Umar, 70years, Sangari of Wukari, Wukari 10th August, 2020.
17. For Further detail on dyeing process see: B. Z. Abubakar, *Abakwariga – Jukun Relations in the Benue Valley*….pp. 135-142.
18. The process of dying has been described in the following technical terms:

    > Chemically dyestuffs.... with a few exceptions (mineral dyestuffs) consists of cotton and hydrogen associated with one or more elements… rat dyes… are insoluble in water and therefore cannot be used directly for dyeing. They must first be converted to their soluble form by means of sodium hydrosulphate and causic soda, during which stage they are readily absorbed by the fibre. They are then converted back to their insoluble form by the action of a weak oxidizing agent such as air.

For further detail see "*Dyes and Dyeing*" by Anaco J. Brunier, Jr, *Dyestuffs Division, Dupant: in Doubleday's Encyclopaedia,* New York, 1943, Vol. iv, pp. 214-216 cited in P.J. Shea, *The Development of an Expert Orientated cloth* …pp. 149-178.

19. Interview: Mr. Ishaku Bako, 52years. Civil Servant/Weaver, Wukari 20/09/2020.
20. Interview, Angyu Yakubu, 55years, INEC Officer, Jalingo, 29/9/2018.
21. Interview Malam Ghali Masaka, 53years, politician/weaver, Bantaje, Wukari, Taraba State 20/08/202.
22. Interview Malam Ghali Masaka, 53 years, politician/weaver, Bantaje, Wukari, Taraba State 2018/202.
23. The pounded pods of the locust bean tree (the tree is called Dorowa in Hausa, and the pounded pods are called Makuba. Makuba is also used to waterproof the walls of buildings) are also added to the solution before it foams up. A great deal of information about the production of *Shuni* is obtained in *NAK/SNP* 7: 2909/1925: Vol. V, P. 93: Kano Province, Tundun Wada District Reassessment Report. For further detail on the production of *Shuni* sees: P. J. Shea, *The Development of an expert Oriented Dyed Cloth*…pp. 170-181.
24. M. Adamu "*Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in the 19th Centuries"* in Y. B. Usman (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar paper*, Lagos, Nigeria, New York; Third Press International, 1979, p. 71.
25. Interview, Milam Sa'idu Kambari, 65years civil servant/weaver, Wukari, Taraba State 29/08/2021.
26. M. Adamu "*Distribution of Trading centers in the central Sudan in the 18th and 19th in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*: *The Sokoto Seminar papers*…p. 71.
27. P. J. Shea. *The Development of an Expert Orientation Dyed Cloth*…p. 55.
28. M. Hamman, *The Rise and Full of the Emirate of Muri*…p. 67.