

TEAM LEADER ENGAGEMENT GUIDE

Dagbon NaCCA/GES/MoE Review Committee

Engagement with the NaCCA Director-General | 9th June 2026 | Accra, Ghana

Team Leader: Abubakari Is haq Motariga

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1. OPENING THE ENGAGEMENT

TEAM LEADER NOTE: Open warmly and with confidence. Establish authority before presenting any evidence.

1.1 Expression of Gratitude

"On behalf of His Royal Majesty, N'dan Ya-Naa, the Dagbon Traditional Council, the Dagbon NaCCA History Committee, Dagbamba elders, drummers, historians, and the Dagbamba community, I wish to express our gratitude for the understanding of NaCCA so far. Your reception alone is something commendable which has already laid the ground for a fruitful cooperation."

1.2 Salutations

"Director-General, Prof. Samuel Ofori Bekoe, distinguished officials of NaCCA, and all protocol observed on behalf of His Royal Majesty N'dan Ya-Naa, King of Dagbon, whose blessing rests upon this work, and on behalf of the good people of Dagbon, I bring you warm greetings and our sincere gratitude for this audience."

1.3 Authority Behind This Engagement

"We come here on the express blessing of His Royal Majesty N'dan Ya-Naa, King of Dagbon. We speak on behalf of the Dagbamba Youth Association, Dagbon Forum, the Dagbon NaCCA/GES/MoE Review Committee, and the broader people of Dagbon, their chiefs, elders, drummers, academics, and youth."

1.4 Introduce the Delegation

Introduce each member by name and title. Begin with Prof. Asuro and Ambassador Abass to establish gravitas. Introduce the drummers last; present them explicitly as living

custodians of Dagomba oral history whose presence in the room is itself evidence.

Name	Role / Title	Function at Engagement
Prof. Abdullahi Salifu Asuro	Academic / Historian	Academic authority; respond to scholarly challenges
Former Amb. Alhaji Ibrahim Abass	Former Ambassador to Turkey (1986-2007)	Co-Chair, Consultants, Dagbon Constituents, and Retrieval
Lawyer Jeliu Issahaku Sapaschini	Legal Counsel	Procedural and legal dimensions
Hon. Hardi Pagazaa	Member / Historian Politician	Political and community voice
Ms. Huzaima Mahamadu	Committee Member / Diaspora Rep	Diaspora investment in the work
Alhaji Jagbo Baako	DAYA General Secretary / Committee Chair	Co-Chair, institutional authority
Lung Pagabia Abdul Razak	Oral Tradition Keeper / Drummer (Narokwa)	Oral tradition testimony
Gumani Lun Naa Umar	Oral Tradition Keeper / Drummer (Narokwa)	Oral tradition testimony
Mr. Alhassan Abdullai	Committee Member	Represents Dagbon Forum interests
Mr. Yakubu Fusheini	Author, History of the Gbewa States	Literary and academic dimension
Mr. Ibrahim Alhassan	DAYA National Organizer	Facilitating Member
Ziblila Bawa	Committee Member / Deputy Organizer, DAYA	Facilitating Member
Mr. Alhassan Fatawu	Registrar, Dagbon Traditional Council	Facilitating Member; signatory to 2022 petition
Abubakari Is haq Motariga	Team Leader / Lead Researcher / Author	Lead presentation; guide the engagement

1.5 Reference the Petition and Prior Engagement

"Our formal petition was submitted to NaCCA on 11th December 2025, signed by Alhaji Jagbo Baako and myself. We are grateful that NaCCA acknowledged receipt and indicated that the matters raised are being investigated. We are here to advance that process, not to begin it. We also acknowledge the earlier petition by the Dagbon Traditional Council in 2022 regarding the content of the NaCCA approved textbook titled "History of Ghana for Basic Schools" (Learners Book 4) by Francis Benjamin Appiah and Henry David Appiah, which presented an alleged conquest of the Dagbon kingdom by the Gonja kingdom. That petition was signed by the Registrar, Mr. Alhassan Fatawu, who is present with us today as a facilitating member of this committee. While that was an isolated case addressed in its own time, it is part of a longer pattern that this committee now seeks to address in a comprehensive and systematic manner."

1.6 Frame the Purpose

"We come today not as adversaries. We come as partners in the shared national project of giving every child in Ghana an education that is accurate, dignified, and

worthy of the people it describes. We come with evidence, with humility, and with the belief that the truth, when handled with care, can only strengthen Ghana's curriculum."

2. TOPIC 1: THE RED HUNTER (TOHA ZEI) LEGEND

2.1 What the NaCCA Approved Content Says

NaCCA accredited curriculum materials, including the Basic School history textbook (popularly known as Best Brains) and the NaCCA History Teacher's Manual for Senior High Schools, present the following as established history of the Dagomba:

- At the Basic and SHS level: The ancestors of the Dagomba, Nanumba, and Mamprusi came from Chad as a group led by a brave warrior called Toha Zei. They travelled from Chad through Zamfara (Nigeria), then to Mali, before settling in present day Ghana.
- The curriculum identifies Toha Zei (the Red Hunter) as the ancestral father of ALL Dagbamba.

2.2 Arguments Against This Narrative

A. The Source Chain Traces to a Hausa Informant, Not Dagomba Oral Tradition

- The Red Hunter narrative traces back to Appendix II of the 1930 Dagbon Constitution, authored by Blair. In his own preamble, Blair states that the framework and much of the stories in the Appendix were given to him by Malam Halidu, described as a "cultured Hausa."
- Malam Halidu's own documentation attributes his knowledge of Dagomba history to a drummer who told him the stories when he was young, but he never named that drummer. The source is therefore unnamed and permanently unverifiable.
- The 1930 Yendi conference did not discuss Dagomba history. The history section was added afterwards as a supplementary appendix, not part of the conference proceedings. It does not carry the collective authority of the Dagomba chiefs and drummers who attended that conference.
- Every subsequent academic account, Tamakloe (who drew primarily from Malam Imoro Kete Karachi), Rattray (1932), and Staniland (1975), traces back through citation chains to these same Hausa sources. Both foundational pillars of the narrative, Blair and Tamakloe, ultimately trace to Hausa authorship, not Dagomba oral tradition.

B. Dagomba Drummers, The Custodians of Dagomba Oral History, Disown the Narrative

- Prof. John Miller Chernoff's independent fieldwork across Dagbon over approximately ten years in the 1970s and 1980s found that, of all the titled drummers he interviewed, among them Namo Naa Issahaku, Nanton Lun Naa Iddrisu, Nyolugu Lun Naa Issahaku Abdulai, Loganbalibu Abukari Neena, Sakpegu Lun Naa Issah Karim, Lunzoo Naa Abukari, Machendi Abdulai Alidu, Nanton Sampaha Naa Issahaku Iddrisu, Sang Sampaha Naa, and Kumbungu Lun Naa, not one narrated the Red Hunter legend as part of Dagomba oral tradition. Only Palo Naa Issah, elderly and being assisted by his son at the time, mentioned it.
- The National House of Chiefs commissioned research (2000 to 2002) across Dagbon, Nanun, and Mamprugu, conducted by committee member Alhaji Alhassan Gonji. He individually consulted Namo Naa Issahaku, Yeni Sampaha Naa Abukari, Kuga Lun Naa Wumbei, Alhaji Ibrahim Lunga, Balogu Lun Naa Fusheini, Balogu Lun Naa Abukari, Mion Zabubu, Mba Iddrisu Malli, Gukpegu Kpana, and Gushei Bawa, among others. The unanimous finding: Toha Zei is not found in Dagbon drum chants.
- Lung Pagabia Abdul Razak and Gumani Lun Naa Umar, present in this room as members of our delegation, confirm from their own drum house traditions: Toha Zei is not in the drum chant. It circulates because books have put it there, not because drummers passed it down.
- Namo Naa Mahama, father of Namo Naa Issahaku, personally asked Blair where the Red Hunter narrative had come from. Blair's answer was: from Malam Halidu. This confirms that the source of the narrative in the 1930 document was never Dagomba drummers.

C. The Narrative Contradicts the Dagomba's Own Historical Starting Point

- The Dagomba begin their own narration of history with Naa Nimbu, a Biung Tindana, on whom there is no contestation across all three Gbewaa kingdoms of Dagbon, Nanun, and Mamprugu. Drum chants begin from Naa Nimbu, proceeding through to Naa Gbewaa and downward.

D. The Red Hunter Is a Borrowed West African Narrative Motif

- The Red Hunter narrative bears structural similarities to the Sundiata/Sogolon buffalo story of the Mali Empire. Both stories, stranger arrives, kills a beast terrorizing a community, is rewarded with a wife, can be traced to Daura in Hausa land.
- Similar foundational myths are found across the West African belt

among the Malians, the Hausa, and many other peoples. The Red Hunter is most likely a borrowed motif, not an authentic account of Dagomba origins.

E. The Main Characters Lack Proper Names

- The central characters of the Red Hunter story are identified by titles or descriptions rather than proper names, an unusual feature for a genuine ancestral foundational narrative.

F. Nothing Was Remarkable About Being a Hunter or Having Light Skin

- Hunting, gathering, and farming were the main economic activities of ancient West African peoples, including the Dagomba. A hunter was not a special figure. Similarly, light skinned people already existed among the Dagomba in the era being discussed. Neither characteristic is a credible basis for an ancestral founding identity.

2.3 Committee Resolution on This Topic

The committee unanimously resolves that the Red Hunter (Toha Zei) legend be expunged from all NaCCA accredited curriculum materials from Basic School to Senior High School. The narrative is unverifiable, traces to an unnamed Hausa source, is disowned by Dagomba drummers, and is most likely a borrowed West African motif inserted into Dagomba history by educated elites through colonial era documentation. The curriculum should begin with Naa Nimbu to Naa Gbewaa and downward to the founding of the Gbewaa kingdoms.

3. TOPIC 2: THE CHAD ORIGIN NARRATIVE

3.1 What the NaCCA Approved Content Says

The curriculum states that the Dagomba trace their ancestry to Toha Zei, who hailed from the Chad territory, migrated to Zamfara in present day Nigeria, then to Mali, before making his journey into present day Ghana. The Dagomba are therefore presented as a people who originated from outside their current territory.

3.2 Arguments Against This Narrative

A. The Chad Origin Is Inseparable from the Red Hunter Legend

- The Chad origin narrative and the Red Hunter legend are one and the same claim in the curriculum. Toha Zei is presented as the Dagomba's

ancestral father who came from Chad. Rejecting one necessarily requires rejecting the other. The committee cannot accept the Red Hunter narrative while rejecting the Chad origin, or vice versa.

B. The Narrative Imposes a Damaging Chronological Limitation

- The Chad/Zamfara/Mali narrative places the Dagomba's origin at approximately the 12th to 14th century, limiting the age of Dagomba civilization to around 800 years.
- What our elders, including some drummers and Tindanas, tell us is that the Dagbamba are of different clans. We have a royal clan whose history has been used to construct the history of all Dagbamba. The history of the people is not entirely the same as the history of the royal clan. Among Dagbamba, there are early inhabitants who peopled the Voltaic basin as early as the Stone Age or Iron Age.
- These early Dagbamba descend from early giants called Tiyawumya. Our research team is still embarking on further research to establish more facts about the Tiyawumya Giants. What some of our elders tell us is that our ancestors were giants, some of whom engaged in iron smelting to produce artefacts such as bangles. Some of their artefacts are currently being sought by our research team. We have one of the artefacts of the Tiyawumya here: a wrist bangle found in the farm of one of our elders.
- This claim is further buttressed by archaeological evidence. Excavations by Shinnie and Kense (1988:203 and 208) near Daboya, and by Aquandah (1998:97) in the Balsa areas, have uncovered twisted bangles with or without loops, dating to the Stone or Iron Age. These physical artefacts confirm the deep antiquity of the peoples who inhabited the Voltaic basin long before any migration narrative places them there. The Tiyawumya giants were not mythological figures; they were real people whose material culture has been archaeologically documented.
- This sits in direct contradiction to linguistic evidence. Prof. Bodomo's classification of the Dagomba and related peoples as the Mabilia group demonstrates that the Dagomba, Frafra, Kusaal, Builsa, and other related peoples share deep indigenous roots across the Voltaic basin that predate this timeframe significantly. These peoples did not arrive from Chad; they were already here.

C. The Narrative Frames the Dagomba as Strangers in Their Own Land

- By teaching that the Dagomba arrived from Chad, the curriculum implicitly frames them as settlers or migrants in Dagbon, people who came from elsewhere and occupied a territory that was not originally theirs.
- This is not merely a historical error; it has real and ongoing consequences for the Dagomba's standing in land rights and inter ethnic relations in northern Ghana.

D. The Committee Has Already Reached Consensus Rejecting This Narrative

- In previous meetings, the committee reached unanimous consensus that the Dagomba do not originate from Chad. This position is grounded in oral tradition, linguistic evidence, and the documented research presented in this engagement. It is not a new position; it is the committee's settled, evidence based consensus.

3.3 Committee Resolution on This Topic

The committee unanimously resolves that the Chad origin narrative be removed from all NaCCA accredited curriculum materials. The narrative is historically inaccurate, linguistically unsupported, chronologically limiting, and carries direct harm to the Dagomba's identity as an indigenous people of their territory. The Dagomba inhabited the Voltaic basin long before any migration narrative places them there.

4. TOPIC 3: THE DAGOMBA PORTRAYED AS INVADERS / MIGRANTS

4.1 What the NaCCA Approved Content Says

Curriculum materials present the Dagomba as a people who arrived from outside and conquered or displaced aboriginal peoples, including the Konkomba, Komba, and Koma, who are described as indigenous to the east of the White Volta River. The implication is that the Dagomba were latecomers who established dominance over peoples who were already there.

4.2 Arguments Against This Narrative

A. The Mabia Linguistic Evidence Establishes Pre existing Indigenous Presence

- Prof. Bodom's Mabia linguistic classification shows that the Dagomba and related peoples, Frafra, Kusaal, Builsa, Talensi, Nabdams, and others, share a common linguistic and cultural heritage rooted in the

Voltaic basin. These peoples did not arrive together from elsewhere. They represent a deep, diverse, and ancient indigenous civilization that already occupied this territory.

- The Dagomba's own oral tradition confirms that the Gbewaa stock came and met the aboriginal Dagbamba already living in the land, and that the process of establishing the Dagomba kingdom was one of gradual assimilation through intermarriage over generations, not sudden conquest and displacement.

B. The Relationship with the Aboriginal Dagbamba Was One of Assimilation, Not Eradication

- Lung Pagabia Abdul Razak and Gumani Lun Naa Umar have testified from within their drum house traditions that the arriving Gbewaa stock lived with the aboriginal Dagbamba, intermarried with them, and assimilated linguistically and culturally before eventually establishing the chieftaincy structure. The Dagomba kingdom was built on a foundation of co existence, not on the conquest of strangers.
- The Tindana institution, the spiritual custodians of the land, still exists within Dagbon today, functioning alongside the chieftaincy in a relationship that reflects this historical co existence. A conquering migrant group does not preserve and honour the land authority of the people it displaces.

4.3 Committee Resolution on This Topic

The committee unanimously resolves that the portrayal of the Dagomba as invaders or migrants who displaced indigenous peoples from the east of the White Volta River be corrected in all NaCCA accredited materials. The accurate narrative is one of deep indigenous roots, gradual assimilation, and the co existence of the Gbewaa chieftaincy with the aboriginal Dagbamba institution, not one of conquest and displacement.

5. TOPIC 4: THE CLAIM OF ASHANTI CONQUEST OF THE DAGOMBA

5.1 What the NaCCA Approved Content Says

The NaCCA History Teacher's Manual and multiple GES approved textbooks present a narrative of Ashanti military conquest of the Dagomba. Drawing on Tamakloe (1931) and Blair (1930), these materials state that the Asante under Opoku Ware invaded Dagbon around 1744, that Naa Gariba was captured and held for ransom, and that from that time the Dagomba paid

annual tribute of slaves to the Asante. Blair (1930:51) is quoted to the effect that "the King of the Kambonsi (Ashanti) came and fought against Na Gariba" and that Gariba was conquered and had to be redeemed with a ransom of 1,000 slaves. Tamakloe (1931) further states that strong Asante forces arrived in Yendi with instructions to deport Naa Gariba or fine him 2,000 slaves, and that the Dagomba agreed to pay 200 slaves annually to Asante posted in Yendi.

5.2 Arguments Against This Narrative

A. The Narrative Traces to Hausa and Arabic Manuscripts, Not Dagomba Sources

- The written sources upon which the Asante conquest narrative rests, including Tamakloe (1931) and Blair (1930), both trace their accounts to Hausa and Arabic manuscripts. Specifically, sources such as Kitaab Gbunja (Chronicles from Gonja), Qissat Salgha Ta'rikh Gbunja (Accounts of the campaigns of Jakpa, King of Gonja) by Alhaji Abdallah, Ta'rikh Dagbanbawi by Khalid b. Ya'qub, and others were compiled by Hausa and Wangara scholars and later disseminated through colonial era archives. None of these sources consulted any Dagomba drummer or elder.
- The Kitaab Gbunja itself is a deeply questionable source. According to Wilks (1986), it was drawn from manuscripts found in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, dated to approximately 1795 to 1820, and brought to Salaga for manipulation and dissemination. Kodua Alhassan, son of Kagbapewura Kodua Matue amu Jewu II, has documented how a redactor of the manuscript substituted the word for "army" in place of the word for "jihad" (holy war) to deliberately obscure religious connotations, illustrating the extent to which these manuscripts were manipulated.

B. The Dagomba Were Not Conquered. Naa Gariba Was Never Arrested

- The unanimous position of the committee, grounded in oral tradition and confirmed across multiple sessions, is that no war was ever fought between the Dagomba and the Asante. Almost all Dagomba drummers, fiddlers, elders, chiefs, and historians reject outright any claim of Asante invasion of Dagbon. There is no identifiable battlefield in any Dagomba oral or written source where this supposed war took place.
- Naa Gariba was never arrested by the Asante. Dagomba drum tradition holds that his journey to Asanteman was a diplomatic arrangement, confirmed by the Gungumle (Kapok pod) tradition in Dagomba royal oral history, which speaks to the nature of the diplomatic exchange between the two kingdoms.

- Motariga (2024:150) observes that oral and written sources about the purported invasion and capturing of Dagbon by Asante are exaggerated and misrepresented. He notes it is especially difficult in the written sources to identify the battlefield where the supposed war was fought, because none existed.

C. Independent Academic Research Disproves the 1744 Conquest Claim

- Karl J. Haas, a US based ethnographer, in his paper *A View From the Periphery: A Re Assessment of Asante Dagbamba Relations in the 18th Century*, re examined the historiography of Asante Dagbon relations, including oral histories collected in Tamale in 2007, 2013, and 2014. His conclusion is decisive: claims of an invasion of Yendi in 1744/45 were based on spurious evidence and faulty analysis, and likely never happened. He further argues that historical representations of this relationship have privileged an Asante perspective, and that any attempt to discern its nature cannot be separated from the subject positions of the historical actors involved.
- Haas further argues that events around 1770, including the slaves sent from Yendi to Kumasi, have been obscured by competing accounts, and that whether those slaves constituted tribute, debt, or trade remains unresolved, and cannot be characterized as the product of military conquest.

D. The Relationship Between the Asante and the Dagomba Was One of Alliance and

- Pag'bia Lung Abrazaaku's drum tradition testimony states that the Asante were initially not powerful enough to fight the Dagomba, and that the Dagomba actually assisted the Asante against forest dwelling groups. The relationship was one of alliance, not conquest.
- Mohammed Hudu has noted that the Asantehene himself has stated on record that there is a very strong relationship between the two peoples, with intermarriage between the Asante and Dagomba over generations. This is not the testimony of a people who conquered and subjugated another.
- The Asante delegation at Kambon nyaanga in Yendi was overseeing a barter trade arrangement, specifically guns and gunpowder for slaves, not a garrison of conquerors maintaining dominion over a defeated people.
- Even Blair (1930:51), while claiming conquest, contradicts himself by

noting that "Ashanti always feared Dagbon, and treated the Dagomba as a powerful people, though tributary to their King." A people who had genuinely and thoroughly conquered another does not fear them. This internal contradiction within the very source upon which the conquest narrative rests is itself evidence of the narrative's unreliability.

5.3 Committee Resolution on This Topic

The committee unanimously resolves that the claim of Ashanti conquest of the Dagomba under Opoku Ware around 1744 is a fabricated narrative unsupported by Dagomba oral tradition, contradicted by independent academic research, and traced to questionable Hausa and Arabic manuscript sources that never consulted any Dagomba drummer or elder. Naa Gariba was never arrested. No war was ever fought between the Dagomba and the Asante. The accurate narrative is one of a complex diplomatic and trade relationship between two powerful peoples, marked by alliance and mutual respect, not conquest. This must be correctly reflected in all NaCCA accredited curriculum materials.

6. TOPIC 5: THE CLAIM OF GONJA/NDEWURA JAKPA CONQUEST

6.1 What the NaCCA Approved Content Says

The NaCCA History Teacher's Manual for SHS 1 (page 55) states: "Between 1622 and 1666, the Gonja, led by their new king called Ndewura Jakpa Lanta, invaded Dagomba." A NaCCA approved textbook by Francis Benjamin Appiah and Henry David Appiah adds that Ndewura Jakpa fought the Dagomba, won the battle, which caused the Dagomba to move their capital to Yendi, that the Gonja people ruled over the Dagomba people for several years, and that the Dagomba later gained freedom with the help of a leader called Asigeli. These materials therefore claim: that Gonja invaded Dagbon, killed Naa Darizegu at the Dagomba capital, pushed the Dagomba from western to eastern Dagbon, ruled over them, and that the Dagomba eventually gained independence with the help of Naa Bangumaga (Asigeli).

6.2 Arguments Against This Narrative

A. The War Did Not Take Place in Dagbon. Naa Darizegu Died in Gonja Territory

- The Dagomba counter narrative, confirmed by multiple independent sources including royal drum chants, is that Naa Darizegu did not fight in Dagbon. He travelled to the Daboya/Gonja area, and it was there, in Gonja territory, that the war took place. This inversion of

the NaCCA narrative is not a minor discrepancy. It is a fundamental misrepresentation of who moved, who fought whom, where the war happened, and its consequences.

- The decisive geographical evidence: Naa Darizegu's grave is at Daboya, in Gonja territory, outside the boundaries of Dagbon. If the Gonja had come to Dagbon and killed Darizegu on Dagomba soil, there is no plausible explanation for why his grave would be in Gonja territory. His burial at Daboya is conclusive evidence that he died there. Pag'bia Lung Abrazaaku described the NaCCA narrative as a "powerful falsehood" on this specific point. Alhaji Jagbo Baako corroborated this with the 1911 Dagbon map, which shows the location of Darizegu's death near the river at Daboya.

B. Naa Darizegu's Maternal Connection to the Daboya Area

- Pag'bia Lung Abrazaaku provided genealogical evidence from royal drum tradition: Naa Darizegu's mother was Napaga Mayankung, a name that is not Dagomba but foreign, confirming her origins in the Daboya/Gonja area. Naa Darizegu grew up, married, and had children among his maternal relations in the Daboya area. The names of his children, including Jontong Lana Ali, are rooted in the Daboya area, not in Dagbon. These facts are openly preserved and recited in royal drum chants.
- The drum tradition records that Naa Darizegu specifically stated he would NOT go to the Daboya/Gonja area, his maternal people's area, but would go to the Baakpuli area instead. Two versions explain how he ended up in Gonja territory:
 - The Pito Version: in which the elders made Darizegu drunk and led him to his maternal people's area, giving rise to the drum saying "Pito is not good."
 - The Greed Version: in which the elders secretly diverted him to the Gonja area, motivated by desire for the Gonja's women, sheep, and goods as war booty.
- Both versions confirm that Darizegu did not intend to go to his maternal people, that there was betrayal by his own elders, and that he was therefore unprepared for war when the encounter took place.

C. Ndewura Jakpa Never Appears in Drum Chants About Naa Darizegu or Naa Luro

- Gumani Lun Naa Umar made a landmark finding in committee: the name

Jakpa NEVER appears anywhere in the drum chants about Naa Darizegu's war or Naa Luro's war. The name Jakpa only appears in Dagomba drum chant during the era of Naa Zangina, a completely different and later period, in connection with the Golon Golon Kumpatia war. The NaCCA narrative has therefore not only fabricated the substance of events but has also fundamentally misplaced Ndewura Jakpa in the wrong era of Dagomba history.

- The opposing figure in Naa Darizegu's time is known in drum tradition only as Kalugsi Dojia, described as a warrior, not as a Gonja chief or king. The complete sequence of wars in drum tradition is:
 - 1. Naa Darizegu's encounter with the Kolinsi/indigenous Daboya people at Daboya;
 - 2. Naa Luro's revenge war, after which the defeated people were named Zabagsi;
 - 3. The Jakpa/Golon Golon Kumpatia war during Naa Zangina's era, the only point Jakpa appears;
 - 4. Kumbung Naa Zakale's war.
- Golon Golon Kumpatia, credited in the drum chant as the warrior Naa Andani Sigli killed at Sang Chirizang, was Mohammed Abdul Waris Kumpatic, a Wangara warrior so tall that the Dagomba drummers used his height to describe him. He was not a Gonja. The name "Golon Golon" describes his height, and "Kumpatic" became "Kumpatia" in the drum chant.

D. The Ngbanya Were Not Yet in the Daboya Area During Naa Darizegu and Naa Luro

- According to almost all sources on Gonja history, Sumaila Ndewura Jakpa was a Mande legend who founded the Gonjaland in the early 17th century. The estimated reign lengths of Naa Darizegu (1543 to 1554) and Naa Luro (1554 to 1570) place them roughly a century before Ndewura Jakpa's arrival in the area. The chronological evidence alone makes it impossible for Ndewura Jakpa to have encountered Naa Darizegu or Naa Luro. The NaCCA approved dates of 1622 to 1666 for the supposed Gonja invasion further contradict the Dagomba historical calendar.
- The local Dagbani name "Zabagsi" refers to the people Naa Luro named after his revenge war. While the name Zabagsi now loosely refers to people within the Yagbon kingdom in modern usage, the Ngbanya/Gonja are different from the Kolinsi people Naa Luro referred to as Zabagsi.

Early colonial writers could not incorporate this distinction in their chronicles.

E. Both Dagomba and Gonja Oral Traditions Reject the Conquest Narrative

- The most profound evidence against the NaCCA narrative is that it is rejected by BOTH sides. A people who had genuinely conquered another kingdom would preserve and celebrate that achievement in their own oral tradition. The Ngbanya/Gonja do not.
- Munkaila, a Gonja historian contacted by Motariga during committee proceedings and placed on loudspeaker for the committee, testified: no Gonja can identify or trace Kalugsi Dojia or the Golon Golon Kumpatia. During the periods of Naa Darizegu and Naa Luro, the Ngbanya were not yet in the Daboya area. He further stated: "Before the Gonja fight with any people, they have what they do to indicate they are going into a war, and that cannot be found in the case of the Dagomba."
- Kodua Alhassan, son of Kagbapewura Kodua Matue amu Jewu II, in his Highlights on Distortions on West African History, similarly questioned whether Ndewura Jakpa ever encountered any Ya Naa, noting that Ndewura Jakpa had not even arrived to found the Gonjaland at the time these encounters are said to have taken place. He observed that the Golon Golon Kumpatia could be one of the aboriginal people but certainly not a Gonja.
- Motariga's cross cultural field research confirmed that the Ngbanya people of Damongo, Bole, and surrounding areas categorically refute the idea that the Dagomba and the Gonja/Ngbanya ever fought each other. They have no such war in their own historical tradition. Contemporary Gonja historians are themselves befuddled by the multiplicity of accounts of the supposed Gonja Dagomba war, which is itself evidence of the narrative's lack of grounding in either tradition.

F. The Relocation of the Capital to Yendi Was a Sovereign Decision, Not Military Exp

- The NaCCA narrative attributes the relocation of the Dagomba capital to Yendi to Gonja military pressure. This is false. The relocation to New Yendi was a sovereign administrative decision made by Naa Titugri. It was common practice for Dagomba kings to shift the royal palace location. The NaCCA narrative's use of this relocation as evidence of Dagomba displacement is a fundamental misinterpretation of a deliberate and sovereign act.

- Zii Tuya Naa noted in committee that the dates in GES/NaCCA books do not align with the Dagomba historical calendar at all. According to Dagomba records, Naa Darizegu's war was in the early 1500s and Naa Luro's war was around 1540 to 1570. These dates make it chronologically impossible for Ndewura Jakpa to have been involved.

G. The Kitaab Gbunja, the Primary Source of the Gonja Conquest Narrative, Is Deeply Flawed

- The Kitaab Gbunja (Chronicles from Gonja) is the most culpable original document that appears to have misled early scholars on the Gonja Dagomba war trajectory. According to Wilks (1986), the Gonja texts were compiled from manuscripts found in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, dated to approximately 1795 to 1820, and brought to Salaga for manipulation and dissemination. Wilks himself acknowledged the discrepancies in authorship and the questionable events and legends in the Kitaab Gbunja, noting these render it "a resource rather than a definitive history."
- Almost all written sources on the Gonja Dagomba war, including Blair (1930), Tamakloe (1931), Cardinal (1931), Rattray (1932), Manoukian (1952), Staniland (1975), and Levtzion, drew directly or indirectly on Hausa manuscripts, including the Kitaab Gbunja and the Ta'rikh al Sudan and Ta'rikh al Fatash by Timbuktu scholars, which were themselves shared among Hausa scholars such as Mallam Imoro ibn Abubakari (Chief Imam of Kete Krachi), Alhaji Muhammad bin Al Mustafa, Mallam Umar Kunandi, and others. The genealogy of error in the written record is clear and well documented.

6.3 Committee Resolution on This Topic

The committee unanimously resolves that the claim that the Gonja under Ndewura Jakpa invaded Dagbon, killed Naa Darizegu on Dagomba soil, pushed the Dagomba from western to eastern Dagbon, and ruled over them until independence, is a fabricated narrative that must be expunged from all NaCCA accredited curriculum materials. The evidence is convergent and overwhelming: Naa Darizegu died in Gonja territory, confirmed by his grave at Daboya; the name Jakpa never appears in drum chants about Darizegu or Naa Luro; the Ngbanya were not yet in the Daboya area during those reigns; the Gonja themselves deny any such war; the relocation of the capital to Yendi was a sovereign decision; and the primary source, the Kitaab Gbunja, is acknowledged to be unreliable even by its own compilers.

The NaCCA narrative has not only fabricated events but has placed Ndwura Jakpa in the wrong era of Dagomba history entirely.

7. WHAT WE ARE ASKING OF NACCA

TEAM LEADER NOTE: Present these as formal requests, not suggestions. Be specific and tie each to a timeline where possible.

1. Expunge the Red Hunter (Toha Zei) legend and the Chad origin narrative

from all NaCCA accredited curriculum materials from Basic School to Senior High School, and replace with Naa Nimbu as the uncontested starting point of Dagomba history.

2. Correct the claim of Ashanti conquest of the Dagomba

and the claim of Gonja/Ndwura Jakpa conquest of the Dagomba in all accredited materials.

3. Correct the portrayal of the Dagomba as invaders or migrants

who displaced indigenous peoples from the east of the White Volta River.

4. Establish a formal consultation process

when NaCCA approves or commissions curriculum content about a particular people, the representatives and oral history keepers of that people must be consulted in the verification of that content before it is approved for classroom use.

5. Partner with this committee

in the development of replacement NaCCA approved curriculum materials from Basic School through Senior High School, grounded in our research and agreed positions.

8. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

TEAM LEADER NOTE: Deliver this slowly and with gravity. This is what NaCCA will remember when the meeting ends.

"Director-General, the Dagomba are not a people without history. They are a people whose history has been told wrongly, and told wrongly for nearly a century, in classrooms across this country, to children who deserved better."

"The narratives we have challenged today did not originate from Dagomba drummers, Dagomba elders, or Dagomba scholars. They originated from a Hausa informant's account, filtered through a colonial officer's appendix, reproduced by academic writers who cited each other across generations, and eventually approved into Ghana's national curriculum. That chain, from Malam Halidu to the classroom, must be broken."

"We are not asking NaCCA to take our word for it. We are asking NaCCA to look at the evidence, the source chains, the fieldwork of Prof. Chernoff, the National House of Chiefs research, the testimony of the drummers seated in this room, and make the decision that truth demands."

"Every year that passes with these narratives in the curriculum is another year in which a Dagomba child opens a history book and reads that their people came from Chad, that a man called Toha Zei whom their own drummers have never heard of is their ancestor, and that they are settlers in the land their grandparents have called home for generations beyond counting. That is a harm we can correct. And today is the day to begin."

"We leave this engagement today with gratitude for your time, your openness, and your willingness to listen. The people of Dagbon are watching this engagement with hope. We trust NaCCA to honour that hope. Ni ti paya. God bless Ghana."

Prepared by:

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Team Leader | Lead Researcher and Report Compiler

Dagbon NaCCA/GES/MoE Review Committee

On behalf of Dagbamba Youth Association (DAYA)

9th June 2026

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