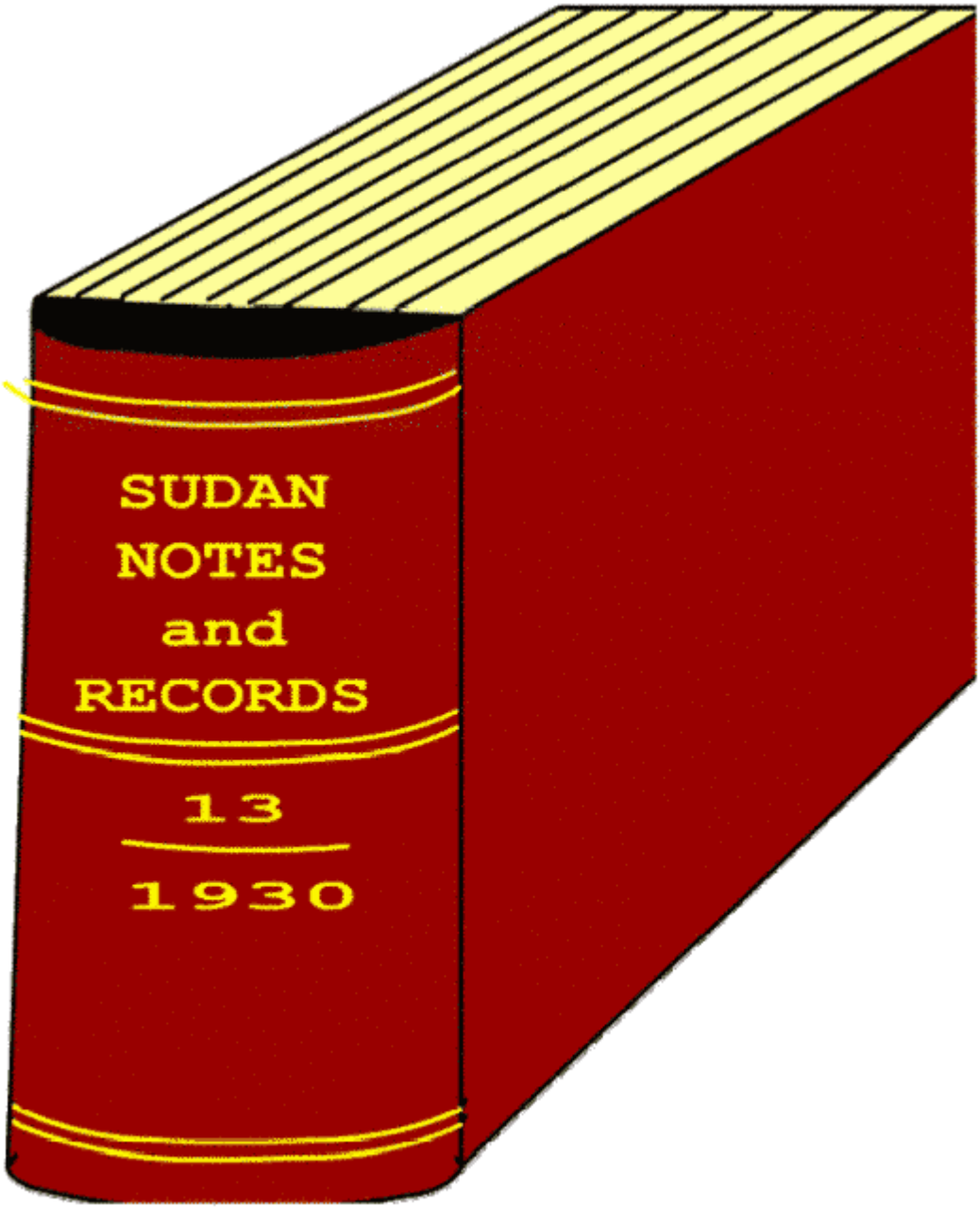
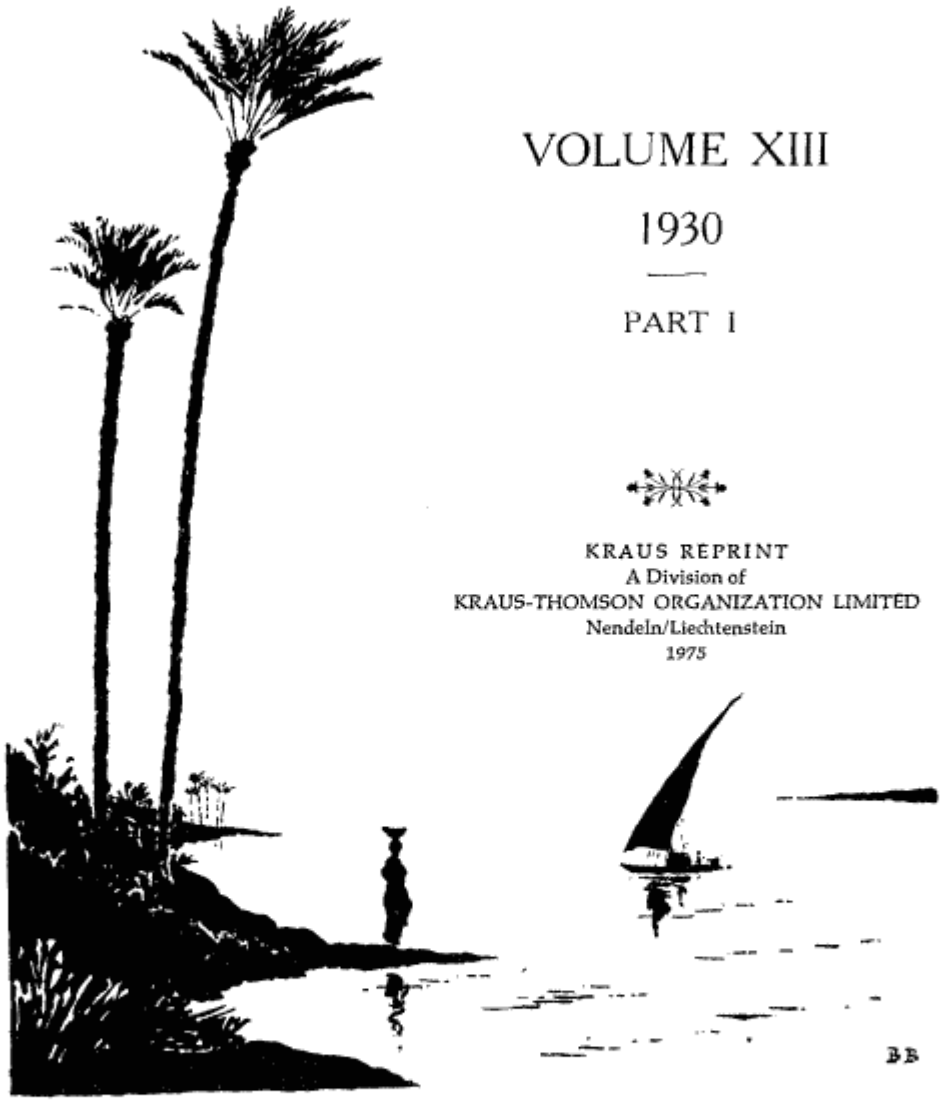


Ammar Yasir

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS



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Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

adopted by the Editors of «Sudan Notes and Records».

ا	at beginning of word omit, hamza elsewhere ʾ	ذ	dh (coll. d)	غ	gh
ب	b	ر	r	ف	f
ت	t	ز	z	ق	q (coll. g)
ث	th (coll. t or s)	س	s	ك	k
ج	j	ش	sh	ل	l
ح	ḥ	ص	ṣ	م	m
خ	kh	ض	ḍ	ن	n
د	d	ط	ṭ	ه	h
		ظ	ẓ	و	w
		ع	ʿ	ى	y

Vowels.

fatḥa	a,	lengthened	ā
kasra	i,	—	ī
damma	u,	—	ū

Diphthongs.

ـَـ ى ai (as in aisle) coll. ē

ـَـ و au (as in mauser) coll. ō

The ل of the article always remains *l*.

Silent *t* (ĕ) to be omitted.

Notes.

1. The system will not be applied to well known names. Write Khartoum, Omdurman, instead of Khartūm, Umm Darmān.
2. In transliterating colloquial Arabic follow the pronunciation and not the spelling, giving the vowels their value as in Italian.

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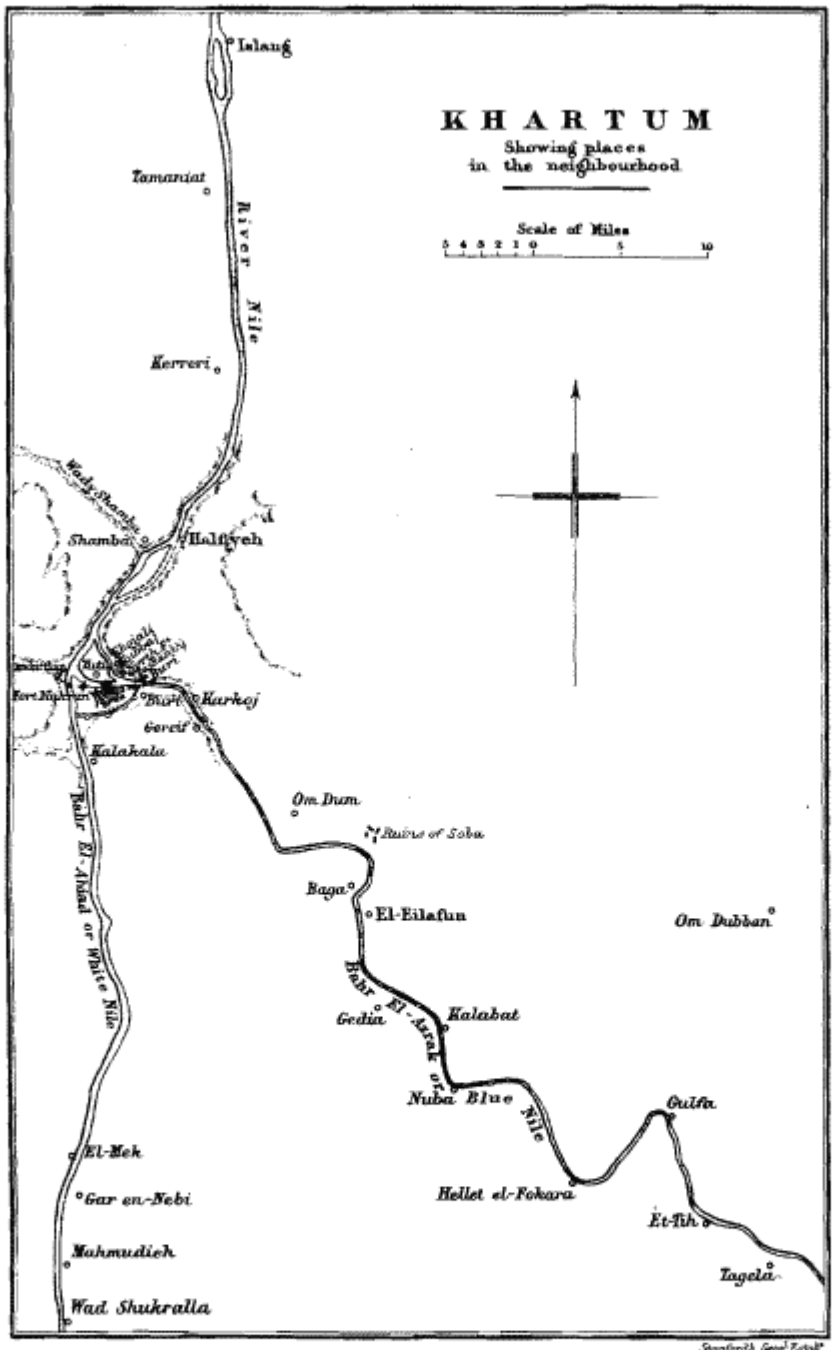
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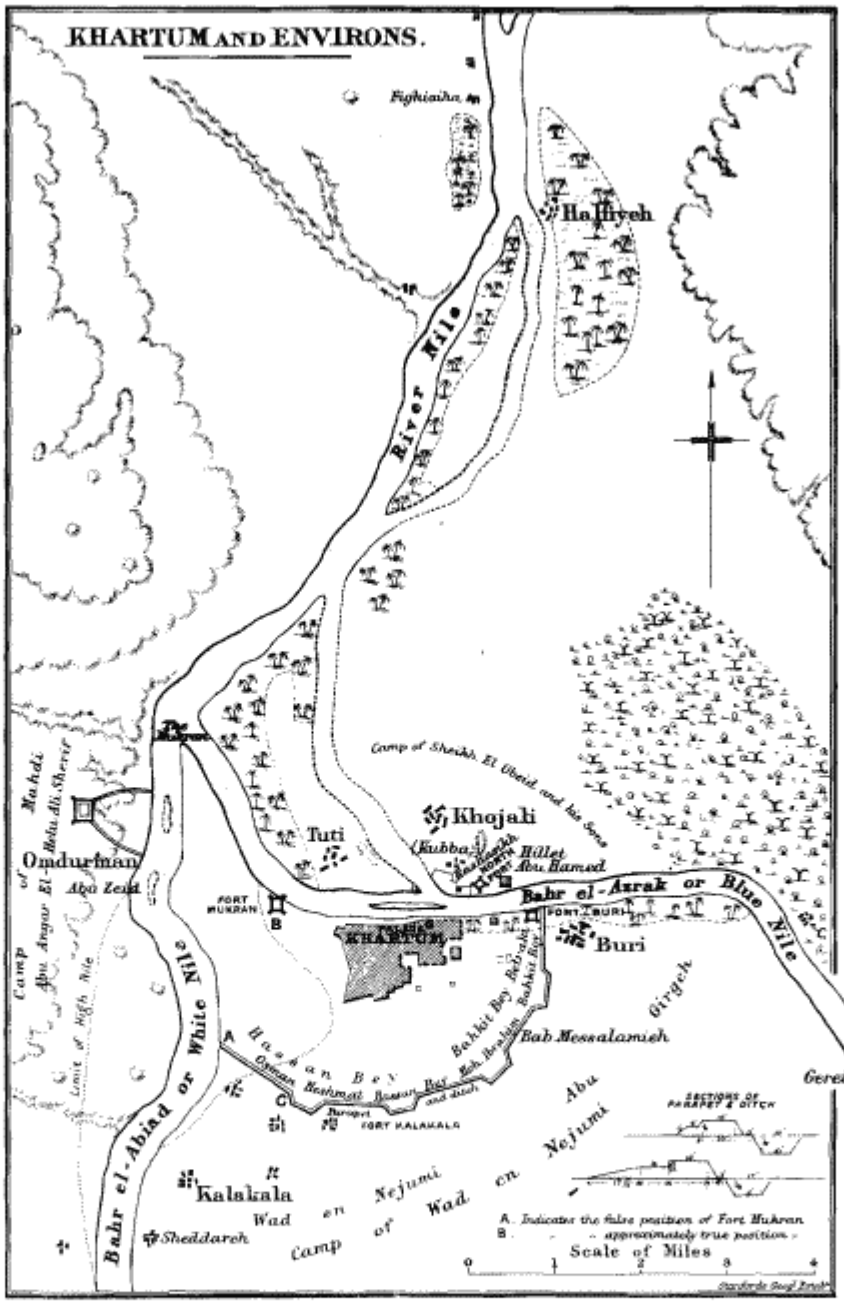
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From Wingate's "Mahdiism" by permission of Messrs. Macmillan & Co.



This map is partly compiled from W.O. maps 532 and 381, showing the true position of Fort Mukran. The space between A. & C. indicates the broken down parapet which the Arabs crossed in the assault on Khartum.

From "Ring-stee Nahdiwm" by permission of Messrs Macmillan & Co

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XIII Part I 1930

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF KHARTUM.

By Major F. R. Wingate.

Reprinted from the United Service Magazine (now the Army Quarterly), January to July, 1892, by kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. William Clowes & Sons, Ltd. The Editors of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS *are greatly indebted to* GENERAL SIR F. R. WINGATE *for permission to reprint this document, which cannot fail to be of great interest to readers of the Journal. The accompanying maps appeared originally in the same writer's "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan," published by Messrs. MacMillan & Co. in 1891. No changes have been made in the spelling of names except in a few cases of obvious misprints.*

I.

IN collecting the information I embodied in my "Account of Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan,"* and especially the portions dealing with the siege and fall of Khartum, I had to thoroughly search the archives of the Egyptian War Office in Cairo, and all documents of any importance were carefully examined. In so doing, I discovered that towards the end of 1885 an extensive report had been drawn up by a committee of Egyptian officers, under the presidency of Mohammed Nushi Pasha,† dealing with the siege and fall of Khartum from a native point of view. Although I was therefore cognisant of the fact that such a report had

* "An Account of Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan." Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London, 1891.

† The Court was composed of Mohammed Nushi Pasha, President; Es Sayid Eff., El Amin-Major in Khartum; Abdel Kader Bey Hassan, late Commandant of Volunteers, Khartum; Hassan Eff. Abdullah, late Vakil of Khartum; Mudirieh Mazuk Eff. and Bedawi Eff. Abdel Hamid, Second Lieutenants, Khartum; Mikhail Eff. Daoud, Merchant in Khartum; Mohammed Eff. Nadim, late Katib of Harrar.

been written, every effort to discover its whereabouts was unavailing; and it was not until "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan" had been completed that I was enabled to obtain, by the gracious permission of His Highness the late Khedive, a manuscript copy of it from the private library in Abdin Palace.

Apart from the historical interest connected with the document, the readers of the above work will observe that the description of events related therein, although drawn from a variety of sources, corresponds, with very few exceptions, to the history of the siege and fall of Khartum as related by Nushi Pasha and his colleagues in the following pages.

It should, however, be noted that Nushi Pasha was not present in Khartum during the latter portion of the siege, for he had been commissioned by General Gordon to take the steamers to Shendi to meet the British Relief Expedition. The Arabic manuscripts were therefore submitted to Bordeini Bey, the eminent Khartum merchant, and a recognised authority on the occurrences of the siege. A few of his remarks and criticisms are embodied in the foot-notes.

The following is a free translation of the Arabic report, such portions only being omitted that do not appear to bear directly on the most striking and important events of that memorable siege. The report is headed "Life of Gordon Pasha in Khartum." The first pages are taken up in describing the arrival of General Gordon in Khartum on the 18th February, 1884, the official reception, general rejoicings, etc. It then continues :—

"When the levée was over, Gordon Pasha came out into the hall of the Hukumdarieh and stood by a large table covered with red cloth; Sayid Hassan El Majdi then came forward and read out His Highness the Khedive's high order appointing Gordon Pasha to be Governor-General of the Sudan. The Pasha then added: 'The Firman which you have just heard read is to appoint me Governor-General of the Sudan, and orders me to carefully inquire into its present disturbed state; and I pray that God Almighty will give us his help and guide us in the right path. I might have brought numbers of troops with me, but I have confidence in you, and you also have had previous experience of my government, and therefore I can sufficiently rely on the troops which are here. This officer,' pointing to Stewart Pasha, 'is my brother and my second-in-command, and has been appointed to assist me. You

will therefore obey his orders and respect him as you respect me.' The troops were then dismissed, and Gordon Pasha proceeded to the palace, where he at once began to inquire into the various petitions which he had received during his journey to Khartum. He then circulated orders to the following effect: 'I hereby grant to all people their rights. All Government claims in arrear up to the end of 1883 will not be dealt with. The slave trade will be permitted as in former years, the taxes for 1884 will be reduced by one-half, and all old registers up to the end of 1883 will be burnt.'" Here follows an account of the illuminations in Khartum on 18th February, and the various official visits paid by Gordon. Then, on 20th February, 1884, at 8 a.m., Gordon Pasha asked for the back registers of the various Government stores, the Arsenal, Dockyard, Ammunition, and Treasury accounts, and examined them all carefully. He appointed Mohammed Pasha Hassan to be the Director of Finance, and to establish his bureau. On examining the registers it was found that the following articles remained in store, viz.: 23,500 ardebs of dhurra; 100 ardebs of wheat; 60,000 okes of Indian rice; 1,250,000 okes of biscuits; 14 kantars of honey; 200 kantars of tamarinds; 1 kantar of ostrich feathers; 3,000 ardebs of salt; some rhinoceros horns; 600 kantars of soap; 1,000 kantars of oil; 1,000 kantars of grease; 872 Remington rifles; 2,680 rifles, old system; 315,740 packets of Remington ammunition; 103,068 packets of old rifle ammunition; 3,700 packets of old mitrailleuse ammunition; 1,269 packets of new mitrailleuse ammunition; 2,510 shrapnel shell (Krupp); 1,900 common shell (Krupp); 250 case; 1,255 war rockets; 13,323 shells of various sorts (mountain-guns); 570 shells for old Pattern guns; 130,710 old leather skins; 255 kantars of small arm gunpowder; 19 kantars of coloured powder for fireworks; 376,000 caps for obsolete rifles; 850,000 caps for Remington rifles.

Ahmed Bey Ali Jallab, Mudir of Khartum, was discharged, and Awad El Kerim Pasha Abu Sin, chief of the Shukrieh tribe, appointed in his place; but, owing to disturbances in his district, the latter was unable to come to Khartum, and Ali Musa Bey Shauki, ex-Mudir of Bahr El Ghazal, was provisionally nominated to take his place.

Circulars were then issued to the various districts to the effect that Mohammed Ahmed, the so-called Mahdi, had been appointed Sultan of Kordofan, while Gordon Pasha was the Wali or Governor-General of

the Sudan, with Awad El Kerim Pasha as Mudir of Khartum. The various offices were established, and everything put into order. Gordon Pasha while on his way to the Sudan had telegraphed to Khartum to find out if Busati Bey, the former chief clerk of the Government, was still there, for Gordon Pasha knew he was an honest man; but Busati Bey had gone with Hicks Pasha to Kordofan. The second day after Gordon Pasha's arrival in Khartum, he went to Busati Bey's family, and said, "As Busati Bey is not here, I will take his place." He afterwards sent his mother £100 out of his own pocket. Gordon Pasha then visited the schools, and the children recited verses praising His Highness the Khedive for sending them such a gallant officer. He ordered Stewart Pasha to inspect the prisons, and, after receiving his report, he ordered the release of all except murderers. Three days after his arrival, he saw all the troops of the garrison at their alarm posts, and inspected the whole of the fortifications. Accompanied by the different commanding officers, he began his inspection at Fort Buri on the Blue Nile, and went along the whole line to the White Nile (about 7,000 metres at Low Nile and 9,000 metres at High Nile). He altered the numbers of men at the various posts, increasing some and decreasing others.

Owing to the defeat of Hicks Pasha, all the gates had been closed except the Messalamieh Gate, and anyone wishing to go out was obliged to obtain a pass signed by the chief of the police But in order to reassure the people, Gordon Pasha ordered all the gates to be opened and free passes given to all.

All guards in the various forts were supplied from the 1st Sudan Brigade. This brigade was under the command of Farag Bey Ez Zeini, and he had been greatly complimented by Abdel Kader Pasha for the good dispositions he had made at a time of great emergency. Gordon Pasha ordered the Sudanese troops back to their respective barracks, and only retained a small number of guns in the forts, returning the remainder to the arsenal. He despatched Mohammed Nushi Bey, with a force of infantry and artillery, to Om-Durman, on the west bank, and to be under the command of Ibrahim Bey Fauzi, who was made Commandant of the Egyptian troops, with headquarters at the Hukumdarieh. Said Pasha Hussain El Jumati was appointed Commandant of Bashi-Bazuks and Shaggiehs, with headquarters also at the Hukumdarieh. Ibrahim Pasha Haidar was ordered to proceed to Berber, and to arrange

for sending on to Cairo the troops arriving from the Western Sudan; while Colonel De Coetlogon (with his staff), Mohammed Ali Bey (Chief Clerk of the Hukumdarieh), Mohammed Bey Shukri (ex-Mudir of Fashoda), and Hassan Bey Helmi (Chief Assistant at the Hukumdarieh) were all ordered to proceed to Cairo.

In answer to a telegram from Hussain Pasha Khalifa, Mudir of Berber, Gordon Pasha sent him 6,000 ardebs of dhurra.

Then follows a detail of the arrangements made by General Gordon for the despatch of the families of officers and men who had been killed with Hicks Pasha and in other engagements to Cairo :—

At this time, Saleh Bey El Mek, of the Shaggiehs, was besieged, with 1,800 men, at the village of Fedasi. General Gordon ordered a relief column, consisting of four ordis of Bashi-Bazuks and Shaggiehs, under the command of Hassan Bey Ibrahim, to proceed forthwith; but just as they were about to set out news came that the rebel Sheikh El Obeid was advancing towards Halfieh. Hassan Bey's orders were, therefore, cancelled, and the column returned to Khartum. A special committee, composed of notables, was formed for the purpose of inquiring into native complaints; and Stewart Pasha, with certain influential natives, was despatched south to inquire into the state of affairs in the White Nile districts. On the arrival of the latter at El Duem, they were attacked by a large number of Arabs, and forced to retire, and on their return to Khartum the people became alarmed. A number of the merchants petitioned to be allowed to return to Cairo before the troops started.

Gordon Pasha then ordered Nushi Pasha and his troops to evacuate Om-Durman, leaving there only the 1st Battalion, under Osman Eff. Hishmet, and one gun, and to return to Khartum. The Sudanese and Bashi-Bazuks were again ordered to the lines, and all preparations made to resist attack. It was at this time that Sheikh Ali El Hed, the son of Awad El Kerim Pasha, arrived at Khartum, and reported that all the Governor-General's orders to the rebels were unheeded, that they were still continuing hostilities, and that nothing but a strong force was likely to check the revolt.

Gordon Pasha, on hearing this news, retired to his room, and was busy writing telegrams till midnight. We did not know the purport of these telegrams, but it was evident he feared the wires would be cut. When

he ascertained that it would be impossible for Awad El Kerim Pasha Abu Sin to come to Khartum, and take up the post of Mudir, he recalled Ahmed Ali Bey Jallab and reinstated him as Mudir. He also formed a Committee of Defence, consisting of—

FARAG PASHA EZ ZEINI, *President.*

IBRAHIM BEY FAUZI, MOHAMMED BEY NUSHI, * BIMBASHI MOHAMMED EFF. ALI, SAGHKOLAGHASI FARAG EFF. ALI, SAGHKOLAGHASI ALI EFF. SAKRE, *Members.*

The following were the proposals of the defence committee :

An ordi of Bashi-Bazuks to be detailed for the defence of the palace.

To distribute the whole of the troops in the forts and on the lines.

To place one gun and a company of soldiers in Fort Mukran, which had been evacuated.

To retain the present garrison at Om-Durman.

These proposals were approved by Gordon Pasha.

Owing to the spread of religious fanaticism, the Governor-General lost confidence in the committee appointed to inquire into native affairs ; it was therefore broken up, but the defence committee was retained.

At this time Khartum was full of rebel spies, who were corrupting the inhabitants. Gordon Pasha therefore ordered frequent parades of the troops, about 5,000 in number, outside the fortifications ; they were then marched through the town to the great square, where Gordon Pasha stood to receive the salute ; this parade had an excellent effect, and confidence became restored. Information now came that the Sheikh El Obeid was concentrating at El Eilafun, and intended occupying Halfieh ; also that Sheikh Mustafa El Amin, then living on the Island of Islang, had crossed to the west bank and intended besieging Om-Durman ; Sheikh Abdel Kader, the Kadi of Kalakla, now deserted Khartum, and, with some followers, took up a position near Shaggret-Muhi-Bey, intending to besiege Khartum from the south. Sheikh Mohammed Wad El Bessir, the Mahdi's brother-in-law, was at this time about thirty hours from Khartum to the west of the Blue Nile, inciting the Halwain Arabs to rise and besiege Khartum. On receiving confirmation of this news, Gordon Pasha had the old palace on the east

* Bordeini Bey denies that Fauzi and Nushi were members of this committee.

bank put into a state of defence, and garrisoned by 500 Bashi-Bazuks; this was connected by telegraph with Khartum. A force of 500 Bashi-Bazuks was also sent to Halfieh, with the object of covering the steamers arriving from Berber. Small reinforcements were also sent to Shendi, where it was said the revolt had also broken out.

The wire between Khartum and Shendi was now cut, and the small steamer *Abbas*, with the chief of telegraphs, Ismet Bey, and twenty men, was sent to repair it and obtain the mails. This trip was done in thirty hours.

It was now evident to Gordon Pasha that the rebels intended to besiege Khartum; the Fetaihab and Jammuieh tribes, who were then in Khartum and had been granted exceptional privileges by the Government, deserted to the rebels; a large number of Danagla also deserted, and settled at Kemlin, on the Blue Nile. In consequence of these desertions, the Buri and Kalakla gates were closed, and only the Messalamieh gate opened to those holding passes signed by the chief of police; no one was allowed to pass at night. Gordon Pasha also sent a proclamation to the rebels to the effect that he had been sent to the Sudan to establish justice, to prevent the shedding of blood, to secure the rights of the people, and to help the weak; that if they persisted in refusing to obey his orders they were to understand that the Government of England was in alliance with the Government of His Highness the Khedive, and that their disobedience would surely be punished. Abdel Kader Pasha had ordered a number of "crows' feet" to be made; these Gordon Pasha ordered to be thrown about in the exposed places outside the fortifications; he also ordered another small steamer, like the *Abbas*, to be constructed, recalled to the arsenal all the workmen who had been discharged, and placed the arsenal under a guard of a company of Sudanese troops.

Then follows "The History of the Siege":—

"On the 12th March, Ibrahim, son of the Sheikh El Obeid, advanced with about 5,000 Arabs to a place called Koko, and from thence, an hour after sunrise, he marched on Halfieh; and after five hours' fighting a number of the garrison surrendered, while the remainder retreated, fighting, and eventually returned to Khartum. The day previous to this attack one of the Sanjaks, Fahl Agha, had arrived at Khartum from Halfieh to report the bad state of the rifles; and he returned the following

day with 300 new Remingtons, but, finding the place was being attacked, he returned to Khartum. Gordon Pasha had, however, seen through his telescope from the top of the palace how the fight was proceeding, and he ordered Said Pasha to start at once with a force in three steamers and relieve the place. The latter succeeded in effecting the escape of many of the garrison, and inflicted great loss on the rebels; but Fahl Agha was killed. The fight took place on the 13th March. Shortly afterwards, Fauzi Bey was sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Halfieh in a steamer, which was heavily fired on, and Fauzi Bey was wounded in the leg. It was now evident that the rebels were making this an important station; they captured a number of boats which had been sent to collect wood, but fortunately two of the boats, containing a number of wounded men, succeeded in reaching Khartum in safety."

The dispositions of the rebels were now as follows :—

Fiki Mustafa, with a force of 2,000 men, at Khor Shamba.

Ahmed Abu Dufaireh, with 2,000 of the Fitaihab and Jammuieh Arabs, at El Dujejeh on the west bank, and just south of Om-Durman; most of these men were armed with rifles, and a number of them were mounted.

Sheikh Abdel Kader, Kadi of Kalakla, with 3,000 men armed with rifles, was at the village of Sheikh Salem, on the east bank of the White Nile, opposite to Shaggret-Muhi-Bey. El Abbas, son of the Sheikh El Obeid, was joined by En Nur Ibrahim El Gereifawi, a member of the Khartum Court of Appeal, and by the Fiki Medawi; and these three chiefs, with some 2,000 men, took up a position at Gereif, on the west bank of the Blue Nile. The above rebel chiefs, having agreed together, wrote a letter to Gordon Pasha, of which the following is the purport :—

"We have no doubt that Mohammed Ahmed is the Mahdi, and we believe in his divine mission. We have been ordered by him to lay siege to you and attack you. If you surrender you shall be safe, and this bloodshed will be stopped."

Sheikh Abdel Kader also wrote to the effect that he had been appointed the Mahdi's special Vazir; that he had been preaching the Mahdi's advent for the last thirty years; that he would guarantee the lives of Gordon and Stewart Pashas, and their secretary, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, and send them back to their country; but as for all the other people,

they, and all the stores and other Government property, would become the property of the Mahdi.

Gordon Pasha having read this letter, presented the messengers with money and robes, and sent them back with the following reply.

" Be it known to you that Mohammed Ahmed is not the Mahdi, as it is written in the Sacred Books. I can only recognise him as the Sultan of the Western Sudan, as I have already stated. As to my surrendering to you, that I shall certainly not do as long as your heads are on your necks. You shall be surrounded by brave troops, before whom you will not be able to stand. The army of His Highness the Khedive and of Her Majesty the Queen shall fall upon you ; do not therefore deceive yourselves. It is impossible for me to deliver the army and the inhabitants over to you to be plundered and killed ; therefore be wise and consider."

Gordon Pasha, after despatching this letter, mounted his horse and rode round the fortifications. Finding that the soldiers had only ten packets of cartridges each, he ordered a reserve of forty boxes per company to be kept on the parapets, and one hundred rounds per gun ; and he also gave instructions to Farag Pasha Ez Zeini to prepare four companies and a mountain gun, with the necessary ammunition and transport, to join the force he was sending to attack Halfieh. He then instructed Said Pasha, commanding the Bashi-Bazuks, to parade half of his troops and join the above force, which was under the command of Adjutant-Major Ali Eff. Sakre ; the command of the whole force being vested in Said Pasha.

Under the instructions of Farag Pasha, the infantry was formed up in square, with Bashi-Bazuks covering the right and left faces, and the remainder of the Bashi-Bazuks and volunteers as a reserve ; and Said Pasha, having sent forward an advanced guard, advanced towards Halfieh. Gordon Pasha watched the movements through his telescope from the top of the palace.

The rebels at Halfieh, seeing the troops approaching, divided into three divisions. One division took up a position out of sight between Salamet El Pasha and Khojali ; another division was concealed behind a sandhill near El Mellaha ; while the third division took up a position in the open to oppose the advance. On the advance guard getting in touch with the rebels, Said Pasha halted the square. Just at this

moment Hassan Pasha Ibrahim Eshellali, commanding the troops at the Eastern Palace, and who had nothing to do with the operations, rode up to Said Pasha, and had a long conversation with him, and then volunteered to go himself in the direction of El Mellaha to discover the enemy's intentions. He proceeded, and had a palaver with some of the rebel Emirs. Meanwhile Said Pasha had gone some distance from the troops, awaiting Eshellali's return; and on the latter coming up with him they again conversed, while the rebels were advancing and firing at the troops. Seeing the enemy's attack developing, the commandant of the infantry ordered Ahmed Eff. Khalid, one of the artillery officers, to open fire, and the square advanced. The two Pashas then rode up, and ordered the "Cease fire"; but the artillery officer, seeing that the enemy were beginning to retire, refused to obey the order, and continued firing; thereupon Hassan Pasha drew his sword and cut off the officer's head. Said Pasha also ordered the bugler to sound the retreat, and told the Adjutant-Major to cease fire. The latter refused to retire. Said Pasha then turned to the bugler, saying, "I am the general officer commanding: you must obey my orders." The bugler hesitated, until Said Pasha and the Adjutant-Major had ceased talking, when the former drew his sword and cut off the bugler's head. Another bugler was then ordered to sound the retreat, and fearing that a like fate might befall him, he did so. The two Pashas thereupon, with drawn swords, began to drive the troops back against their will; but Khashm El Mus Bey and Mohammed Agha Koradieh strove with might and main to induce the men to return and continue the action.

The following officers, viz., Captain Mahmud Eff. Himmet, Captain Mansur Eff. Abdullah, Lieutenants Mirsal Agha and Bakhit Agha, also Latif Agha, Ali Agha, and Ibrahim Agha Ed Dillal, having collected some of the men, returned, but the two Pashas riding back killed them all. These two traitorous Pashas held their tarbouches in their mouths so as to show the rebels who they were. Ali Agha, before he was killed, twice fired his revolver at Hassan Pasha, but missed him. Mualli Bey, commanding the Bashi-Bazuks, tried to save the gun which had been left behind, but was killed. The force was now in full retreat, followed by the victorious rebels led by the Fiki Medawi.* All the transport camels carrying ammunition and water fell into the hands of the enemy,

* This Emir received a bullet-wound in the foot on this occasion.

who pursued almost up to the Eastern Palace, and were eventually dispersed by the fire from the Krupp guns, which Gordon Pasha ordered to be turned on them. This defeat occurred on the 16th March. Stewart Pasha was sent across to the Eastern Palace to inquire into the cause of the disaster, and on his telegraphing to Gordon Pasha, the latter ordered the two Pashas to come to him at once; and, on being questioned by him, they confessed what they had done. Gordon spoke kindly to them, gave them coffee, and permitted them to return to their houses. He did this in order to prevent alarm, and to gain time until he could make a more complete inquiry. Shortly afterwards Farag informed Gordon that, owing to the conduct of these two Pashas, there was an uproar amongst the people and the troops. The General ordered Farag Pasha to do what he could to quiet them, and instructed the chief of police to have the two Pashas carefully watched, and to bring them before him the following morning. On their arrival the next day, the families of the murdered officers presented numbers of petitions representing the cowardice of the two Pashas, and that unless they were punished they would take the law into their own hands and punish them. Farag Pasha further represented that there was a strong feeling in the town on the matter. Gordon Pasha therefore ordered a general Court-martial, of which Farag Pasha was president, to try the two Pashas; they were both convicted and found guilty of murder and treachery, and were sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out at once, and had a quieting effect on the town. Khashm El Mus was promoted for his gallantry during the action.

The retreat of the troops and the treachery of the two Pashas had a very bad effect on the people, and it was the general impression that the troops could not be victorious; so that the feeling in favour of the Mahdi increased, and there were open signs of defection in the town itself. General Gordon ordered a meeting of the principal officers, with a view to quelling this mutinous spirit, and Nushi Pasha was elected Governor of the town, a certain number of troops being placed at his disposal to preserve order. Instructions were issued to commanding officers to assist the Governor in every way; guards of soldiers were placed in various parts of the town, and bodies of troops patrolled day and night; orders were also given that all persons, without exception, found out of their houses two hours after sunset would be shot, and their property

confiscated. The effect of these measures was excellent, and tranquillity was soon restored. An attempt was now made to send the steamer *Abbas*, with the Mudir of Khartum, Musa Bey Shauki, to Berber to obtain the mail, and to ascertain the movements of the enemy; but the rebels had constructed strong forts near Halfieh, and the water was low, so the steamers could not pass. It was also reported that the rebels had constructed a wire rope, which they had stretched across the river at Shabaluka. Gordon Pasha, under all these circumstances, ordered the attempt to be abandoned. Just before the wire rope was put up, the steamer *Tewfikieh*, which had been sent to Shendi, and whose commander, Ali Agha Hassan, knew nothing of the events at Halfieh, steamed towards Khartum, and on approaching Halfieh was heavily fired on from both banks. Gordon Pasha, seeing through his telescope that the *Tewfikieh* was in difficulties, sent the *Abbas* and two other steamers to her assistance. The *Tewfikieh's* rudder had been broken, and the steamers had the greatest difficulty in towing her off under a heavy fire.* Gordon Pasha complimented the officers and men on the *Tewfikieh*, and after reading the mail published the following:—

"All my requests have been granted. Troops will soon arrive. Take courage and be happy."

The inhabitants and troops were delighted with this news.

Four steamers were then detailed to assist in guarding Khartum at night. There were in all 200 soldiers on board. Two steamers were placed at the extremity of the fortifications on the Blue Nile, and two on the White Nile; while the steamer *Tewfikieh*, after being repaired, was stationed at Mukran at the junction of the two Niles.

To facilitate communication, telegraph stations were formed at each post, with the principal station at the Hukumdarieh. The Treasury was now empty, so Gordon Pasha obtained loans from merchants, giving them receipts, and agreeing to repay them when money reached him. Many of the officers also who had money brought it to the Treasury, and received similar receipts. But as the siege went on many of the

* Bordeini Bey states that the rescue of the *Tewfikieh* was in a great measure due to a stratagem made by Gordon. The latter ordered the troops in the Eastern Palace to march out, and at the same time a quantity of powder was blown up. This caused considerable confusion amongst the rebels at Halfieh, who, conceiving that they were about to be attacked in force from Khartum, allowed the steamer to pass. Gordon believed that the steamer was carrying the treasure which had been left at Berber, and was much disappointed when this was found not to be the case.

merchants asked for their money again, and he, to satisfy them, granted them ranks according to their position in society, and in this way he managed to get all he required ; † succeeding in keeping a certain sum of money in the Treasury, which he only used in case of urgent need, or for spies, messengers, and others. He also established a paper currency by lithographing bonds for 5, 10, 20, 40, 100, 500, 1,000, and 2,000 piastres. The total value of these notes did not exceed 50,000 Egyptian pounds. They were sealed with the Hukumdarieh seal and with Gordon's, and were also signed by him. They were all numbered at the Treasury, and dated 25th April, 1884. The arrears of pay due to troops which came from Kordofan, Darfur and Bahr El Ghazal were paid in these notes. At first there was very great difficulty in getting the natives to accept this new currency ; but after a time, when the native merchants saw that the European merchants did not oppose it, they at length agreed. A further sum of £10,000 was allotted for smaller notes, of which 10,000 piastres was expended on single piastre bonds, and the remainder on bonds of from five to ten piastres value.

II.

GORDON PASHA now directed his attention to the strengthening of the steamers, making a breastwork of hard wood and boiler-plating, to render them bullet-proof ; bullet-proof turrets were also made at the bows and amidships, and a bullet-proof crows'-nest was also put at the masthead. Each steamer, besides the crew, had a complement of fifty infantry and Bashi-Bazuks, in addition to the artillery. Seven thousand okes of biscuits was also carried in each steamer as a reserve. In order to replenish the store of wood, he ordered the houses of all those who had deserted to the Mahdi to be dismantled, and the wood to be specially stored for the use of the steamers. He also instructed his military engineer, Abbass Eff. Rasmi, to place wire entanglements just outside the lines ; and beyond these he placed mines, making a complete chain of them, extending from the Blue to the White Nile. Hicks Pasha had left a number of empty water-tins on the east bank of the White Nile. These Gordon had filled with dynamite, and placed in weak and undefended places. A number were also placed in the

† Bordeini Bey states that he, Consul Nicola Leondide, Mohammed Pasha Hassan, and Dr. Nicola used to assemble at the palace by night, and consult with General Gordon on these measures.

villages of Hillet Abu Hamed and Khojali, and also at a spot about 300 yards from the Eastern Palace. The village of Om-Durman was levelled, and the fort there strengthened by wire entanglements and mines. Mines were also placed on Tuti Island, and in the Khor north of Om-Durman.

About this time the messenger who had been sent with Gordon's letter to the Mahdi returned, accompanied by two men bearing a white flag. Gordon Pasha admitted them; and as they refused to give up their arms they were allowed to keep them, and were brought to the palace under a guard. They then handed over the letter they brought from the Mahdi, together with a present for Gordon Pasha, consisting of a jubbeh (coat), turban, girdle, beads, and a pair of sandals.

The tenor of the letter was to the effect that he, the Mahdi, was not sent to be made Sultan of Kordofan, but rather to show the world the road to everlasting happiness. He urged Gordon Pasha to surrender, promising him life and the pardon of all his followers if he did so. He urged that he was the promised Mahdi, and those who refused to accept him would be tortured in this world and in the world to come. He recounted the various victories he had obtained in confirmation of his statements, and ended with the threat that should Gordon Pasha refuse to obey this summons he would be attacked and destroyed.*

To this summons Gordon Pasha replied that he could not hold any further communications with the False Mahdi. At the same time the Ulema of Khartum drew up a religious document† disproving the Mahdi's divinity, which was despatched with the messengers.

Gordon Pasha had now little doubt that the siege would be pressed more heavily; he therefore enlisted a number of volunteers to assist in manning the defences; these he obtained through some twenty of the principal merchants and townsmen, who rendered loyal assistance. They were taught the military exercises, and when Gordon Pasha was satisfied with their proficiency, he granted them the same pay and rations as the regular soldiers. He also organised some new ordis of Bashi-Bazuks, so that in all the total number amounted to 32; each contained from 50 to 300 men. They were under the supreme com-

* For full text of this letter, and Gordon's reply, see "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan," pages 111-115.

† "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan," pages 159, 160.

mand of Khashm El Mus Pasha, while Mitu Bey commanded the Turkish Bashi-Bazuks, and Abdel Kader Bey Hassan the volunteers.

The fort at Buri not being considered strong enough, Gordon directed Stewart Pasha and Fauzi Bey to build a stronger and better one, and to strengthen and heighten the wall, so that the men might fire out of loopholes. The Nile was now very low. The Blue Nile had receded, leaving a space of some thirty yards between it and Buri Fort. Gordon Pasha, therefore, had the ditch extended down to the water, and from here a chain was stretched across to the east bank, and to this chain a number of boats were attached, in which were mines which would explode on being touched. Steamers also covered this part of the river at night.

The siege was now pressed heavily, and merchants, believing that it would be long before it would be raised, began to hide their grain, dates, etc., in trenches, which they dug inside their houses, intending, as the siege continued, to sell their provisions at high prices. Before long the price of grain went up to £E.12 the ardeb. The poor inhabitants and Government employés now began to complain. Gordon Pasha therefore ordered a commission to assemble and report to him. The Governor of the town and his assistants made a minute search of the houses, and submitted to the Governor-General a list showing the amount of provisions found concealed; whereupon he ordered the whole of the grain to be sold at the rate of 12 dollars the ardeb, leaving only a supply of three months to the various owners.

A number of the very poor inhabitants, such as wood-gatherers, beggars, etc., now became very clamorous, bitterly complaining that they had no means of subsistence; Gordon Pasha therefore assembling a meeting of all the sheikhs of the various quarters, and a number of the townspeople, asked them to obtain the exact number of persons who were destitute. It was found to be about 3,000, and Gordon Pasha ordered them to receive a daily ration of 100 dirhems of biscuits; but this amount was eventually reduced to fifty dirhems.

At about this time Gordon Pasha learnt, through a spy, that the Mahdi had nominated a Dongola man, called Abu Girgeh, formerly the pilot of a boat belonging to Sheikh Hamed El Akhad, to be Emir of the two seas (Blue and White Nile) and the land between, known as "Gezireh." He was said to be advancing with a force of 2,000 men, composed of four companies of well-armed Sudanese and Egyptian soldiers, who had been taken prisoners in Kordofan; he had also two

guns and a rocket battery, and quantities of ammunition. At this time the ammunition in Khartum was kept in magazines near the defences; but for greater safety Gordon Pasha hired from Consul Hansal, for 1,500 piastres a month, the Roman Catholic Church, which is a stone building, and there he transferred all the ammunition. He also hired the two neighbouring houses, belonging to Idris En Nur and to Mr. Liteif, which he used as cartridge manufactories. The old arsenal was then destroyed, and the brick and stone of which it had been composed was stacked at various places along the line of defence in case of need.

Abu Girgeh had now arrived, and took up a position between Buri and Gereif. He wrote to Gordon Pasha that he had been specially appointed by the Mahdi as the Emir of the two seas and land, and that he had been ordered first to take Fedasi, and after killing Saleh Wad El Mek and his men, he was to besiege Khartum; that he had been ordered to make this known to Gordon Pasha, so that he might surrender before being attacked. No notice was taken of this letter, but Saleh Bey El Mek was written to, giving him an increase of rank, and warning him not to listen to anything Abu Girgeh might say to him. Meanwhile Abu Girgeh, having received no reply from Gordon Pasha, summoned the Sheikh El Obeid, and instructed him to proceed to Fedasi, and to inform Saleh Bey that he had captured Khartum, and that it was useless for him to hold out. Sheikh El Obeid at once complied; and taking with him Saleh's wife, who had been captured at the village of El Jaili, he saw Saleh El Mek, and warned him that Abu Girgeh was coming with a large army, and that he had better surrender. Saleh believed him, but recommended Abu Girgeh to interview his sanjaks and men. The latter absolutely refused to give in, saying, "We would rather fall from horseback into the grave than surrender;" and, moreover, they threatened to kill Saleh Bey if he made terms with the rebels. Whilst this controversy was going on, Abu Girgeh arrived with his force, and took up a position within range; he then sent a letter to Saleh to the effect that he had captured Khartum, and that unless he at once capitulated he would attack and destroy him. Saleh, seeing that his position was open to the enemy's fire on every side, was obliged to submit, but before doing so threw most of the arms and ammunition into the river. Abu Girgeh then entered the camp, took possession of the

stores and steamer, and ordered the Sheikh El Obeid to take Saleh and the other prisoners to El Eilafun. Abu Girgeh now returned to the neighbourhood of Buri, and finding that Khartum was more strongly fortified than he had expected, he decided not to attack, but summoned a certain Ismail Eff, who had formerly been employed in the Government survey, and ordered him to build forts between Buri and Gereif, so as to protect him and his men from the continual attacks of the steamers which patrolled the Blue Nile. Two forts were soon completed and armed with guns and rockets, and grain was collected from the neighbouring districts by his captured steamer, the *Mohammed Ali*.

Gordon Pasha, having learnt of the fall of Fedasi and the capture of Saleh Pasha and his force, sent his son, Mohammed Bey Saleh, to secretly interview his father and endeavour to effect his escape, and at the same time to keep him informed of the movements and intentions of the rebels.

The river being now very low, it was impossible for steamers to navigate the Blue Nile; Gordon Pasha therefore ordered Sati Bey, formerly Mudir of Bahr El Ghazal, to patrol with his two steamers on the White Nile, for he had heard that a force was crossing from the west to the east bank. Sati Bey set out, and at Jeran Nebbi, eight hours distance from Khartum, he perceived a number of cattle, which he captured with some difficulty, being heavily attacked; he, however, succeeded in lifting some 1,000 head, which he carried off in triumph to Khartum, receiving Gordon's hearty praise for the successful operation. After this, Sati Bey made frequent excursions with his steamers up the White Nile, and succeeded in keeping Khartum fairly well supplied. Gordon Pasha, realising the great value of the steamers decided to replace those now serving as a protection to the lines of defence by fortified barges, which were quickly repaired by Stewart Pasha, and then the steamers were released for patrolling purposes.

The hospital being at this time much cramped, Gordon Pasha called to his assistance the civilian doctor Nicola, and made him principal medical officer at a good salary. The latter, under the Governor-General's directions, established a proper system of rations and diet. Fresh bread, butter, and meat were supplied daily to the hospital, and Gordon Pasha himself instituted games, such as backgammon and dominoes, to interest the poor patients.

In the meantime Abu Girgeh did all in his power to annoy the garrison. Buri was under an almost continual fire, and the rebels used to cross over to Khojali at certain stated times and fire at the palace; and although they were often injured by the explosion of the mines, they persisted in their attacks. Gordon Pasha posted a number of picked shots from the garrison on the roof of the palace, and these men did great execution. A certain Ibrahim Eff. Labib was also ordered to make a quantity of wooden figures like soldiers, and place them in line on the east bank. The rebels used to fire at these until they discovered the deception, and then they used to creep up and try to steal the dummies' clothes, but they were almost always shot by the soldiers on the top of the palace. Gordon Pasha, finding that the expenditure of ammunition was very large, gave orders that the men were only to fire when it was absolutely necessary. He also ordered a gun to be placed within the walls of the palace, which fired out of an embrasure on to the east bank.

It was about this time that a forged note for twenty piastres was discovered. It was ascertained that a certain Sheikh Es Sillawi and his two sons were the culprits, and that a number of forged notes were in circulation. These were eventually all discovered and destroyed, genuine notes being substituted, while Es Sillawi and his sons were sent to the arsenal prison for a year.

Now follows a curious episode in which Nushi Pasha is directly concerned, and in which his account and that by Bordeini Bey vary considerably.

The former continues:—The bakeries and all the grain and flour they contained were now taken over by Government. The price per oke of bread was definitely fixed, and was considered to be a just price, both in the interests of the baker and the people. One of the owners of a bakery, a certain Greek, named Christo, an Ottoman subject, was in partnership with a merchant named Ibraham El Bordeini. One night Christo hid 600 okes of grain in the Greeks' houses, and the Governor, Nushi Pasha, having heard of this through a spy, arrested the Greek on a charge of infraction of Government orders, as well as a crime against humanity, inasmuch as he had hidden grain at a time of need, intending to sell it at a high price. Christo first denied the charge, and spoke to the Governor in an insulting manner. The Governor

pointed out that, as an Ottoman subject, he, of all others, should obey orders, and he intended to have him chastised. Christo, seeing that the Governor was very angry, confessed, and showed where he had hidden the grain. He was then released, and went straight to the house of Mr. Power, the correspondent of an English newspaper, and complained that he had been badly treated by the Governor. The news spread rapidly through the town, and the Greeks soon collected in a crowd, put Christo on a bed, carried him through the town to the palace, and brought him before Gordon Pasha. They now made loud complaints against the Governor and Sub-Governor, and in consequence Gordon Pasha removed them both from their offices, and sent them back to duty on the defences.

But when the Greek doctor of the hospital examined Christo he found no marks on his body. He reported this to Gordon Pasha, who then much regretted his punishment of the Governor and Sub-Governor, and sent to beg their pardon, but told them that, at present, work on the defences was the most important of all. He sent for Mr. Power, reprimanded him for his action, and told him he must cease to continue living in the palace, and that in future he could not permit him to take his meals with him as before. The Governorat was then abolished and replaced by a Zabtieh (Police Office) as before, while Hassan Bey Fuad became Mamur, with Ibrahim Eff. Labib as assistant. Bordeini Bey states that "Christo Benayotti was a Greek, and not an Ottoman subject; that he did not hide the grain, but sold all he had in the bazaar, and that the Governor only accused him of hiding the grain as Christo refused to give him money." He says Christo was so severely beaten that he fainted, and that the Greeks came in a body and carried him off to Gordon Pasha, who became very angry, and at once degraded the Governor and Sub-Governor from their posts; the latter he ordered to return to duty on the defences, while the former was sent to Om-Durman Prison, and Christo was treated in hospital at the expense of the Government. Bordeini Bey also states that Mr. Power was not allowed to remain in the palace, as he was in the habit of borrowing money, but he used often to take his meals with Gordon Pasha, and visited him constantly.

The history of the siege continues:—the soldiers on the defences having worked continuously in spite of being constantly harassed by

the enemy, Gordon Pasha caused notices to be circulated amongst the men to the effect that the day previous he had received an official intimation that all his demands had been complied with, and that troops and money were being sent.* He also promised the soldiers a gratuity of three months' pay in addition to their ordinary pay; this news delighted the garrison and put new life into them.

As the winter season was now approaching, and the soldiers had insufficient clothing, General Gordon ordered Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, in conjunction with the Mamur of Finance, to purchase cloth on repayment from the merchants, and soon every soldier had a pair of trousers, a tunic, and a great-coat.

In order to further encourage the officers and men, and to perpetuate the memory of the siege, Gordon Pasha summoned Hassan Bey Zuhran and the jewellers, and ordered a mould to be made in the form of a star, and another in the form of the 4th class Medjidieh; and on each were inscribed "The Siege of Khartum," and the year. He ordered as many stars to be made as there were females in the Government service, and as many of the Mejidieh form in tin as there were soldiers and officers up to the rank of captain; and in silver for officers of the rank of major; and in silver gilt for officers from lieutenant-colonel to major-general; these decorations were at once made and distributed. Gordon Pasha also permitted decorations to be sold to civilians for ten pounds, and the money thus collected was distributed amongst the poor in Khartum. The issue of these decorations had an excellent effect on both the garrison and the inhabitants, as each individual who obtained one was also given an "arizeh" (an official document).

Gordon Pasha also gave to the poor ulema, Kuran readers, and others all the crops of the Government date trees which had been let to the highest bidder for 2,600 piastres, so that they should continue to pray and read the Bukhari book† in the mosques, and supplicate the Almighty God to destroy the besieging enemy.

As it has been stated above, Sati Bey continued his excursions in the steamers on the White Nile, in order to obtain news of the enemy and secure cattle for Khartum; but the dervishes erected a fort near

* Bordeini Bey states that this did not occur till some time afterwards.

† A commentary on the Kuran.

Shaggret Muhi Bey, in which they mounted a gun, and thus commanded the river. When Gordon Pasha heard of this he ordered Nushi Pasha* to take out his troops to cover the movements of the steamers, and at the same time he instructed Abdel Kader Bey Hassan, commandant of volunteers, to take command of the steamer *Mansureh*, and Hassan Bey El Akkad to command the *Ismailieh*, the whole to be under the supreme command of Sati Bey in the *Bordein*, the three steamers were to be accompanied by one of the armed barges, on which a Krupp gun had been mounted. Sati Bey's instructions were to proceed up Nile and attack, and, if possible, capture the gun in the dervish fort at Shaggret Muhi Bey. The expedition proceeded, and when the fort was approached half the soldiers were landed, the remainder being posted on the steamers to cover the advance; after a sharp fight the dervishes were driven out and pursued for some distance, a large number being killed; the fort was destroyed, the gun-carriage and implements removed, and a large number of arms of all sorts captured. On the return of the expedition to Khartum, Gordon Pasha received the officers and men with great honour; the principal officers were promoted, and there were great rejoicings throughout the town.

After this victory the dervishes retired for some distance, and Gordon Pasha ordered the houses at Kalakla to be destroyed, so as to prevent the dervishes again occupying them, and sent a temporary garrison to Shaggret Muhi Bey, while Kalakla was being pulled down.

A number of dervishes, however, came to the date groves opposite Fort Buri, and, concealing themselves there, fired day and night on that part of the line; and so continuously harassed was the garrison of that part of the defences, that Gordon Pasha granted them double pay; but the Bashi-Bazuks, quartered in the Eastern palace, were negligent, and did not always reply to the fire of the dervishes; in consequence, Gordon Pasha replaced them by two companies of regulars.

During one of his inspections of the defences, Gordon Pasha remarked the absence of a number of Bashi-Bazuk and Shaggieh officers and men; on inquiry he found that a number were in the town about their private affairs; he therefore instructed Farag Pasha Ez-Zeini to

* Bordeini Bey states that Gordon released Nushi Pasha after a short imprisonment, and reinstated him on the defences; Ibrahim Bey Fauzi also, who had been convicted of taking money for decorations, and who had been imprisoned, was released and made Bash-Moawin of the Hukumdarieh.

order constant inspections by superior officers. He admonished the Bashi-Bazuk and Shaggieh officers, and gave orders that if any men were found in the town without permission, they were to be imprisoned in the Zabtieh for three days; but to show that he appreciated the services of Khashm El Mus he granted him increased rank.

Here follow certain re-distributions of command and promotions given to merchants and others: "On account of the arbitrary action of Hassan Bey Fuad, the Mamur of the Zabtieh, a number of the inhabitants concealed their grain, and again Gordon Pasha was so assailed by the complaints of the poorer class that he was obliged to issue from the commissariat 1,000 ardebs of dhurra and 40,000 okes of biscuit, and this was sold for ready-money to the natives; also Government officials were allowed to purchase a certain quantity chargeable against their pay. At this time the population of Khartum, inclusive of the garrison, amounted to 43,000 persons.*

In June, the Nile at Khartum was at its lowest level; a large sand-bank island was formed between Fort Mukran and Om-Durman, and the water receded considerably from the western bank. In consequence of this, a broad strip of sand now intervened between Om-Durman and the river, so that the fort became more difficult to defend. In order to prevent the dervishes settling on this strip of sand, Gordon Pasha sent Sati Bey, with tents and camp equipage, to the newly-formed island; he also sent a garrison of 100 men to Tuti Island, and ordered the "naggarra" to be continuously beaten, so as to make the dervishes think that a large force was encamped in these places. New defences were also made along the Blue and White Nile banks, and garrisoned under the direction of Major Es Sayid El Amin.

In order to clothe the Sudanese of the 1st battalion, Gordon Pasha was obliged to take over the baggage and clothing belonging to Hicks Pasha's army, which had been left behind, and this he distributed throughout the garrison, charging its value against the Government, so that after the siege was over the money might be returned to the next of kin.

In order further to keep up hope in the garrison and spread terror into the hearts of the dervishes, Gordon Pasha used, every fortnight or so, to publish notices somewhat to the following effect: "Yesterday I

* Bordeini Bey estimates it at 60,000.

received letters, saying that 30,000 English soldiers are now at Dongola on their way to relieve us; a force of 30,000 is also coming *via* Kassala, and this force is divided into two armies, one of which is marching *via* the Atbarà and the other *via* Sennar. Turkish troops are also coming from Suakin to Berber, and 30,000 men, under the guidance of Sheikh Mohammed Osman El Morghani, are advancing *via* Rufa'a. Gordon Pasha used also to draw pictures of all sorts of different soldiers on tissue paper, and tell the people that they had come by the post. In this way he succeeded in keeping up hope and allaying fear and anxiety.

But all this time the dervishes were getting more and more troublesome. They seemed to take no account of their losses.

A number of merchants (whose names appear in the original report) were discovered to be buying up the paper bonds at a reduced price, intending to get their full value after the siege was over. But through the mediation of M. Herbin, the correspondent of the *Bosphore* and agent of the French Consulate, and Mr. Power, the matter was brought to the notice of Gordon Pasha, who first threatened to hand the merchants over to the Mahdi. But eventually he sent them to the Eastern Palace; and, by daily threatening them, they were induced to confess, when Gordon set them free, saying: "I release you for the sake of your families, who have earnestly petitioned me. Repent, therefore, and be upright in the future." These merchants were, however, kept under strict surveillance.

Gordon Pasha was in the habit of rewarding everybody who had done good service. But at last the applications for decorations and rewards became so numerous, especially from the 1st battalion, that he was obliged to issue an order that in future rewards would only be given for valour in action, and from that date this was strictly adhered to.

One day, when Gordon Pasha was going the round inspecting, he noticed a large crowd, and on inquiry was told it was the men going to take their rations. As it was past the usual hour for issue, he inquired further, and found that the issue store was so small that it was impossible to issue all the rations at one time. He therefore hired two other buildings close to the Zabtieh, and there he stored a large quantity of biscuit, under a weigher named Dervish Effendi Mohammed and an assistant. He then instructed Farag Pasha Ez-Zeini to appoint stated times for each battalion or ordi to take their rations, and thus arranged

for a comparatively small number of men to be absent from the line at any one time.

On the 10th of June, 1884, a spy arrived outside Om-Durman, and making the sign of peace, he was admitted, and brought before Nushi Pasha, the commandant. The man stated that he had been sent by Gordon Pasha with letters to Berber, but owing to the fall of the town he had returned. He reported that the town had fallen through the inclination of Hussein Pasha Khalifa to Mahdi-ism, and that a Christian, who had surrendered to the Emir Mohammed El Kheir, was following after him, as he wished to speak to Gordon Pasha. The spy was therefore sent under escort to Khartum, and Gordon Pasha heard the full details of the fall of Berber from him. He was then put under a strict guard lest the news should leak out ; but walls have ears, and soon it spread through the town, and terror fell upon the inhabitants. But Gordon quieted them in his usual way, saying that he had again heard that the relieving troops were drawing near. After this he issued strict orders that the commanding officers on the defences should keep all spies under a guard on the defences, and not send them through the town to the palace.

Shortly after the Christian, Cuzzi, mentioned above, arrived, and was detained by Hassan Bey El-Bahnassawi until Gordon Pasha sent Stewart Pasha to interview him. He reported that Berber fell on the 20th of May, 1884 ; that he himself had become a Moslem, and was known as Sheikh Mohammed Yusuf. He was sent to Khartum by Mohammed El Kheir, the Emir of Berber, to induce the Governor-General to become a Moslem. He said to Stewart Pasha, " If you expect the arrival of English troops we hope they will come ; but they have not come yet." When the general heard what Cuzzi had to say he sent him some clothes and money. The clothes he refused to take, but he accepted the money, and returned to Berber, not wishing to remain in Khartum, though he was asked to do so.*

Amongst the various measures taken by Gordon Pasha to keep up hope in the town, we may mention that he ordered the band to play cheerful music at the Hukumdarieh on Sundays and Fridays after sunset. He also instructed the buglers of battalions to play various pieces, always ending with the Khedivial salute.

* The writers of this report are under a misapprehension as to Cuzzi's reasons for not remaining in Khartum. (See " Gordon's Journals.") Cuzzi was, in 1891, in Om-Durman, and living in a state of poverty.

As Ramadan—which began on 25th June—was near, Gordon Pasha, two days before, summoned the Ulema, and consulted them as to their religious views on fasting and fighting during the month of Ramadan. They all decided that it was not wrong to fight, for Mecca was opened during the month of Ramadan, and in time of war fasting was not binding. This decision was sent to all official centres, and on the 24th June he summoned Farag Pasha Ez Zeini and the Mamur of the Zabtieh, and ordered them to watch for the rising of the new moon as usual. On their reporting that it was visible, Ramadan was ushered in in the usual manner by a salute of guns, and the Mudir, in compliance with Gordon Pasha's orders, sent three Fikis to the palace to read out the Kuran and repeat the usual prayers. Also a Moazzin was sent to call to prayers, as is the custom on such occasions. All these religious people were given food from the Pasha's kitchen, and received pay from the Government Treasury.

The dervishes, however, continued to harass the garrison during the whole of the month of Ramadan, and Gordon Pasha appeared greatly surprised that these fanatics should call themselves Moslems and yet fail to observe the usual religious formalities of this holy month.

On the 3rd July the General received news that the dervishes were crossing from the west bank of the White Nile to the east bank, at a place called El Geteina. He therefore ordered his Vakil—Sati Bey—and M. Herbin to take 300 volunteers in the steamers *Telahawieh* and *Bordein*, and act as they thought best. In compliance with these orders, the officers started, and on reaching El Geteina, half the men were landed and marched against the dervishes. A severe hand-to-hand fight ensued, and after a loss of fifty men and many taken prisoners, the remainder retreated. Sati Bey tried to rally them, and he, with Adjutant-Major Ez Zubeir Agha, drawing their swords, returned and fought until they fell. Stewart Pasha seeing this, wished to send reinforcements from the steamers; but, owing to the number of dervishes who had now collected and who were pushing on, he decided to return to Khartum. A fire was kept up on the enemy for some time, and on the arrival of the steamers at Khartum, Gordon Pasha was very angry, blaming Stewart Pasha for having attacked with such a small force,

and sent M. Herbin and the Vakil of the Hukumdarieh to the island opposite Om-Durman, where they remained seven days. Sati Bey's brother was promoted to the command of a steamer in his brother's place. But the people of the town made great lamentations over those who had been killed; and, as the Mamur of the Zabtieh was unable to check this, Gordon Pasha dismissed him, and appointed Mussa Bey Shawki in his place. The latter succeeded in stopping the lamentations, and the town became quiet as before.

The dervishes, after their victory at El Geteina, became bolder and more annoying than ever. They used even to come close up to the lines and shout out, "If you dare come out here, you will share the fate of Sati Bey!" And they put Sati Bey's head on a spear and paraded it in front of the lines so that the soldiers should see it. This angered Gordon, and he at once ordered Farag Pasha to send out a force in the direction of Kalakla to punish the dervishes. Six hundred men of the 5th Regiment under Bimbashi Es Sayid el Amin and 200 Bashi-Bazuks, under two Sanjaks, with 150 rounds per man and a rocket, were formed up just beyond the line of mines on the morning of 9th July, and from here the troops advanced in the form of a square, with Bashi-Bazuks as skirmishers in front. These latter soon became engaged with the enemy, and Amin Effendi, observing that the dervishes were making for a khor, determined to get there before them. He therefore formed column, and, marching rapidly, reached the khor, ordered the men to lie down, and then, as the dervishes approached, rose up suddenly and fired on them. The dervishes now charged towards the left flank, intending to cut the force off from Khartum, but Amin Effendi threw forward his left parallel to and with their backs to the Nile. In this formation they were supported by the Krupp guns firing from the line, and after five hours' continuous fighting they ran short of ammunition, but on signalling for more, forty boxes were sent out from the defences, and the fight continued till sunset, when the dervishes retired, after suffering a loss of 1,200 men. All retreated except the Emir Wad Dafallah, Sheikh of Hillet Dafallah (a place a little over a mile distant from the lines), who, galloping on his horse with a drawn sword, dashed into the midst of the troops, shouting, "I am Wad Dafallah." Second

Lieutenant Abdel Khalik and two soldiers attacked him, and the lieutenant with one blow of his sword cut off his head. After this the troops returned, and there were great rejoicings in the city on account of this victory. The bands played, women cried for joy, and all the city was glad. The dervishes, however, were overwhelmed with sorrow; they did not appear for many days, not a flag was to be seen, nor a "naggarra" heard. In this action the defenders lost only two men killed and twelve wounded. After this the dervishes did not dare to fire from the White Nile side, but some of them appeared in the neighbourhood of Fort Buri, where, owing to the number of trees, they could fire at the soldiers with less risk.

General Gordon now sent out a force of four companies of the 5th battalion and 1,200 Bashi-Bazuks to again bring wood from Kalakla into the town; this force continued to work for ten days, and took wood also from all the surrounding villages.

On 21st July Gordon Pasha sent the following telegram to Nushi Pasha, Commandant of Om-Durman: "The steamer *Tewfikieh* will be in readiness to bring you here this morning. Get on board as soon as it arrives, as I have appointed you my Vakil; in your absence your major will perform your duties as inspector of the defences." So Nushi Pasha returned to Khartum, and took up his new duties.

On 24th July Gordon issued orders for the celebration of the Bairam Festival; one company of each battalion was detailed to be present during the prayers at the mosque, while the rest of the troops were to keep a sharp look-out on the defences.

As the Nile was now rising, Gordon Pasha instructed Nushi Pasha to discuss with Farag Pasha Ez Zeini and with Mohammed Ali Bey (commanding the 1st Sudanese battalion) some plans for attacking the dervishes. It was decided that the enemy's position opposite Fort Buri should be assailed by land and from the river as well, and that simultaneous attacks should also be made on the other positions. The general approved of these plans, but ordered them to be kept secret until Bairam was over; in the meantime he gave orders for the selection of the most capable officers and for the steamers to be prepared, and also ordered a few artisans to remain on the steamers, so as to repair them in case they should be damaged during the action.

III.

AFTER Bairam the plans were finally arranged, and were as follows: The four steamers, *Bordeini*, *Telahawieh*, *Mansureh*, and *Abbas* to be under the command of Mohammed Ali Bey, 800 regulars and Bashi-Bazuks, under Major Sultan Effendi, to take up a position near Fort Buri; the whole to be under the command of Farag Pasha Ez Zeini. This force was to begin the fight, and attack the dervish force under Abu Girgeh; while in order to prevent the latter being reinforced by Sheikh Abdel Kader from the Kalakla side, it was arranged that 200 regulars and 200 Bashi-Bazuks, under Wad Koradin, should proceed to Shaggret Muhi Bey, and should there be joined by 200 regulars and 100 Turkish Bashi-Bazuks, under Mohammed Bey Islam and Yusef Eff. Raghib. This force was to be under the supreme command of Mohammed Bey Nushi, who was in charge of the White Nile defence. The commander of the Eastern Palace was also to send out 100 men to skirmish. All were to begin the action simultaneously.

On Sunday, 15th [25th ?] July, in the early morning, the above plan was put into effect, and soon a fierce battle was being waged, which lasted till noon, when the dervishes retreated from their fort opposite Buri, taking their gun with them. At the same time Abu Girgeh sent to Sheikh Abdel Kader, asking for reinforcements, but the latter was then engaged with the Muhi Bey force, and sent back to say that he could give no help. This still further alarmed Abu Girgeh and his men; they left their houses, which were in turn occupied by the troops, who soon demolished them, capturing a quantity of arms left behind by the dervishes. By this time it was sunset, the men had landed and destroyed the fort, and all the dervishes had retreated. Gordon Pasha, accompanied by Stewart Pasha and several Consuls, now rode up and congratulated the troops. He made Mohammed Ali Bey a Pasha; Sultan Eff. a Lieutenant-Colonel; Farag Pasha Ez Zeini a Lieutenant-General; and further called for a list of all officers and men who had distinguished themselves during the action. Farag Pasha was given the title of General Officer commanding the Sudan Forces.

In order to prevent the dervishes advancing again, a steamer was sent up to keep watch, and on Monday morning the fighting began again, which resulted in the second dervish line being taken; and on

Tuesday the third line was captured, and the dervishes, utterly routed, fled to Gereif; all their dhurra was captured and carried to Khartum by the soldiers, who had suffered a loss of only thirty killed and fifteen wounded, while the dervishes lost 800 killed. After this victory, Gordon Pasha ordered all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and the wood taken for the steamers. The quantity of dhurra found was between 500 and 600 ardebs, of which one-third was given to the soldiers and the remainder sent to the commissariat. The whole of the ground in front of the defences was now quite safe, and the servants and Shaggiehs could go out and collect wood and grass without danger. A steamer was sent out daily to the furthest point to which the soldiers had pursued, so as to prevent the return of the dervishes and protect the woodgatherers. All the wood collected was stacked in a large yard behind Fort Buri and close to the gardens.

The effect of this defeat struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants of villages on the east bank of the White Nile, and soon Omdum was deserted; the inhabitants, in their hurry, leaving behind them quantities of grain and oil. Mohammed Ali Pasha was sent to secure this village, and soon returned with over 1,200 ardebs of grain, which was distributed as before, the balance being sent to the commissariat.

These successive victories greatly alarmed the dervishes, and Abu Girgeh, so the spies said, wrote from Gereif to the Mahdi, begging for reinforcements and guns. He also sent orders to all the natives in the neighbourhood to come and join him, and they came from all directions. He now began to build a large fort, so as to prevent steamers going to Sennar. In consequence of this news Gordon summoned the same council as before (with the addition of Fauzi Bey and Khashm El Mus Bey), to consider the situation, and the following plan was decided upon.

A force of 600 men in steamers, under the command of Mohammed Ali Pasha, was to proceed up the Blue Nile as far as Gereif, where they should open fire on the fort, while Khashm El Mus Bey, with a force of 600 Shaggiehs and Bashi-Bazuks with cavalry should proceed from the Messalamieh Gate towards Gereif, and attack it in rear; a similar plan to the previous one to be also adopted to prevent Abdel Kader from sending reinforcements to Abu Girgeh.

On Tuesday, 12th August, this plan was put into execution. The fire from the steamers drove the dervishes out, while the heavy fire from the land force inflicted great loss on them as they retreated. They managed, however, to take their gun with them, but Abu Girgeh was wounded in the thigh and had two horses shot under him. The troops pursued for some distance, and then returned to the village, carried off 600 ardebs of dhurra, and captured 1,000 rifles, a number of swords and spears, and twelve boxes of ammunition. It is also said a considerable sum of money was found in the village, but that remained with the men. The fort was razed to the ground, and the soldiers remained here three days to destroy the village, while the inhabitants fled to El Geteina and El Obeid. This victory cleared the whole neighbourhood of dervishes, and the inhabitants could now go anywhere in safety.

As no news of Sennar had been received for some time, Gordon Pasha instructed Mohammed Ali Pasha to take six steamers with troops on board as far as Abu Haraz, and from there he should send two of his steamers under Bakhit Bey Batraki to Sennar. He was to do what he could to drive the dervishes from Abu Haraz, and use the *Abbas* to send news to Khartum. A quantity of clothing, ammunition, soap, etc., was put on board the steamers, also £16,000 in bonds. In accordance with this plan, Mohammed Ali Pasha set off, and arriving at Abu Haraz, sent two steamers on to Sennar, while he attacked Abu Haraz. The dervishes were soon driven out with great loss, and all that was there fell into the hands of the troops. Abu Haraz, being the trade centre for the Eastern Sudan and Abyssinia, was very rich in spoil. Some 1,800 ardebs of dhurra, eighty-five kantars of coffee, and twenty-six kantars of sesame were brought to Khartum. The coffee was sold to the merchants, the proceeds being put into the treasury, while a certain quantity was reserved for the officers and men, chargeable against their pay. In distributing the coffee, the Mamur of the Zabtieh and the Mudir quarrelled, and in consequence Gordon Pasha transferred the former to the Hukumdarieh, and replaced him by Major Mohammed Eff. Siufi; but the condition of Khartum was now such that there was no need for a Zabtieh.

The Nile being now high and all the neighbourhood free from dervishes, Gordon Pasha thought it a good opportunity to send a mail north to Dongola, so as to inform the Government of all that had occurred,

and to ask for what he required. This mission Gordon Pasha entrusted to his vakil, Stewart Pasha, and he ordered him to prepare four sailing boats, which should be towed by the steamer *Abbas*. Stewart Pasha was to be accompanied by Mr. Power, M. Herbin, and all European and Syrian merchants who wished to leave; and all people were informed that a mail was starting which would take letters for Cairo. Orders were also given for Nushi Bey, Fauzi Bey, and Mussa Bey Shawki to proceed to Cairo, and Gordon Pasha informed them that he had written to His Highness the Khedive's Cabinet with regard to their good and faithful service, recommending them for the grade of Pasha and for the Second Class Medjidieh. He also prepared a special dahabeah for them.* In the meantime the Khalifa Hamid Wad Idris, one of the Khalifas of Sayid Osman El Morghani of Kassala, having crossed over to Halfieh, disguised as a dervish, ascertained that owing to the recent successes of the troops the force of dervishes had been largely decreased, and only a few companies of them remained; the Sanjaks who had been taken prisoners at Fedasi were also there, and were ready to join the troops when the island was attacked. Gordon Pasha having verified this information, despatched Khashm El Mus Bey with three steamers towards Halfieh, while Faragallah Bey with four companies was sent by land. The dervishes had heard of these plans during the night and shifted their camp, but the troops advanced and were soon engaged in a hot fight, which lasted till noon, when the dervishes, after losing 200 of their number, retreated and were pursued some distance into the desert by the Shaggieh cavalry. In this fight the son of Sheikh El Obeid was wounded in the leg and fell from his horse, but was mounted by his men on another, and so escaped. This fight took place on 31st August. Gordon Pasha, accompanied by Stewart Pasha, visited the field and saw all the booty collected, which he subsequently divided amongst the men. Mohammed Ali Pasha and Khashm El Mus were left to establish a position there, as it was the General's intention to widen the environs of Khartum so that the inhabitants might collect sheep and cattle without danger. Up to this time Fiki Mustafa El Amin had been besieging Omdurman, but having seen the heavy defeats inflicted on

* It is stated by another authority that Gordon Pasha was anxious to rid himself of these officials, and that the "dahabeah" was merely a "nugger" (Sudan boat) without any seats.

the other dervishes, he retreated without fighting, and now tranquillity was restored to the whole neighbourhood of Khartum.

The Sanjaks who had been captured at Fedasi having escaped from the dervishes at Halfieh, were now honourably admitted into Khartum by Gordon Pasha, who made Abdel Hamid Agha, Mohammed Agha El Mek (brother of Saleh Pasha), Mohammed Agha Nihman, and Saleh Agha Kanun commanders of ordis, and gave them posts on the defences.

It will be remembered that in the first operations at Halfieh the inhabitants of Khojali and Hillet Abu-Hamed deserted to the dervishes; these natives seeing the Government troops victorious now returned, and begged the "aman" (or pardon), which was granted them by Gordon Pasha, and he permitted them to return and live in their villages. He also instructed the Mudir to establish himself in Khashm El Mus Bey's position, and to send circulars in all directions recalling the inhabitants to their villages and proclaiming a general amnesty. Numbers of natives returned, a market was opened at Halfieh, and cows and sheep, grain, butter, etc., came freely into Khartum.

Special orders were given to the soldiers to treat the inhabitants well, and patrols of carefully selected men were sent amongst the natives to ensure their being fairly treated; the telegraph line was extended from the Eastern Palace to the camp at Halfieh, and the Mudir used to submit daily to the Governor-General a list of all persons to whom pardon had been given.

The siege of Khartum having been raised and the neighbourhood having become peaceful, it was Gordon Pasha's intention to despatch a force to re-take Berber, and with this object in view he summoned a council of his principal officers, who decided that a force of 1,000 Regulars and 1,000 Bashi-Bazuks, under the command of Mohammed Ali Pasha, should proceed on this expedition; but Mohammed Ali Pasha, who on account of his recent victories had become a man of authority, observed that as the dervishes were gathering at El Eilafun, it would not be advisable to send away such a large force from Khartum, and it was his opinion that they should first defeat the Eilafun force; this proposal was at once accepted, and preparations were immediately made. El Eilafun is a village about six hours distant from Khartum on the east bank of the Blue Nile, and consists really of two villages—

one on the river bank, with a large mosque and minaret, and celebrated as an important trading station, while the other is about 15 miles inland, and is known as the birthplace of the Sheikh El Obeid.*

The steamers *Mansureh*, *Telahawieh*, and *Safia*, and a number of boats, were manned with 800 Regulars and Bashi-Bazuks, besides a number of women who were to carry water for the troops; besides these, many natives accompanied the troops, as they were encouraged by the former victories to hope for a share of the booty. The *Safia* was detailed as the post-boat. Faragallah Bey and Sultan Bey Abdullah accompanied the expedition, which was under the command of Mohammed Ali Pasha.

The force left for El Eilafun on 29th August, and after two days' fighting captured the place, with quantities of grain, oil, and coffee, which were transferred to the *Safia* and at once despatched to Khartum, bringing the news of the victory and asking for more ammunition. Gordon Pasha was greatly pleased with the news, but sent orders to Mohammed Ali Pasha to return to Khartum without attacking the inland village. On receipt of these orders Mohammed Ali Pasha was very angry, and sent back a message to Gordon to say that the destruction of this village was most necessary. Gordon Pasha at length acquiesced, and also agreed to send some of the Shaggieh cavalry by land to attack Om-Dubban from the west. As soon as the *Safia* arrived with these orders Mohammed Ali Pasha prepared to march out, but just before he started a Sudanese came in pretending that he had deserted the dervishes, and was coming in to surrender to Government, so that he might be able to help the troops. He advised Mohammed Ali Pasha to attack from the forest side, as in this way he would be able to surprise the enemy. The forest of which he spoke is a very thick and shady one, capable of concealing a whole army, and numbers of troops had been slaughtered there in the early days of the conquest of the Sudan. Mohammed Ali Pasha being ignorant of the art of war, and being over-confident on account of his recent victories, decided to take this road in spite of the protestations of his officers. He formed up the troops in square—the Bashi-Bazuks on the right and left faces, and the Regulars in front and rear, while all the natives and women marched inside the square. In this formation he marched towards the forest; he had no

* The name of this village is Om-Dubban.

scouts out, although both Sultan Bey and Faragallah begged him to do so. When the square had reached the middle of the forest, shrill cries were heard on all sides, and in a moment the dervishes were attacking furiously from every direction. The men fired for some time, but the dervishes broke in through the Bashi-Bazuks, and a fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued. Soon nearly the entire force was destroyed, and Mohammed Ali Pasha, seeing that there was no more hope, laid his fur on the ground and sat upon it while the dervishes gathered round; the soldiers defending the Pasha were soon killed, and then he was slain. Sultan Bey seeing this, attempted to cut his way through, but he too soon fell, pierced through by a spear. Faragallah Bey, who was endeavouring to rally the men, was now forced to retreat towards the steamers, where he found only twenty soldiers had returned; and after waiting for some time, two Sanjaks, Wad Koradieh and Abdel Hadi Agha, arrived, saying that almost the entire force had been destroyed, and those who were not killed had been taken prisoners; the cavalry also, which had been sent overland, having reached the vicinity of the battle-field, and seeing that the troops had been defeated, had returned to Khartum. Faragallah, therefore, returned with the steamers, and arriving without giving any warning, anchored near the arsenal. The inhabitants soon learnt of the defeat, and at once a great weeping and lamentation arose from every quarter of the town, and such confusion and uproar occurred that it was almost necessary for the troops to intervene; but Gordon Pasha went round the town trying to quiet the inhabitants and still the uproar; but it was all in vain, and the weeping and wailing continued unabated, till at length Gordon Pasha issued orders that anyone found disturbing the peace would be driven beyond the defences and his house burnt. This soon had its effect, and tranquillity was once more restored.

The senior officers, the Greek Consular agent, and the principal medical officer, now went to Gordon Pasha and tried to console him, saying, "We pray you not to grieve on account of this defeat; in war it must always be so; sometimes one side gains the victory, sometimes the other. We are all ready to fight for you to the end; therefore we pray you be of good courage and cast off your anxiety." Gordon Pasha replied with a steady voice and a stout heart, "I thank God for all things. I am sure that the days of these men were fulfilled. God

can fathom the intentions of all hearts, and no doubt He will help us against this treacherous and wicked enemy. Let those who say they are serving God, the Government, and humanity look sharp and destroy these enemies of mankind. I felt sorry when I heard the account of the fight from Faragallah Bey that the arrow did not return to its master."

The day after the fight, spies informed Gordon Pasha that Wad Sheikh El Obeid had sent three messengers mounted on camels to the various tribes in the Khartum and Berber mudiriehs, and also a messenger to the Mahdi, informing him of his complete victory over the Turks.

The natives who had lately given up Mahdi-ism now returned to the dervishes, the market at Halfieh was soon deserted, all trade ceased, and the town again fell under a state of siege.

Abu Girgeh, who, it will be remembered, after his defeat had gone to El Geteina and had written to the Mahdi for reinforcements, now received from him two Krupp and four mountain guns; also some gunners, a rocket, ammunition, 1,000 regulars who had been taken prisoners in Kordofan, also 3,000 Arabs armed with Remington rifles, under the command of Wad En Negumi. They had marched slowly to Shat, six hour's distance from Duem; but on hearing of the victory of Wad El Obeid at El Eilafun they hurried on towards Khartum.

IV.

ONE day Gordon Pasha, looking through a telescope from the top of the palace, saw the *Bordein* steaming towards Khartum; she had been sent with the *Ismailieh* under Bakhit Bey Batraki to Sennar, and Gordon Pasha had long been anxious for her safety. He was now greatly pleased, and telegraphed her approach to the various defence stations, and a large crowd assembled at the landing-place. The Vakil of the Mudirieh and Mahmud Effendi Talaat, major of the Sennar battalion, were on board with Bakhit Bey, and the steamers were laden with sheep, oil, butter, and dhurra; but these were all gifts from the Sennar people to their relations in Khartum, and were duly handed over to those for whom they had been destined. Gordon Pasha was annoyed with Bakhit Bey for staying so long and for bringing so little dhurra—he brought only 800 ardebs—and in consequence he ordered him to be dismissed; but Mahmud Talaat and the Vakil of the Mudirieh,

Ahmed Effendi Mikwar, were granted the rank of Kaimakam (lieutenant-colonel). The former was appointed Mamur of the Zabtieh, and the following is the copy of the order to that effect :

" To Kaimakam Mahmud Bey Talaat.—By reason of your ability and good administration, I hereby appoint you Mamur of the Khartum Zabtieh, and Ibrahim Effendi Labib as your assistant. The present Mamur and his assistant are transferred as Moawins to the Hukumdarieh. I have written to this effect to the Mudirieh and to the Treasury. I wish you to be specially careful to maintain the paper currency at its true value, for I have heard that sometimes £1 bonds are sold for one and a half or one and a quarter dollars. You must, therefore, enforce my former orders, and give effect to the written promises made to merchants, traders, and others. If you find anyone attempting to deal with the bonds at anything but their true value, you will at once arrest and imprison him, and report to me for orders.

" (Signed) GORDON,
" Governor-General of the Sudan.

" 13th September, 1884."

After this the officials continued to work well, and matters went on very satisfactorily.

Gordon Pasha, having carefully considered the situation in Sennar, as reported to him, called a meeting, and discussed the question of evacuating Sennar and bringing the garrison to Khartum. The committee sat two days, and at length decided that, as there were 10,000 ardebs of grain there, it was advisable to send two steamers to secure this, and that afterwards the question of evacuation should be considered. Gordon Pasha approved, asked the board to name the officer to undertake this duty, and it was agreed that Nushi Bey should be selected. But Nushi Bey, together with Fauzi Bey and Mussa Bey Shawki, were then making preparations to return to Cairo. Gordon Pasha, therefore, cancelled his former order, and appointed him commandant of the Sennar expedition, and wrote to Cairo to this effect. Nushi Bey was much pleased, thanked the Governor-General, and said he was prepared to serve the Government loyally as long as he lived. Gordon Pasha was grateful at this expression of feeling, and ordered him to put 200 Regulars and Bashi-Bazuks on the steamers *Bordein* and *Telahawieh*, and to take 1,000 suits of clothes for the Sennar garrison.

Eight sailing boats were also added to the expedition, to be towed by the steamers. Blank arizehs (official documents accompanying promotions and decorations), signed by Gordon Pasha, were also given to Nushi Bey, who was authorised to reward the Arabs who had remained loyal to Government at his discretion. He also approved of the various ranks and promotions for which the Mudir of Sennar had applied, and he ordered Nushi Bey to take the Vakil back with him, and to reconcile him with the Mudir with whom he had quarrelled.

Nushi Bey also received a written order from Gordon Pasha to the effect that the Mudir of Sennar should receive an increase of pay, also the rank of full colonel, and later on that of brigadier-general, if his services were well performed. Orders were also sent for the transfer of Talaat Bey's brother, Ali Bey Ridaa, from Sennar to Khartum.

But to return to the mission of Stewart Pasha. It was arranged that Mahmud Eff. Helmi, chief clerk of the Treasury, Kelidus Eff. El Kummus, chief clerk of the Hukumdarieh, and Hassan Eff. Husni, telegraph clerk and interpreter, should accompany him.

The steamers *Mansureh* and *Safia*, each with one company of soldiers, were ordered to proceed with the *Abbas* as far as Janeinita, two days' distance from the lower cataract (the fifth), so as to ensure Stewart Pasha getting clear of Berber. The *Safia* carried letters from General Gordon to the English and Egyptian Governments, giving full information of all that had happened, and making known all his requirements.

On 12th September, 1884, Stewart Pasha started with his steamers for Cairo, and on the same day Mohammed Bey Nushi left for Sennar. But at their own request Ibrahim Bey Fauzi and Mussa Bey Shawki were permitted to remain at Khartum until the siege was raised. Five days after the steamers had left, the Emir Wad En Nejumi arrived with his army, which he split up into two divisions; one division was attached to Abu Girgeh's force at Buri and Gereif, while the other remained under Nejumi at Kalakla. Nejumi then sent a messenger to General Gordon, bearing a letter to the following effect :—

"Be it known to you that I am the Emir of Emirs of the Mahdi's army, the conqueror of Kordofan and Jebel Gedir, and I bear the title of 'The Unsheathed Sword.' I command troops against whom you will not be able to stand; besides, I have numbers of guns which will destroy you; surrender, therefore, and you will be saved, and do not cause more bloodshed by your obstinacy."

General Gordon read this impudent letter, and replied to the following effect :—

" I have read your letter, and I wish you to understand that I care neither for you nor for your master, the Mahdi. In a short time you will find your army in the same state as the army of Abu Girgeh, which fought against me at Buri and Gereif, and as your cousin's army which fought against me at Halfieh ; therefore, hold your tongue and cease talking nonsense."

He then sent the messenger off, after having given him a present and shown him the forts and defences.

When the messenger returned to Nejumi, the latter at once began building forts exactly opposite to the Khartum forts ; he also had a fort built at Gereif to fire on the steamers coming from Sennar.

Meanwhile Stewart Pasha with the steamers had passed Metemmeh and Sayala, three miles north of Metemmeh. Here they met two sailing-boats laden with goods, sugar and dates. The *Mansureh*, which was in the rear, steamed towards the boats, intending to fire on them without taking Stewart Pasha's orders. The boats seeing the steamer approach fired at it, and then, though it was contrary to his own wish, the Pasha was obliged to order the boats to be attacked, when the natives at once ran the boats ashore, and jumped out and fled ; but they were cleared by men landed from the steamers, who killed twelve of them, and removed the cargoes to the steamers, which continued their journey. Stewart Pasha reprimanded Osman Bey Hishmet for his action in this affair and for disregarding his orders.

When the steamers approached Shendi, fire was opened on them from the commissariat store. The *Abbas* fired one gun and a volley, and went on until they reached Sagadi. Here the natives showed great delight at the approach of the steamers, and the women shouted the " zagarit," as they usually do when they are pleased. Stewart Pasha stopped and spoke to the people, who told him that they had been obliged to join the dervishes against their will, owing to the influence of the Emir Mohammed El Kheir, but that their hearts were still with the Government, although they dared not show it. But these people were really treacherous. However, Stewart Pasha, after giving them the " Aman," bade them good-bye, and continued the journey until he reached Zaidab. The natives behaved as those at Sagadi had done,

and the steamers went on to Damer, which is near the junction of the Atbara and the Nile. Here a number of dervishes were collected, and when the steamers came within range they fired on them; but Stewart Pasha at once landed a force and attacked their position, which he captured after a sharp engagement, in which fifty dervishes were killed and two soldiers. The things captured in the dervish camp were brought to the steamers, and the voyage was continued, but a body of dervishes was seen extended in a long line near Mohammed El Kheir's village of "El Eish." These opened fire, and the steamers replied with six volleys, which drove them off. The steamers then passed by Berber, being continually fired at until they reached Azizat, where Stewart Pasha ordered the steamers to stop. He then summoned Osman Bey Hishmet, who was commandant of the *Mansureh* and *Safia*, and told him to inform his men that, as he was going on to bring up the British troops for the relief of Khartum they should therefore hurry back to Khartum before the dervishes should block the road. He then wished him good-bye and started north, the *Abbas* towing the four boats, while Hishmet Bey returned to Khartum.

On arriving at El Obeidieh, two of the boats carrying Europeans were left behind, as the Nile was very narrow here; the *Abbas* towing the other two went forward to Jeneinita, closely pursued by the steamship *El Fasher*, which had followed down from Berber. The *El Fasher* was commanded by Mohammed Er Reis, who was accompanied by Abdel Mejid Mohammed (the Vakil of Mohammed El Kheir), Abdel Mejid Lekailik, Haj Mohammed Es Salini, and Hassan Es Salini. The reason of this pursuit was as follows:—

As the *Abbas* was passing by Berber, a certain Bashi-Bazuk, named Et Tum Wad Ali Bey, told the dervishes that Stewart Pasha had no soldiers on board; that he was not coming to fight them, as they had thought, but that he was carrying despatches urging the English to come on quickly for the relief of Khartum, and that if they could not prevent Stewart Pasha's mission they would have cause to regret it, and would soon fall into deep distress. When the dervishes saw the *Mansureh* and *Safia* returning, they knew that the Bashi-Bazuk's statement must be true. Mohammed El Kheir therefore despatched the *El Fasher* in pursuit. As this steamer approached the two boats which had been left behind, the latter hoisted a flag of truce; so she did not

stop, but followed on after the *Abbas*, and coming up with her at Jeneinita, opened fire on her. Stewart Pasha returned the fire, but steamed on until he entered the Wadi El Homar cataract. The *El Fasher* being larger than the *Abbas* could not enter, and Stewart Pasha was obliged to cut adrift the remaining two boats, which were captured by the *El Fasher*, and their crews and passengers killed. The *Abbas*, however, continued on her journey, and at length reached the Wadi El Gamr cataract. Here there are two passages—one passable and the other impassable, owing to the number of rocks; the two Reises (steersmen) on board differed as to which passage to take, and at length decided to try the rocky channel. Owing to the pursuit of the *El Fasher*, they were going full speed, and soon they struck on a sunken rock. After vain attempts to get the steamer off Stewart Pasha decided to descend the cataract in a boat—oh, how I wish he had done so!—but as he was preparing to do this the Governor of the Wadi El Gamr district, a certain Suliman Wad Nahman, appeared on the bank dressed in his official dress (a Stamboul coat and trousers), and with a number of his servants hoisted a white flag. Stewart Pasha then sent the telegraph clerk, Hassan Effendi Husni, and a kavass with a few soldiers, ashore to speak to him. He assured them that he was still loyal to the Government, which had so highly honoured him and his father before him, and he begged Stewart Pasha and those who were with him to come to his house, take food, and rest there, and then he would supply them with the necessary transport to take him to Dongola, and that, to show his devotion to the Government, he himself would accompany him.

Hassan Effendi Husni returned and informed Stewart Pasha of his interview; and the latter, although he doubted his sincerity, was in such need of help that he agreed. Leaving all the transport, etc., on board, he landed, accompanied by Mons. Herbin, Mr. Power, and all the merchants and servants, and together they proceeded to Suliman's house; but all the soldiers were left on the river bank near the steamer. Stewart Pasha took all the letters with him to the house, where he arrived at eight a.m., 18th September. Suliman ordered camels and sheep to be brought, and made believe that he was preparing food for them; but in reality he was only waiting till the men with whom he had arranged the conspiracy could collect, and when at length all was ready he suddenly gave a loud shout. This was a signal for his men to fire on the

guests, while others attacked with swords and spears, and soon all were killed except Hassan Effendi Husni and the Reis. The dervishes took all the letters. It is said that the wife of one of the Europeans killed three of the dervishes before she herself was killed. After this massacre the traitors rushed towards the river bank, surprised the soldiers, and killed almost all of them. A female servant, who was on board the steamer, seeing this, herself threw the steamer's gun into the river; but the dervishes soon came on board, killed her, and brought ashore everything they found on the vessel.

The *Safia* and *Mansureh* had to fight their way back to Khartum, which they reached on the 19th of September. Gordon Pasha, on reading Stewart Pasha's letter, was very angry, blamed Hishmet Bey, and placed him under arrest for leaving Stewart Pasha before he was assured of his safety.

As for Nushi Bey, he did not reach Sennar till the eighth day, although the usual journey was only two days, but he was delayed by the strong current. He also had two fights with the dervishes—one at Rufaa, which lasted four hours; and the other at Kamlin, which lasted six hours; he had also to collect wood for the steamers.

On 19th September the steamers drew up at Jedein, on the east bank, two hours distant from Sennar. Here they found the soldiers collecting dhurra, of which some 3,000 ardebs were in store. The steamers stopped here for the night, and on the following morning the Mudir came on board, was given his instructions, and a reconciliation was effected between him and the Vakil. The sailing boats and barges were filled with dhurra, and then the steamers went on to Sennar; here the garrison was inspected, various ranks conferred, and at a meeting of all the notables Nushi Bey read out Gordon Pasha's instructions regarding the currency of paper money. The following day Nushi inspected the defences which had been built by Abdel Kader Pasha when he was Governor-General of the Sudan, and found them in a satisfactory state. Letters were sent out to the Arab chiefs in the neighbourhood, urging them to remain loyal, as troops were soon coming. The next day the steamers were loaded up with grain, olives, butter, sesame, presents from the people of Sennar to their relatives in Khartum, and then they started back to Khartum, drawing up for the night at Jedein, where they picked up the boats, and then continued their

journey towards Khartum, accompanied by the steamer *Ismailieh*, which had been left behind at Sennar on the previous expedition. The Mudir accompanied the steamers as far as Wad Abbas, six hours from Sennar, and here he landed, gave the inhabitants the "Aman," and returned overland with his Bashi-Bazuk escort. The steamers stopped that night at Sabih Dalib, where the inhabitants came on board and sold sheep and butter. The next night they drew up at an island opposite Wad Abu Furuh, and on Friday morning they arrived off Kamlin, where they were fired at, and passing on they came to Warrani Gereif. It will be remembered that the old dervish fort at Gereif had been destroyed, but the dervishes, in order to intercept the steamers, dug a long line of entrenchment, in which they concealed themselves, the guns being hidden behind the houses in the village. The *Telahawieh* with Nushi led the way, being followed by the other steamers at fifty yards distance. When opposite to Gereif, fire was opened on them from all sides, but the *Telahawieh* steamed on until clear, then stopped and opened fire on the dervish right flank, thus covering the passage of the other steamers.

General Gordon, who was watching the fight through his telescope from the top of the palace, grew very anxious, as the steamers were obscured on account of the smoke; he therefore ordered the *Mansureh* to proceed at once to their assistance with troops; but at length the smoke cleared away, and seeing the dervishes retreating, he sent down the band to the landing-stage to welcome the steamers, and also sent his chief clerk with the brevet of Pasha, which he was to hand to Nushi Bey on his arrival.

The inhabitants flocked in numbers to meet the steamers, and Nushi on landing at once proceeded to the palace, where Gordon Pasha congratulated him on the success of the expedition. He told him that during his absence he had received letters from the general officer commanding the English troops, and that he had decided to send Nushi Pasha with the steamers in two days' time to wait for them and bring them on to Khartum. Gordon Pasha then accompanied Nushi Pasha to the steamers, which they carefully examined, and found they had all been hit by shells, one of which had pierced the *Bordein*'s boiler; in all fifteen soldiers had been killed. Instructions were then given to have the steamers repaired and ready to start in two days.

On receiving the mail from Lord Wolseley, the general officer commanding the English troops, General Gordon caused the news to be spread throughout the town, and had notices hung up in the streets, to the effect that the English troops would soon arrive at Metemmeh, as they had left Dongola some time ago, and that he had detailed steamers to meet them; he urged the inhabitants to keep up hope, and not to be anxious, and that everyone should be rewarded according to his work. To the notices were attached pictures of the English and Indian soldiers who were coming, and on their faces could be seen victory and success.

Orders were also given to all the forts to fire salutes, and 101 guns announced the arrival of the mail. All people were full of joy at this news, and the return of the steamers from Sennar further encouraged them.

Gordon Pasha directed the Mamur of the Treasury to hire houses along the banks of the Blue Nile, and prepare them for the English officers, to be ready for them to live in on their arrival. He also had them furnished, water jars were made, and servants engaged; contracts were also made with butchers and bakers for the supply of bread and meat, and steamers were detailed to get wood and vegetables from Salamet El Pasha, Halfieh, and Kubba. The following written order was then given to Nushi Pasha:—

"You are hereby detailed to proceed to Shendi to meet the English troops with the steamers *Telahawieh*, *Safia*, and *Mansureh*. Sufficient troops will be placed under your orders. The commandants under you will be Mahmud Bey Talaat and Ali Effendi Rida; each will command a steamer, and you will command the third and at the same time command the expedition. You will also be accompanied by Khashm El Mus Pasha, commandant of the Shaggiehs, who will see the Sanjaks at Shendi. You should reconnoitre both banks *en route* to Shendi, ascertain which tribes are loyal and which disloyal. You should also proceed as far as Berber, but your headquarters will be Shendi, where you should do all in your power to ascertain news of the advance of the troops; also take steps to clear the country as far as Berber. Do not disembark your soldiers. Give every help to the troops, and if you receive letters from the Mudir of Dongola asking for assistance, give it to him. Khashm El Mus, in co-operation with the Sanjaks at Shendi, should attack the Arabs and make them surrender. If any event of

sufficient importance occurs which you consider should be reported to me, you may send a special steamer. Do not do so unless you consider it absolutely necessary. You will be supplied with a clerk and 100 dollars, which you should expend on sending spies to the Mudir of Dongola and to the English troops. I trust to your discretion to execute all these orders, but at the same time do not put yourself in danger.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN.

" Khartum, 27th September, 1884.

" P.S.—Yusef Effendi Sadik is appointed your clerk."

Besides the above, Nushi Pasha received a number of verbal instructions; and it was arranged the steamers should start on 30th September.

On 29th Nushi Pasha received the following order :

" I wish you to treat Khashm El Mus Bey, who accompanies you, well, and you should also treat with consideration the Sanjaks at Shendi, giving them all the 'Aman' and promoting to Sirsawari those who become leaders of troops. I wish you and Khashm El Mus to act as one man until you return to Khartum, and I hope Khashm El Mus will succeed in getting on to our side all the Shaggiehs at Shendi.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

As Gordon Pasha was on the 29th of September busy writing for the mail, he delegated his duties connected with the Kurban Bairam Festival to Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, warning him to take special precautions during prayer-time.

At 4 p.m. on the 30th the steamers started, stopping at Halfieh to pick up Khashm El Mus. But the latter happened then to be at Khartum, and as the commandant anticipated an attack on the post at El Jili, Nushi Pasha at once steamed on, leaving the *Safia* behind for Khashm El Mus. He arrived at El Jili at 8.52 p.m., where he learnt that the dervishes had fired on the troops during the festival, and that the latter, having no fort, had got on to the top of the houses, and after some difficulty had driven the dervishes out of the village. At midnight the *Safia* arrived with Khashm El Mus, and on the 1st October the cavalry, being reinforced by the Halfieh cavalry, pursued the dervishes, while the *Mansureh* co-operated from the river. In a few hours she returned, having captured at Wadi Ramleh a boat containing cattle, etc. Information that day reached the Commandant of El Jili that the

dervishes intended renewing the attack as soon as the steamers had left, so he begged Nushi Pasha to remain until Gordon Pasha could send other steamers from Khartum to remove the inhabitants. This Nushi Pasha agreed to do, and on Friday, the 12th of October, the evacuation was completed, the cavalry returning by land to Halfieh, and the steamers continued their way to Shendi.

In the meantime, Abu Girgeh and Wad En Nejumi, having learnt that the steamers had left, after much consultation decided to capture Halfieh, and the Sheikh El Obeid was instructed to carry this out. The dervish plans reached General Gordon through a soldier who had been taken prisoner by the dervishes and escaped. He therefore summoned a council under Farag Pasha to consider the desirability of evacuating Halfieh. It was decided that it should be evacuated; and as there were now no steamers, and the soldiers could not be spared from the defences, orders were given to pull down the houses and carry off the wood, and while the troops were evacuating the natives were permitted to go out and collect as much wood and cattle as they could. The soldiers retired, pulling down the houses at Khojali and Hillet Abu Hamed as well. They were then stationed at the Eastern Palace (North Fort).

Nejumi now wrote to General Gordon to the effect that the Mahdi had arrived at Rahad with his victorious army, and that he would soon reach Khartum, and that he (Gordon) had better come out with all the notables if he wished to see the Mahdi and take the "Aman" from him, which would undoubtedly be accorded to him. He advised him not to put any faith in the news which he received from spies about the approach of the English troops, for these spies only gave pleasing information so as to get well rewarded. He urged Gordon to surrender, as he (Nejumi) was quite able to take Khartum, but that he had been ordered by his lord and master, the Mahdi, to act in a kindly way and avoid bloodshed.

In reply to this, Gordon Pasha answered to the effect that the number of Nejumi's troops did not in the least trouble him; that the spies did not deceive him as he supposed, that the information which reached him regarding the approach of the English troops did not reach him through spies, but that he had received official letters from both the British and Egyptian Governments; that he (Nejumi) would soon

realise this and would repent of his words; that he (Gordon) informed him several times that he did not intend to surrender, nor would he ever prove himself a traitor to the Great Powers who were able to drive the dervishes off the face of the earth. He warned him not to write again, and said he hoped that this also would be his last letter to him. This letter was dated 9th October.*

The inhabitants, however, of Khartum, when they learnt that the Mahdi had reached Rahad, and was advancing with his army towards Om-Durman, became greatly alarmed, and to quiet them Gordon Pasha issued proclamations to the effect that there were altogether 50,000 troops coming to relieve Khartum, of whom 25,000 were coming by Wadi Gamr and the remainder by Abu Hamed. The advanced guard had already reached Jebel Rogan, had driven out the dervishes who were there, and would soon arrive at Berber. He therefore urged the inhabitants to cast aside all fear, for the troops would no doubt arrive before the Mahdi could reach Om-Durman. Gordon Pasha ordered this proclamation to be read out twice a day to the troops, so that every man should understand the route the troops were taking, and could repeat the strength of the armies. He also ordered an issue of clothing to all the families of soldiers as well as two months' pay to the garrison and to civilian officials.

Gordon Pasha also inspected the quarters which he had ordered to be prepared for the English officers, and finding that more furnishing was required, he approved the expenditure of 20,000 piastres, and entrusted the arrangement to the Moawins and the Mamur of the Zabtieh, giving them instructions that the quarters were to be made ready for occupation at any moment. When the Sheikh El Obeid heard the Mahdi was coming, and Halfieh was evacuated, he moved on to Khojali and Hillet Abu Hamed, and making fortifications here, he placed a gun in position to fire on Khartum. The dervishes now began firing with guns and rifles from all directions, from Kalakla, Gereif, Bozina, and from the East bank of the Blue Nile; they used to commence firing at dawn, and continued till night, with only a short cessation

* The full text of these letters does not appear in General Gordon's Journals, and it is not perhaps out of place here to remark that the translated dates of the Arabic letters, published in the Appendix to these Journals, are in many instances incorrect.

at noon. On 12th October the ss. *Tewfikieh* left Khartum with letters for Nushi Pasha, which ran as follows :—

" After salutations, I have to inform you that Khartum is all right, but I am told by deserters that that traitor Mohammed Ahmed has arrived also near Om-Durman. The dervishes who are now surrounding us are continually firing at the town, and some of the bullets even come into the market-place. I send you the steamship *Tewfikieh* ; keep her, and send back the *Telahawieh*, as I require her here ; but, before she starts, remind the commandant to keep a careful look out when he approaches Shabluka, and if he finds that the dervishes have erected a fort and placed guns there, he should turn back and remain with you. It is also possible the Arabs may put a gun at Halfieh ; tell the commandant to look out carefully at this place, and to ascertain fully the state of the river from the commandant of the *Tewfikieh*. I hope you continue to send spies to the Dongola Mudirieh, so as to get the latest news of the English troops and inform me of the same. I hope to get good news.

" (Signed) GORDON PASHA,
" At Khartum."

This letter was accompanied by another letter written in clear characters, saying :—

" I inform you that the rumour which was spread abroad to the effect that the Mahdi had arrived in the vicinity of Om-Durman is incorrect. I have been told of this by spies whom I sent specially to find out the truth. Therefore keep a good watch, perform your duties well, and comply with all orders.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

At this time a disturbance occurred in Khartum between the Bashi-Bazuks and the merchants, owing to the attempts of the latter to reduce the value of the paper currency. In consequence Gordon Pasha replaced the Mamur of the Zabtieh by Musa Bey Shauki, with strict orders to enforce the proper paper currency. Spies were now ordered to go into various parts of the town to watch the merchants, so that anyone found transgressing the order should be arrested. As an example to others he sent some of the guilty merchants to a place near the dervish forts, and they were so alarmed that they made solemn vows never again to disobey these orders. The arrival of the Mahdi near Om-Durman put new life in the dervishes. They dug trenches closer to the line of defence,

from which they were able to inflict loss on the soldiers, while they themselves were quite safe. Gordon Pasha therefore ordered the military engineers to construct high towers at intervals along the line, and in these picked shots were posted. During the building of these towers a quarrel occurred between the Mudir and the Mamur of the Zabtieh, the result being that the latter was replaced by Ibrahim Eff. Labib, with Ahmed Eff. Abdel Wahab as his assistant.

V.

THE news of the Mahdi's arrival greatly alarmed the inhabitants, and the natives were struck with terror. A certain man, called Ahmed Effendi Awam, who had been exiled to Khartum for participation in the Arabi revolt in Egypt in 1882, and who believed neither in the Prophet nor in any holy book, took this opportunity to try and revenge himself on the Government, and he began to incite the natives, telling them that Mohammed Ahmed must be the true Mahdi, for otherwise he could not have had such success. He urged them to surrender instead of trusting to Gordon Pasha, who was only drawing them on by false promises. This man spoke openly and fearlessly in public meetings, and he also wrote and distributed circulars to this effect secretly. When this came to Gordon Pasha's notice he had him put in chains; but after a short time he expressed contrition, so he was released, and Gordon Pasha appointed him a Moawin in the Hukumdarieh at 1,500 piastres a month. Previous to the despatch of the steamers for the first time to Sennar, Mohammed Bey El Akkad brought to Gordon Pasha's notice that his chief clerk, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, was in the habit of taking bribes for decorations. He was tried and acquitted; but later on, when the steamers returned with various eatables, including a gift of a sheep and turkeys from the Mudir, the chief clerk, instead of telling Gordon Pasha, kept the things for himself. The Pasha heard of it and spoke to him, but received an insolent reply, and so he dismissed him, replacing him by Giriagis Bey El Kummus, of the Treasury.

On the 19th October the *Telahawieh* arrived at Khartum from Shendi, with letters from Nushi Pasha. The following is the journal of events of the steamers :—

"I have the honour to submit to your Excellency, that after leaving El Jili we saw numbers of Shaggiehs standing near their villages

on both banks of the river, asking for the 'Aman,' which was given to them. They were told that a meeting would take place at Shendi, and that all officers and notables should come. The only disloyal Sheikh in these districts is Idris, of the Jerishab tribe. I wrote to him twice from Hajar El Asl to come in, but he refused; and when I was certain that he did not intend coming, I proceeded with the steamers to his village, where I found him making fortifications and preparing to fight. I therefore opened fire on him and drove him out, killing a number of his men, burning his village, and taking all the wood for the use of the steamers. We then steamed on to Metemmeh, and on approaching saw that they had made entrenchments in front of the town, and soon they opened fire on us. We returned this fire, and in a short time forced them to take to flight, leaving many of their men killed. We then went on to Shendi, where we found the Shaggieh officers and dervishes living together in the Government buildings on the river bank. After fighting for two hours we drove them out; but they retreated to the fortifications, and fought us continuously.

"We opened communications with the Shaggiehs with the assistance of the Morghani ladies, who used to come to us secretly by night, and try to arrange some means of getting them over to our side; but our efforts were fruitless. They used to promise, but they never came; and I gathered that they preferred to wait till they saw which was the stronger force, and side with it.

"At length, with God's help, we gained possession of the Government buildings on the river bank. Some of the soldiers were landed and occupied them. We also built a fort on the top of one of the buildings, and mounted a gun on it, and in this way we succeeded in driving off the dervishes. Then, by means of spies, we found out their intentions, and continually harassed them. Khashm El Mus Bey, Mohammed Bey Talaat, and Ali Eff. Rida all worked well together, and, through their courage and their influence over the officers and men, our success in your name was secured.

"Regarding the news of the English troops, I have the honour to inform you that on our arrival Wad Hamza sent his brother to Berber to obtain arms, ammunition, and reinforcements from the Emir of this district, Mohammed El Kheir; but it appears that he returned without bringing any with him. He reported that the Emir of Berber had

information that the English troops were advancing against Berber from all directions—from Dongola, Kassala, and Korosko ; that the troops coming *via* Kassala had reached Ba'luk on the Atbara, near El Damer. It is also understood that the Emir of Berber is urging the natives to evacuate Shendi and other places, and collect at Berber, so as to repel the troops ; but our steamers, which are constantly patrolling north and south, do not give them a chance of passing to go to Berber or any other place, so that all of them are remaining in their own houses to guard their own property.

" To-day the dervishes have been reinforced by Sayed Wad Banuba, Sheikh of Mekineh in the Berber Mudirieh, who has brought one gun. They fired on the steamer, but they did no damage. I hope their gun and all their arms will soon be ours.

" The health of the soldiers is good. I send the twenty-five sick by the steamer for treatment in the Khartum Hospital. I also send you some men (with their women) as per accompanying list, to be enrolled in the Army.

" The confidential mail and telegrams were sent off by a special messenger, and the remainder of the Government mail will be despatched when an opportunity occurs.

" Mohammed and Beshir, the sons of Khashm El Mus Bey, left their homes two days ago and joined their father ; they fought bravely with us against the dervishes ; I therefore beg that you will be pleased to grant Mohammed the rank of lieutenant-colonel and Beshir the rank of major.

" Twenty men with two officers also came to us from Shendi, and have been attached to Mohammed Bey's Ordi.

" I beg that you will kindly send us, by the steamer that takes this, some more arms and ammunition for those who may join us, also a few Sudanese soldiers and two or three rockets. I also beg that you will send back the *Telahawieh* unless you desire to keep her. Again I beg that you will kindly give some suitable reward to Mohammed Bey Talaat and Ali Eff. Rida, who have shown sincere devotion, and have acted with energy and courage.

" (Signed) BRIGADIER-GENERAL,

" *Commandant of the Khartum Steamers.*"

Gordon Pasha approved of all that Nushi Pasha had applied for, and he also detailed the *Bordein* to accompany the *Telahawieh*, and gave instructions for both steamers to start the following day. The *Telahawieh* arrived at Khartum on 19th October, 1884.

The steamers carried letters from General Gordon to the following effect :—

1. "Nushi Pasha.

"As explained to you in my order of this date, I send you the *Bordein* and *Telahawieh*, with ammunition and biscuits. You should leave Khashm El Mus Bey with the steamer *Mansureh* at Shendi or in its vicinity, and you should proceed with the steamship *Telahawieh*, *Tewfikieh* and *Safia* towards Berber, and when you have positive information that the English troops are near Berber, you should arrange to enter the town with them, but do not get within range of the dervish guns before they arrive, lest the steamers should be damaged. You should not get engaged uselessly with the enemy. Continue to send spies to discover the movements of the English troops, and in ten days from this date send the *Telahawieh* here with all information fully verified.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

2. "To Nushi Pasha.

"I send you the *Telahawieh* and *Bordein*, and 200 shells for the *Mansureh*, 200 for the *Safia*, and 100 for the *Tewfikieh*. Do not expend any ammunition uselessly. You sent me twenty-five soldiers, who appear to have been wounded, because they left steamers and landed on the islands, whereas I gave you strict orders not to allow any of the soldiers to leave the steamers. I now send you twenty-five Egyptian soldiers in their place, and again repeat the above instructions. You should also instruct the commander of the *Mansureh* in the above sense, and see that all these orders are strictly adhered to.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

3. "To Nushi Pasha.

"In your memorandum No. 42 you ask for the rank of colonel for Mahmud Bey Talaat, and of lieutenant-colonel for Ali Effendi Rida, in recognition of their faithful and valuable services. I shall consider this request later.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

4. " To Nushi Pasha, Commandant of the Steamers.

" I send you the *Telahawieh* as requested, also fifty double-barrelled rifles and 500 packets of ammunition, for issue to the Shaggiehs attached to the Bashi-Bazuks.

" (Signed) GORDON PASHA."

5. " To Nushi Pasha.

" In your memorandum No. 42 you state the confidential letters only were despatched, and that the rest of the mail is still with you; but as there are amongst the latter letters addressed to the English Army, I desire you to make every effort to send them by spies to their destination. Amongst these letters there are also some for the Mudir of Dongola; send these also by special messengers as soon as available.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

" N.B.—The mail addressed to the English should not be sent by spies, but should be kept and handed over to them on their arrival."

6. " To Nushi Pasha.

" As you have asked for some recognition to be given to the sons of Khashm El Mus Bey, I have granted Mohammed the rank of Salissa and Beshir the rank of Rabea. I have this day written to the Khartum Mudirieh to register their names and ranks; therefore inform them in this sense, and organise the Ordi as you propose, with one of them as commander.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

The steamers carrying these letters left for Shendi on 21st October. In order to encourage the inhabitants and inspire them with new life, Gordon Pasha had notices hung up in the streets and other places to the effect that, in accordance with information received from Nushi Pasha, the English troops had arrived in Berber, reoccupied it, and had sent on a force to Metemmeh.

Although this had not actually taken place, the General put it in this way to keep up the spirits of the people, and at the same time to alarm the dervishes.

On 24th October* the Mahdi arrived with, it was said, 60,000 men, including a number of Government employés of Kordofan Mudirieh. Lieutenant Yusef Effendi Mansur was the commandant of his artillery.

* Gordon's Journal put the date of the Mahdi's arrival at 21st October.

This officer was the cause of Government officials being employed in the Mahdi's army. The Mahdi's first intention was to send back all the Egyptians to their own country, but Mansur told him that they would be of great use to him, as there were soldiers well skilled in various kinds of work, and that therefore he should make use of them instead of permitting them to go and help the Turks against him. The Mahdi approved, and was so pleased at this suggestion that he gave Mansur fifty dollars a month.

Abdel Halim,† who had been chief clerk of Kordofan Mudirieh, and was a son-in-law of Ali Bey Sherif, the Mudir, was also employed by the Mahdi as clerk under Ahmed Suliman, the Emin Beit El Mal, This man became, after the fall of Khartum, a bitter enemy of the inhabitants of Khartum, for the Mahdi himself wished to grant them money to enable them to live; but Abdel Halim said that they should all have been killed, and should not be given any help, so they were left to struggle to live as best they could.

Lupton Bey, the Mudir of Bahr El Ghazal, and Slatin Pasha, the Mudir of Darfur, also came with the Mahdi. Mohamed Bey Guma was employed as Emir of a Raya (flag). Amongst others who arrived with the Mahdi were Saleh Pasha El Mek, who had been captured at Fedasi; also Hussein Pasha Khalifa, the Mudir of Berber, and many other Europeans and Government officials.

All these arrived with the Mahdi at Dokja on the west bank, about one mile and a half south of Om-Durman, and here the Mahdi remained for some time, taking rest and fortifying himself.

Let us now return to the traitor Ahmed Eff. El Awam, who, on hearing of the Mahdi's arrival, became highly pleased, and again began inciting the people to follow him and to disobey Gordon Pasha. He did everything in his power to injure the Government. He at length persuaded a woman, whose relations were with the Mahdi and whose house overlooked the cartridge factory, to throw something burning into the factory, and so set fire to the whole place.

The woman did as she was told, locked her house, and went away; but the burning substance fell on some paper, and the sentry noticing

† Abdel Halim became an important Emir, and was eventually killed at the action of Sheikan on 3rd August, 1889.

a smell of burning, called up the head of the factory, and, with the help of the Mudir and some employés, the fire was soon extinguished. The latter was reported to Gordon Pasha ; the woman was discovered, and confessed that she had been persuaded to this act by Ahmed Eff. Awam. The General therefore ordered him to be executed, and this order was at once carried into effect.

Also a number of notables and officials (whose names follow) were carried away by the same spirit which affected Ahmed Eff. Awam. These men banded together and collected a large sum of money, which they sent to the Mahdi to help him ; they got it out of Khartum on the pretext that they wished to buy grain from Tuti Island. The money was sent with the slave of Ahmed Ali Bey Jellab, the Mudir, who, on account of his influence with Farag Pasha, obtained a pass for the slave to go to Tuti Island. With the money a letter was sent to one of the Mahdi's Emirs, informing him that they were all Mahdists at heart, and that this money was sent to help their brethren, the Ansar, that they could not escape and come to them, as they were watched by the Government, but that they were doing their best to weaken the Government. The slave was caught on the way by the Om-Durman patrol, who brought him before Faragallah Bey, the commandant. The money and letter were found on him, and he was at once sent to Gordon Pasha.

The notables and others connected with this plot were Ahmed Bey Jellab, Mudir of Khartum ; El Fadl Eff. Ibrahim, chief clerk of the Court of Appeal ; Abu Bakr Bey El Jarkuk, member of the Court of Appeal and meat contractor ; Osman Bey Mukwai, meat contractor ; Haj Nasir Abu Hashish, a notable ; El Khalifa Wad Arbad, a notable ; Ahmed Bey Dufallah, member of the Court of Appeal ; Zammimi Bey Ali Jellab, brother of the Mudir and member of the Local Court ; El Fiki El Amin Ed Darir, Sheikh El Islam, Khartum ; Ibrahim Eff. Shakir, merchant ; Idris Bey En Nur, member of the Court of Appeal ; Mohammed Abderrahman El Beshir, merchant ; Mohammed Surur, clerk of the Zabtieh—in all, fifteen persons. After some inquiry Gordon Pasha ordered these men to be sent to the guardrooms, with the exception of the Mudir and his brother, the Kadi, Sheikh El Islam, and Idris En

Nur, who were sent to their houses under guard, and were not permitted to communicate with anyone.*

After this the Khartum people never dared to show the smallest inclination to Mahdi-ism, and the Government kept very careful watch.

Mussa Bey Shawki was appointed Mudir; he turned his special attention to the care of the ammunition, and, for greater safety, caused all the houses in the vicinity of the factory to be vacated. A number of native swords were found in these houses, and they were handed over to the officers and non-commissioned officers.

The muhafza was again established, and Ibrahim Bey Fauzi was appointed Mamur, and a system of careful spying was organised, so that evil-doers might be exposed and punished.

At this time money became scarce, and Gordon Pasha asked for a loan of £4,000, which was speedily subscribed by merchants, officers, and civilians.

Now one of the Mahdi's principal Emirs, named Abu Angar, advanced with a force against Om-Durman, but Faragallah Bey the commandant and his men stood firm in their entrenchments, and after some time the dervishes were forced to retire, and the garrison captured upwards of ninety cows, of which seventy were, by Gordon Pasha's orders, transferred to Khartum, and distributed amongst the officers and men.† On the following day another assault was made on Om-Durman, and this time eighty cows were taken. The dervishes used the cows as ramparts to protect them from the fire of the forts; ‡ of this number sixty were sent to Khartum for distribution. On the third day another attack was made and repulsed.

* This is further confirmed by Bordeini Bey, who states that the Khartum weigher, Dervish El Kabbani and his brother, Ahmed, actually wrote the letter, and that it was directed to the Mahdi. The letter stated that they had issued all the biscuits, but had submitted a return to Gordon Pasha, to the effect that a considerable supply still remained, and that they all believed him to be the Mahdi. Bordeini Bey also affirms that the Mudir had previously written to the Mahdi through Abu Girgeh, saying that he believed in him, and that he would come to him when he found a favourable opportunity. This letter was found after the Battle of Gereif by Mohammed Ali Pasha, who gave it to Gordon Pasha, but the latter decided to take no notice of it, and bound over Mohammed Ali Pasha to secrecy.

† Bordeini Bey states the position occupied by Abu Angar was on the west bank, between Om-Durman and Fort Mukran; that he entrenched himself here, and practically cut the communication between Om-Durman and Khartum. He remained in this position for fifty-five days, until Om-Durman fell.

‡ It is more probable that the cows were sent forward to walk over the ground in which mines were supposed to be laid.

After this Om-Durman was let alone, and the attention of the dervishes turned to Khartum. Nejumi advanced along the east bank of the White Nile, Abu Girgeh along the Blue Nile, and the Sheikh El Obeid came opposite Buri. All opened fire at once, and a severe engagement ensued. Steamers were sent up the Blue and White Nile to assist in the defence, and after some time the dervishes were forced to retreat, losing considerably. Skirmishing continued for three days, but our soldiers were always victorious. General Gordon was greatly pleased at the successes, and depatched messages of congratulation to the different military stations, and granted three months' pay to the civil and military, as he had before promised. This was paid to the soldiers in paper money, and to the officers in promissory notes, by Mohammed Pasha Hassan, Mamur of the Sudan Finance, as the paper money had run out. On the 3rd November, the *Bordein* arrived from Shendi with a mail from Mohammed Nushi Pasha. On sighting the steamer Gordon Pasha became greatly delighted, thinking he would receive news of the arrival of the English troops. Salutes were fired from the forts, and flags run up on all forts and steamers in harbour. The *Bordein* did bring a mail from the English as the postman saw the steamer passing at Hajar El Asl, and knowing she was a Government steamer he hailed her, and was taken on board and brought to Khartum.

The mail from Nushi Pasha was to the following effect :—

1. " To H.E. the Governor-General.

" With reference to your orders directing me to leave Khashm El Mus at Shendi, and proceed to Berber to meet the English troops, I have the honour to inform you that the dervishes have collected from all directions, and are now between Ed Damer and Shendi on both banks. They fire at us daily, having two guns—one on the east bank, and one on the west ; but, in spite of all this, they have hitherto done us no harm. On 22nd October the ss. *Mansureh* proceeded to Jandatu to attack the dervishes, and what occurred is described in the ' Journal of Events.' On returning, a shot was fired at her from a fort which the dervishes had just made, and which was unknown to the troops. The shell struck the centre turret, set fire to some cartridges, which blew up and destroyed the turret, killing some of the artillerymen ; but the fire was soon extinguished and the turret repaired.

"The following day, at dawn, the *Mansureh* and *Safia* started with the intention of capturing the gun, and were joined by the *Telahawieh* and the *Bordein*; but the dervishes retreated with their gun. The troops were landed and pursued, and, coming up with the dervishes, a severe engagement occurred, lasting five hours, in which about 1,000* of them were killed, and the remainder fled with their gun. Our loss was only a few men wounded. Among the dervish losses were a number of Emirs and notable men.

"Owing to these disturbances, I could not leave Khashm El Mus alone at Shendi and go myself to Berber; besides the dervishes from Berber have advanced to this place, and now attack us from both banks. If I leave Shendi the dervishes will probably attack and destroy the force that I leave there and, having taken possession of the fort and Government buildings, will prevent our returning there. Again, if we evacuate Shendi and proceed to Berber, the dervishes will pursue us along both banks, and all our work will become useless; for our desire is to prevent the dervishes from collecting at any one place, and so permit the English Army to enter Berber without difficulty.

"The next day, since writing the above, a messenger reached us from the Morghani ladies, and informed us of the arrival of the Army at Wadi Kamr. It there defeated and killed 7,000 dervishes; he also stated that the Mudir of Dongola is with the Army, and that the telegraph line is established as the Army advances; we have sent out spies to verify this news. I therefore send this for your information, so that if you consider it advisable, and if Khartum is quiet, you will send 500 men for the station of Shendi."

2. Another letter.

"To the Governor-General, Sudan.

"Journal No. 2 contains the diary of events of the steamers from 17th October to 31st October, in which all our proceedings during this period are fully detailed."

After reading the English and Shendi mails, General Gordon made arrangements for the return of the *Bordein*, in compliance with Nushi Pasha's request. The following were his orders to Nushi Pasha:—

1. "To Nushi Pasha, Commandant of the Patrolling Steamers.

"From your correspondence sent in the *Bordein*, I have understood that you are acting contrary to my orders, as I had previously given

* This is probably an exaggeration.

you strict injunctions that you should not permit the soldiers to leave the steamers, but that you should remain in your turrets. Your action is contrary to these orders; you sent me first twenty-five wounded soldiers, and now you send me fourteen more; besides some of the artillery have been killed. If you had complied with my orders, no harm would have befallen the soldiers, for the steamers are well protected.

"I have ascertained from the spies who brought the English mail that the Army has reached Debbeh, and that a portion of it has advanced from there, and that they will reach Berber or Metemmeh or Shendi; the English letters also confirm this; you should, therefore, remain where you now are, and if you have no news as yet of their arrival you will have it soon, for they will shortly be with you, and you should then hand over this mail and the preceding one, and you will send on the mail which they will hand over to you as soon as possible.

"Do not permit any of the soldiers to leave the steamers, but keep them all on board, anchored in mid-stream at Shendi, in order to guard that place, and await the arrival of the English troops, keeping a careful watch over the enemy's proceedings and avoiding all danger. Do not send any steamer here until the English arrive. The soldiers you ask for are no longer required, as you will now remain at Shendi and await the arrival of the English troops; therefore there is no necessity to send them.

"Also, you cannot require money, as there is now no market where you are, and on the arrival of the English they will give you all you require.

"The ammunition, biscuits, and other things for which you apply are all sent in the *Bordein*; also the dhurra required for the families of those who are in the steamers will be duly supplied.

"I send you fourteen men in place of those who were wounded, and again repeat that you should not permit any of the soldiers to leave the steamers. I wish you to understand that if you act contrary to my orders, I shall hold you responsible for any harm that may happen. You are hereby detailed to wait for the English troops only.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

2. "To Nushi Pasha, Commandant of the Patrolling Steamers.

"It has been ascertained from the English letters that the English troops left Ambukkol for this place, and that they have telegraph

material with them. It is not, therefore, necessary for you to fight, but you will await the arrival of the English troops, only we are unable to say if they are coming from Ambukkol to Metemmeh, or from Merawi to Berber; but you should wait near Metemmeh, so that if they come to Berber you may go and meet them with the steamers, and if they come to Metemmeh then they will find you there. Do not, therefore, fight with the Arabs; it is little use killing ten or twenty of them each time; it is far better for you to keep your steamers carefully out of the way of the Arabs and their guns until the English come; you have already had a number of men wounded and also some killed.

"In one of your letters you state that the Nile is getting low, and that you fear in a short time you will be unable to return. From this I understand that you wish to return, but I wish to inform you that it is more important for you to wait where you are, as the English troops will arrive within ten days. I send you sufficient ammunition and biscuits to last you until the troops arrive. I trust you will carry out all your duties to my satisfaction. Inform Khashm Mus Bey of all I have written.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

3. "To H.E. Nushi Pasha.

"I have already twice given orders, and now I do so for the third time, that you are not to fight and waste ammunition. You must comply with my orders; if you fail to do so I shall request H.H. the Khedive to cancel the rank given to you. You had better select a naturally strong island, and anchor the steamers there, so that the Arabs may be unable to reach you, and wait there until the English arrive or you have news of them. Beware of disobeying my orders."

4. "I have received a letter, dated 1st November, from Mohammed Esh Sheikh El Abadi, to the effect that the mail which he carried to Shendi, and which he buried in the ground there before the steamer arrived, was handed over by him to Adjutant-Major Abdullah Eff., the commandant of the *Bordein*, to give to me, and that he has still the orders which he brought with him from Kassala, and that he will hand them over to me when he arrives. I have asked the Adjutant-Major about this mail, but he says he never received it. I therefore wish you to make inquiries, and if you find out that the letters were not handed over to the Adjutant-Major, then take it over from Mohammed Esh

Sheikh and send it here, together with copies of the orders which he says he brought with him from Kassala, 5th November, 1884.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

5. " To H.E. Nushi Pasha.

" The mail sent herewith, sewed up in cloth, is directed to the commander of the English troops. Do not send it on to him unless you are certain that they have arrived, and that the letters will without doubt reach them."

All these letters and the packages accompanying them were handed over to the commandant of the steamer *Bordein*, on 5th November, and they at once left for Shendi.

Gordon Pasha then had proclamations hung up in the streets and public thoroughfares to the effect that the English troops had arrived at Berber and Metemmeh ; and, in order to make the people thoroughly believe this, he had special windows made in the houses which he had intended for the English officers, and inspected them daily to see that they were clean and ready. He also transferred the office of the Mudirieh to the house of Hamad Bey Et Teleb, and used the old office for the Sudan Treasury, preparing the latter house as a dwelling for the commander of the English Army. He also had furniture put into the old Hukumdarieh office, which he intended to use for himself, instead of the palace, which he prepared for the principal officers of the Army.

In the meantime, a letter came from the Mahdi to General Gordon to the following effect :—

" In the name of God, &c.

" From Mohammed El Mahdi, Ibn Abdullah, to Gordon Pasha.

" Be it known to you that I have arrived in the vicinity of Om-Durman with my victorious troops and brethren in God. I am well aware of the arrival of the English troops in Dongola, but I care neither for them nor for any other troops, for they shall share the fate of the Armies of Hicks Pasha and Yusef Pasha Esh Shellali. Be not deceived by your successive victories. I have taken pity on some of my men, and allowed them to die as martyrs, so as to obtain the rewards of those godly and pious men of whom God says : ' Count not those who die in God's cause as dead, for they inherit the glories of Paradise.' I would not have written to you on this matter had I not desired to

avoid the shedding of the blood of Moslems; otherwise I should have attacked continuously, and I am sure I would have been victorious. Surrender, therefore, and save yourself and your men. I have now given you this counsel, and if you do not listen to it then war must decide between us."

Gordon Pasha having read this, despatched the following answer :—

"I am ready to fight you, and neither care for you nor your troops. The English troops, you say, are at Dongola, and this, you say, in order to deceive your people, and make them strive for that which is not possible; for they are close to Berber and Metemmeh, and you shall see what will happen to you and your men when they come. Even if they did not come, I am alone able to show you how you deceive yourself as to your own strength. Therefore, cease asking for what you shall never get."

This answer was given to the Mahdi's messenger, and he returned on the morning of 12th November. The dervishes surrounded us from all sides, and came shouting and beating their noggaras within rifle range, and fired from Krupp and Mountain guns and mitrailleuses at both Khartum and Omdurman.

Fire was opened from the lines, and the *Ismailieh* and *Husseiniyeh*, on the White Nile, fired right and left at the attacking dervishes. Fort Mukran was now in a good defensive position, and the General ordered a Krupp and a Mountain gun to be sent there at once, and also reinforced its garrison by an Ordi of Shaggieh Bashi-Bazuks. The two steamers on the White Nile fought well; sometimes they used to feign retreating, and then, when the dervishes collected on the river bank, they would fire on them and kill numbers of them. They continued fighting till sunset, and then the *Husseiniyeh* struck on a sandbank between Fort Mukran and Fort Om-Durman, and while she was trying to get off the dervishes fired numbers of shells at her; one of them struck and broke her boiler, and it was not possible to save her. The commandant, Mustafa Eff., and many of the crew were killed, and the rest of the men took shelter in the cabins. The *Ismailieh* was also struck by a shell, but Gordon Pasha, who was watching the fight from the top of the palace, sent orders for her to return to the arsenal for repair, and he himself superintended it, and then sent her back to try and get the other men and ammunition off the wrecked steamer. This she

succeeded in doing. The engagement was very severe, and the Arab losses were so heavy that even to this day they talk of it.

During the night the dervishes made an entrenchment between Khartum and Om-Durman on the west bank, and had a double line; one to fire on Om-Durman and the other on Khartum, and at each end of their entrenchment they erected a fort, armed with a Krupp gun and a mitrailleuse. The next morning they opened fire on Fort Mukran and on Tuti Island, and it was then realised that Om-Durman was closely besieged, and that all communications, including the telegraph, were cut with Khartum.

The fight lasted through this day and the next; but the Mahdi, seeing that he could not capture Khartum, ordered his men to retire and cease firing, and ordered forts to be built within rifle range opposite to the forts in Khartum; he also had three forts built round Om-Durman —one on the north, one on the south, and one on the west. In addition to the two forts above-named, he also had a fort built on the western bank of the White Nile, opposite to the extreme left of the line of fortifications, his intentions being to prevent the soldiers occupying this position of the line when the Nile became low; he also built a fort at a place called Shamba, on the Nile, north of Tuti Island, to fire on the steamers going to Shendi.

But Gordon Pasha, seeing the steadiness and bravery of the officers and men in the last fight, and the great losses sustained by the dervishes, and seeing that the Mahdi had failed in his attempt to capture the town and had retreated, and seeing, also, that the only officer he had lost was Ibrahim Eff., the commandant of Fort Mukran, he was greatly pleased, and sent a notice to all the military stations, thanking all for their bravery and steadiness. He also ordered paper money to the value of £60,000 to be printed, so that he might issue a gratuity of six months' pay to all officers, soldiers, and civil officers; he also told them that he could supply them with sufficient grain from Tuti Island when the harvest-time came; that he would see to all their wants, and that they should not fear. Besides the £60,000 paper money above mentioned, he also had at different times £70,000 and £30,000 worth printed.

He also had khashmir and gold burnouses issued from the commissariat stores for the officers and Sanjaks, and white calico and muslin given to regulars and Bashi-Bazuks. When the paper money was ready he issued to all the six and a half months' gratuity promised them.

VI.

ON the 25th November the *Bordein* appeared in sight, coming from Shendi, and when opposite Halfieh she was fired on from both banks, and also by the fort at Shamba, and by the two forts on the White Nile. The steamer, returning the fire, continued advancing, and the General, who was watching ordered the gun at Fort Mukran to cover her advance; and after three hours' heavy engagement, the steamer came opposite the two forts at Om-Durman. Here a shell struck her boiler, but the crew put canvas into the hole, and the General ordered the *Ismailieh* to go and tow her in. Abdullah Eff., the commandant of the *Bordein*, although wounded in the leg, carried on his duties until the steamer was out of danger. When she arrived at Mukran the bugles sounded the salute, flags were hoisted in all the military stations, and guns were fired from the forts; and then the General and chief people went down to the steamer. The commandant handed over to Gordon Pasha the English and Shendi mails.

The letters from Nushi Pasha were to the following effect:—

"To H.E. the Governor-General of the Sudan.

"I have the honour to inform you that I received your order, No. 824, dated 5th November, 1884, in which you state that I am disobeying your orders, in that some of my men have been killed and wounded; but I assure you, sir, that I have in no way disobeyed orders. As for those who died, their time had come, and the circumstances of the fight were the cause. Rest assured, sir, that I am taking every precaution, by day and by night, to secure the safety of the soldiers and the steamers, and am doing all in my power to comply with your orders.

"The dervishes fired at least seventy-two shells at us, but, by God's protection, no other harm than that which we have already stated has befallen us.

"For some days I have not allowed the steamers to move either east or west, or to engage with the dervishes, but we have remained under the walls of the Government buildings. If the soldiers are wounded now, it is only when they are out collecting wood for the steamers.

"I send the *Bordein* with the English mail, which was brought here a few days ago by a man named Ahmed Esh Shafi. I beg you will send back the steamer with 5,000 okes of biscuit. I also send in this steamer the family of Khashm El Mus Bey, to be retained, by his wish, at Khartum.

"The latest information of the English troops is that they are divided into three divisions—one coming from Ambukkol *via* Berber,

the second to Metemmeh, and the third *via* Shabluka. The division coming to Metemmeh is accompanied by Sheikh Saleh Wad Salem (Kababish); that coming *via* Shabluka by the Sheikh of the Hawawir; and that *via* Berber by the Mudir of Dongola. All were to advance at the same time. This information was given to us by Ahmed El Haij, brother of Hamed Mahmud, who has arrived from Tangasi. I hope they will soon arrive, and that peace will be restored. We have heard of the victories gained by our comrades at Om-Durman, and congratulate you on this account.

"I have been informed that when the dervishes at Metemmeh heard of the approach of the English troops, they sent spies to obtain news, and the latter, having met the Arab scouts accompanying the troops, returned to Metemmeh, and the whole town is now in great alarm.

"20th November, 1884. (Signed) MOHAMMED NUSHI."

When Gordon Pasha had read this letter and the English mail, he had notices hung up in the streets and thoroughfares to the following effect :—* †

* See "Gordon's Journals," Appendices to Book VI.

† The English mail referred to contained (see "Gordon's Journal") a telegram in Foreign Office cypher, of which Gordon had not the key (having sent it with Col. Stewart); also a telegram from H.H. the Khedive, which Gordon considered cancels his Firman which gives up the Sudan; and a telegram from H.H. the Khedive to the Ulemas of Khartum. The telegram which Gordon considers cancels the abandonment proclamation is as follows :—

"From H.H. the Khedive to Gordon Pasha.—I have received your telegrams, and thank you for what you are doing, and congratulate you on the bravery and dexterity you have shown. All that you have submitted to us has been forwarded to the British Government, and we inform you now that a great change has taken place since the time that the aforenamed Government advised the evacuation of the Sudan, and communication with you had been cut. But the English troops will shortly occupy Dongola, and Colonel Chermside, the Governor of Suakin, has been ordered to communicate with the tribes regarding Kassala; also Major Kitchener, one of the officers of my new army, is ordered to confer at Dongola, and we hope he will shortly be able to open communication with you.

"Again, it becomes necessary, under these circumstances, to modify the Firman which we had granted you, so that your authority will now be confined to being Governor of the Sudan, including Khartum, Sennar, Berber, and their present vicinities.

"Also, no steamers should be sent with an expeditionary force up the White Nile for the relief of the Bahr El Ghazal and the Equatorial garrisons until you receive further orders. You should do all in your power to bring the garrison of Sennar to Khartum. We are also pleased with what you state in your last telegram regarding your intention to withdraw the Kassala garrison to Khartum. We are also gratified to learn that you have given up the idea of burning Berber, of which we do not approve, and to which we cannot agree. You will also receive the necessary instructions from the British Government, through Sir E. Baring and Lord Wolseley, who has been made Commander-in-Chief of the English Expedition, and who is at present in Cairo."

It is probable that this telegram was inaccurately translated to Gordon; hence his misconception of its contents, and his mistaken idea that Sir E. Baring was coming up with Lord Wolseley. The telegram to the Ulema is merely acknowledging the receipt of their telegram informing them of the start of the Relief Expedition, and urging them to do their utmost to maintain the honour of the Government.

'The English troops have been divided into two parts—one for the east and one for the west. The Eastern force has reached Shabluka (three days' distant from Khartum), and the Western force has reached Wadi Bishara, and will soon be here. They have 800 ironclad steamers, each holding ten men, with complete equipment, arms, and ammunition. They have been hitherto delayed, as they were obliged to exterminate the dervishes *en route*. Therefore cast aside anxiety. Your hopes will soon be fulfilled, and on the arrival of the troops the soldiers will have complete rest."

In order to make this news appear more certain, the General had a high flagstaff erected close to the palace, and put up a red flag, so as to guide the English on their arrival. He also ordered rockets of various colours to be fired during the night, so as to show the English, on their approach, that the town was still holding out.

He also ordered Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, Ibrahim Bey Fauzi, and Mohammed Pasha Said to be in readiness to start in a few days in the *Ismailieh* to meet the English troops.*

He ordered 80,000 okes of biscuits to be issued from the duem commissariat to the poorer inhabitants, who had lately been complaining bitterly of hunger.

All the people and soldiers now no longer doubted that the English troops were really coming, for they knew that if it were not so the soldiers' rations would never have been issued to the natives.

The General also issued 30,000 okes of biscuits to the arsenal employés, as a reward for their working day and night in making the steamer *Zuhran*, and also 30,000 okes to the soldiers, as a reward for their continuous fighting.

After the issue of these biscuits nothing was left in the commissariat stores; whereas the accounts showed that 66,000 okes still remained; the General, therefore, put the Nazir of the stores and Kubbani in prison, and ordered the Mamur of the Treasury to assemble a court of inquiry, with himself as president, to inquire into the causes of the deficiency. The court convicted the two prisoners of theft; the latter was sentenced to confiscation of all his property, and the former was condemned to a term of imprisonment.

* It was at this time that Gordon assembled the meeting, the proceedings of which are described by Bordeini Bey in "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan," pp. 167, 8.

Gordon Pasha was very angry about this deficiency, and when he discovered that there were not sufficient rations for the troops for the month of December, he at once ordered two committees to assemble: one under Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, to gather dhurra from Tuti Island; and the other, under the Greek Consul, Nicola Leondides, to discover the grain stores of the natives, and to leave with them a sufficient supply for twenty days, and to take the remainder into the Government stores.

The first committee succeeded in collecting 160 ardebs of dhurra, for which certificates were given to the owners that they should receive payment, on the arrival of the English troops, at the rate £12 the ardeb.

The second committee* secured 300 ardebs, for which certificates were also given. All this dhurra was issued to the troops for the month of December, except 18,000 okes, which were kept in the stores as reserve rations.

But in spite of all these proofs of the arrival of the English troops, the people used to question Ahmed Esh-Shafi, who brought the letters, saying that he was lying, and that the English had not come. On General Gordon learning of this he decided to send back the *Bordein*, although he greatly required her at Khartum, but he felt it necessary to verify the news, and at the same time to give him the opportunity of telling the natives that he had sent her to meet the troops.

Knowing, however, that the dervishes were on the watch, he caused a rumour to get about that the steamer was to return on 27th November, and actually wrote a letter to Nushi Pasha on that date, but he misled them by keeping her back till the 15th December, and then he ordered her to start at dawn, and then she escaped.

The following are the two letters addressed to Mohammed Nushi Pasha, and brought by this steamer.

The first is dated 27th November, and is as follows :—

"I have received your letters sent by ss. *Bordein*, and am much obliged to you for your efforts to secure the safety of the soldiers and steamers. Continue doing so until the arrival of the English troops. My salutations to you and to all your officers and men.

"(Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

* Bordeini Bey asserts that he was president of this committee, and that they succeeded in collecting only 200 ardebs.

The second letter was dated 14th December, and was as follows :—

" My salutations to you and all the officers and men under your command.

" I am much obliged to you for the work you have done. I send back the *Bordein*, and hope you will tell the officer commanding the English troops to hurry up and come here, as the presence of the troops has become most necessary, and that if they delay any longer I am afraid the town will fall into the hands of the dervishes, as it is now in great distress, and I need not therefore speak to you more of this.

" (Signed) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN."

It has been previously stated that the dervishes built forts and besieged Khartum as well as Om-Durman, and when the forts were completed the dervishes continued fighting incessantly day and night.

In order to encourage Om-Durman, which was then closely hemmed in, General Gordon granted Faragallah Bey the rank of Pasha, and ordered him to send in a list of all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men whom he thought deserving of promotion, which was duly granted. Majors Khalil Eff. Omara and Mustafa Eff. Ismet, were promoted lieut.-colonels ; Adjutant-major Hussein Eff. Mohammed received the rank of major ; Captain Mohammed Eff. Fakhri the rank of adjutant-major ; and Lieut. Mohammed Eff. Kerim the rank of captain. The rank of Pasha was also conferred on Ibrahim Bey Fauzi, the Governor of Khartum, and on Mussa Bey Shauki, the Mudir. As the English troops had delayed, and as the troops were suffering greatly from famine and from constant fighting, General Gordon wrote out a telegram, and having taken the charge out of a cartridge-case, he placed the telegram inside, and then replaced the bullet. He handed it over to a sergeant, with orders to telegraph it on his arrival at Dongola. The following was the wording of the telegram :—

" To all the Confederate Powers, from Gordon Pasha.—I beg to offer you my salutations, and beg to inform you that I am, by God's help, well. I take the liberty of submitting this telegram to the public, as I care for nothing after seeing what I have seen. Admire, O ye kings, the British and the Ottoman Government, who summoned me to be Governor-General of the Sudan, to put down the revolt. I have now been here for one year, during which period they have not inquired after me, being fully satisfied with the telegram of Hussein Khalifa, who willingly and

intentionally gave up his mudirieh ; while one kingdom is celebrated for its wealth and the other for its power. I say this, therefore, that although I am of no importance, yet these two Governments should have fulfilled the conditions under which I was sent here, viz., to uphold the honour of the Government. Such horrors have I seen that I am not able to relate them. God is with me, and God is all-powerful.*

" Dated 28th December, 1884. (Signed) GORDON."

The General used now to walk through the streets and lanes and see numbers of people lying dead from famine. He ordered the dead to be buried at once, and insisted on the Governor carrying out these orders.

When the famine increased and prevailed throughout the town, Gordon Pasha was obliged to send 5,000 people out of Khartum to the east bank to seek their own food. He wrote a letter about them to the Mahdi to the following effect :—

" Human beings are by nature merciful to each other ; these people are the same as yourselves ; Government has supported them for one year, and now it is necessary to send them to you to look after them. Treat them as you think fit."

But the dervishes, on seeing these people, used to strip them of their clothing, and send them away naked and barefooted.†

January, 1885, was now drawing near, and there were not sufficient rations in store for the troops ; Gordon Pasha therefore summoned Farag Pasha, the Commandant, and ordered him to assemble all officers of the rank of major and upwards, to consider some means of obtaining food for the soldiers until the arrival of the English troops. The meeting assembled, and after a discussion the following decision was drawn up :— " The soldier's ration shall be reduced from 200 dirhems of biscuit and 400 dirhems of dhurra a day, to 100 dirhems of biscuit or any kind of grain ; except for the Shaggieh, Bashi-Bazuks and Volunteers, who should receive 150 dirhems of dhurra a day, as these latter might become mutinous if they were in want of food. Each officer should receive the same quantity as each soldier, whatever his rank might be." This decision was submitted to Gordon Pasha, who was much pleased with it,

* Bordeini Bey says he knew nothing of this telegram, and does not believe Gordon ever wrote it.

† Bordeini Bey states that when Gordon saw this, he wrote again to the Mahdi to say :—" I have supported these natives for eleven months ; you support them for one month, and I shall take them back when the English troops arrive. I shall keep their baggage here safely until they return." But the Mahdi took no notice of this message.

and issued an order thanking the officers for their wise decision, more especially the Egyptian officers who had consented to be less favourably treated than others.

In accordance with the new scale, five days' rations were issued, beginning from January, 1885, and when these were finished it was decided that five days' more rations should be issued.

On 29th December, Farag Pasha signalled from Om-Durman that he had only three days' rations left. The General was at a loss to know what to do, as he had scarcely anything left in Khartum; he therefore assembled another meeting, under the presidency of Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, and volunteered to go himself with sailing boats and relieve the fort. Farag Pasha, on hearing these words, got up, and said: "I redeem you with my soul, and will save you this trouble; I will relieve the fort myself." After this it was decided not to attempt the relief of Om-Durman for the present, but rather to make counter-attacks on the dervishes, in the hope that they might leave Om-Durman and go to some other place, when it would not be difficult to relieve the garrison. It was agreed that a counter-attack should be made on 1st January, 1885, and the following was the plan:—Colonel Bakhit Bey Betraki, with 500 Sudanese troops, and Mohammed Bey El Mek, with 1,000 Bashi-Bazuks, to advance from the Buri Gate; while Major Yusef Effendi Iffat, with 500 regulars (Egyptians), should advance from the Messalamieh Gate, so as to protect Bakhit Bey's force from the enemy in the direction of Kalakala and the White Nile.

Early the following morning the troops advanced, but no sooner had Bakhit Bey gone out than the dervishes fell upon him and drove him back. Only Mohammed Bey El Mek would not retire, and fell fighting gallantly. Yusef Eff. Iffat, on leaving the Messalamieh Gate, formed his men into square, and, after advancing 1,000 yards, was heavily attacked; but his men fired steadily and drove them off. Farag Pasha Ez Zeini had repeatedly sent him messages to retire, but he refused to come back unless ordered by Gordon Pasha to do so, and the latter seeing the dervishes retreating, at once ordered him to retire, and on his return thanked him for his valour. He, however, blamed Bakhit Bey for his too rapid retirement, and was much grieved at the loss of Mohammed Bey El Mek.

Soon afterwards, one evening, General Gordon sent instructions to Farag Pasha Ez Zeini to detail the same force as last time, to advance the following morning from the Messalamieh Gate, while Farag Pasha should remain guarding the Buri Gate. In accordance with these instructions the troops were detailed; each soldier carried 180 rounds of ammunition, and fighting was ordered to be begun at dawn. The Mudir and Governor were instructed to arm as many of the townspeople as possible, and bring them on to the lines to cover the retreat of the troops. Farag Pasha himself did not take command, saying he was ill, and in consequence handed it over to Hassan Bey El Bahnassawi, who was also reported sick. It was then decided to entrust the command to Major Sayid Eff. Amin, who had won the victory on the White Nile on 8th July. Early the next morning the General sent Fauzi Pasha to tell Sayid Effendi Amin that, if successful, he intended to confer the rank of lieutenant-colonel on him, which greatly pleased him. He then advanced from the Messalamieh Gate, and, forming a square of 1,000 men and another square of Bashi-Bazuks, he led the way with signallers and five buglers. The force was also accompanied by Mohammed Bey Islam, nicknamed "Matu," and there were also forty horsemen.

The two squares advanced until about 1,000 yards from the line, halted, and then marched in a north-easterly direction towards the dervish position near Buri; he continued this march parallel with the fortifications, until about 200 yards beyond the last fort at Buri, and then sent forward some cavalry scouts to find the enemy's position; they returned, reporting they could see nothing, but the Emir Abdullah En Nur had ordered his men to lie down so as to deceive the troops. Other scouts were sent out, and they reported the same. At length Amin Eff. went himself with an ordi of Bashi-Bazuks, and, on approaching the dervish fort, ordered his men to open fire; the dervishes replied, and he then returned to the square, which he advanced till they reached some ruins, where they took up a position and fired on the dervishes, who were now in view and who began to attack. The General, seeing the position of the troops, sent the *Ismailieh* up the Blue Nile to aid them, but she was twice driven back by the heavy fire. In the meantime the second square was attacked by the Kalakala Arabs, who broke into it, and although Farag Pasha sent orders to them to retire, they

did not do so, and some of them joined the dervishes. Major Amin now signalled in that he was running short of ammunition, and that he wanted the second square to reinforce him, but Farag Pasha replied that the square had been dispersed, that he could not send him any more ammunition, and that he had better do the best he could and retire. He was therefore obliged to do so, and fought the whole way back; the attempt to take the dervish position only failed on account of the assistance given by the dervishes on the east bank; the major was wounded during the retirement, and his horse was killed; our loss was only twelve killed and wounded, while the dervishes lost over 600 men, including their Emir Abdullah Wad En Nur.* Gordon Pasha came down and shook hands with Amin Eff., and conferred the rank of lieutenant-colonel on him, and also the rank of captain on Lieutenant Abdel Khalik and Mohammed El Ajhuri who had saved him, saying that if he had been able to send reinforcements he would no doubt have been successful; but he now felt that he could not relieve Om-Durman, which must soon fall into the hands of the enemy, as also must Khartum, if the English troops did not come soon. He then wrung his hands and went away, leaving the principal medical officer to attend to the wounded. Gordon Pasha now signalled to Faragallah Pasha in Om-Durman to be in readiness to come down the following morning to meet the steamers which he would send, as he must evacuate Om-Durman, and the dervishes were now quieter, having lost an Emir and a number of men; this was therefore a good opportunity.

Faragallah Pasha replied that he was prepared to evacuate or die in the attempt, provided the steamer would stand by and wait for him. Gordon Pasha therefore ordered the commandant of the steamer to proceed the following morning to the east bank of the Nile north of Om-Durman, and from there cover the evacuation of Om-Durman. He also ordered him not to move from this position until Faragallah and his men were on board or were killed.

On Sunday, the 4th January, the steamer left Khartum and proceeded towards the position indicated, but was so heavily fired on that she could not proceed, and was obliged to return. The General sent her again; but the firing was heavier than before, and she was again obliged

* Bordeini Bey states that Abdullah Wad En Nur, having been told by the Mahdi that he would not die until the battle of Kufa, fearlessly approached the line and was shot dead from the parapet.

to retreat. The General then admitted that it was useless to make the attempt. In the meantime, Faragallah Pasha made a sortie with half his garrison, leaving the other half to cover the retreat. The dervishes attacked the troops outside, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Captain Ahmed Eff. Fahmi and Lieutenant Abden-Nebbi Eff. were killed. But Faragallah Pasha, seeing that the steamer had returned, retired with his men into the fort, which was again closely hemmed in by the enemy. The next day, Faragallah, having nothing left in the stores, and seeing that no assistance could be given to him, in despair signalled to Gordon Pasha that if no steamer could be sent to relieve him, he must either surrender or fight till they were all killed. The General answered that he had better surrender. So Faragallah Pasha, on receiving this message, raised up a white flag, and sent a letter to the Mahdi by the hand of Sheikh Mussa, the Imam of the battalion, informing him that he surrendered, and asking for people to be sent to take over the military stores. On reading his letter the Mahdi presented the Sheikh with a dervish dress, and sent him back with four Emirs. Faragallah Pasha surrendered, and was forced against his will to accept the Beia'a (Mahdi Creed). He then brought his men out with their kits, leaving the military stores, arms and ammunition in the fort. The Pasha and his men were then brought before the Mahdi, were given dervish dresses, and Faragallah was made Emir of them. The Arabs were also ordered to do them no harm, as they had now become Ansar. But the General watched them leaving the fort, and as they disappeared from view he wept bitterly, for he felt that he could not have relieved them, and he became full of sorrow.

At this time the General received a letter from the officer commanding the English troops, informing him of the victory of the English troops, and of their arrival at Metemmeh. He was greatly rejoiced at this news, and had notices hung up in the principal streets and thoroughfares to the effect that Om-Durman surrendered by his orders, that no harm had happened to the garrison, and that he would continue to issue pay to their families in Khartum as usual; that he hoped soon to rescue them from the hands of the dervishes, as the English troops had arrived at Metemmeh, after gaining a great victory over the Arabs at Abu Klea, in which 16,000 dervishes had been killed. He urged all to do their duty till the troops arrived, and to confirm this good news, he released

the Mudir Ali Bey Jellab, who had been imprisoned for communicating with the Mahdi.*

As the stores were now empty, and there was no means of issuing the next five days (6th to 10th of January), Gordon Pasha summoned a meeting under the presidency of Ahmed Ali Bey Jellab. This committee was again sub-divided into sub-committees, who were authorised to search the whole town for dhurra, cows, sheep, grain, dates and other eatables. In all the committee only succeeded in collecting 63 ardebs of dhurra and a few weakly cattle, which were estimated at thirty dollars a head for sheep and 300 dollars a head for cows. The owners were duly given receipts.

On the approval of the doctor the General also ordered all the gum to be collected; thus an issue of food was made for these five days. The question of what to issue for the next five days from the 10th January was then discussed, and it was decided that the core of the palm-trees should be cut out and worked up, with a little dhurra, into bread, which might give the troops nourishment for a few days. But this did not give much strength to the soldiers, and they searched the gardens for vegetables and the core of the date-palms, known as "jammar."

At this time it was possible for the soldiers to leave the lines, as the Arabs had stopped firing, owing to the news of the advance of the

* Here the chronology of the report is hopelessly at fault, and the above statement full of inaccuracies. The events here related evidently took place early in January, whereas the battle of Abu Klea was not fought till 17th January. The news did not reach the Mahdi till the 20th, and it was only by indirect evidence that Gordon became convinced that a battle had been fought and the Arabs defeated. It is generally agreed that the last letter received by Gordon from the commander of the British expedition was in October; and it is certain that Gordon received no letter announcing the victory of Abu Klea, as no such letter was ever written to him. It is possible that Gordon may have made a pretence of receiving such a letter, but this is not borne out by the evidence of other reliable witnesses present in Khartum at the time. Another inaccuracy is the statement that it was owing to the news of the battle of Abu Klea that the Mudir was released from prison, whereas we have Gordon's statement in his own journals that the Mudir was released on November 3rd.

With the exception of the above egregious misstatements and various inaccuracies in minor details and in dates (which have been corrected in the text so as to preserve the otherwise historical value of the report), the general description of events, as related by Nushi Pasha and the other officers, may be taken as fairly correct; but much is still wanting, although the statements published in "Mahdi-ism and the Egyptian Sudan" fill up many gaps. I therefore propose, in a later number, to give fuller details regarding the movements of the dervishes in the neighbourhood of Metemmeh just prior to the battle of Abu Klea, which are not contained in this report, but concerning which some information is obtained from the "Journal of the Steamers" (occasionally referred to by Nushi Pasha), and still more from Arabs who were with the Metemmeh dervishes at the time, as well as from statements made by Father Ohrwalder and the two nuns who have recently escaped from Om-Durman, and who definitely clear up any doubts which may still remain regarding the Mahdi's intentions and the disposition of his forces when the battle of Abu Klea was fought and won, and Khartum nearly saved.—F. R. W.

English, and also on account of the death of the Emir Abdullah Wad En Nur, who was considered as a chief of 50,000 men. During this cessation many of the old Government prisoners—some 1,200 in all,* mostly from Kordofan, came into Khartum, and reported that the Arabs were in a bad way, and that some of them wished to return to their countries; terror had struck into their hearts when they heard of the advance of the English troops. The General was much pleased when he found that his force was increased by 1,200 men, with arms and ammunition, in place of those who had surrendered in Om-Durman; and in order to further encourage the garrison, he ordered that military and civilians should receive two months' pay, and officially promised that as soon as money arrived they would be paid.

The troops now fell into terrible distress through hunger. They used to hunt down the dogs and eat them; also donkeys, horses, and mules were killed for food. The one twenty-fourth of an ardeb of dhurra was sold for 100 dollars; but it was difficult even to get that quantity.† Women used to wander through the streets with their gold and silver ornaments in their hands, offering four or five okes of gold for a rubbeh of dhurra. If a fish were caught during the night, it would be sold the next morning for 50 dollars.

Then the inhabitants of Khartum fell into deep distress. The soldiers lost all their strength and energy, and laid down their arms because they could not carry them, and some of the regulars, Shaggiehs, and Sudanese, deserted, and joined the dervishes. The General, seeing this state of affairs, became full of distress, and he also despaired. He summoned the notables and principal officers, and obtained a loan of money in order to give the troops half a month's pay, as he thought this might check the desertion. But in such a crisis money was of no avail; and both natives and soldiers used to come to him, with pale faces and sunken eyes, complaining of their miserable state, and he would lift up his hands to God, meaning by this, that God only was able to alleviate their sufferings; and then they left him weeping.

But Gordon still wished to keep up hope, and he issued an order recapitulating the various gratuities of pay he had promised—first, three months, then six months, then two and a half months, in all eleven and

* Bordeini Bey says this is a gross exaggeration; perhaps from 200 to 300 came in.

† It is said that at this time the people refused to deal in paper-money; so the paper-currency ceased.

a half months; and that from the day he issued the order, viz., 24th January, 1885, every day's delay of the English would be counted as one month's pay for them, and that the British Government would be responsible for complying with this order.

On 19th January a Sanjak named Omar Ibrahim, a native of Khartum, deserted and joined the rebels, taking with him half a month's pay of his ordi. The dervishes, as we were told by trustworthy spies, received him gladly, and he was the principal cause of the fall of Khartum, for when he reached the dervishes he found them in great perplexity, not knowing what to do, as they were in fear of the Khartum soldiers and of the arrival of the English. But when the traitor came to them he told them of the real condition of the troops, and how weak and famine-stricken they were, and guaranteed that Khartum could be easily captured; so the dervishes changed their plan, which was to attack the English first and then Khartum, so they crossed over the east bank and were collected at Nejumi's Camp behind Kalakala, intending to attack Khartum.*

On the 25th January the General was looking out from the top of the palace through his telescope, sometimes looking north to see if the English were in sight, and sometimes to the south to watch the proceedings of the dervishes. He noticed the latter on the west, leaving their position and loading up their camels; he could hardly believe what he saw, and sent a telegram to the lines telling all to keep a careful watch, for he saw the dervishes moving from the west, and that, probably on account of their fear of the English, they had determined to attack Khartum; he urged them to be on the alert, and said that by eight a.m. the next morning he had no doubt the English would arrive; he therefore urged them to stand firm till that hour. He then ordered all the civilians and notables of the town—in fact, all who could carry arms—to go on to the line and assist the troops when necessary.

The Nile was, as we have said, very low, and had receded about 1,500 yards, leaving an open space devoid of fortifications; but the troops had made a parapet and trench whenever the ground became dry enough, and in this way they had extended the line about 1,000 yards, and the remaining 500 yards was covered with water about three inches deep.

* The occurrences of these last few days in Khartum, and which are of the deepest interest, are merely generalised in this report; and as regards the events in the Mahdi's camp and his intentions, the writers, of course, only heard the reports of spies.

The soldiers were too weak and famine-stricken to dig a trench and raise a parapet over this part, so the General ordered two armed barges to be moored in the White Nile, in prolongation of the line, each barge having a garrison of one officer and twenty-five men.

The following was the disposition of the troops on the line which, as we have before stated, was divided into two parts : one part extended from the barges first mentioned up to the Kalakala Gate, and the other from the Kalakala Gate to the White Nile.

The 5th Brigade consisted of only two battalions (the 3rd Battalion had surrendered in Om-Durman). One of these battalions defended the White Nile line, and numbered 320 men, under the command of Yussef Eff. Effat ; on its left were 10 ordis of Shaggiehs and volunteer Bashi-Bazuks, with their Sanjaks, under the command of Osman Bey Hishmet ; on their left was the 2nd battalion of the 5th Brigade, under the command of Farag Bey Ali and Ibrahim Bey Saleh (who took Amin Eff.'s place when he was wounded) ; the whole of the above were under the command of Hassan Bey El Bahel Bahnassawi. The second part of the line was occupied on the extreme right by three Bashi-Bazuk and Shaggieh ordis, under the command of their Sanjaks ; on their left, the 1st Battalion of the 1st Sudanese Brigade, under the command of Major Ali Eff. Sakr ; on its left were nine Bashi-Bazuk ordis, under their Sanjak, and under the supreme command of Surrur Bey Bahgat ; next to them came the 2nd Battalion of the Sudanese Brigade, under Major Mohammed Eff. Osman, and then two ordis of Bashi-Bazuks under Major Ahmed Eff. Hemaya ; then the 3rd Battalion of the same Brigade, under Major Mohammed Eff. Desuki, the whole of this line being under the supreme command of Bakhit Bey Betraki. The general officer commanding the whole line of defence was Lieutenant-General Farag Pasha Ezzeini.

But all the soldiers were sick, and were lying down on the ground suffering from hunger, as since the 11th January they had received no rations, and had only had a little dog and donkey and rat's meat. Not more than 10 per cent. of all the troops were able to stand up.

When the dervishes had understood from Omar Ibrahim the real state of Khartum, how numbers of the people had died, how weak the troops were, and that the open space near the White Nile was not fortified, they collected in enormous numbers in Wad En Nejumi's camp,

and at midnight the Mahdi came over from Om-Durman, and stood up in the midst of them, saying: "Do you intend to attack Khartum to-morrow morning?" They replied, "Yes, Lord of All." He then said, "Will you advance with pure hearts and full determination to fight for God's cause?" They replied, "Yes." He then said, "Even if two-thirds of you should perish?" And they replied, "Yes." He then said, "Let us repeat the Fatha,"* and he lifted up his hands to heaven, and all of them lifted up their hands, and they repeated the Fatha. He then muttered some words which no one could understand, and half drawing out his sword in the direction of Khartum, he shouted three times, "God is most Great," and then pointed in that direction, saying, "Advance, Advance! with God's blessing." He then returned to his camp at Om-Durman.

The dervishes then advanced, well armed and creeping towards the line. They were divided into two bodies. Nejumi commanded the Baggara, Degheim, and Kenana Arabs, and some of the Gezireh tribes, and advanced along the White Nile; while Abu Girgeh commanded the remainder, and advanced by the Blue Nile. Their plan was to attack both sides of the line. The Arabs were all armed with swords and spears; but the Kordofan and Darfur blacks were armed with rifles, and they advanced in front as skirmishers, and began firing when close to the line. This was about one hour before dawn; and the dervish forts also opened fire on our forts.

Our troops then started up and began firing on the skirmishers, not knowing that an attack was being made on their right and left. In this way Nejumi's Arabs were enabled to enter by the open space in which there were no defences, *i.e.*, the part between the extreme right of the line and the fortified barges on the White Nile. Soon the Arabs broke in amongst the troops, and with fierce shouts began attacking with their swords and spears. They fell on the 1st Battalion, commanded by Yusef Eff. Iffat, killed most of the men, including the commander, and only those escaped who had strength to fly to the barges; as for the men in the barges, they fought well for some time, and escaped by swimming over to the west bank.

The ten Bashi-Bazuk ordis, seeing what had happened to the 1st Battalion, fled into the town or out into the desert; but some of them

* The Fatha is the first chapter of the Koran, and is used by them much as the Pater Noster is recited by Roman Catholics.

remained fighting, and were killed. Amongst these were Ali Aghawanli, Mitu Bey, Abdel Hadi Agha, Mohammed Bey Kursh, Mohammed Bey Kuradieh, and Nasr Bey. All the other Sanjaks took refuge in the town. The chief commander of these ordis, Osman Bey Hishmet, was killed in his house after having left the line. During all this time the dervishes were shouting and yelling, " There is no God but God ; Mohammed is the prophet of God ; revenge for Abdullah Wad En Nur ! " And then they came to the 4th Egyptian Battalion. The commander, Farag Bey Ali, gave the order, " Nos. 1 and 2 companies, form square ; " and the square was formed, and fought well until overpowered by the Arabs ; most of them were killed, and a few escaped to the desert. Farag Bey was killed in the middle of the square, also Ibrahim Bey Saleh, who had formed his company into square, and only very few of his men escaped. Amin Bey, the former commander of this battalion, was lying wounded in his house, and was attacked by a party of Arabs who wounded him with their spears and shot him twice, leaving him weltering in his blood ; yet, in spite of all this, he was not killed. Hassan Bey El Bahnassawi,* the commanding officer of that portion of the line, and colonel of the 5th Brigade, was in the Bab El Kalakala Fort, and when he saw the fate of his men, he took off his uniform, jumped into the ditch and escaped into the desert, instead of dying honourably or joining the Sudanese Brigade, or some other body of troops.

The next three Bashi-Bazuk ordis, seeing what had happened, and that Bahnassawi Bey had fled, also took flight ; but some were killed, including Mohammed Bey and Beshir, the sons of Khashm El Mus, and also Mohammed Ali Bey Nahman. The dervishes then came to the 1st Battalion, commanded by Ali Eff. Sakr, and this battalion fought for a long time, until the commander and most of the officers and men were killed, and the remainder escaped. The enemy then charged down on the nine Shaggieh ordis, and after a short fight they were dispersed, some escaping and others being killed. Seeing this, Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, the general officer commanding the troops, with Surur Bey Bahgat, took off their uniforms and escaped by the Messalamieh Gate into the desert. The dervishes then attacked the 2nd Battalion 1st Brigade, commanded by Mohammed Eff. Osman, and after a long struggle, in

* This was the officer who arrived in Cairo in June, 1887, and was tried by general court-martial on the charge of having treacherously delivered up his post to the enemy. He was acquitted.

which the major and most of the officers were killed, the remainder escaped through the Messalamieh Gate into the desert. When this gate was opened by Farag Pasha numbers of Arabs entered by it and rushed towards Buri, to attack the remaining force under Bakhit Bey Betraki.†

In the meantime the Arabs, who had entered by the White Nile, now rushed towards the town, where they committed every atrocity. Numbers of people were massacred, women violated—in fact, they acted as if there was no mercy in their hearts. May the curse of God and man fall upon them!

But Bakhit Bey Betraki, with the 3rd Battalion at Buri, the two Shaggieh ordis, and a number of volunteers, stood up amongst his men, and urged them to fight. A long struggle took place. But the Arabs, who had come through the Messalamieh Gate, as well as Abu Girgeh's men, who had entered through the Buri Gate, were in such numbers that the troops became as a black spot in the midst of a white skin, and soon most of the officers and men were killed, including Bakhit Bey Betraki, who fought to the last, always urging on his men. Amongst the civilians who were killed were Abu Bakr Bey El Jarkuk, Ismet Bey, chief of the telegraphs, and Mohammed Bey El Kubbani, commanding the artillery. Hassan Bey El Akkad, Ahmed Bey Abu El Kasim, and some soldiers went on board the barges, and crossed over to the Mahdi at Om-Durman. Many officers and men, including Major Ahmed Himaya, escaped into the desert.

When the Commander of Fort Mukran saw what had occurred he decided to surrender, as Om-Durman had done, and raised the white flag. But the Arabs took no notice of this, and rushing in killed the officer and all the men.

The Commander of the Eastern Station, Kubbeh, and Tuti Island, Abdullah Bey El Abd, seeing the Arabs of Sheikh El Obeid advancing towards him, fought against them, but, after a long engagement, was overpowered, and most of his men killed. A few escaped by swimming across the river to Om-Durman.

The whole town was now filled with the screams of the people and the shouts of the Arabs. They killed everyone they met, attacked the

† It is stated that the greater number of Arabs entered by the Buri Gate, and that when the Messalamieh Gate was opened the Arabs had actually captured Khartum.

inhabitants in their houses, and massacred and ransacked everywhere. Mussa Pasha Shawki's house was also sacked, his harem seized, and himself killed.

Meanwhile the General, who was on the top of the palace, seeing the Arabs advancing towards the palace, shouting and yelling like wolves, and crying, "Gordon! Gordon!" collected his men and opened fire on them from the roof and windows; but the Arabs gathered in great numbers, broke in the gate, and killed the kavasses and guards. When Gordon saw this he went to his room, put on his uniform and sword, and stayed by his room awaiting their arrival, for he knew he was to be killed, although he might have escaped death by getting on board the steamer *Ismailieh*, which was waiting and ready for him from early dawn; but his noble spirit chose rather to share the fate of those whom he had governed. The dervishes rushed up in crowds, full of wrath, and stabbed him with their spears until he was cut to pieces, and his head was cut off and taken to the Mahdi at Om-Durman. This was early on Monday morning, the 26th January; they carried Gordon's head on a spear, where it remained standing for three days.* When the Mahdi received Gordon's head, he gave orders for the fighting to stop. After the fall of Khartum it was rumoured that the Mahdi was very angry at Gordon's death, as he wished to take him alive, so as to ascertain from him the intentions of the English.

The order to stop the massacre was not given until most of the troops and inhabitants, amounting in all to 35,000 souls, had been killed.

The Governor, Ibrahim Pasha Fauzi, hid in his house, and was not discovered till after the order to stop had been given. He was not therefore killed, but they plundered his house, took all his property and family, and left him naked and barefooted.

The order was then given to collect all the booty, including jewellery, clothing, male and female slaves, and other prisoners, both men and women. The gates of Messalamieh, Buri, and Kalakala were closed, and men were sent out to collect those who had escaped. Then the Emirs took over the town, and after marching out all the men, women, and children, they ransacked the houses, and thus the entire town was evacuated.

* This is incorrect; the head was hung on a tree at Abu Sidh, just south of Om-Durman.

The natives were all collected in the "dem" or camp without clothing, and nothing to protect them from the heat by day or the cold by night, and they were without food. The slaves were separated from the rest, and sent to the Beit El Mal, together with all the clothing, jewels, and money. The women were separated from the men, and all virgins and good-looking women were taken to the Mahdi's zariba on the west bank, where his agent chose twenty of the best; then Khalifa Abdullah Et Taishi had his choice, then the other two Khalifas, and then the Emirs in their turn, according to rank. All the old and ugly women were left to take care of themselves. When the men were examined, they found amongst them Farag Pasha Ez Zeini, Surur Bey Bahgat, and Hassan Bey El Bahnassawi; they took them back to the town, and called on them to show them where the money was hidden, and threatened them with death. Then the Mahdi, Khalifa Abdullah and Ahmed Suliman, the Emir Beit El Mal, had a meeting, in which it was decided that Farag Pasha and Surur Bey should be killed and thrown on the tombs of Said and Hassan Pashas, who had been shot for treachery in the Halfiyeh Battle.* Hassan Bey El Bahnassawi was set free when his harem and his money had been taken from him. His daughter was taken into the Mahdi's harem.

Ibrahim Bey El Bordeini, who was a respectable Khartum merchant, became friendly with Ahmed Suliman, and through him the dervishes were enabled to discover those who had money,† and also the pretty women, and they used to threaten and beat the rich men until they produced their money from the holes in which they had buried it. Hassan Bey El Akkad also helped the dervishes in this respect, and used to obtain money for his own support from the dervishes. When the complaints of the prisoners increased on account of their hunger, the Mahdi ordered a list of them to be made, and then authorised the issue of half a piastre a day for each person. This was continued for some time, and then most of the people were left to take care of themselves. The officers and officials were obliged to work for their food; some of them became

* This is not accurate; Surur Bey was killed near the Messalamieh Gate, and Farag Pasha was killed by Makin-en-Nur, in revenge for the death of his brother Abdullah-en-Nur, who had been killed near the gate commanded by Farag Pasha.

† Bordeini Bey states:—"Yes, this is a fact; I did so to preserve my life and my women's honour. But I did not choose out the pretty women; the Mahdi's Emirs did that for themselves. I never served the dervishes willingly, else why should I have afterwards set fire to the arsenal of which I was made superintendent? And this is known throughout the Sudan."

water-carriers, others vegetable vendors, so as to gain a small livelihood ; the women used to beg, and when they used to ask for money from the Beit El Mal they were sent off without getting any.

Most of the good-looking women were married to the Arabs, and the old women sometimes got a little money from the Beit El Mal ; but this was soon stopped, the men were enrolled under the standards, and for a time received a piastre a day.

On Wednesday morning, the 28th January, 1885, the steamers *Bordein* and *Tclahawieh* arrived with English, Sudanese, and Shaggieh soldiers, under Khashm El Mus and Abd El Hamed Bey, the whole under the command of Sir Charles Wilson, the commander of the advanced guard of the English Army ; they came as far as Mukran, and having ascertained that Khartum had fallen, and that the dervishes had taken the town—for they were fired at from both banks—they were forced to fight their way back with great difficulty, and at last reached Metemmeh.

Then follow the signatures of the officers, etc., who wrote the report.

NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE BENI AMER (SOUTHERN BEJA).

(WITH MAP.)

By C. G. and Brenda Z. Seligman.

THE following paper is based on information collected during a journey in the Red Sea Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1912[1], but we have not hesitated to increase the value of our own material, as well as to indicate its bearing, by comparison with earlier writers and especially with the translation by René Basset of the sixteenth century account of Abyssinia.

With regard to the position of the Beni Amer (Arabic spelling: Benī 'Āmir) among the Beja tribes, Mr. G. W. Murray has already applied the term Northern Beja to the Ababdeh and Bisharin[2]. To these we think should be added the Hadendoa, who are clearly more closely related to the Bisharin, temperamentally and by their common tongue, than they are to the Beni Amer; the latter speak a semitic language and seemed to us to lack those qualities of courage and truculence that the other tribes still show or once possessed. The way is then open for the use of the term Southern Beja, and we propose that this name be applied to the Beni Amer and to such tribes of Eritrea (though of these we have no first-hand knowledge) as closely resemble them.

At the present day the country of the Beni Amer extends south of Tokar and the Khor Baraka into Eritrea. Here in the neighbourhood of the Sudan-Eritrea frontier the desert or semi-desert conditions of much of the Northern Beja country have given place to hills and irregular much dissected plateaux, grass covered, and relatively well watered for a considerable part of the year. Though not richly vegetated from an European point of view, the comparative fertility of the area greatly

[1] Of the many officials who helped us we are particularly indebted to Mr. (now Sir James) Currie, with whom we travelled part of the time, and to Mr. J. G. Matthew, at that time in administrative charge of the Khor Baraka area. The incomplete character of the material presented is not due to any special difficulty experienced in its collection, but to illness, which brought the trip to a premature end.

[2] "The Northern Beja," in *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LVII, 1927.

simplifies the family and tribal life, for it renders unnecessary any great organised effort to get through the dry season, so that families and small groups can continue their casual wanderings even at this period of the year.

At the time of which we write, the mode of life, conditions, and wealth of the Beni Amer varied greatly from group to group. On the one hand, near Tokar, cotton planting as organised by the Government was absorbing more and more of the energy of the people, who were only too anxious to try this new thing, while a few days' journey up the Khor Baraka to the Eritrean frontier took us among small groups who grew little, or perhaps in some instances, no grain, and seemed to have little connection with the outside world. Their weapons were still the spear and circular shield, while the sword, which in this part of Africa has generally advanced with Islam, even if only as a ceremonial weapon, seemed to be almost unknown.

Our chief informant was Saleh Idris, an old man of Aqiq, closely connected with the ruling family of the Beni Amer. He recognised four great branches of the Beni Amer :—

(1) The Nabtab, of Ja'ali origin, tracing their descent to Abbas, the Prophet's uncle, speaking both Hadendoa and Beni Amer and constituting the Beni Amer aristocracy.

(2) The Khasa, living in the neighbourhood of Tokar, who have recently taken up cotton cultivation. Saleh Idris, who with all the Beni Amer aristocracy boasts of its connection with Arabia, looked upon the Khasa as aborigines, though in appearance there is nothing to distinguish a member of the Nabtab from the other Beni Amer sections. Presumably it is on account of this large Tigré-speaking section that the language is locally known as Khasa instead of Tigré. Makrizi (1366–1442) states that Suakin was inhabited by 'Khasa' in his time.

(3) The Labat and Bedawib, the latter probably including the Sinkatkenab-speaking Hadendoa. The Bedawib, and probably the Labat, though considered politically as Beni Amer, are almost certainly ethnically Hadendoa.

(4) The Hafera, who are not now found in Sudan territory. They come from the Khor Baraka, and towards the end of the sixteenth century invaded the Sahel and took possession of it.[1]

The Nabtab, the present ruling "family" or division, are said to have arisen some ten generations ago as the result of the union of a Ja'ali *fiki* with Hafera and Bello wives. From their offspring, or one of them, sprang the Nabtab, who peacefully obtained the supremacy of the Beni Amer.[2] Long ago, before the rise of the Nabtab, the rulers of the land were the Bello, a people described as *Nās quddām* (the people of former times) of whom nothing is known in Sudan territory at the present day, though it is admitted that there are still Bello in the neighbourhood of Massowa, where from our informant's point of view they are independent, *i.e.*, do not acknowledge the Nabtab supremacy, though they are said to speak Tigré.[3] There is a tradition of foreign (Asiatic) influence in the account that derives the origin of the Beni Amer from an eponymous ancestor 'Amer, the son of one Kahil, who came from Arabia to Africa, where he begot 'Amar, the ancestor of the Beni Amer and the Amarar.

In seeking to determine the weight that should be attached to the Nabtab traditions, it is necessary to consider the distribution of the Beni Amer, *i.e.*, of the people possessing the physical type of the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Red Sea province (Beni Amer), also the area in which the Tigré language is spoken, and the history of the Bello.

To take the language first, peoples bearing Beni Amer names (*i.e.*, names recognised as such by our informants), and speaking Tigré, extend from the latitude of Tokar (between 18° and 19°) southwards in Eritrea for a distance approaching 200 miles. Further south, in Abyssinia

[1] Carlo Conti Rossini, *Studi su Popolazioni dell' Etiopia*, Rome, 1914, p. 370.

[2] According to Munzinger, six generations ago the Nabtab gained the ascendancy over the Beni Amer. Their ancestor came as a guest to the Belou and allied himself to the reigning family by marriage; his family increased in power while that of the Belou declined, and the insignia of authority, the *nuggara* and hat, passed into the possession of the Nabtab from the hands of the Belou. *Ostafrikanische Studien*, 1864, p. 288.

[3] Tigré is a dialect akin to Tigriña and is the modern representative of Ge'ez; it has been less strongly influenced by Amharic than Tigriña. Ge'ez is more closely related to Sabaean than to Arabic, so that Tigré may be looked upon as a representative of an older Semitic stock than Arabic.

proper, Tigré is spoken over a great part of the province of Tigré, including the neighbourhood of the capital, Adowa. That To Bedawi was spoken over a wider area at one time than at the present day is certain from the researches of Rossini, who states, from evidence derived from Amharic texts, that in the constant struggles between the Beja and the Abyssinians the Tigré language always prevailed over To Bedawi.

The Tigré-speaking peoples do not exist uninterruptedly over the whole of the Eritrean area, while in British territory there is a number of peoples politically regarded as Beni Amer—and paying tribute to or through the Nabtab—who are either bilingual, speaking both To Bedawi and Tigré, or speak only To Bedawi. Among the latter are the Bedawib of the hill country in the neighbourhood of the Sudan-Eritrean border. Various accounts are given of the origin of the Bedawib. According to some they are degenerate Beni Amer who have learnt to speak To Bedawi by contact with the Hadendoa; others speak of them as a people of composite origin, formed largely of broken men and escaped slaves. Another opinion is that they are debased Hadendoa, and this was perhaps the general view taken by members of the To Bedawi-speaking northern tribes, the Hadendoa and the Artega, with whom the matter was discussed. We have little doubt that this view is, broadly speaking, correct; the build and physiognomy of those Bedawib with whom we came in contact convinced us that they belonged to the Hadendoa stock. It was admitted by Saleh Idris that long ago the Bedawib had their own chief and were in an independent position, so that considering their appearance and language there is no reason why they should not be looked upon as outliers of the Hadendoa, who have acquired a knowledge of the Tigré language from contact with the Beni Amer. The name Bedawib, sometimes called Ibdawi, points to this conclusion, the final "*b*" corresponding to the final "*ab*" so common in To Bedawi tribal names; thus the name of the language and the section is identical. "*To*" is the sign of the definite article. In both cases the "*d*" is accentuated and (we think) palatal. No doubt there has been considerable pressure from the south leading to the overlapping of the most northern Beni Amer and the most southern Hadendoa groups. Probably the greater part of

the evidence for this must be sought among the Tigré-speaking tribes rather than among those speaking To Bedawi, for in the list of eighteen main divisions of the Beni Amer given us by Saleh Idris, seven are given as Tigré-speaking, six as speaking To Bedawi, and five as using both languages. This list includes Bedawib, the Sinkatkenab, and the Labet, the first two being considered to belong to the Hadendoa group. This instability of the linguistic frontier, including the gradual absorption of the Bedawib and perhaps kindred groups into the Tigré-speaking sphere, can only signify the continued, if slow, extension northwards of Tigré-speaking groups.[1]

The physical characters of the Beni Amer were described by one of us a few years ago at some length,[2] so that it is only necessary to note here that Sergio Sergi has published under the title *Crania Habessinica* (Rome, 1912) the results of his careful study of the long series of Tigré skulls collected by Schweinfurth and sent to Berlin. A glance at the plates shows that these skulls belonged to a people having the same general cranial type as the Beni Amer, and although the average cranial index is distinctly higher, this may be explained by the mixture that has gone on in northern Abyssinia (including Eritrea).[3]

We may now endeavour to reconstruct the history of the Beni Amer, or at any rate of their northern sections.

Beja people were noted in the neighbourhood of Suakin by Ibn Said (1214–1274), and Makrizi mentions that a tribe of the Beja called Khasa were established at Suakin; they were Moslems and were ruled by a king.

[1] Perhaps this may be related with the northward pressure of the Galla on the Abyssinians and of the Amhara on the Tigré. With regard to the latter, *see* Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. I, 301.

[2] C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. XLIII, 1913.

[3] Schweinfurth's account of the northern Abyssinian (*Crania Habessinica*, p. 2) is as follows:—

"The North Abyssinians or Tigri are in any case a very mixed race. . . . Although I have paid attention to thousands . . . I have always failed to find a single common feature, a characteristic peculiarity in their appearance, by which, in the majority of cases, they might be distinguished from the other races of this district, for instance, the Hamitic . . . Habab, and Beni Amer. The one thing in common binding them together is their speech, a branch of the old Geez. . . ."

In other words, Schweinfurth was forced to recognise the essential unity of race of the Tigré, Habab and Beni Amer, though this seems to have clashed with his views based on social organisation and political development.

Tradition relates that not so very long ago a series of kindred peoples having comparatively uniform physical characters (those of the Beni Amer) were united into a more or less stable confederation under the leadership of the Bello[1]; they occupied the southern portion of the Red Sea province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and the northern portion of Eritrea, while kindred peoples probably extended south into Abyssinia. That the Bello (Balou, or Belou) were the rulers of a considerable area in comparatively recent times is shown by the record of an anonymous but "inquisitive and observing Jesuit at Lisbon," who had "lived many years in Asthiopa and the Indies." In his *Short Relation of the River Nile*, translated by Sir Peter Wyche, and published in 1673 by order of the Royal Society, it is stated (page 3) that the "Island of Suagem [Suakim] . . . is . . . inhabited by an hundred *Turks*; being the residence of the Basha, out of the limits of the Empire, and of natural right belonging to a powerful and warlike King, whose Kingdom is called Ballow (anciently Negran); the Inhabitants are Moors."[2] This is confirmed by Father Lobo, who, writing in the 18th century, states that a Muslim kingdom of the Balou existed in the 16th century opposite Suakim, and that after long struggles against the Turks the Balou were obliged to divide the revenue of the island with them.[3]

According to Tigrino tradition the Balaw, or, as they call them, the Kalaw Balaw, were the third people to possess the land. The *Liber Gentium Tigrai* opens thus:—

"At the beginning of creation the Quiyat Miyat possessed the land, they passed away, their stock remained. After them those who were called Kalaw Balaw took possession, they passed away and their stock remained. . . . The descendants of the Kalaw Balaw are said to be the race of Ishmael who came from Mecca."[4]

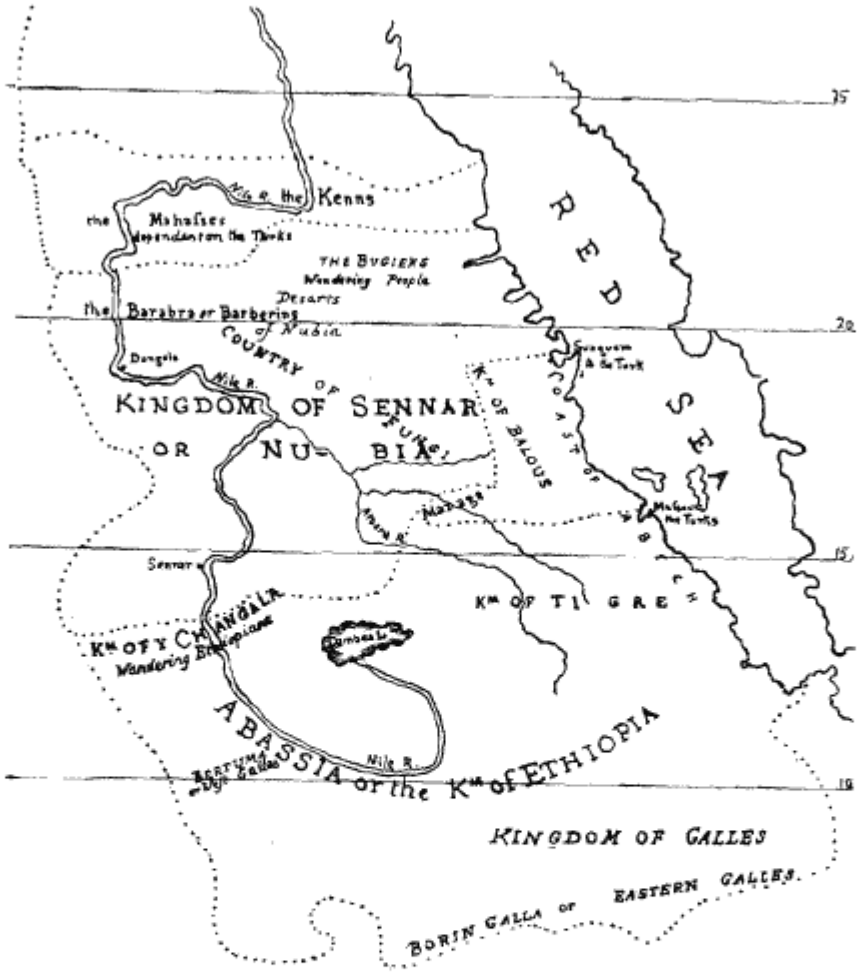
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[1] Reinisch points out that the Hadendoa, who boast that they are Arabs, use the word Belawi to signify an Arab, hence an Hadendoa, and call Arabic Belawye in distinction to Begawye Beja. (*Wort. der Bed. Sprache*, p. 49.) Munzinger says that the Bello gained their supremacy 500 years ago, *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

[2] We are indebted to our friend, Mr. Louis C. G. Clarke, for drawing our attention to this curious work, as well as for advice in connection with this section of our paper.

[3] René Basset, "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI siecle) par Chihab-ed-din Ahmed ben 'Abd el-Qader." *Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger*. Paris, 1901, Fascicule VI, p. 421.

[4] Rossini, *op. cit.*, p. 397



With regard to the actual area of the Bello State, the map of John Senex (1709), in part reproduced above, marks their territory as extending from rather south of 16° to somewhat north of 19° latitude, *i.e.*, they occupied much of what is now northern Eritrea, and, as already mentioned, extended to Suakim. In the sixteenth century the Belou paid tribute to the Fung who were established in Sennar.[1] Rossini states

[1] Rossini, *Principi di Diritto Consuetudinario dell' Eritrea*, Rome, 1916, p. 722.

that the Belou were divided into a northern and southern section and seemed to hold a vague supremacy over all other Beja tribes. He adds that they were doubtless Beja, and suggests their origin from the Hedareb, and he points out that although they have lost their prestige the word Belou still means " noble."

After a time the Bello lost power and the northern portion of the confederation became detached, passing under the supremacy of the Nabtab. This was doubtless about the end of the seventeenth century. The narrative of the anonymous Jesuit quoted above makes it clear that it was the rise of Turkish authority that brought low the Bello, and the date agrees well with the period of about ten generations given by Saleh Idris as covering the rise of the Nabtab. This is further confirmed by the researches of Rossini, who says that the Nabtab supplanted the Belou in the seventeenth century.[1] The chronicles tell of the continual conflict of the Beja against Abyssinian aggression, which became a struggle between Christianity and Islam, and the Bello or a section of them must have taken sides with the Turks before they fell under Nabtab supremacy, for Rossini states that towards the end of the seventeenth century the Balau, representatives of Turkish rule,[2] sought to establish their influence in the Sahel from Arkiko near Massowa.[3] Further he shows that the Beni Amer received the Egyptians well, hoping through them to gain help against their enemies the Hadendowa and Barea (akin to the Kunama).[4]

That the Nabtab are really descended from a Ja'ali *fiki* is by no means unlikely ; in any case Turkish dominion could only have reinforced the prestige of Islam, so that the legendary origin of the Nabtab is entirely in accordance with the history and ideas of the period. We may, perhaps, see in Kahil, the legendary progenitor of the Beni Amer, a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 723.

[2] According to Munzinger, when the Turks seized Massua in the fifteenth century (15 Jahrhundert) they found the Balou there ; they left a garrison behind which soon mixed with the Belou population. The Naib was of the ruling family of the Belou and they were still in power when Munzinger visited Abyssinia. *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

[3] *Studi su Popolazione dell' Etiopia*, p. 371. Also René Basset, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie*, fascicule VI, p. 421 : " Une famille des Balaou etablie chez les Beni Amer, emigra vers le sud et vint fonder la dynastie des naibs d'Arkiko ou Dakhono. Le premier Hommed aurait vecu il y a deux siècles : les Turks lui aurait tué son fils Mohammed ; la dignité de naib passa a un autre de ses fils, Amer, et ses descendants qui, moyennant une pension annuelle, se reconnurent aux vassaux du Sultan."

[4] *Studi su Popolazioni dell' Etiopia.* Rome, 1914.

reference to earlier Arabic influence, of which the tradition was vivified and enlarged under the stimulus of the Arabization of the Sudan.[1] This suggestion is supported by the fact that Ibn Batuta (writing in the fourteenth century) speaks of the " sons of Kahil who have mixed with the Beja and know their language." This was in the neighbourhood of Suakin.[2]

Turning to records of Bello apart from the Suakin district, we find that in the fourteenth century there were Balau in Tigré or Lasta. A certain Muslim called 'Our'ai Bekr is mentioned in the *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie* ; he was a Mahaoverah of the Balau " sé rattachant a l'ancient Balaou qui etait leur ancêtre ; it etait descendu du Tigree leur patrie, dans le pays de Sa'ad-ed-din."[3] In a footnote it is stated that Sa'ad-ed-din died in A.D. 1402–1403, so that section of the Balau must have migrated from Tigré, or probably more correctly Lasta, towards the end of the fourteenth century. This Muslim section of the Balau separated from the rest of the tribe, who were Christians,[4] and settled in Harer. In the same history the Balau tribe are mentioned as Muslimin inhabiting the country round Axum.[5]

[1] According to Rossini the legendary ancestor of the Beni Amer was Amir ben Cunnu.

[2] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris, 1914, vol. II, p. 161.

[3] René Basset, *Op. cit.*, fascicule IV, p. 255.

[4] It is interesting that M. René Basset considers the Bello were originally Christians ; according to Munzinger the Bello have no such idea. The Beni Amer have no traditions of conversion from Christianity to Islam ; they like to consider that they are of Arab descent and embraced Islam at the time of the propagation of the faith, further, history before the introduction of Islam is of no interest to them. Mr. C. Crossland has noted the frequent use of the sign of the cross in the Red Sea Province (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, No. 3), but while considering that it may point to the previous presence of Christianity he points out that it is an easy sign to make. However, the account given by Mr. Fleming (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, No. 1) of the traditional explanations of the use of the sign of the cross on the mats of the marriage hut leaves no doubt that these crosses are a relic of Christianity. The explanation was that the crosses commemorate the tragic murder after a single night of marriage of the father of the Nabtab by his father-in-law, the Christian King Bulo. There can be little doubt that King Bulo represents the King of the Bello, for there is historic evidence that the Nabtab superseded the Bello of Suakin by peaceful means. But the Bello rulers were Muslim, so while a probably historic fact is remembered we must suppose that the custom of marking the mats of the marriage hut with crosses ante-dates the event which it is supposed to commemorate, for it is not possible to believe that the sign of the cross used in this way is a feature borrowed from another culture to commemorate such a sinister occasion. Nor is it likely that the Muslimin adopted the Christian sign as a protection against Christian treachery. It is reasonable to suppose that the sign of the cross has been introduced into the Red Sea Province by those Beja tribes, such as the Bello and the Habab, who were Christians before the introduction of Islam into Abyssinia and who have been steadily progressing north, sections of whom have gone to form the Beni Amer and possibly other Beja divisions.

[5] *Op. cit.*, fascicule VI, p. 420.

Rossini mentions that the Balau were divided; one division had their headquarters at Suakin, the other at Mezaga.[1] An Abyssinian song mentioned by René Basset[2] also points to Mezaga as the home of the Bellou of Adal. Alvarez in the beginning of the sixteenth century mentions the Bellou neighbours of the pagan Agau who paid a tribute of horses to the Negus between Begamdër and Nubia; they probably inhabited the plains of Gallabat. Abyssinian history records the northward migration of a branch of Agau called Adcheme (Adkeme), who drove out the Balau and Kunama from Arrisa, Dembelas, and Tacul in the fifteenth century. In Saraweh the Balau inhabitants were rich and powerful; a legend relates how they were all wiped out, and to this day a well not far from Addi Gabul is known as the well of the Balau. Another branch is said to have arisen who were called the Hawiyattāy, or "Saved."[3]

Writing in 1853, Mansfield Parkyns gives some slight account of the Bello of Ailat in the neighbourhood of Massowa. They are "by caste mostly soldiers, if they may be so designated. They are easily distinguished from their more peaceful brethren, the herdsmen, by their wearing their hair close shaved, while the herdsmen arrange their bushy wigs in tufts or tresses on the head. Their manners are most purely pastoral. In the morning they eat a little bread and milk, and the same simple meal repeated in the evening, and seasoned with contentment and a good appetite, completes their daily nourishment."[4]

Reference has been made to Balau in the plains of Gallabat or to the north between the Setit, Atbara, and Mareb, and east of this region in Saraweh and again north-east in the neighbourhood of Massowa and finally to the north at Suakin.

Munzinger considers Aqiq to the south of Anglo-Egyptian territory as the original home of the Bello,[5] but from the history of Abyssinia

[1] According to Rossini, Mezaga is in the low country north of Walkeit, also according to Pereira (*Chronica de Susenyos*) between the Setit, the Atbara, and the Mareb, but according to René Basset it is further south at Gallabat. (*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie*, p. 426.)

[2] *Op. cit.*, fascicule VI, p. 427.

[3] Rossini, *Studi su Popolazioni dell' Etiopia*, p. 631.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 103.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

quoted above it is clear that the Bello held considerable sway in Sawaweh and in the plains of Gallabat, and that branches split off that emigrated to Harar in the south and to Arkiko in the north-west, so that it appears doubtful whether Aqiq in the north should be considered the original home.

The identification of the Hadareb must be considered next. Salt calls the Beja tribes around Suakin "Adareb,"[1] and some of the sub-divisions he includes have Beni Amer names; as we have seen, Rossini considers that the Bello may have arisen from Hadareb. This can scarcely be correct; all references to the Hadareb take them north of Abyssinia, moreover Makrizi indicates that they were the first pagan Beja to become Moslems. Masudi, describing the pagan Beja in the neighbourhood of the gold and emerald mines in Nubia, points out that an Arab tribe, the Rebeyah, settled among the Hadareb and married their daughters; the Hadareb was the only tribe in his day to be converted. Through their alliance with the Rebeyah they gained considerable power.[2] This takes the Hadareb still further north, and geographically considered suggests that they may have been Hadendoa. The Bello, on the other hand, though their country according to the map of 1709 reached as far north as Suakin, and stretched south for over 200 miles, appear to have played their part in connection with Abyssinia rather than the north. Moreover, there is the suggestion that the Bello were originally Christians.[3]

Belau, Kelau, and Hafera were said to be three brothers; as we have seen, our informants gave us the name Hafera as one of their divisions, though they told us they were not to be found in the Anglo-Egyptian territory at the present day. Munzinger collates the Hafera with the Kelou, though he gives no reasons for doing so. Kelou graves, he says, can be seen in Saraweh, Hamasen, and in Barka as far as Algeden (about 15° 30′ N.), and remnants of the people were still to be found in his day in Algeden, Zaga, and one old woman in Keren.[4] Rossini speaks of the

[1] "The people in the neighbourhood of Suakin bear the general appellation of Adareb, and are said to be ruled by a chief, styled Sultaun Mohamed, who resides at Uddukud; the particular tribes are distinguished by the names of the Arteda, Betmafa, Karub, Bartoom, Adamur, Subderaf, Ibarekab, Arabdoah, Bishareen, and Umma-ra." Henry Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1814, p. 441.

[2] *Les Prairies d'Or*, Vol. III, p. 34.

[3] Footnote, *supra* p.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

Chelou as a Beja people on the borders of the Bello territory.[1] René Basset says that the Kelou stock diminished and they finally disappeared, but a few remain at " Zaga and Heikota " where they speak Tigré ; in the Barka they were overcome by the Bilin or Bogos.[2] Munzinger speaks of the Heikota and the Kelou as peoples subdued by the Tigré and distinct from them ; he calls them the aborigines.[3]

Conti Rossini speaks of the Hafera as " a Beja tribe from Khor Baraka, now scattered," so presumably they are but slightly represented in Eritrea at the present day. However, the native chronicles show that in the sixteenth century they were very powerful, as they overcame the Almada, the dominant tribe in the Sahel (the coastal plain of Eritrea). Possibly later they fell under the Bello hegemony. Thus the Belou and Hafera can be accounted for historically, but the information concerning the Kelou is more doubtful, Basset's account of the Kelou being obviously based upon Munzinger. If the Belou, Kelou, and Hafera all traced their descent to a common ancestor, we could look upon them all as Beja tribes, which the Belou and the Hafera certainly were ; but if the Hafera and the Kelou are identical, then Munzinger's statement that the Kelou or Heikota were the aborigines who were conquered by the Tigré (Beja) cannot be correct.[4]

The following is a list of the principal Beni Amer divisions, called *'ad*, given to us by Saleh Idris. Each *'ad* is divided into *hessa* (pl. *hessas*), which correspond to the *khashm beyt* of the Kababish and the *bedena* of the Hadendoa.

Every *hessa* is a political entity, and the separate *hessas* usually have their own camel marks ; a number of divisions are considered to be Beni Amer who speak To Bedawi, many of these are probably of Hadendoa origin who have been subdued by the Beni Amer and now pay tribute through a Beni Amer chief. This is almost certainly so in the case of the Sinkatkenab and the Bedawib and their sub-division the Labat.

[1] Rossini, *Principi di Diritto Consuetudinario dell' Eritrea*, p. 722.

[2] *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie*, fascicule VI, p. 421 : " At Heikota " may be a mistranslation of Munzinger's " Wir finden ferner Reste von Kelou (Haffera) in Zaga dann Keikota, die beide meist Tigre sprechen," p. 281.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

Sections.	Languages.
Nabtab[1]	Tigré and To Bedawi.
Adhaseri, with some ten sub-divisions, each under a Nabtab chief	Tigré.
Beit Mala	Tigré.
Afilanda	Tigré.
El Hasa (of Tokar)	To Bedawi and Tigré.
El Sheikh wad Faid	Tigré.
Awadab	Tigré.
Ganifru	Tigré.
Adhasan	Tigré.
El Gureshab	To Bedawi and Tigré.
Adkukal or Kokuduab	To Bedawi and Tigré.
Sinkatkenab	To Bedawi.
Bedawib	To Bedawi.
Muser	To Bedawi.
Labat (divisions of Bedawib)	To Bedawi.
Lubis	To Bedawi.
Saqait	To Bedawi.
Hadugwebiab	To Bedawi.

A member of the Nabtab section living in Italian territory was said to have charge of the *nahas*, which according to tradition the Nabtab had taken from the Bello; indeed, Munzinger mentions that the Bello big drum passed into the hands of the Nabtab.[2] This was probably given to the chief of the Bello when the latter acknowledged the supremacy of Sennar, but Rossini notes that a drum was given to the chief of the Beja tribes of the Sahel by the King of Abyssinia in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

It is not easy to obtain any exact idea of the power of the Nabtab at the present day, for privileges of the kind they enjoyed seventy years ago are naturally not encouraged by the Government. At that time,

[1] Of the divisions of the Nabtab given by Munzinger (*op. cit.*, pp. 280–281) in Abyssinian territory the Hasri (Ad-haseri) inhabiting the Sahel is the only name which corresponds with any of the divisions noted by us in Sudan territory.

Among the tribes speaking Hassa Munzinger mentions the Az Kukui, who may, perhaps, be the same as the Ad-kukal, and the Beit M'ale and the Aflenda in the Sahel; he states that the Aflenda are called Warea in Samhar and the Beit M'ale are considered to be half Habab, "gehören zur Hälfte den Habab an"; both live to the north of the Habab country.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

according to Munzinger, the Nabtab exercised a real feudal rule and had rights and privileges over the cattle of other divisions and the booty taken by them on raiding parties. They possessed the rights of life over their clients, and incurred no blood guilt if they killed one of them. It is notable that whereas the Nabtab and Adhaseri have large herds of camels, no other sections of the Beni Amer have had any until recently, when the Afilanda and possibly the Labat have acquired a few. The possession of camels is certainly a sign of wealth, wealth being reckoned in livestock, and the camel is the most valuable animal all over the Eastern Sudan. There seems however to be a further prestige than that of wealth connected with the possession of camels, and this is probably connected in a vague way with the tradition of Arab blood. Those sections possessing no camels are despised by the camel-owning sections as " aborigines," and sometimes characterised as *tigray*, " slaves," though the latter may boast an Arabic *nisba* and actually carry as much, or rather as little, Arab blood as the camel owners. At the present day, although the chief of the Nabtab is regarded as *nazir* (paramount chief) of the Beni Amer and may be said to " rule " the tribe from Aqiq, his position seems to be largely due to traditional prestige, strengthened by his right to collect a certain amount of tribute.

The Beit Mala did not cultivate the land until they took up cotton cultivation. They boast descent from Hasan, son of Ali. Abyssinian chronicles show that they were a very powerful tribe in the middle of the fifteenth century, as the Muslimin armed them against the Christian king Zar's Ya'qob, and it is stated that they were collected from as far south as Mogadishu. According to tradition they came together under one Muhammad Sherif who arrived alone at Adobana from Mecca, and it was from his son Ma'alu that the tribe derived its name.[1]

The Khasa are a split from the Beit Mala, who broke away three generations ago.

According to some informants the Hammarsen were considered a section of the Beit Mala and were themselves divided into three sections—Beit Hassan, Adhassan and Ganifru. The last-named may, however, be an old division which when weak had joined the Beit Mala and split from it again, as the chronicles mentioned above state that the Beit Mala overcame the Ganifru before the first half of the sixteenth century. Saleh

[1] Rossini, *Studi, etc.*, p. 367.

Idris, however, considered the Hammarsen and the Ganifru to be separate sections.

With the Nabtab, but ranking below them, are the Adhaseri, whose chiefs intermarry with the Nabtab and who are definitely looked upon as superior people by the other divisions of the Beni Amer.

They are said to have split from the Nabtab, but it is probable that they were previously an independent tribe, as they too are mentioned in the texts as coming from Barka territory and wresting part of their land in the Sahel, including the Sala valley, from the Beit Mala.

The Sinkatkenab keep neither camels nor horses, they are cow-keepers and are entirely nomadic. They intermarry with the Labat, who keep cattle and sheep and, though they do not breed camels, they possess some male camels. This probably indicates that they have recently taken up the carrying trade.

The Aše or Ašek are a Tigré-speaking section of the Ashraf and may probably be identified with the Asekh, a Tigré-speaking tribe in Italian territory, and so perhaps should be counted among the Hadendoa and not the Beni Amer.

It was doubtful whether the Habab[1] were considered to be Beni Amer or not; they are chiefly to be found over the Abyssinian border. They speak Tigré. When discussing to which tribe a section belonged our informants were apt to give judgment according to the chief through whom it paid tribute. Politically, that settles the question, though racially any Beja seemed to know by a number of physical traits, as well as such details as hair-dress, clothes, and arms, to which stock a stranger belongs. It was noteworthy, *e.g.*, that only members of the Hadendoa group carried the *khangar*, or curved dagger, the shape of which necessitates its being worn on the left side, while the Beni Amer used the *shotal* thrust through the right side of the girdle.

[1] Munzinger (*op. cit.*, p. 140) states that the Habab were formerly Christians and paid tribute to Senaar, that later they came under Belou dominion and emigrated from Abyssinia as agriculturists, but became pastoral and adopted Islam with their camels. They have much in common with the Bedouin of Samhar on the one hand, and with the Anseba, Mensa, Bogo and Marea on the other.

According to a Tigré text the Habab arose from the Beir Asghede (*Studi su Popolazioni dell' Etiopia*, p. 370). They were Christians. Enno Littmann (*Publications of the Princetown Expedition to Abyssinia*, Vol. II, Leyden, 1910, p. 337).

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AZANDE.

By Major P. M. Larken.

Concluded from SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, *Vol. X, p.* 85.

ZANDE LAW.

ZANDE Law appears to have been one of compensation, directed almost entirely to the satisfaction of the individual, and, except in this indirect way, not to the safeguarding of the rights of the community.

Death was indeed the punishment for persons who practised malicious magic, and for concealing cases of small-pox, but beyond this no idea obtained of a malefactor suffering punishment for having infringed any law established for the protection of the tribe as a whole. Though for some offences a plaintiff might press for and obtain a sentence of death or mutilation against his adversary, the majority of acts were compoundable by the payment of damages. Possibly it is due to this leniency of their code that the race as a whole show such a marked ignobility of character at the present day.

The word of a paramount Chief being unquestioned in his land, and the Zande having no written language, and no marked historical sense, it is probable that laws varied with successive chiefs, and that what follows cannot accurately be called the original tribal law. The notes have been compiled from information given by two elderly and intelligent men who in their younger days lived in the court of Chief Gbudue, and who were familiar with the legal procedure of that day.

Chief Gbudue died in 1905, the year of the Government occupation of the Southern Bahr el Ghazal, already an old man.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND LAWS.

If a man wished to marry a girl, he had first to address himself to her father or guardian. The latter would then question her as to her views on the matter and, if she refused to accept the man as her suitor, would probably not press it any further. If, however, the father desired

the marriage to take place, she would have to submit, as the chances were that an appeal to the Chief would only result in her being told to remember her duty as a daughter.

In the case of a girl who had been affianced to a man in her babyhood, if she grew up persisting in her objection to him, the Chief would order her father to return the bride-price to the would-be husband, and to choose another mate for her.

The bride-price of a woman was twenty spears. If, when sought in marriage, she was a child, the husband would pay these by degrees, two or three at a time, as she was growing up in her husband's house, but if she were already past girlhood her father would demand at least ten spears before letting her go to her husband.

The bride-price had to be paid to a father or a guardian, and not to any other member of the family, even if the father was not to be the ultimate recipient.

Every girl had in her family a male relative known as her *bagimara*, who was legally entitled to the bride-price that would be paid for her. If there existed a legitimate son of her mother, he would be her *bagimara*. If not, then the eldest son enjoyed the spears of the eldest daughter, and so on. A girl's father was responsible for holding her spears in trust for her *bagimara*, and the latter had a legal claim to them on him, which he could only lose by deserting his family and going to settle elsewhere.

If by some means the bride-price became paid to a member of the family not legally entitled to them, the *bagimara* had to bring an action against this individual to obtain his spears; he had not the right to take his sister from her husband on that ground, nor to claim her children as bastards, nor to make a case against him for the spears.

A man who had as his wife a woman who had been captured in a foray, or one who had been paid to him as damages for a death or adultery, was compelled to pay twenty spears for her to her family. If he failed to do so, her family could claim her from him at law, together with any children she might have borne him.

The bride-price was payable in spears or hoes as a rule, but axes, bangles, guns, ivory, and other women were also legal tender. Marriage by the exchange between two men of two female relations was common. In the event of such a marriage (known as *moundo*—exchange) being dissolved, the women returned to their families with whatever children

they had borne to their husbands, the children belonging henceforth to the women's family.

If a woman proved sterile her family were bound to give her husband another one in lieu of her, the original wife remaining with the man, who had, however, to pay a second bride-price for the second woman.

If a husband returned his wife to her family on the ground of her barrenness, and another woman was given him in her place, he need not make a further payment of spears for the latter, unless and until she had borne him a child, when he had to pay her family her bride-price.

If a man gave the bride-price of his daughter to another relation to enable the latter to marry a wife, he or his heirs could always claim the repayment of the loan later on. This procedure was known as *limbiro*.

BASTARDS.

Children of a woman by a man who had not paid spears for her were illegitimate and, as such, the property of her family, and her next-of-kin was entitled, if they were girls, to their bride-price. But if, among such illegitimate children, there were any boys, the latter would be considered to be the legal recipients of their sisters' spears, and not their mother's next-of-kin.

If the father had paid only one or two spears for the mother, this was sufficient to legitimise the children, provided that he produced the balance reasonably quickly. If he did not do so, the woman's father would have the right to take her from him, with her children, returning the man's spears to him. But if a considerable proportion of the bride-price had been paid, and the man was unable or unwilling to complete it, the Chief would probably order the return of the woman to her family, together with her children, allowing him to retain one of the latter in consideration of the part payment of the bride-price. The option of taking back the spears paid lay with the husband—if he said that he wished to take a child he could not be forced to accept spears.

As has been stated above, children of women captives of war, or of women paid as damages or given as presents by a previous husband, were only legitimate if their father had paid the bride-price for their mother to her family.

A father had a legal right to legitimise his children by making a payment of spears to their mother's family, and the latter could not refuse to accept it.

ADULTERY.

Originally, the damages for adultery payable to the injured husband were thirty spears. During the reign of Chief Bazingbi, perhaps four generations ago, they were increased to twenty spears and a woman, who was either wife or relation of the adulterer, except when a man had no female relatives, in which case he would pay thirty spears as of old.

If thirty spears were paid, the husband was bound to pass them all on to his erring wife's next-of-kin, but if he received twenty spears and a woman, he would keep the spears for himself and hand on the woman only. His wife's family could recover these dues at law.

This curious custom, which seems to have put a premium on the infidelity of a wife, since the more lovers she took the more spears went to her family, was altered by Chief Gbudue, Bazingbi's son, who fixed the damages payable at twenty spears, which he awarded to the adulteress's husband, and not to her next-of-kin.

In Bazingbi's time it sometimes happened that the victim of adultery would demand the death penalty against his wife and, if the Chief agreed, she would be dragged away by the bystanders and slaughtered; but the practice was generally looked upon with disfavour and died out by degrees, except in the case of powerful paramount chiefs, like Gbudue, who were a law unto themselves, and who invariably punished the crime in their own wives with death.

For making adulterous proposals to a married woman, damages were payable of ten spears, provided that no actual adultery had been committed.

If a man had connection with an unmarried girl, her parents could claim damages of twenty spears against him. In spite of this payment, any children were looked on as bastards, and if the father wished for them he had to make a further payment of twenty spears, irrespective of their number. This custom died out in Gbudue's time, the feeling then being that it was rather a shameful thing to claim such damages in respect of a relation, as it suggested that one looked on her to some extent as one's wife, and a taint of incest would cling to a person bringing a case on such grounds.

If a man had staying with him, as his guest, a married woman, and he allowed her to lie with a man who subsequently could not be found, he

could be held responsible for the payment of the adultery damages to her husband, but if there were no connivance on the host's part they were claimable only from the adulterer.

The crime of sapphism was not unknown, and when the parties were wives of a powerful chief both were put to death. If it occurred between women of lesser folk, a public beating was the only penalty.

The family of a woman paid as damages for adultery could not claim the right to ransom her from the man to whom she had been awarded by making him a payment of spears. This could only be done with his consent.

DIVORCE.

Divorce was procurable by the husband at any time, without any formality; he merely had to return his wife to her family, who would repay him his spears, and he would retain the custody of the children. In the rare event of a woman claiming the right to remain with a man as his wife against his will, however, the Chief would decide the case in her favour if the husband could show no good reason for wishing to divorce her.

Women could claim divorce from their husbands on the grounds of infidelity, sterility or impotency, or for gross ill-treatment, such as wounding or burning. But in all cases, the children remained with their father, irrespective of who was to blame in the matter of the separation.

PROPERTY.

The occupier or cultivator of a piece of land retained his rights over it, and over all things growing on it, and on all buildings erected upon it, for as long as he liked. Even though he might have left the site for years it was still his, and he could, if anyone settled on it, claim damages up to five spears against the intruder. Only if he left the country of his Chief did he lose these rights.

Sale of land between two men was unknown, though the crops and fruits of it might be so disposed of. While the Chief was looked on as the owner of his land, no case is known of one having sold a piece of his territory to a rival. Headmen might buy the right of ruling over an area from the Chief, by paying the latter spears or women, but the actual land did not become theirs by virtue of this transaction.

Property descended to the eldest son, failing whom, to the eldest brother, failing whom, to the father of the deceased. If the latter had no male offspring, his daughter could succeed only to the household goods and food, the remainder of the property going to his nearest male relation, however distant.

Widows were divided by the heir between his relations. If the deceased had no sons, nor any relations of his generation, his father might take his widows.

The property of a woman descended to her male next-of-kin. If she had been a married woman, and had amassed, as was often the case, a considerable number of spears and hoes through the brewing of beer, her next-of-kin might claim up to ten of these spears, but the rest would go to her husband.

Presents, once given, were irreclaimable at law by the giver.

Deathbed bequests and requests were always held to be binding.

OFFENCES AND PENALTIES.

The punishment for murder was death, the murderer's family paying no material compensation to that of the victim.

For causing death accidentally, twenty spears damages were payable to the deceased's family.

For causing death by witchcraft, the penalty was death, or it might be compoundable by the payment of a woman or twenty spears to the bereaved family.

When a visitor died in his host's house of an illness, which is as much as to say from a spell, if he had been staying there for some weeks, it was considered that he had died as the result of magic that had been worked on him while he was an inmate of his host's house, and it was incumbent on the latter to consult the oracles and to bring up before his Chief the person they indicated as having been responsible for the death. The Chief might then order the offender to be executed, or to pay to the host of the deceased twenty spears, which had to be passed on to the family of the dead man, or to her husband, if she happened to be a married woman. In this case, the husband was bound, in his turn, to transfer them to her family. But if the death took place within a few days of the visitor's arrival, the duty of consulting the oracles did not rest on the host, but devolved upon the deceased's family or husband, for it was looked

on as being due to the result of a spell cast on the deceased before leaving his place of abode.

On the death of a person who, during life, had had to pay damages for witchcraft, a post mortem was held, and if no signs of magic were visible in the intestines, the deceased's family could demand at law the repayment of all such damages.

For maliciously causing death by magic, the offender was made to suffer the extreme penalty, as being a danger to the community. Even if he fled to the country of a neighbouring rival Chief, he would not escape, for the old Chief would see to it that his reputation was known to the new one, and the latter would run no risks, but would be careful to carry out the original sentence.

A man who drew a knife or raised a spear in the Chief's Court was usually put to death on the spot.

For causing hurt, damages were payable up to ten spears.

A thief was ordered to pay spears to the owner of the stolen property according to its value, but in the case of recidivists their fingers and thumbs were cut off.

If a person, by cheating, wrongfully got possession of the property of another, he would merely be ordered to hand it over to its rightful owner, and no additional award for his dishonesty, or as compensation to the other party for the trouble caused him, would be made.

For defamation of character, damages up to five spears were payable.

For the destruction of house property or crops by fire, the incendiary was made to pay twenty spears damages to the owner. If he did not pay spears, he had to pay a granary or two full of grain. No difference in the sentence was made for accidental or deliberate burnings.

A trespasser on growing crops would pay small damages of a spear or two according to the destruction caused, whether wilful or otherwise.

A person causing harm to another's crops through magic would have to pay twenty spears damages, or grain in lieu.

It was customary, on the occasion of a death, for the relations of the deceased to arrange for the making of a certain magic medicine which would ensure that the person responsible for the death would himself die. For the proper working of this medicine of retaliation it was necessary that an individual should submit himself to certain inhibitions until it had claimed its victim. If this individual broke his

inhibitions, it would lose its virtue and the relations of the dead man could claim twenty spears from him for having been baulked of their revenge.

Inhibitions were entailed, also, on a boy's circumcision attendant, and if he broke them, and the boy died, the latter's father could claim twenty spears against him.

If a man had charge of another's divination medicine, and by his neglect it lost its efficacy (from having been seen by women, for example, or from having been brought into contact with elephant meat), the owner could claim twenty spears damages against him.

If a man circumcised a boy without his parent's consent, and the boy died from the operation, the circumciser had to pay twenty spears to the father of the deceased.

There was no punishment for rain-stopping, except that the accused was bound and cast continually into a stream until rain fell. If none did fall, it was considered that the wrong man was being ducked and the experiment was repeated with somebody else.

EVIDENCE.

The Chief called no witnesses in the hearing of cases. A man would make his complaint before him, and might perhaps produce someone to substantiate his charge. The defendant would be sent for and asked if he were guilty or not. If he denied the accusation he would be invited to undergo the poison ordeal. If he refused to do so, it was considered that he had, by his mere refusal, convicted himself out of his own mouth. If he agreed, the case was decided according to the result of the ordeal.

When Chief Gbudue succeeded his father, he changed this custom, and did not insist on the defendant drinking the poison himself (though he might do so if he liked, to prove his innocence), as he said that too many lives were being lost in this manner, but substituted chickens, to which henceforth the poison was administered. The oracle never erred.

PUNISHMENTS.

Only the paramount Chief, and one or two of his biggest viceroys, had the power to pass a death sentence. The sub-chiefs, and any other notables to whom the paramount Chief might have given authority to hear cases, could not do so.

No fee was exacted for settling disputes, but it was not uncommon for the winner of a case to give the Chief the woman or spears that had been awarded him, in gratitude for the favourable decision. This was also often done if the loser of the case made difficulty about paying up the damages. Women pledged in this way remained the legal property of the Chief without the latter having to pay spears for them to their families, and the non-payment of spears did not render the Chief's children by the women illegitimate.

The death sentence was carried out in various ways—by spearing, stabbing with a knife, cutting the throat or clubbing. If there were a big stream near by, the victim might have a stone bound to the breast and be thrown into the water, and at Tambura, where there are rocky hills, people were cast from precipices (sometimes dragging their executioners with them in their fall). On occasions they were thrown into a large fire—this method rather increased the punishment, for it made it impossible for the relations to get possession of the body to bury it, which otherwise they would do. The sentence was usually carried out by the hangers-on of the Court, and it was always done publicly as an example to others.

Mutilations were of varying degrees. In extreme cases the ears, nose, lips, hands and genitals were cut off, and the eyes extracted as well. The operations were done with a knife. The unconscious or dead body was dragged to the precincts of the Court, to be taken away by relations.

Beatings were administered with a stick, that instrument of torture, the hippopotamus hide whip, being unknown.

Knife-slashings, burning, and rubbing the offender's body with the pods of a creeper which causes a very painful inflammation of the skin, were common enough punishments, but were not given officially by Chiefs —they were usually inflicted by husbands on wives.

HUNTING.

Individual.

A Zande does most of his hunting with dogs, which often have good noses and will hunt a line well. Their scenting powers are said to be increased by rubbing some decoction into an incision on the muzzle, and their keenness excited by giving them food mixed with the pods of the creeper, described above, which causes an inflammation of the skin.

A man, alone or with a companion or two, will go out with his dogs after cane rats, hares, or suchlike small game. They will put their dogs, each with a clapper made of a borassus palm kernel round its neck to signal its whereabouts, into a patch of unburnt grass, entering the grass themselves and standing very quiet with semi-poised spears waiting for some animal pushed up by the dogs to come creeping past. They are unerring marksmen with a spear at short ranges, and the writer has seen one bowl over a hare, galloping all out over bare ground, at ten or fifteen yards.

A bold hunter will follow up a herd of buffalo single-handed with a heavy spear, until he has come upon them lying down in a thicket for their mid-day sleep, when he will plunge it in at close quarters.

Some will kill elephants with a special spear which has a small very sharp head and a heavy haft, often weighted with a billet of wood at the end of the haft to increase the penetration. Such elephant hunters are known as *abunga*, their skill being ascribed to medicine they have bought from the Abunga (Bongos), a tribe living some seventy miles to the north, who live greatly by hunting, and who alone know and sell the charm.

A certain amount of game is taken fortuitously in pits, which are usually single, though a chain of them extending for a considerable distance was noticed, near Ezo's grave, into which elephant herds were driven.

Log traps at the edges of the fields are common, and springes of all sizes, the largest capable of holding a waterbuck. Plain nooses are generally used only for birds, and are of a normal type. One method is to suspend the noose from a twig, with a termite tied to a fine filament of fibre in close proximity to it. A bird sweeping at the termite gets entangled in the noose. Many scores of nooses are set together in salt licks and take toll of the flocks of green pigeon which frequent such places.

Bows are not often seen, except a light kind—almost a toy—which throws a grass arrow with a wooden tip inserted, and which is mostly used by boys at the beginning of the dry weather, for killing mice and small birds.

Communal.

At the end of the rains, a man will isolate an area of grass by burning the vegetation round it carefully, little by little, as the wind serves, so

that eventually, when the rest of the countryside has been cleared by the grass fires, his area remains standing, and forms an attractive covert for game to lie up in.

At the driest time of the year, when the grass is like tinder, and at the hottest time of the day, the owner of the grass will summon his friends and neighbours, perhaps to the number of fifty or a hundred, the majority carrying their game nets, which are made of quarter-inch rope, about six feet wide and ten to twenty yards long. He will point out to the net men where they are to set them up, which they will do as quietly as possible. When they are all erected on light poles, he will send off a party with torches to light the grass on the windward side, so as to drive the game to the nets, in which they should theoretically be entangled and speared by the net men. In actual practice, the spectator is struck by the extraordinarily small quantity of game that is killed in this way. It seems to be the exception for a beast to be brought to bay: they either break out at the sides in spite of the stops, or knock down the net without getting caught in it. Sometimes they will dive clean through the meshes, and when this happens the torn part of the net is cut out and undergoes a magical treatment to prevent it occurring again. Nets are also anointed with medicine to render them invisible to the game.

Another method is the *tua*, which consists of taking in a wide area of burnt country and driving the game down to the nets with beaters, stops being placed at the sides of the area driven. The country having been burnt bare, the net men have to make butts of branches for themselves behind their nets, and the whole procedure is reminiscent of a partridge drive at home.

In the wet weather the system known as the *gbalia* is resorted to. A rough path is made round an area of grass. When an animal is harboured in it, which is very simply done by noting whether fresh tracks leading into the grass emerge on the other side or not, a party goes out and erects nets along a section of the path, while others enter it and attempt to drive the beast to the nets. This method seems to be as unproductive as those before described, and it is astonishing that the people should continue to practise such laboriously unfruitful means of getting meat.

Heavier bags were no doubt obtained in the old days, when the grass was ringed with fire all round, and every living thing within it perished. But this is no longer done.

In the Pambia Hills, near Tambura, there is a place where the rocky country gradually rises and terminates in a high cliff, and game used to be driven over this.

When a leopard or a lion gives trouble the Azande make up a party of spearmen to follow it and despatch it with their spears. They seem proud of any wounds they may receive from the quarry on these occasions, as, indeed, they may well be, for they have no shields as a protection against a charge, but must rely on their own nimbleness to escape, and it must require considerable bravery to attack the animal under such circumstances.

FISHING.

Not many people use a hook and line; when they do, they usually set it as a night line. Though conical basket-work fish traps may be found where the stream lends itself to their employment, the usual way of killing fish is to throw quantities of pounded up leaves of the *mokoko* plant into a pool. These leaves contain a juice which has the property of making the fish rise to the surface and swim about on the top of the water, where the larger ones are speared and the smaller scooped out in small circular nets called *suma*. Very heavy fish, and occasionally small crocodiles, are said to be killed in this way. Both sexes join together in fishing with *mokoko*.

Only the women and girls, however, go in for the ordinary fishing. At the time of the drying-up of the streams, they make up parties, and after closing a section of the brook by making two dams, they put themselves in a row at the lower dam, and bale out the water to a lively tune. When the level has fallen sufficiently, they take their *suma*, and use them as shrimping nets. It is usually only small fish that they catch, but the size does not worry them, for all, including water-beetles and larvæ, are pounded up into *pasia*. Such parties are very pleasant to watch—everyone enjoys it so much, and the air is full of laughter and chaff, with little shrieks and giggles from the children when some one tumbles into a hole or puts a hand on an electric fish and gets a shock.

NATURAL HISTORY NOTES.

The commonest large animals of the country are the buffalo (red and black coated beasts running together in the same herd), waterbuck,

Jackson's hartebeeste, a small type of kob, bushbuck, oribi, digdig, a red and a little grey duiker, warthog, bush pig, lion and leopard, jackals, and cats and monkeys of many kinds.

Rarer, or more local, are a reedbuck, bongo, giant eland, wild dogs, baboons, hippopotamus, and an ant bear.

Scarcest of all are four-tusked elephants, white rhinoceros, roan, yellow-backed duiker, tiang and chimpanzees.

Smaller mammals are legion, many varieties of mice and rats are found, together with two kinds of hares, several ground and tree squirrels, moles, or mole-rats, otters of more than one kind, two species of cane rats, cricetomys, two kinds of mongoose, " bush-babies," bats of many kinds, and a multitude of small beasts, without doubt, that are unknown to the writer.

Pythons, puff-adders, a spitting cobra, several vipers and many grass snakes are common, and there are many kinds of toads and frogs, including some beautifully coloured tree-frogs, to be found. The warana lizard is widely distributed and the crocodile may be seen in the larger rivers. There are about six species of small lizards, and one which the writer has not seen, called *naiyu*, which, it is said, lives in cracks of trees in the thick gallery forests at the heads of streams. From dusk to dawn it emits a mournful though not unmusical croon at intervals, which on a quiet night may be heard half a mile off.

Land and water tortoises are not uncommon.

There is a great variety of bird life, which only an ornithologist could describe. The game birds are guineafowl, both common and crested, two species of francolin, and two of quail, stone-fowl, wood-grouse, green pigeon, a large and a small bustard, full snipe, Hartlaub's duck, comb duck, garganey, a whistling teal, pigmy goose, and spurwing.

The following butterflies have been found at appropriate seasons and places: Eight species of *papilio, pseudopontia, mylothris, appias, pieris, teracolus, herpænia, amauris, elymniopsis, mycalesis, neocænyra, charaxes, cymothoe, euryphura, diestogyna, euryphene, euphædra, harmilla, pseuda-cræa, crenidomimas, hypolimnas, crenis, kallima, precis, acræa, planema, pentila, epitola* (?), *deudorix, hypolycæna, iolaus, aphnaus, spindasis, lycænesthes*, fifty-two kinds of skippers, and painted ladies.

APPENDIX.

The Zande Woman's State at the Present Time.

As I am anxious that no reader of the foregoing notes should think that they describe the state of the Zande woman to-day, I give a brief account of what the Government has done to help her.

She was in the past a chattel only, and a very hardly used one at that, and it began to be obvious some fifteen years ago, to all who had any interest in the matter, that steps must be taken which would improve her position and which would lead eventually to her emancipation. It was equally obvious that they must be cautious steps, since the wealth of the people was represented by women, and any interference with time-honoured customs for their acquisition and retention would be tampering with the very foundations of Zande tribal life, and therefore fraught with considerable risk. It would not be an exaggeration to say that women were the cement holding the whole social fabric together.

They owe the first move to Colonel Feilden, who as Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal forbade, in 1915, their being paid as damages for death, theft, adultery, or debt, and who refused to allow cognisance to be taken of child marriage. Until then I think I personally felt that, deplorable as their condition was, they were used to it and it was all they expected, and that there was no need to do much to make it better.

It was about this time that my knowledge of the language became sufficient to enable me to converse a little with the people, and it was not long before I began to hear from the lips of the women themselves how they hated their lot. Until then, their natural timidity and the general atmosphere of formality surrounding an Office, coupled with the presence of a venial interpreter, had prevented them from giving their views on the subject. But when they could at last speak direct to me, they slowly at first, but in rapidly increasing numbers, began to voice their grievances.

The Chiefs and elder men got uneasy at this, and a deputation of them applied to me at Tambura one day for leave to go and complain to the Governor. They said, to the best of my recollection, that they wished the old marriage customs to remain untouched, except that a woman might leave a man for serious ill-treatment, such as stabbing or

burning, and that damages might be paid in spears; also they wished it to be forbidden that women should approach me with their cases, either in my house or on the paths, or in any way except in the Office. The Governor, in refusing their request for an interview, replied that though he quite understood their feelings, the policy could not be altered.

He allowed me to continue experimentally a plan I had started of allowing widows to return to their families, the latter repaying spears received for them, and not to descend to the deceased husband's heir against their will. (Some ten years later, however, on complaints from some old men of Maridi, it was thought wiser to go back to the old system, unless there was some particular reason for a widow's dislike to her new husband—for instance, that there had been friction between them in the past.)*

At this stage it was important to emphasize the fact to the women that, while we wished to help them out of their state of virtual slavery, they had housewifely duties to perform, and if they failed to do so the Government would not decline to punish them on behalf of their husbands, whose hands it had somewhat tied, by a few days imprisonment. For it was clear that there was a risk of their taking the bit between their teeth at their newly-found liberty.

Women, who so disliked their husbands that they preferred a month or two in prison to living with them, were allowed to claim their release by undergoing such punishment, it being felt that such women were unlikely ever to settle down and make satisfactory wives.

It was discovered that women were very sensitive on the subject of being legally married, that is to say, of having the full amount of spears paid for them to their family—and not only to their family, but to that particular member of it who, by Zande law, was entitled to receive them, and many who had not been so married claimed, and obtained, their freedom on these grounds. This meant that many pre-Government cases had to be heard. The rule had been not to take cognizance of such cases, and this was reasonable enough when the matter concerned only inanimate property. But when it was the question of a woman,

* In practice the withdrawal of the privilege is of no matter except academically. Usually a woman is perfectly happy to become the wife of her deceased husband's heir, especially if it is a case of a mother settling down to keep house for her son. If she is not, the heir will, in all probability, be quite content to receive spears from her family in her stead. And if he should press his claim the chances are she can produce some old grievance on which to claim her release.

with her strong feelings about the regulation of her position, it did not answer. For instance, if the bride-price of a bastard has been paid to her father's family she is not legally married, and children of the union are bastards, and as such the property of their mother's family, and they would not accept their father's right of disposal over them when they, in their turn, came to marry. It was therefore considered necessary to accept such cases for hearing and, when evidence existed, to adjust them.

As time went on, the policy was developed slowly but steadily. Various customs were found to be very repugnant to the women, and were prohibited on pain of divorce; for example, *modo*, the temporary exchange of wives between two men, *moundo*, marriage by exchange of a female relation instead of a payment of spears, and endogamy among the Avungara.

All these gradual reforms were effected without any tribal disturbance. Undoubtedly they hit the old women-collectors hard, but they were appreciated by the young men, some of whom once said to me in Yambio, "Now our day is come, and we young men will have wives to marry instead of their all going to the Chiefs and old men."

Moreover, there was no increase noted in the crime of adultery, which it seems reasonable to hope will decrease as emancipation progresses. The state of subjection in which the women were held undoubtedly led them to be unfaithful to their distasteful husbands when opportunity offered,* though I admit that at their best they are as amoral as their husbands.

At the present time the various Chiefs' Courts are carrying out the policy sketched above without the least pressure from me. Indeed it sometimes happens that I find, when reading through the past months' cases, that they have released a woman apparently quite unnecessarily. While one has to bear in mind the fact that both Avungara and Azande are prone to assume the views of the white man in order to stand in well with him, I cannot think that if there existed any strong feeling in the country hostile to the policy it would not have come to my ears, or have been reflected by the judgments of the Chiefs' Courts, every one of which, from their inception in 1922, I have read through.

No woman—and some still are to be found—whose marriage position is irregular need fear that it will not be rectified for her, either

* A woman once said to me, "My husband never beats me and I am very fond of him. Why, then, should I take a lover?"

by the handing of the bride-price from the wrong to the right relation, or by returning her to her family, nor one who has been badly treated that she will not obtain redress (neither I nor the Courts would describe as ill-treated a woman whose husband has caned her for infidelity, or for running off to dances continually instead of preparing his food—she has merely got her deserts).

Girls who have not yet gone to live with their husbands are not forced to marry them against their will, and child wives are released, of course, at once, the parents in both cases returning the bride-price paid.

If a woman, who has already made her home with her husband, leaves him without good reason she is handed back to him by the Court, more than once, if necessary. If she is merely acting out of pique, this is usually enough to settle her down. If she continues to disobey the Court's order, she is returned to her family, and her husband receives back his spears, together with a bonus of five or ten for the trouble she has put him to. I notice that the Courts never send a woman to me for imprisonment, as we did in the past, to earn her release.

I feel sure that the vast majority of women are now leading perfectly happy lives. They have achieved what is to all intents and purposes emancipation in less than a generation, which will surely tend to heighten the standard of morality, to stabilise the marriage groups and to lessen litigation.

In cases of divorce, the Chiefs' Courts proceed as follows in the matter of the children of a marriage.

If it is a simple affair, where a woman has children by a man who has paid nothing for her, he has to pay twenty spears for them to his wife's family according to Zande Law, whether they be boys or girls.

If he has paid the bride-price for his wife, and she is taken from him through no fault of his own, he gets his spears back, less five for each girl child and two for each boy who remain with him. It would not do to let him have them for nothing, for in after life they might claim that they were bastards and leave him, if that were the case. The bonus spears help to cover this outlay for the children.

If his wife is removed from him for ill-treatment or for any good reason due to an act on his part, he has to pay up to ten spears for his daughters and five for his sons, which are deducted from the bride-price which her family will repay him on her divorce.

TWO TEXTS FROM KORDOFAN.

THESE texts were obtained from a notable at Nahud, who had them by heart and dictated them. They are part of the oral tradition of the feud which persisted between the Kababish and the Ḥamar from the time when the latter came into Kordofan from Darfur, at the beginning of the last century, until the Mahdia broke the power and dissipated the wealth of both tribes. The last act of open hostility occurred when, after the fall of the Khalifa, the Kababish looted from the Ḥamar such camels as they still possessed. Since then, the present Government has kept the peace between them.

The first text is a vaunting boast in the name of the celebrated Kabbashi Sheikh Faḍl Allah wad Sālim, of his intention to establish himself on one of the chief Ḥamar watering-places; and the second is the Ḥamar reply, in the form of an open letter to Sheikh Faḍl Allah Sālim from Sheikh Mekki wad Mun'im, chief of the principal section of the Ḥamar—the 'Asākira—if not of the whole tribe. It is said that Sheikh Mekki offered a great reward to the man who should compose the most effective reply to the Kababish, and that this letter took the prize.

There is no reason to doubt that these two compositions, in approximately the form here reproduced, date from about 1850, when the best known of the people mentioned in the second of them were flourishing.

The linguistic form of No. 2 is of some interest, as we do not often meet with written documents composed in the vernacular. It is true that our text in its present form has passed through some eighty years of oral tradition, but there is no reason to believe that it has undergone any serious change. Though it is cast in the form of a letter, it was probably meant to be recited by the messenger, and the style is that of tribal oratory, for which the use of *sağ'* or rhymed prose is still regarded as an appropriate embellishment. Of this there are other examples in the Sudan, and it is recorded of the present-day Bedu of the Hejaz that litigants address the tribal courts in *sağ'* when pleading their cause, and that the judgments are delivered in the same form.

The translation attempts to preserve as much as possible of the rhetorical style, and it is hoped that it will suffice to render the text intelligible even to those unfamiliar with the dialect. It should be noted that in accordance with the rhyme-scheme and in keeping with the elevated character of the style, final vowels are sounded in places where they would not be heard in ordinary conversation. The orthography of the texts is that of the native scribes.

TEXT No. 1.

فى فوجا ام خبارة
عاوز له دمارة
كان حاوطوك حمر يدسّ فيهم حماره
اغرّ و بكداره
بشويشك لهم ناس العيش برد
لايشيلوا كنجارة

TEXT No. 2.

أبتدآء جواب الشيخ مكى ولد منع ردًا لجواب الشيخ
فضل الله ولد سالم
وكاتب الجواب الفكى احمد ولد عيسى ابو امّا جابت
قائل فيه

ارسل جوابه . الى اليرضى و اليابى . اللهم يامسبّب الاسباب . ويا مجرّى السحاب . من الشيخ مكى جقجوق سارى الدواب . يا موصّل الجواب .

سلّم على الشيخ فضل الله ولد سالمين . انت ولدنا وابيك اخينا . لا تسمع قول الخارين . كسّارين كتب المدين . جليدات وهبابين لاعاشوا فيك ولا ربيو فينا الشيخ مكى قوّم لك الجيوش الحاشدة . ما ناشدة .

من ورا شحّت ومن وسط انفزرت ومن قدام مزنًا مجرّف قام .

و ان سألت عـن الفرسـان . منهم سالم ابو ركّوا فارس الرحمٰن . ومنهم دُمْ ولد عـشـاي ابو قلبًا حجر ملان . ومنهم قريب ولد مُوروا النمر الباطل الجحجان . و منهم عيسى ولد النِّشَيْوُ و بليلة درب السَّجْ والشيخ سالم ابودقل بندق الرطـان • والشيخ مكى ابو المليح الزى جبل لبنان . يتلحظ يمين وشمال يفقّد الفرسان . ان كان واحد فيهم غاب يكون ندمان .

والجيوش من قبيلة حمر العسـاكر فيهم عيـال طراد شـايلين السيوف السلحت الصحابة . وفيهم غشيمات مكرّبين الصعابة . وفيهم بنى بدر مشدّدين فى هذه الحرابة . وفيهم دقاقيمًا قدر التراب .

عـدد المطر و رطين العجام . جيوشًا فى جيوش ما ليهم قيام . زى دار قريس ودار سـلام . و الشيخ مكى العزيز بإيده قام . سلّا السيف و قبض اللجام . و فى الوقت الشيخ فضل الله ولد سـالم هرب زى النعام . خلّا بمم بعياله نام . وخلّا بيت شقاق مستّر باكمام . وفى بطنه عروس زى الحمام . وخلّا محاسه يبكى زام . وخلّا الصفير يجرى فى برامه .

(ذى مشى حرابه)

الّا الشيخ مكى العزيز عاوز يعدّل حد بلاده . ان سألت عن حد بلاده بالكايلوا و ابو درق وريح كجمر وغربية الحرازة عاوز منهم فطرة وزكواة وخشم ودم واسبار وعادة . وان مكذّب فى هذه الافادة • اسأل دار حامد ام سنعير قوم الفسادة .

وانت ماتنظر فى هذه الخصـائل . نحن قتلنا ام بدّة يوم جانا صـائل . و قتلنا بخيت ولد قيلة بكّينا أخته ام شوايل . و قتلنا كسـارة خلينا ريطه فى سرواله سايل .

انت خاطى لا لقيت ابيًا ارشدك ولا اخيًا هداك . شن جابك للذيب وداك . بايده اللطمك رماك . لا كدمك و لاعضاك .

انت ماتقدر تلاطم الفيـال اذا حاولت الـفيـال تبقى رمايهم . ولد سـالم هرب خلّا البيتايهم .

انتهى

TRANSLATION OF TEXT No. 1.

At Foğa[1] the much-rumoured he would make his summer-quarters.

Si Hamarenses tibi obstant immittatur in anum, totis cum ungulis, asinus albae frontis.

Go gently with the eaters of cold porridge[2] lest they take refuge with the Fur.

TRANSLATION OF TEXT No. 2.

Here begins the letter of Sheikh Mekki Wad Mun'im,[3] answering the letter of Sheikh Faḍl Allah Wad Sālim.[4]

Now Fiki Ahmed Wad 'Isa, son of a noble mother, wrote the letter, wherein he says:

A letter sent, whether welcome or unwelcome. In the name of God, the First Cause, the Driver of Clouds. From Sheikh Mekki "Ğaggôg," the lion prowling by night. You who bear the letter, give greetings to Sheikh Faḍl Allah Wad Sālim (and say):

You are my son and your father was my brother. Listen not to the words of the workers of mischief who break the laws of the faith. Ğileidat and Hababin[5] have not lived among you, neither did they grow up among us.

[1] When this challenge was composed, Foğa, in Western Kordofan, north-west of Nahud, was a very important well centre, watering thousands of camels in the dry weather. It subsequently dried up almost completely and was abandoned, but now after thirty or forty years of desuetude the underground pocket tapped by the wells seems to have partially refilled.

[2] This epithet contains an imputation of effeminacy—that the Ḥamar were afraid of burning their fingers.

[3] Sheikh Mekki wad Mun'im, Abu'l Miliḥ, as he is styled later in the text, was the son of El Haǧǧ Mun'im, the founder of the line of the Nazirs of the Hamar-'Asākira, who brought the tribe to power at the beginning of the last century. The following table shows the most important members of the family:—

El Hajj Mun'im
- Ismail—Mohd. El Sheikh
  - Mansur—Mun'im (Nazir)
  - Nasir —(Wakil Nazir)
  - Ismail —Ahmed (ex-Nazir)
- Mekin—Ahmed Shatta (Omda) —Salim
- Mekki—El Miliḥ —Ibrahim

[4] Sheikh Faḍl Allah wad Sālim was the grandfather of the present Nazir of the Kababish, Sheikh Ali wad El Tom. In MacMichael (*Tribes of N. and C.K.*) we read that he ruled the tribe for forty years, and that in 1853 he was the richest Arab chieftain in the Sudan, himself owning ten thousand camels.

[5] Ğileidat and Hababin are two tribes of the Dar Ḥāmid confederacy, who are and were neighbours to the Kababish and the Hamar. The former live in the extreme south-west of Dar Ḥāmid and the latter hold the *naḥds*.

Sheikh Mekki has raised against you mighty armies that lack nought, with scanty rearguard and centre, but in the van a whelming flood.

If you ask concerning the horsemen, there is Sālim Abu Rukkūwa, the Knight of God, and Dulum wad 'Ashay, the stout-hearted, and Gureib wad Moro, the lean rabid leopard, and 'Isa wad El Nisheiwo and Balila Darab el Taǧǧ. There is Sheikh Sālim Abu Dagal[1] with his resounding gun and there, like Mount Lebanon, Sheikh Mekki Abu 'l Milīḥ, glancing to the right and to the left as he surveys the horsemen. If one of them were absent he would repent it.

As for the armies of the Ḥamar-'Asākira,[2] among them are the sons of Ṭarād, bearing swords which armed the Prophet's companions of old: among them are the Ghisheimat, bridlers of unbroken camels: among them are the Beni Bedr, girt for the fray: among them are the Dagāgīm, as the dust for multitude, countless as raindrops, a host whose noise goes up like barbarian mutterings—armies upon armies, above all reckoning—such are Dar Ghereis[3] and Dar Salām.[4]

Sheikh Mekki the Noble has himself arisen—he has drawn the sword and seized the reins.

Then Sheikh Faḍl Allah wad Sālim fled like an ostrich; leaving Bambam behind sleeping with his children; leaving behind the curtained tent with its roof-poles and the dove-like bride within; leaving behind the droning war-drum and his marīsa running in the pots.

(Such is the approach of the Army.)

But Sheikh Mekki the Noble would set right the boundary of his lands. Do you ask of the boundary of his lands? It is Kailo and Abu Darag and North of Kaǧmar and West of Ḥaraza—of these lands he

[1] Sheikh Salim Abu Dagal was the father of the late Nazir of the Ghereisia section of the Hamar, Abdel Rahim Bey Salim.

[2] The Ḥamar are at present divided into three independent sections, the 'Asakira, the Dagagim, and the Ghereisia, but at the date of this text the Ghereisia were merely a section of the Dagagim. It is interesting to note that the Dagagim themselves are here described as one of the armies of the Ḥamar-'Asakira. The 'Asakira are and were the larger section, and it is not improbable that under a sheikh of strong personality, such as Sheikh Mekki Mun'im, they had a general hegemony in the tribe.

The sons of Ṭarād—the Ṭarādāt—are the Nazir's own section of the 'Asakira. The Ghisheimat and the Beni Bedr are the largest and richest of the other sections.

[3] Dar Ghereis = the Ghereisia.

[4] Dar Salām is that section of the Dagagim to which the present Nazir belongs.

claims the rights of *futra*[1] and *zakā*[2] and *khashm*[3] and *dam*[4] and *asbār*[5] and *'āda*.[6] If any give the lie to this claim ask Dar Hāmid Um Sin'īr,[7] the tainted folk.

And you, do you not look upon these our glories? We killed Um Bedda when he came upon us in his pride. We killed Bakhit wad Geila and brought grief to his sister, the maiden of the beaded headdress. We killed Kassāra, *dum pavidus defluit in braccis stercor.*

You are at fault, who have no father to counsel you, no brother to guide you aright. What brings you against the lion who strikes you down with his paw, neither snapping nor biting? You cannot prevail against the elephant. If you go up against the elephant, you will be his meat.

Wad Sālim fled, forsaking the women adorned with amulets.

R. D. and S. H.

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[1] *Futra* and [2] *Zakā*.—Fitra (futra) and Zakā in their original sense are dues, the payment of which for certain specified objects is incumbent on all believers under the religious law, the former as a property tax on animals, grain, gold, jewellery, etc., the latter in the form of charitable gifts of grain at the end of the Ramadan fast. In practice the custom has grown up to pay these dues in the form of taxes to Sheikhs of tribes and religious leaders.

[3] *Khashm, i.e., Khashm el fās* = dues payable in respect of the tapping of gum.

[4] *Dam* = blood-fines. If a man was killed, the people of the village, or of the section of the tribe, on whose land the killing occurred, had to pay a blood fine to their paramount sheikh. This was quite independent of any blood money payable to the relatives of the slain. The phrase *khamm el dam*, "to sweep up the blood," is used for payments of this kind.

[5] *Asbār*, plural of *sibr*, dues paid by tribesmen to a newly-elected sheikh on the occasion of his accession.

[6] *'Āda*—Dues paid to the head sheikh by tribal sections on the appointment of a sectional sheikh.

[7] *Um Sin'īr*, a contemptuous nickname of the Dar Hāmid tribe, the precise origin and meaning of which are uncertain. It is generally understood to be a taunt alleging that a whole generation of the tribesmen was born out of wedlock, and a story is told of the circumstances in which this occurred.

BIRD MIGRATION IN THE RED SEA PROVINCE.

By J. F. Madden.

THE area to which these notes refer is the arid scrub district east of the Nile and north of approximately the latitude of Adarama on the Atbara River, together with the broad strip of mountainous country on the Red Sea coast between Sinkat and the Egyptian frontier.

During the winter, and especially at the time of the spring and autumn passages, this area has a large palæarctic bird population, and hills and plains alike are thronged with migrants on their way to or from Europe.

This migration is most noticeable on the coast itself, and at certain places in the hills where there is plenty of natural vegetation (*e.g.* at Erkowit), or where gardens and trees have been planted (*e.g.* at Sinkat and Gebeit). But there is, nevertheless, a steady stream of migration over the whole area, however desolate it may be, and diminutive warblers can be met with up in the dry hill khors miles from any water, feeding quite contentedly on insects in the branches of the thorn bushes.

I cannot attempt in this paper to examine in detail the species and races which take part in these movements. Without collecting on a large scale such a scientific analysis would be impossible. All I can hope to do is to give an indication of the nature and extent of the migration, together with a few notes on the principal species involved. I have for the most part omitted permanent residents, and those species which were dealt with in my previous notes on the shore birds of the province.

1. A YEAR'S DIARY OF MIGRATION (1925).

The first birds of the spring passage appear about the middle of February. In 1925 numbers of Cretchzmar's Bunting (*E. cæsia*) appeared in Port Sudan on February 22nd, and the first swallow passed north on February 25th. A Kingfisher (*Alcedo a. atthis*) was seen on March 13th, and about that time the number of waders (Dunlin, Little

Stints, etc.) showed a marked increase. Two Pipits were seen on March 23rd. On April 2nd there were many Redshank, Greenshank, Dunlin, Turnstone, and a few Ruffs at Suakin, and one Oyster Catcher appeared on the 5th. By the middle of April there was a big movement of Bee-eaters (*M. apiaster* and *M. p. persicus*), and Golden Orioles appeared. Early in May a Spotted Flycatcher (*M. striata*) was seen in Port Sudan for several days; in fact it was still about until the end of the month, and there were several Redstarts (*Ph. p. phœnicurus*) in the gardens at the same time. Golden Orioles and Bee-eaters were still fairly numerous on May 11th, and on June 12th four Swallows passed over Port Sudan flying north.

The return migration, which was far more marked than the spring movement, set in about the third week in July, 1925. Swallows were already beginning to return on the 20th, and several small white-rumped Swifts were moving south on the same day (these were probably *Micropus caffer streubelii*). Common Swifts (*M. a. apus*) appeared at Sinkat on August 1st and 3rd, and by the 10th there was a well-marked movement of small parties in a southerly direction. On August 3rd a Common Sandpiper (*A. hypolencus*) was seen on a flooded khor at Sinkat, and a single House Martin (*Delichen u. urbica*) passed on August 20th. During the next ten days Swifts, Swallows, a Red-backed Shrike (*L. collurio*) several Roliers (*Coracias g. garrulus*), Spotted Flycatchers, Golden Orioles and small warblers were all on the move.

September was marked by a tremendous rush of migrants through Port Sudan—Orioles, Nightingales (literally in hundreds), Turtle Doves, Blackcaps, Redstarts (both *phœnicurus* and also the white-winged *mesoleuca*), Lesser Whitethroats, Willow-Warblers, a few Bluethroats (*Luscinia s. cyanecula*) and several Land Rails. On September 26th a small Crake (*Porzana pusilla*) came right into the house, and I was able to catch and examine it. For purposes of identification I have given a brief description of it under the Notes on separate species below.

The passage continued throughout October. On the 5th several immature Turnstones were seen at Suakin, and the Yellow Wagtails (*M. flava subsp.*) were beginning to arrive. On the 6th I found a Little Bittern (*Ixobrychus m. minutus*) dead under some telegraph wires at Port Sudan, and on the 9th and 18th a Hobby (*Falco s. subbuteo*)

appeared. On the 16th Nightjars and Wheatears were on the move, and there was a distinct passage of Swallows from the 16th to 19th. Early in November several Kingfishers appeared, and on the 8th of the month White Wagtails were seen in large numbers. On the 10th a Black-tailed Godwit (*Limosa l. limosa*) was seen at the northern end of the harbour, evidently on passage. Finally, during the first half of December, several Song Thrushes (*I. ph. philomelus*) appeared singly and in small parties, and were to be seen throughout the month.

At the end of January, 1926, Cretzehmar's Bunting arrived in numbers and stayed throughout February, while on the 20th of that month a Great Spotted Cuckoo (*C. glandarius*) was seen. On the 28th the first Chiff-chaff, singing amongst the tamarisk trees in Khor Arbaat, showed that the cycle of migration had begun again.

A few conclusions may be drawn from the above notes and from those made in subsequent years.

1. The autumn movements are far more marked, both as regards numbers and variety, than the spring ones.

2. Migration of palæarctic species, in one direction or the other, can be observed almost any month in the year. The period from the end of December to the end of January, and from the end of June to the end of July, are practically the only "slack" times when no movements are in progress.

3. Regular northward migration begins half way through February, continues in a crescendo till mid-April, and then gradually subsides until it ceases at the end of June. In 1928 a Spotted Flycatcher was still in Port Sudan on June 25th, and Swallows were seen in several localities as late as June 28th.

4. The autumn movement starts towards the end of July, continues somewhat spasmodically throughout August, and increases with a rush early in September. During that month it is at its height, and then subsides gradually until by the second week in October there is usually a lull. This is succeeded by a second wave of migration towards the end of the month, and often by a third about mid-November. In December individual birds still occur on passage (*e.g.* Wheatears, Redstarts and Spotted Flycatchers), but the general movement has ceased.

2. NOTES ON SEPARATE SPECIES.

I. Non-Passerine.

Family FALCONIDÆ.

Hobby (*Falco s. subbuteo*). Uncommon: individuals seen (at close quarters) on October 9th and October 18th, 1925.

Peregrine Falcon (*F. peregrinus subsp.*) Quite a common autumn passage migrant, especially during the latter half of September. My earliest record is September 3rd, 1926, and my latest November 20th, 1928. The birds generally appear in pairs, but occasionally three or four together.

Kestrel (*Falco. t. tinnunculus*). Common on passage both in spring and autumn and some remain as winter visitors. I have records for February and March (northward migration) and several for September, October and November. On November 4th, 1927, parties were passing east and south-east all day over Sasa Plain (near Gebeit Gold Mine), and in the same month Kestrels were very numerous in Wadi Oko, feeding on full-grown locusts. I have never identified the Lesser Kestrel (*F. n. naumanni*) in the Red Sea Province, though there seems no reason why it should not occur there.

Harriers. *C. macrourus* is very common on the coastal plain throughout the winter, and Montagu's Harrier (*C. pygargus*) is often common on passage, especially in the spring. Of the Marsh Harrier (*C. a. æruginosus*) I have seen one immature male (with light-coloured crown) at Khor Arbaat on 12.5.25, and another near Port Sudan on 13.4.28

Family PHASIANIDÆ.

Common Quail (*Coturnix c. coturnix*). A bird of curiously irregular appearances. In February and March, 1924, it was extremely numerous in the Khor Arbaat Delta, about 10 miles north of Port Sudan. There were a few in the same locality during March, 1925 and 1926, and in subsequent years hardly a single bird. My other records are scattered:—One at Suakin, 28.3.26; a few near Halaib and two or three at Bir Meisa (80 miles N.W. of Halaib) in February, 1927; one on

16.9.26 at Port Sudan and another the next day; a few in September, 1927, and a few also in October, 1928, and finally one at Erkowit on Christmas Day, 1928. Except for occasional large influxes like that of 1924, the Quail is a distinctly uncommon bird in the Red Sea Province.

Family RALLIDÆ.

Corn Crake (*crex crex*). An autumn passage migrant, occurring in small numbers, but fairly regularly on the coast. My records are all for the second half of September.

Baillon's Crake (*Porzana pusilla*). As mentioned above, I caught a small Crake in my house at Port Sudan on September 26th, 1925. It was of a dark brown colour on the upper parts, spotted with cream on the back and wings; throat and breast grey-brown; flanks and under tail coverts barred black and white; legs and bill dull lead colour. The spotted wings and barred flanks prove, I think, its identity, as these characteristics are both absent in *P. parva*, and it certainly was not *P. porzana*.

There is one mounted specimen of this species in the Sudan Government Museum, collected in Berber Province, April, 1921.

Family COLUMBIDÆ.

Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia t. turtur.*) A regular autumn passage migrant, occurring throughout September and the first half of October.

S. senegalensis is a common resident near Port Sudan, but increases in numbers in September and October, when there is a distinct passage of birds from outside the district. After this passage its numbers are much reduced.

The small *Oena capensis*, on the other hand, is conspicuously absent from Port Sudan during September and October, but returns in the winter. In the spring it is numerous and certainly breeds.

Family CUCULIDÆ.

The European Cuckoo (*Cuculus c. canorus*) occurs occasionally on both passages. The Great Spotted Cuckoo (*Clamator glandarius*) is not common, but I have four spring records from Port Sudan during late February and March, 1925 and 1926.

Family CORACIIDÆ.

European Roller (*Coracias g. garrulus*). A regular autumn passage migrant both at Port Sudan and Sinkat. I have no note of its occurrence in spring.

The Abyssinian Roller (*C. a. abyssinicus*) does not occur in the eastern arid region north of the Atbara River.

Family ALCEDINÆ.

North African Kingfisher (*Alcedo a. atthis*). Occurs regularly, though in small numbers, every year at Port Sudan on passage only. I have one March record and one for January; the remainder are for October, November and December. In November, 1926, Kingfishers were quite common for three or four days, and then disappeared again as suddenly as they had come.

Family MEROPIDÆ.

European Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*). Numerous every year on both spring and autumn passage throughout the Province. My earliest autumn record is August 19th, 1926. *M. persicus*, the Blue-cheeked Bee-eater, is not so common, but occurs regularly on both passages.

Family UPUPIDÆ.

Hoopoe (*Upupa e. epops*). A winter visitor and passage migrant. I have records from Port Sudan, Khor Arbaat delta, Suakin, Sinkat, Ariab and Yastiai (half way between Musmar and Adarama). The dates are February (two records), March (five), April (two), July (two), August (one), November and December (several). The number of birds seen at any time never exceeded two or three.

Family STRIGIDÆ.

Scops Owl (*Otus scops subsp. ?*). Fairly common as a winter visitor throughout the Red Sea hills.

The Little Owl (*Carine noctua spilogaster*) is a resident and breeds.

Family CAPRIMULGIDÆ.

European Nightjar (*Caprimulgus europæus subsp. ?*). A regular autumn passage migrant (September and October). Uncommon in the spring.

Egyptian Nightjar (*C. æ. ægyptius*). A few on passage; has occurred in Port Sudan as late as June 26th, 1928.

Family MICROPODIDÆ.

Common Swift (*Micropus a. apus*). Common on both migrations. I have records from Sallom, Sinkat, Thamiam, W. Amur, Musmar, Halaib, Jebel Elba, Salala Post, and in fact all over the province. The autumn passage begins early in August (I have one record for the first of the month) and continues into December. On January 30th, and again on February 3rd, 1928, I saw several birds near Halaib, moving *south*, and on February 13th (Salala) one was seen moving east. In 1927 the normal northward move began in mid-February, and my latest spring record is May 25th, 1928; a party of about 10 flying north in Khor Tomala.

White-rumped Swift (*M. caffer streubelii*). I have three records of small white-rumped Swifts, probably of this species. Four or five were seen moving south at Sinkat on 20.7.25; a few were going south with Common Swifts at Thamiam on 10.8. 25; and two were seen at Musmar on August 15th, 1926.

Family PICIDÆ.

European Wryneck (*Iynx t. torquilla*). A regular autumn passage migrant in small numbers. All my records are from Port Sudan in September and October.

II. PASSERES.[1]

Family MOTACILLIDÆ.

Pipits. The Tree Pipit (*Anthus t. trivialis*) is a common passage migrant both in spring and autumn, and some stay throughout the winter in the gardens at Port Sudan. The Red-Throated Pipit (*A. cervinus*) is also fairly common, and the Tawny Pipit (*A. campestris*) occurs in the autumn (September and October), though I have no record of it in the spring.

Wagtails. The White Wagtail (*Motacilla a. alba*) is an abundant winter visitor to Port Sudan, and occurs (probably on passage) in other

[1] The order in which the families are placed is that which will be followed by Mr. W. W. Bowen in Part II. of the *Catalogue of Sudan Birds*. It is taken from a MS. list of the *Birds of the Belgian Congo*, by Dr. J. P. Chapin.

parts of the province. I have March records from Jebel Gurad, Khor Ariah (Konshottit) and Yastiai (between Musmar and Adarama). The normal date of arrival in Port Sudan is about October 10th, always two or three weeks later than the Yellow Wagtails.

The Grey Wagtail (*M. c. cinerea*) is rare on passage. I have two records only: one bird at Suakin on 25.9.27, and one near Sinkat on 23.8.25.

Several races of blue and black-headed Yellow Wagtails occur abundantly on passage or as winter visitors on the coast. I have not seen them inland. They arrive before the White Wagtail, and my earliest records are September 3rd, 1926 (Port Sudan), and mid-September, 1929 (Khor Eigaiet).

Family TURDIDÆ.

Sub-family SYLVIINAÆ.

Rüppell's Warbler (*Sylvia rüppelli*). On passage (and perhaps a winter visitor), inland only. Not common; I have three records only—several in Wadi Kamoreb on March, 1927, one at Salala on February 12th, 1928, and a few in Wadi Onib later in the same month.

Lesser Whitethroat (*Sylvia c. curruca*). Very numerous on passage and many undoubtedly winter in the Red Sea hills. I have Port Sudan records for March, April, May, July, September, October, and one in January. I saw another in January, 1928, near Gebeit Mine, and throughout February and March, while trekking south from Wadi Onib via Jebel Eigrim to Ariab and Musmar, they were to be found in quite large numbers in almost every patch of thorn trees.

Blackcap (*Sylvia a. atricapilla*). A regular passage migrant in small numbers throughout the province. Most of my records are for September, October and November, but I saw one cock bird in Wadi Mahaneit (south of Musmar) on 15.3.28.

Sardinian Warbler (*Sylvia melanocephala momus*). A winter visitor, fairly common throughout the province; though I have no record of it actually from Port Sudan.

Willow Warbler (*Phylloscopus trochilus subsp.?*). A regular passage migrant, mostly in the autumn, through Port Sudan. I also have a February record from Halaib (a few), and a March record from Wadi Amur (fairly numerous).

Wood-Warbler (*Phylloscopus s. sibilatrix*). Not uncommon as a passage migrant in the autumn (Port Sudan). On September 16th, 1925, I saw a Red-Backed Shrike attack and kill one in my garden, and I later retrieved and identified the corpse.

Chiff-chaff (*Phylloscopus u. collybita subsp.?*). One of the few passage migrants that can be heard singing *en route*. A few probably stay in the Red Sea Province for the winter, but most pass further south. I have heard Chiff-Chaffs in full song in February (Khor Arbaat) and March (Wadi Amur), and once at Port Sudan in January. In November, 1927, I saw one at Gebeit Mine, and several later in the same month in Khor Hasheit (north of W. Amur).

Pallid Warbler (*Hypolais p. pallida*). An extremely common winter visitor throughout the Red Sea hills. I have one July record from Port Sudan, and several in August.

Rufous Warbler (*Agrobates galactotes subsp.*). I have one Port Sudan record of a Rufous Warbler, June 26th, 1928, but it is not common on the coastal plain. The resident form, A. g. minor, is common at Sinkat and Erkowit. In 1925, however, I noted that while Rufous Warblers were very numerous at Sinkat in July, they had nearly all disappeared by August 20th.

In addition to the above, which are all mentioned in the *Catalogue of Sudan Birds*, I have a record of the Subalpine Warbler (*Sylvia subalpina albistriata*) from Khor Arbaat, February 28th, 1926. Nicoll describes the species as being very numerous during the spring migration in Egypt, and there seems no reason why it should not occur in the northern Sudan. It is mentioned by Mr. A. L. Butler in a MS. list of the birds of the Sudan.

Sub-Family TURDINÆ.

Redstart (*Phœnicurus ph. phœnicurus*). A common passage migrant throughout; a few may also remain in the Province for the winter. I have records from Port Sudan (April, May, September, October, November, December), Sinkat (October), Mohammed Ghol and Dongonab (October), Gebeit Mine, Wadi Haieit, Khor Ariab (all autumn), and Halaib (one in February, 1928).

Eastern Redstart (*Phœnicurus ph. mesoleuca*). I have three records of this race from Port Sudan, viz., one or two on September

12th, 1925, and again on September 27th, and one male on September 15th, 1927. I was able to observe them at close quarters, and have no doubt as to their identity.

Black Redstart (*Phœnicurus ochrurus subsp.*). Not common, but a few seem to winter at Erkowit, where I saw several on Christmas Day, 1928. I have also a record from J. Elba, near Halaib (one or two on February 24th, 1927).

Stonechat (*Saxicola torquata maura*). I have only seen this species once in the Red Sea Province, viz., on November 10th, 1928, when there were several in the public garden at Port Sudan.

Wheatear (*Oenanthe oe. oenanthe*). A common winter visitor, both on the coast and in the hills, from October to March.

Isabelline Wheatear (*Oenanthe isabellina*). Occasional on the autumn passage.

Of the other Wheatears the commonest (as winter visitors) are the Desert Wheatear (*Oen. deserti albifrons*), and the Black-Eared Wheatear (*Oen. hispanica melanoleuca*). I have two records of *Oen. lugens persica*, one near J. Oda and one in the Deirurbas (both in November).

The White-capped Wheatear (*Oen. l. leucopyga*) is an abundant resident in the hills.

White-Spotted Bluethroat. (*Luscinia suecica cyanecula*). Individuals were seen during the great rush of migrants through Port Sudan in September, 1925; one on the 8th, one or two on the 27th, and one on October 6th. I have no other record.

Nightingale (*Luscinia m. megarhynchos*). Numerous (on the coast only) during the autumn passage. During the first week in September, 1925, they poured through Port Sudan in hundreds, and a few appeared up to October 6th. In 1926 the first record was August 9th, and they were again numerous in September, and in 1927 the autumn passage continued till mid-October. The Sprosser (*L. luscinia*) may occur among these swarms of migrating birds, but I have no certain record of it.

Blue Rock Thrush (*Monticola s. solitarius*). Not uncommon as a winter visitor; though, rather unexpectedly, it occurs far more often on the plain than in the hills. I have records from Port Sudan in December, January, February and March, one from Khor Arbaat in December and one from J. Eigrim in March.

Song Thrush (*Turdus ph. philomelos*). A regular winter visitor to Port Sudan. Usually one or two birds appear in November on passage (my earliest record is November 8th, 1926), and in mid-December the winter residents arrive. Their numbers are always small, and the last of them has generally gone by the end of January.

Family MUSCICAPIDÆ.

Spotted Flycatcher (*Muscicapa s. striata*). A passage migrant in both directions. In 1925 there were a few birds in Port Sudan throughout May; while in 1928 one appeared at the end of April and stayed till the end of June. The autumn migration begins in the last week of August and continues throughout September and October. In 1927 I saw one at Gebeit Mine as late as November 6th; but, generally speaking, they seem to keep to the coast, and all my other records are from Port Sudan. Numbers seldom exceed two or three at a time.

Family HIRUNDINIDÆ.

House Martin (*Delichon u. urbica*). One record only, from Wadi Amur, August 21st, 1925.

Crag Martin (*Cotile rupestris subsp.*) Resident and breeds in many localities. On February 3rd and following days, 1928, I noticed, however, a very marked northward passage in Wadi Odib.

Swallow (*Hirundo r. rustica*). Common on both passages throughout the province. My earliest spring record is February 19th, 1927, two flying north near Halaib; and on February 25th, 1925, one was seen at Khor Arbaat. They become commoner during March, but the main northward migration does not set in till April. It continues throughout May and (with reduced numbers) well into June; in fact in 1928 I saw birds at Port Sudan on June 26th, and at Musmar on the 28th, which is unusually late. At Khor Abu Sellem (north of Adarama) on March 16th, 1928, one bird passed flying *south*. I am unable to explain this, as the normal northward movement had by that time already begun.

Autumn migration begins at the end of July (earliest dates: Sinkat, July 20th, 1925, Port Sudan, July 24th, 1926), is spasmodic throughout August and September, and reaches its height in October. It is practically over by mid-November.

Family LANIIDÆ.

Red-Backed Shrike (*Lanius collurio*). An autumn passage migrant in small numbers. I have records from Port Sudan in August, 1925, and September, 1927, from Suakin in September, 1926, and one from Sinkat in August, 1925.

Masked Shrike (*Fiscus nubicus*). Numerous on the autumn passage, but less common in spring. Most of my records are from Port Sudan and Suakin, but I saw one in Khor Hipkok (near Salala Post) on February 17th, 1927, and one in Khor Ariab on March 6th, 1928.

Woodchat Shrike (*Phoneus senator subsp.*). Occurs on autumn passage at Port Sudan and Suakin in small numbers. I have several records for August and September, 1926, and for September, 1927.

The Great Grey Shrike (*L. excubitar elegans*) is a very common resident throughout. Of the Lesser Grey Shrike (*L. minor*) I have no reliable records, though it is certainly a passage migrant and probably a winter visitor to the province.

Family ORIOLIDÆ.

European Golden Oriole (*Oriolus o. oriolus*). Numerous on passage in the autumn; less common in spring. Most of the birds seen are immature, but I have records of adult cock birds in full plumage at Port Sudan on April 24th, 1925, August 27th, 1925, September 13th, 1926, and September 9th, 1927. On migration this species seems to keep mostly to the coast, though in May, 1928, several were seen at Bir Konshottit in Khor Ariab.

Family PLOCEIDÆ.

Cut-throat Finch (*Amadina fasciata*). Recorded only from Port Sudan—three March records, one July, and three September; several birds at a time on each occasion. At present there is not enough information to determine its exact status in the Red Sea Province.

Family FRINGILLIDÆ.

Cretzchmar's Bunting (*Emberiza cæsia*). A numerous passage migrant, especially in early spring (February). My earliest spring record is January 25th, 1926 (perhaps wintering birds), and the earliest autumn one September 17th, 1927. Occurs chiefly on the

coast (Port Sudan and Suakin), but I have seen it in February on the northern slopes of J. Elba (near Halaib).

A Rock Bunting (*Fringillaria striolata subsp. ?*) is widely distributed and resident throughout the hills; it is probably commonest in the neighbourhood of Gebeit Mine and Khor Hadayu, but I have also records from W. Hameitra and Jebel Gurad.

3. SUMMARY OF ROUTES.

Generally speaking the greater part of the migratory movements follow the coast. But during both spring and autumn there is a steady flow of migrants right across the area from the sea to the Nile. Even in spots where the rainfall had been negligible for three years (*e.g.* at Onib in spring, 1928), small warblers (mostly *S. curruca*, *S. rüppelli* and *H. pallida*) were numerous. At Obak in September, 1927, when exceptionally heavy rains had left pools among the sand-dunes, I saw in one day Ruffs, Ringed and Kentish Plovers, Common Sandpipers, Bee-eaters, Ducks (the species I could not determine), a Pratincole, a hen Redstart, Swallows, Peregrines, Harriers and a Land Rail. At Gebeit Mine, 150 miles north-west of Port Sudan and 60 miles from the sea, Chiff-chaffs, Spotted Flycatchers, Blackcaps and Redstarts have occurred in autumn; and in the spring of 1928, White Wagtails, a Masked Shrike, many Lesser Whitethroats, several Hoopoes and a few Golden Orioles were seen at Bir Konshottit in Khor Ariab.

The Obak records are probably the most interesting, since they indicate migration over a part of the country which is normally entirely barren and waterless. The area north of Obak is mostly desert, marked only by a few well-centres such as Nigeim and Nauarai. In 1927 the birds were of course attracted by the pools of rain-water, but to find Ducks, Plovers and Sandpipers at a desert spot 50 miles from the river, and at least 150 from the sea, is sufficiently remarkable in any case.

Clearly the migration which takes place through the western oases of Egypt, and of which Messrs. Newbold and Shaw found traces in the Halfa and Dongola deserts, has its counterpart also in the arid regions east of the Nile.

NUBIAN ORIGINS.

By S. Hillelson.

Ernst Zyhlarz, Zur Stellung des Darfur-Nubischen, Vienna, 1928 (Reprinted from *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. XXXV).

I.

THE pamphlet to be discussed in the following pages owes its origin to two papers ("Nubian Elements in Darfur" and "Darfur Linguistics") contributed to SUDAN NOTES and RECORDS by H. A. MacMichael. Herr Zyhlarz has made it his task to study MacMichael's notes on the dialects of Birged and Midob in the light of comparative Nubian linguistics, and to apply the new insight gained into the diffusion of the Nubian language to a re-examination of the vexed question of Nubian origins. He has skilfully assembled the *disjecta membra* of his material into a connected sketch of the phonetical and grammatical features of the two dialects and, as a result, their Nubian character, already recognised by MacMichael, has been definitely established and their relationship to other Nubian dialects elucidated on a scientific basis.

It may be recalled that MacMichael had considered both the Birged and the people of Midob to be the descendants of Nilotic Nubians who had migrated to their present western habitations by way of the Wadi el Melik and Northern Kordofan—the Midob in fact claim to be a colony of Mahas from Dongola, while, in the case of the Birged, there is evidence of former residence in Kordofan. It had long been known also that certain of the "Nuba" of Southern Kordofan speak languages with clear Nubian affinities, and here also a racial connexion with the Nilotic Nubians has been assumed by some writers; to others this view has appeared unacceptable in view of the utter dissimilarity of the two groups both in physical type and in culture (see esp. C. G. Seligman, *Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, J.R.A.I., Vol. XLIII), and the converse theory has been put forward that the speech of the negroid "Nuba" acquired its Nubian features as the result of the cultural influence exercised by Dongolawi immigrants to Kordofan in comparatively recent times.

This question has now been put into a new light by a better knowledge of the different Nubian dialects, and of the linguistic relationship between the various groups. Herr Zyhlarz has shown that "Hill Nubian" and "Nilotic Nubian" are separate branches of the Nubian language, each characterized by distinctive features of its own, and it follows that in these circumstances the assumption of one group "borrowing" its language from the other can no longer be upheld. The newly-discovered dialect of Birged has all the characteristics of "Hill Nubian," while Midobi by reason of independent features of its own must be excluded from both the Nilotic and the Hill branches, and regarded as the (sole) representative of a third phase of Nubian linguistic development, which the author designates as South-West Nubian.

How then is the diffusion of the Nubian language, spoken in three main dialects over a scattered area and by divers ethnic groups, to be explained, and what light do linguistics and history throw on the Nubian past? Herr Zyhlarz propounds a theory of Nubian migrations, in which the historical evidence has been duly considered and which, in the present writer's opinion, affords a basis for a working hypothesis to which a high degree of probability must be assigned. The main features in which his reconstruction of Nubian history contrasts with the views hitherto held are (1) that Kordofan and not the Nile Valley is the homeland of Nubian speech and of the Nubian race, and (2) that the dispersion of the people and the diffusion of the language took place at a much earlier date than has been envisaged. In the following I shall first briefly summarise Herr Zyhlarz's conclusions, and then discuss certain points on which comment or amplification seem to be required.

The homeland of the Nubian race, according to Zyhlarz, is in Kordofan; they were a populous nation divided into many tribes which, on account of dialectical differences, are separable into two groups, A and B. During the last centuries B.C., sections of Group A left the homeland, some moving westwards and settling in Jebel Midob, while others made their way to the Nile where they dwelt side by side with the Libyan population already there. It is thus that Eratosthenes (a writer of the end of the 3rd century B.C., quoted by Strabo) refers to "Nubians in Libya" as occupying the country on the left bank of the Nile "from Meroe to the bends of the river."

Towards the beginning of our era the remainder of Group A emigrated from Kordofan. A recollection of this migration is preserved in a tradition of the Hill Nuba which relates that their own ancestor, and that of the Barabra, were cousins who dwelt together until the latter left the country on account of a quarrel for the possession of the head of a sacrificed pig. This second migration of Group A proceeded by way of the Wadi el Melik towards the Nile; certain elements occupied the oases on the Arba'in road while the majority made for the region of Dongola where they found the earlier migrants of their own group, who during the intervening period had acquired the more advanced culture prevailing there. Nubians from Kharga oasis were, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, settled by Diocletian in the Dodekaschoinos (*i.e.*, the country between Philae and the modern Dakka) as a check to the predatory Blemmyes. The Nilotic Nubians of the North are thus descended from successive waves of immigrants belonging to Group A.

Towards the beginning of the 4th century A.D., group B, which so far had remained in the homeland, invaded the Gezira and put an end to the Meroitic Kingdom, but they did not coalesce with the more civilised Meroitic population with whom they had nothing in common, and whose cultural inheritance meant nothing to them. The evidence for this invasion is found in the inscription of the Axumite King Aizana (ca. A.D. 350) who records that at the time of his invasion he had found the grass huts of negroid conquerors by the side of the Meroitic towns of masonry, whence he carried off rich booty to Axum. His predatory raid had no permanent effect on the state of things in the Gezira; the B group Nubians remained in possession, and in the following centuries were united to their northern kinsfolk by the tie of a common religion. During the Christian period the northern Kingdom of Dongola was pre-eminent both culturally and in political power; its influence extended to the western hinterland where it dominated the trade-routes into Central Africa; this westward expansion was based on Gebel Midob, and explains the fact that the older Nubian stratum settled there regarded itself as a part of the Kingdom of Dongola.

After centuries of successful resistance Christian Nubia was conquered by Islam. In the north the changes brought about by the Moslem conquest did not seriously affect the linguistic and national character of

the Nubian population, notwithstanding the infusion of Arab elements. Further south the consequences of Arab immigration and of the rise of the Funǧ Kingdom were more far-reaching in their effect on the Nubian element. The high tide of the Arab invasion occurred in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the fall of the Nubian Kingdom of Soba coincided with the foundation of the Funǧ Sultanate about A.D. 1493. The Nubian element in the Gezira and on the Nile inevitably receded before the invaders and in the 18th century had to face the Arab on his westward progress in Kordofan. Here the victory of the Arab element was already accomplished when the slave raids of the Turco-Egyptian period dealt the final blow to the Nubians. The slave-raids were the cause of the dispersion of Nubian settlements in the different hills of the Nuba Mountains, where Nubians, as well as other tribes, found a last refuge from complete annihilation.

Herr Zyhlarz concludes that his reconstruction of Nubian history "based as it is on definite historical landmarks would seem to agree with the picture as visualised from the point of view of the ramification of Nubian dialects, while at the same time it provides a fitting background for the grouping and the distribution of Nubian national and cultural elements which exist at the present day."

2.

The problems of Nubian history and ethnology have been very fully discussed by MacMichael (*History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. I., p. 12 ff.), and it would have added to the interest of Herr Zyhlarz's thesis if he had consulted this exhaustively documented survey. It must be regarded as a lacuna in his argument that, taking the fundamental identity of Hill Nuba and Nilotic Nubians as established on the basis of linguistic criteria, he has made no attempt to deal with the ethnological difficulties which are implied in this view, and which had led MacMichael to reject the suggestion of such a racial connexion. MacMichael, like Seligman, explains the linguistic affinities of the two groups as due to the immigration of Nilotic colonists to southern Kordofan :

"When once the Arabs had overthrown the Christian Kingdom of Dongola, he writes (*loc. cit.* p. 14), and established themselves, they rapidly amalgamated with the local Nubians and began to send colonies further afield. Thus it came about that Barabra, with an Arab leaven,

penetrated into Kordofan and settled round about the most northerly of the Nuba Mountains and intermarried with the negroes, who were probably descendants of the erstwhile conquerors of Nubia. The immigrating race, in addition, imposed its own language upon the blacks in their vicinity, and thus are explainable the linguistic affinities which have troubled so many generations of investigators. The Barabra, in short, do not speak a language akin to that of the northern Nuba of Southern Kordofan, because the negroes conquered Nubia—the negroes probably spoke some language or languages of their own that may still survive in the mountain fastnesses of the South—but because the Barabra colonized the country round the foot of the northern hills of Dar Nuba.

It was not unnatural that this view should have prevailed before the dialectical divisions of Nubian were fully understood; it was equally natural that Zyhlarz, on linguistic grounds, should have been led to the conclusion which MacMichael had rejected in precise terms, viz., that the Barabra "speak a language akin to that of the northern Nuba of Southern Kordofan because the negroes conquered Nubia." As to the northern expansion of the negroid Nuba both writers are agreed, and the historical evidence for it is ample and definite. Another quotation from MacMichael, illustrating the racial elements of which the Nilotic Nubians are compounded, gives due prominence to this negroid strain:

"One may say that when the Muhammadan Arabs invaded Lower Nubia in the 7th century A.D., they found there a race radically compounded of pre-dynastic Egyptians and cognate Hamitic elements, blended with dynastic Egyptians and Libyan stocks, and deeply and repeatedly modified by forty centuries of dilution with negro blood. One of the two main negro strains was probably derived from Kordofan and the Gezira and, in classical times, had been represented in modified form by the Nobatae or Nuba."

The present writer believes, with Zyhlarz and against MacMichael, that it was the "Nobatae or Nuba" who, in classical times, brought the Nubian language from Kordofan to the Nile Valley and there imposed it upon the people of different race in whom they became absorbed. The reasons for this conclusion are not only based on the dialectical differences between Nilotic and Hill Nubian (in itself a very strong point) but derive support from other considerations.

In the first place, one would expect that if the contact with Barabra colonists so profoundly influenced the Hill Nuba in the matter of language this contact should have left no less a mark on their customs and their material culture. Of such cultural influence, it is safe to say, there is no trace, and it was this very fact of cultural (and physical) dissimilarity which led Seligman to reject the possibility of all racial connexion between the two groups (*loc. cit.*, p. 611/12).

Secondly, it must strike everyone that Nubian is a geographical anomaly in the Lower Nile valley on the very borders of Egypt, for although its precise linguistic relationships are still undetermined, there are at least strong grounds for connecting it with the Sudanic group of languages and tracing affinities with such languages of the Upper Nile as Dinka and Bari, and whatever Hamitic elements it may have adopted, it cannot in any sense be classed as a Hamitic language. Now northern Africa (before the arrival of the Arabs) is pre-eminently Hamitic territory, and the presence of Sudanic speech must excite surprise unless an historical explanation is forthcoming; on the other hand, no such difficulty is involved in regarding Southern Kordofan as the homeland of Nubian speech.

A third point is of fundamental importance and goes to the root of the whole problem; it has been the custom to apply the term "Nubian" to the inhabitants of the lower Nile valley since the dawn of history, and it comes as somewhat of a surprise to find on examination that there is no evidence to show that the mixed race which dwelt there, or any part of it, either spoke "Nubian" or was called by that name at any date previously to the time at which Zyhlarz puts the arrival of the migrants from Kordofan. The name in fact cannot be traced with any definiteness to an earlier date than that of the Hellenistic and Roman writers beginning with Eratosthenes. MacMichael (*loc. cit.*, p. 24) quotes the passages in which Nobades, Nobatae, Nouboi, etc., are referred to as elements of the population, and two points seem to emerge clearly (1) that they are clearly distinguished from other elements such as the Ethiopians, Blemmyes and Libyans, and (2) that the name of Nubia was not yet applied to the whole of the classical Ethiopia, as undoubtedly it came to be in later times.

MacMichael has suggested that the name "Nubian" is found in the word "nebed," used in an inscription of Thotmes I. (ca. 1450 B.C.) to

designate the " plaited-haired ones " or the " curly-haired ones," whom that monarch overthrew in the neighbourhood of the third cataract, but if this identification is more than a coincidence, it would be difficult to account for the gap in the use of the name which seems to extend from the time of Thotmes I. to the Hellenistic age.

Elliot-Smith (quoted by MacMichael, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, footnote) wrote as follows : " We are not justified in calling both the early and the late inhabitants of Nubia ' Nubians ' ; in fact, it is very doubtful whether we ought to apply the name to the pre-Hellenic population of the Nile valley between Assuan and Meroë " ; in this respect I would go further than merely doubt the justification ; for it seems clear that it was not until the Arab period that the name Nubia finally replaced the older Ethiopia both as a geographical and as an ethnic term, and, as late as the time of Silko (ca. A.D. 550), we find Nobades and Ethiopians distinguished as separate elements in the Nile valley. It is true, as MacMichael states, that we know very little of the state of affairs in Silko's time, or of the people over whom he ruled, but it seems a reasonable interpretation of the evidence that his Ethiopians represent the indigenous Meroitic stratum, while the Nobadae were the descendants of later arrivals of negroid race.

The same argument may be applied to the Nubian language, and here again evidence for its presence in the Nile valley at an early age is completely lacking. The earlier Ethiopians composed their inscriptions in hieroglyphic Egyptian, and at a later date inscriptions were written in " Meroitic," a language not yet satisfactorily interpreted, but of which it can be said with certainty that it is utterly different from the Nubian type. It is true that we cannot definitely assert that " Meroitic " was spoken as far north as Wadi Halfa and Assuan, though this would appear to be probable enough, but we do know that the earliest specimens of Nubian which have been preserved date from the Christian period. The assumption, then, is that Nubian was introduced into the Nile valley by the negroid invasion of the Hellenistic age, and that, perhaps as the result of political supremacy, the language of the invaders became predominant, while they themselves were gradually absorbed in the older population. When, after the introduction of Christianity, Nubian was reduced to writing for ecclesiastical and literary purposes, the supremacy of that language was assured and continued until it was partly supplanted by Arabic.

The conclusions to be drawn from the preceding may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The use of the term Nubian as designating any part of the Nile Valley or of its population previous to the Hellenistic age is unjustified. The true classical names are Ethiopia and Meroë.

(2) The true Nubians were a negroid people of Kordofan, offshoots of which settled in the Nile valley and at Gebel Midob.

(3) The mixed people of the Nile valley (Meroitic Ethiopians, etc.), in which these settlers were absorbed, adopted the Nubian language and the Nubian name. These are the Christian Nubians of the middle ages.

(4) After the Arab invasions the Christian Nubians adopted Islam and received a large admixture of Arab blood. The language survived only in a small part of its territory, viz., Assuan, Wadi Halfa, and part of Dongola province.

(5) The name now acquired a purely linguistic sense and was applied (mainly by Europeans) to the Barabra and Danagla. It is only in quite recent times, and in sympathy with the fashionable cult of small nations, that Berberine associations and newspapers in Egypt have themselves begun to make use of the name.

(6) Recent Arabs and Europeans applied the name " Nuba " to the negroid hillmen of Kordofan. This led to an unfortunate confusion, in so far as the impression was created that the negroes thus designated by a common name are a more or less homogeneous people. The linguistic evidence suggests that there are three distinct stocks[1]: (1) Speakers of Hill Nubian, (2) Speakers of Sudanic languages, and (3) Speakers of Pre-fix languages, and it is only in reference to the first group that the name " Nuba " is historically justified ; in the case of the other two it is a misnomer.

If the foregoing represents, with some degree of approximation, the true course of development, the ethnological difficulties which have beset the question of the relationship between Nilotic Nubians and Kordofan Nuba would appear to vanish. The negroid leaven which brought the Nubian language to the Nile valley, did not to any extent modify the physical character of the mainly Hamitic population ; subsequently the

[1] The terminology is that of C. Meinhof, *Eine Studienfahrt nach Kordofan*, Hamburg, 1916 (*Cf.* the review in SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. III. (1920), p. 286 *ff*). In addition to the hills enumerated there, Nubian dialects are also spoken by certain communities of Dar Misiria (*Cf.* SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. VIII (1925), p. 71).

latter were modified by a considerable infusion of Arab blood, and it is therefore not surprising that little similarity now exists between the two groups. To this it may be added that the contrast in customs and material culture to which Professor Seligman referred (*loc. cit.*, p. 612) should not have presented a difficulty at all. In the first place, Professor Seligman, for the purposes of this argument, omitted to distinguish between Nubian-speaking " Nuba " and the rest ; in the second place it is surely of paramount importance to remember the extent to which the culture of the Nilotic Nubians is permeated with Arab and Islamic elements (to say nothing of Christian influences in the middle ages) ; this fact alone would explain the profound differences in culture, even if the racial relationship between the two groups were envisaged as much closer than is being done by the present writer.

3.

It remains to follow Herr Zyhlarz into a by-way of his thesis. Nubian, as we have seen, was during the Christian period the predominant language of the Nile valley from Assuan to Khartoum and beyond ; the Arab conquest and the arrival of Islam displaced it in favour of Arabic throughout the greater part of its territory, and Nubian only survived as a remnant in the North. The question naturally arises as to the reasons which favoured this survival, and Herr Zyhlarz expresses the opinion that whereas in the south the Arab invaders made a clean sweep of the Nubian element, the invasion in the north " did not seriously affect the national and linguistic character of the Nubian population, notwithstanding an undeniable admixture of Arab elements." I do not believe this view, implying as it does a disproportionately lighter incidence of Arab infusion in the north, to be tenable, nor did the Arab invaders penetrate the Sudan from the Red Sea coast as Zyhlarz assumes. The Arab invasions have been thoroughly elucidated in MacMichael's History, and the main facts are summarized in the same author's Burton Memorial Lecture, *The Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan.*

With regard to the route he concedes that individuals and occasional families unquestionably entered the Sudan from the Red Sea, but points out that there is no evidence to show " that there has ever been wholesale tribal movement to the Sudan by way of the Red Sea in the

sense in which such tribal movement has certainly taken place through Egypt and up the valley of the Nile." Nor can it be said that the admixture of Arab elements in the north has been comparatively slight; on the northern fringe of Nubia, "the Aulad Kanz, originally a branch of the Rabi'a Arabs from Yemama . . . settled round Aswan, but so completely did they coalesce with the Nubian element that gradually they ceased to speak Arabic as their native tongue, and became all but indistinguishable from their neighbours." (MacMichael, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. I. (1918), p. 30.) In Dongola the fall of the Christian Nubian kingdom was brought about not so much by regular warfare with the forces of Mameluke Egypt, as by the gradual infiltration of Ğuhayna Arabs, concerning which there is an illuminating statement in a famous and often-quoted passage of an Arab historian: "Thus was the kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the Beni Ğuhayna from their mothers, in accordance with the custom of the infidels as to the succession through the sister and the sister's son. So their kingdom fell to pieces, and the 'Arab of Ğuhayna took possession of it." (Ibn Khaldūn, quoted in *Burton Memorial Lecture*, p. 13). It therefore follows, as some Arabs adopted the Nubian language, while in many cases Nubians adopted Arabic, that the linguistic division of the present day has little evidential value for questions of race or nationality, and this is borne out by the tradition of the people of Dongola themselves who claim "Arab" or "Nubian" descent, as the case may be, irrespective of linguistic criteria.

With regard to the survival of Nubian in the north it may be suggested that in the northern kingdom, where the general level of culture was higher, the language associated with letters and with the church had a greater hold on the people than in the less cultured south, and in families born of the matrilinear marriages, referred to by Ibn Khaldūn, the language of the mothers was likely to prevail. Moreover. the ultimate fall of the kingdom was preceded by a long period during which the Arab invaders were present as an intrusive but not yet conquering element, and it is not altogether surprising in these circumstances that their language did not pervade the country with irresistible force.

In the southern kingdom of 'Alwah the Nubian language must have lost whatever chances it may have had of surviving during the period of cultural disintegration which intervened between the Moslem conquest

of Dongola and the rise of the Funǧ kingdom. For some two hundred years (1300-1500), 'Alwah remained cut off from its northern neighbour which had been the source of such civilization as it possessed. Still clinging to Christianity it was unable to obtain priests and teachers from the north; yet the kingdom, overrun by Arab tribes and threatened from the south, maintained an isolated and precarious existence, until the Funǧ and Arab alliance at the end of the 15th century sealed its fate. On these matters history is silent, though an interesting reference to this last flicker of Nubian life is contained in the account which a Portuguese priest wrote of Abyssinia in the years 1520-27.

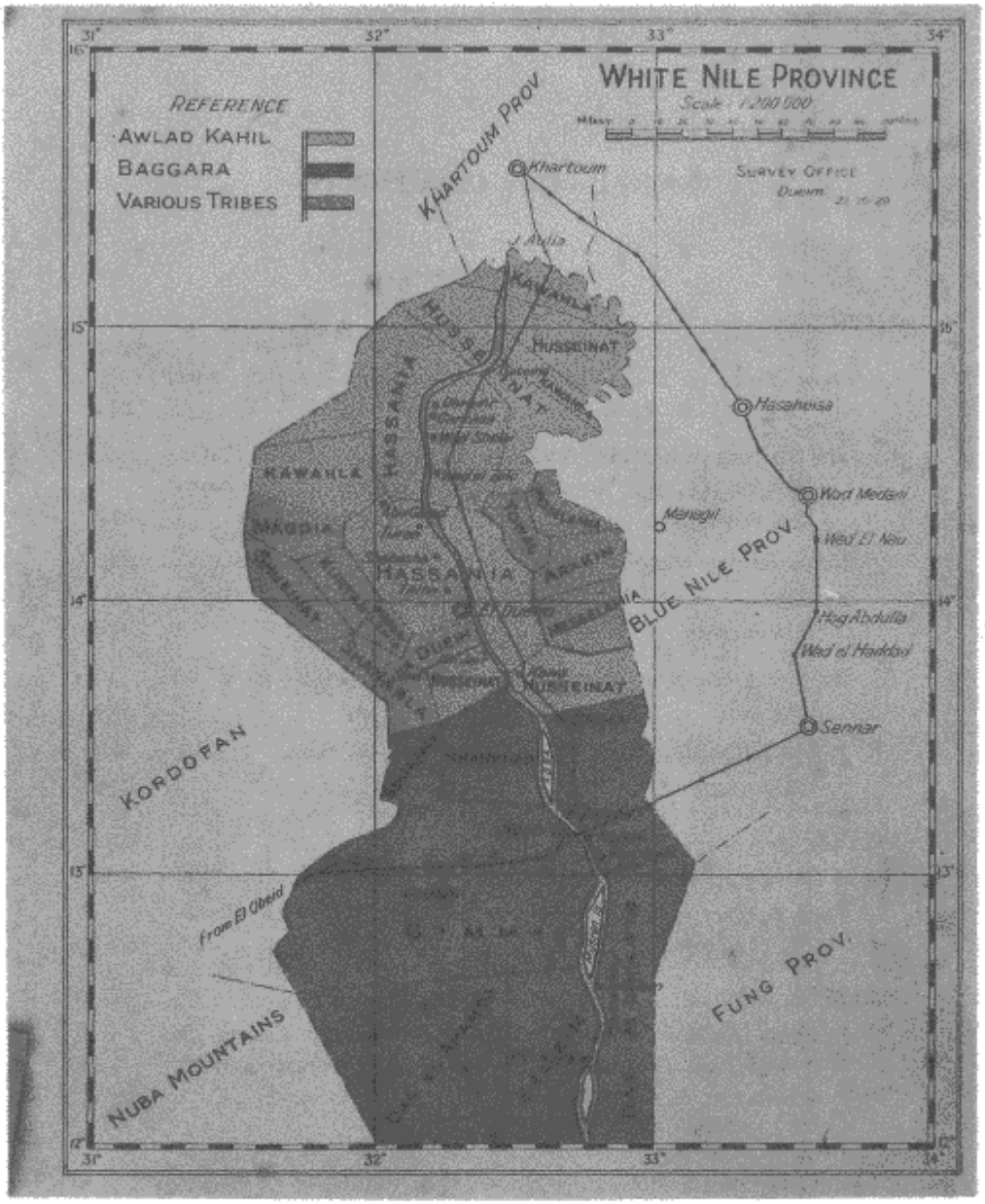
"Towards the north, those Bellonos, a tribe of 'Moors,' border upon a people who are called Nubiis; and they say that these had been Christians and ruled from Rome. I heard from a man, a Syrian, a native of Tripoli in Syria . . . that he had been to this country, and that there are in it a hundred and fifty churches, which still contain crucifixes and effigies of our Lady, and other effigies painted on the walls, and all old; and the people of this country are neither Christians, Moors, nor Jews, and that they live in the desire to become Christians. . . . . While we were in the country of the Prester John, there came six men from that country as ambassadors to the Prester himself, begging of him to send them priests and friars to teach them. He did not choose to send them; and it was said that he said to them that he had his Abima (leg. Abuna) from the country of the Moors, that is to say from the Patriarch of Alexandria, who is under the rule of the Moors; how then could he give priests and friars since another gave them. And so they returned. They say that in ancient times these people had everything from Rome, and that it is a very long time ago that a bishop died, whom they had got from Rome, and on account of the wars of the Moors they could not get another, and so they lost all their clergy and their Christianity . . . This country lies in front of Suaguem, which is close to the Red Sea. These lordships of Nobiis are on both sides of the Nile, and they say that as many castles as there are, so many captains, they have no king, but only captains . . . ." (Francis Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia*, Hakluyt Society.)

In these circumstances Nubian culture and language had lost all power of resistance long before Islam became finally established.

4.

Herr Zyhlarz has advanced the study of Nubian history to a notable degree. On many points of detail there is still room for enquiry, and it is to be hoped that his pamphlet will form the point of departure for further studies. It would be interesting for instance to have ampler and better documented information as to the traditions of the southern Nuba in which the Barabra are remembered as kinsfolk,[1] and it is not too much to hope that intensive anthropological study may reveal points of contact which so far have been overlooked. In this connection it will be necessary to bear in mind the distinction referred to above between the Nubian-speaking tribes of Southern Kordofan, and those who belong to other linguistic groups. It is singularly unfortunate that a nomenclature, which it is probably too late to change, has obscured the heterogeneity of the so-called Nuba.

[1] The version of the tale published in Junker and Czermak's *Kordofan-Texte* (Vienna, 1913) was supplied by Samuel Fadl el Maula, a native of Gebel Dair, who had been taken to Egypt at an early age, and is, therefore, not an unexceptionable witness for Nuba popular tradition.


WHITE NILE PROVINCE
Scale 1:200 000
REFERENCE
AWLAD KAHIL
BAGGARA
VARIOUS TRIBES
KHARTOUM PROV
Khartoum
SURVEY OFFICE
Hasaheisa
Wad Medani
Managil
Wad El Neu
BLUE NILE PROV.
Hag Abdulla
Wad el Haddad
Sennar
HUSSEINAT
KAWAHLA
MADDIA
HASSANIA
KORDOFAN
From El Obeid
NUBA MOUNTAINS
FUNG PROV

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XIII Part II 1930

SOME NOTES ON THE TRIBES OF THE WHITE NILE PROVINCE.

By J. A. Reid.

(WITH MAP.)

INTRODUCTORY.

THESE notes do not claim to be either authoritative or exhaustive. They are merely a compilation from various reports and essays by past and present members of the Province Administrative Staff. Since 1924 the collection of information concerning the genealogy, history and customs of the various Arab tribes has been going on. There is now a considerable body of material available, but it is somewhat unwieldy and confused. The value of tribal lore to the administrator has already been proved in the various tribal meetings which preceded the establishment of the Native Administrations. Now that these administrations are extending their activities, knowledge of tribal history and custom is all the more essential, and it is to meet this need that these notes have been written.

For practical purposes the Province has been divided into three main sections (1) the Kawahla group, (2) the Baggara group, (3) the rest. I am aware that in certain cases this division may offend the susceptibilities of the tribal purist, as, for instance, the inclusion of the Fezara Beni Gerrar with the Baggara group. My only defence is that the Beni Gerrar now acknowledge the suzerainty of the Baggara Nazir, and have become in their mode of life more cattleowners than camelmen, and therefore for practical purposes can be grouped with the Baggara.

(1) THE KAWAHLA GROUP.

Present Habitat and General Mode of Life.

In this Province the Awlad Kahil consist of the Hassania, Huseinat and Kawahla proper. It is true the Ahamda are claimed probably with justice as Awlad Kahil, but they have become for practical purposes Baggara, so they are included in that group.

As the map shows, the Dar of the Awlad Kahil occupies the whole of Geteina District and the riverain part of Dueim and Kawa. The

Hassania and Huseinat are the predominant partners, as the Kawahla proper consist of only three 'omodias, two round Jebel Aulia and one near Shigeig.

These Hassania, Huseinat and Kawahla, whatever they may have been in the past, are now a river-dwelling semi-nomadic folk. Except in the *kharīf*, when they go inland to cultivate their rain-land and to seek for green pasture for their animals, they spend most of their lives near the Nile. As soon as the rains are over and the river flood drops, they start sowing the river flats and bring their animals down to water. They remain on or near the river until the succeeding rains re-start the new cycle of their existence.

GENEALOGY.

I attach an elementary genealogy shortened and simplified for the needs of this Province.

All Kawahla claim descent from Zubeir b. el 'Awwam, the first convert to, and the stalwart of, Islam, who died at the Battle of the Camel in A.D. 656.

The Beğa tribes of the Eastern Sudan also claim to be Awlad Kahil. The legend runs that one Sheikh 'Ağīb, the son of a *mangil* in the Funğ Kingdom on his way to the pilgrimage, married a girl called Miryam bint el Sheib, a great-granddaughter of Kahil, at Suakin, and their son 'Othman is the ancestor of the Hadendoa, the Bisharin and Amarar.

The Kawahla themselves admit this connection with the Beğa, and it is corroborated in another way. Seligman and others hold that the suffix *ab* in the names of Arab sub-sections of tribes signifies a Beğa origin. Certainly on this theory there is plenty of Beğa blood among the Awlad Kahil. Gushgushab Hassania, Aramab Huseinat, Giheimab Kawahla are but three examples of many.

Another tradition is that Kahil, the tribal ancestor, married the daughter of an 'Anağ king in the Sudan, and had by her children who became the ancestors of the various sub-tribes.

The truth probably is that long before the Arab invaders burst into Egypt, parties of Arabs had crossed the Red Sea and established themselves in the Eastern Sudan. Often they took unto themselves as wives the daughters of the Hamitic population there, and their sons by the law of matrilinear succession sometimes inherited positions of power.

HISTORY.

Of history as we know it, there is little or none. Prior to the foundation of the Funǧ dynasty in the sixteenth century, there is not even legend. After that date there are certain stories of important episodes, but they are generally vague, and often contradictory. What written records existed were nearly all destroyed in the Mahdia. The Khalifa and his confederates, besides dividing the tribes and so destroying units for union against themselves, saw to it that all tribal records perished. What exists now is what has been handed down by word of mouth, so it is not surprising that we find the various versions of tribal traditions somewhat garbled and distorted.

A simple chronological table will perhaps be useful as a basis.

	A.D.
Hegira (flight of Prophet Muhammed from Mecca to Medina)	622
First Arab invasion of Egypt under Amr ibn 'As ...	639
He was followed by Zubeir el 'Awwam	640
First record of Arab invasion of Dongola	651–52
Foundation of Mameluke dynasty in Egypt and subsequent anti-Arab policy	1175
Funǧ dynasty, which was a combination of Arabs and local people	1504
Defeat of Mamelukes by Turks	1517
Conquest of the Sudan by Ismail Pasha and destruction of Funǧ dynasty	1820–22
Mahdist Revolt	1882
Battle of Omdurman	1899

The Arabs once in Egypt soon started working southwards. This movement was caused not only by the numbers of the invading host, but by the natural inclination of a pastoral people to find conditions of life similar to those of their native Arabia. Egypt, with its narrow limits and scanty rainfall, was not a home for nomad camel-owners and sheep-breeders. As will be seen from the chronology, the Arabs were soon in Dongola, and though it took time to absorb the Nubian kingdom and the Beǧa in the East, there was a steady flow southwards. This was accelerated by the foundation of the Mameluke dynasty, which was anti-Arab, and the culmination of Arab infiltration was reached by the foundation of the Arab-Funǧ regime at Sennar.

There is a legend current among the Baggara and others that their ancestors did not reach their present habitat via the Nile Valley, but went West by the Arba'in road, in some cases as far as the Atlantic, before returning East and settling in the Sudan. There is a basis of truth in the story, but there can be little doubt that the Arabs first entered the Sudan by the road of the Nile. When they reached a point South where the river met the steppe lands of Kordofan and Northern Darfur, they naturally tended to work westwards. Exactly the same movement can be seen to-day in Northern Kordofan in the case of the Kababish and Kawahla, who, within ten years, have shifted their quarters from the *kheirān* near Bara and Kağmar to places hundreds of miles further West. Perhaps as now, it was the rich animal owners who pushed West leaving their poorer brethren among whom may have been our Hassania and Huseinat near the banks of the Nile.

The first-known settlement of the Hassania in the Sudan was round Jebel Gilif, near Shendi in Berber Province. There are still Hassania there to this day.

In the White Nile the 'Eruab Section of the Kawahla were probably pioneers. The story is told of Mek El Ghanib, the Ġa'li chieftain, annihilating the Kemalab and carrying off the young boy 'Erua (whose real name was Yusif) with his mother to Jebel Aulia. As the boy grew up he is said to have been given the land round Jebel Aulia and Jebel Bereima. In any case when the Huseinat, the next incomers, arrived, they found the 'Eruab in possession. It is probable that to begin with the Arabs had difficulty in holding their own against the blacks who were then in possession of the country. This accounts for the arrival of the Huseinat in 'Eruab country. They were nearly related and were probably called in as allies.

To begin with, the Huseinat lived among the 'Eruab round Jebel Bereima and Abu Ḥağār on sufferance and paid *sharāya* or cultivation rent to the 'Eruab over-lord (*melik el dār*). Gradually they increased in number and a claim to the *dar* was made. This was in the time of the Funğ dynasty, the Black Sultanate as it was called, and this paramount authority decided that the Huseinat should hold the land and the 'Eruab should retire to Jebel Aulia with their cousins the Muhammedia. These Huseinat were then controlled by a hierarchy, the Awlad Fiki Meḍauwi. One of them, Magbul, held the temporary power in the tribe, and his

brother Aghbash was its spiritual leader. Magbul is said to have paid a large sum to the 'Eruab chief as compensation for the 'Eruab land which the Huseinat acquired. In any case the matter was settled without recourse to arms. Close on the heels of the Huseinat came the Hassania. They found the northern area already occupied, and with the blessing of the Huseinat holy men they passed on south where they found the Mesellemia. As in the case of the Huseinat, it is probable they first arrived as allies against the blacks. They acted like the Huseinat paying *sharāya* when they were weak and claiming the land when they became strong. In this case, as the tribes were not closely related, there was a fight for the mastery. The names of the respective champions still survive: Keiwāt, the ancestor of the present Nazir, led the Hassania, and Gismallah wad Dara commanded the Mesellemia. The Hassania won the day and possessed the land from Wadi Afu to Tur'a el Khadra. Truly could other Arabs say of the Hassania and Huseinat, *la tāmin Ḥassānī, in kān gharīb buldānī*, " Don't trust the Hassani, even if he be a stranger in the land," the old story of *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*.

Henceforward Hassania and Huseinat fought in alliance against other Arab tribes. Most of the so-called wars were cattle-lifting forays in which the contests between the individual champions loomed large. These duels were often celebrated in doggerel verse, most of which has unfortunately perished.

A point to be noted in the history of the Awlad Kahil is the gradual decline of the Kawahla round Jebel Aulia. Now and again in the tale of raid and counter-raid, names like Ġar el Nebi el Nur of the 'Eruab and Balul Bereigi of the Muhammedia flash forth, but slowly the numbers and power of the Kawahla proper, as compared with the Hassania and Huseinat, fade away.

A short account of these tribal wars, though not specially important in themselves, is of some value from an Arab point of view. Nearly every Arab has heard of these fights, and the mention of them puts us on common ground with him.

The first contest was with the Shukria, and the bone of contention was the damage done by the Shukria animals to the Hassania cultivation, during the *nushūgh*. 'Abd el Rahman el Lebeih, of the Shukria, killed a Hassani youth, and a battle was fought at Wadi el Regeig, on the East

bank. Fiteiḥat, the knight of the Shukria, on his horse drove off Keiwat on his mare, but the horse stumbled and threw its rider and Keiwat killed him.

Another encounter was with one of the chiefs of the Kunǧāra regime called Shākir. He raided the Hassania on the west bank as far as Abu Ḥaǧār, and the Hassania in their distress called on the Ġimū'ia to help them. The combined allies triumphed and a large booty fell to the victors, the armour and weapons went to the Hassania, who were commended by Keiwat, the Huseinat took the camels and the Ġimū'ia the horses.

The third encounter was with the Ġimū'ia. The Huseinat had killed the son of the Ġimū'ia Mek, and despite attempts by the Hassania to arbitrate, recourse was had to the sword. A battle was fought at Um Shaba', near Abu Ḥaǧār, and, as usual, the Hassania and Huseinat combined, and when the day was going against them, Fiki 'Ali Abul Hasan saved the situation by spearing Wad Ganatir, the Gimū'ia leader, through his mail coat.

A fourth war was with the Kababish, which is called the Battle of the Maboder. A *mabōder* is a small skin bag which holds about 2½ keilas of grain. The Kababish stripped a Hassani boy of his *mabōder* of grain, and there was a fight, as a result of which the Kababish were driven inland from the river to Um Sidr which they still hold.

Fifthly, the Hassania and Huseinat fought and defeated the Kurtan and Maǧdia at Tur'a. They were led by a beautiful Amazon called Rābḥa. She boldly raided the enemy, and though confronted by superior forces was the victor. It is to be noted that in the conflict they were assisted by part of the Aḥamda, and Goz el Sufi, North of Tur'a, is named after a Ḥamadi fiki.

The last encounter I shall record was with the Ṭawāl tribe, who are related to the Kababish. A Ṭawāli had killed a Huseinawi, and as he was unavenged by his own people, the Ṭawāl nicknamed the Huseinat *Awlad um Rubei'*, "people who wear quarter of the usual *tōb* or *gunga*, *i.e.*, the half naked." The Hassania-Huseinat, smarting under the insult, revenged themselves, at the Battle of Shasha near the present village of Na'ima.

In all these wars the Hassania seem to have played the major part. It is their chiefs who command, and it is their numbers or prowess which decide the day.

Keiwat seems to have been the real founder of Hassania-Huseinat predominance. He must have been endowed with considerable political foresight, for he went to the Funǧ over-lords with the fact of his conquests accomplished, and was wise enough to pay a large douceur. His remark to the Black Sultan is significant: "*Inta leik el māl, ana lī ed dār.*" Again he took good care to keep on good terms with his powerful neighbours in the West, the Kababish.

The story is told of his meeting with Keradim, the ancestor of the present ruling Kababish chief, near the Tius Jebels; Keiwat proposed that "West of the shadow of this hill thy Dar and East of it is my Dar," and this was agreed to.

Shela'i, who was known among the Arabs as Abu 'Afiya, is the first historical chief. He was in power when the Turks came into the country in 1820. Although he was nominally subject to the Black Sultan and paid tribute spasmodically, he had absolute power of life and death over his own people. He had his own clerk and Kadi. The Turkish Government seems to have curtailed his authority by establishing Government Kadis at points along the river bank. After his death, Bishara, his son, succeeded him but was soon imprisoned by the Turks. Henceforward until the outbreak of the Mahdia the chiefship of the Awlad Kahil, Agha as he was now called, was open to the highest bidder. It was held for short periods by Abu el Hasan, of the 'Aramab Huseinat, by Musellim Magbul of the Magāwīr Hassania, and by Ahmed Ǧar el Nebi, of the 'Eruab Kawahla. Shortly before the Mahdist revolt, Nimr wad Bishara was restored to his hereditary and rightful position.

Nimr died before the Mahdia, which found his son 'Abd el Gadir holding the chiefship. 'Abd el Gadir's brother Nasir was then the dominant force among the Awlad Kahil, and through his mother's people (who were slaves) had known the Mahdi at Aba. So he journeyed to El Obeid to make his submission and take the oath of allegiance. The Mahdi considered Nasir came as head of the tribe, but Nasir was loyal, and pointed out that his brother 'Abd el Gadir was the rightful chief. 'Abd el Gadir soon joined the Mahdi and died of small-pox before the fall of Khartoum. He was succeeded by his brother Mohammed, who died at Gallabat. 'Ali Mireimi, his cousin, was for a short time chief, but was soon dismissed by the Khalifa.

Nasir wad Nimr then became head of the tribe, but was sent to Gallabat on active service while Idris Adam Habbani, of the cadet branch of the ruling family, acted as local *wakil*. Later Nasir was imprisoned by the Khalifa, who always held him suspect, but was released at the request of Abdallah Kereil of the Kawahla, who said to the Khalifa: "Whatever you may think of him, he is our lord." Nasir was killed by a raiding party of Hawawir just before the re-occupation, and 'Ali Mereimi was killed with him. Idris Adam Habbani sent news to the Khalifa, but the latter, as usual distrusting Nasir, shouted out as he saw the messenger arriving, "Has Nasir also broken away from us?"

During the Mahdist regime the Awlad Kahil were sadly reduced by war, famine and pestilence. With the possible exception of the Ṣalāhia Section of the Hassania, none of them had joined the Mahdi from religious conviction, but in hope of loot and in fear of the consequences should they stand aside. Especially after the Mahdi's death, it was the policy of the Khalifa 'Abdullahi to divide up and weaken the larger Arab tribes. This accounts for his suspicion and imprisonment of Nasir wad Nimr, who was a strong man and likely to unite at any rate the Hassania. Abdullahi's wish was to keep an eye on him. Thus Idris Adam Habbani was the agent appointed for looking after the Mahdist horses billeted in the dar and 'Abdullah Salman, a Dongolawi of Amara, was the Mahdist grain collector for the Western Gezira. The tendency was to allow each sub-section to have an independent Amir rather than to unite the whole under a single chief.

On the re-occupation Idris Adam Habbani was appointed 'Omda of the Hassania and Huseinat and was later made a Nazir. He died in 1927, and his son, 'Abd el Gadir, the present Nazir, was appointed in his place, and included the Northern Kawahla in his Nazirship.

I attach a genealogical tree showing the Nazir's family. They belong to the Gushgushab Section of the Hassania.

CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES.

I have already alluded to the connection with the Beǵa and with the Ahamda. The ancestor of the latter is known as Hamad *el Nueiber*, "the little bastard liar," because, though a Kahli, he denied his own parentage.

The rich Kawahla tribe of Northern Kordofan are of course related to the White Nile Awlad Kahil. The Dār Ḥāmid Section of the Kordofan

Kawahla are doubted as being real descendants of Kahil. One story is that some Kawahla who had committed homicide fled to the West and took refuge with Dar Hamid, the ruling tribe in these parts, and to avoid detection called themselves Dar Hamid. Later when the hue and cry had died down, they plucked up courage and called themselves, Kawahla, Dar Hamid. There is also a Dar Hamid section of Kababish in Dongola.

The 'Aṭāwīa section of the Kababish are supposed to be Kawahla in origin, 'Aṭwa their ancestor being one of the sons of the marriage between Kahil and the 'Anaǧ princess. Even if this is so, the 'Aṭāwīa are now part and parcel of the Kababish, and the closeness of the connection is shown by the fact that during the Kababish persecutions in the Mahdia, the 'Aṭāwīa did not leave the tribe, although the other Kawahla, who were also under the Kababish, did so almost immediately. In fact the Kordofan Kawahla, especially those round Shigeig, were guilty of gross treachery to Sheikh el Tom Faḍlallah, the paramount Kababish Sheikh. El Tom, like his other Arab brethren, was inclined to sit on the fence when the Mahdist revolt broke out. Even when the Mahdi arrived before El Obeid, el Tom continued parleying while he wrote urgent letters to Gordon asking for firearms. Some of these letters fell into the hands of Ǧadallah Beleilo, a Kahli of the Ababda section at Shigeig, who sent them to the Mahdi. The sequel was the swift arrival of galloping horsemen in Sheikh el Tom's ferik and his execution by the Mahdi at El Obeid.

There are also numerous Kawahla in the Blue Nile, Funǧ and Kassala Provinces, and there is a colony of so-called Kawahla at Jebel Tagali in the Nuba Mountains.

SUB-SECTIONS OF THE AWLAD KAHIL IN THE WHITE NILE PROVINCE.

HASSANIA.

Magāwīr, Ghulāmab, Gushgushab, Nimrab, Ṣalāḥīa, Shāmkhīa, Ǧamālab, Dabālab, Ḥumrān, Ghayādab, Ḥefeinab, Raḥmab, 'Imeirīa, 'Āmrīa, 'Awaḍab, Meseiliḥab, Shigeilab, Kiseibab, 'Aṭṭālab, Beigōnab, Bawākfeir, Māidab, Ǧercinab, Ghurr, Ǧarawab, Um Nur and Um Salmān. The Gushgushab are the section of the paramount chief

HUSEINAT.

'Eweiḍab, Bereikab, Kāinab, Gifeinab, Digeinab, Rimeitab, Laḥayuab, Ḥawanīt, Tarasab, Ḥāğab, Nāirab, Muḥammedab, Ṭileiḥab, Ḥāmdab, Hādiab, Khileifab, Karmalab and 'Aramab. The latter are much the most powerful section and the headship is vested in them.

Sub-sections of them are Gideirab, Sanadab, Masnadab and Kashashīb.

KAWAHLA.

'Eruab, Muḥammedia, 'Abābda, Berāgna, Bisharīyīn and Khalayfa

CUSTOMS AMONG THE AWLAD KAHIL.

LAND.

As we have seen from the history, the Hassania, Huseinat and Kawahla proper acquired their present *dār* by conquest. Although to begin with the land must have been held in tribal ownership, individual rights were developed at an early period. Most of the soil in the *dār* was either river land or heavy rain land, *ṭīn*. As such it could be cultivated for a very long period without becoming worked out. For given the natural fallow of varying river flood and rainfall, the same family could go on cultivating the same piece of land almost indefinitely, whereas in the West where most of the land is light soil (*gōz*), the cultivator has to change his holding about every seven years. Moreover, the Awlad Kahil *dār* in the White Nile is much more limited in extent than say Dar Kababish, and consequently does not allow of frequent changes of cultivation from area to area. It is not difficult to visualise how rapidly individual ownership became acknowledged. Each family and later each individual developed the land they could cultivate, and gradually this land was regarded as their individual property.

As far back as the Funǧ dynasty there is the definite tradition of the right of sale even to foreigners, and the extent of this can be realised by the number of foreigners holding land in the *dār*. Some of these have titles of very old standing, showing that it was possible for a stranger to acquire land in the *dār* long, long ago.

With the right of sale there was of course the right of inheritance, of mortgages, and of renting land. When a landholder died, his land was divided into eight equal shares. The first share went to his widow or widows equally, and the remainder was divided among his offspring, boys receiving double the share of girls

The rights of absentee heirs was preserved by entrusting one of the resident heirs with the trusteeship of the land on behalf of the absentee. The trustee wrote out and lodged with a fiki or other responsible person a deed acknowledging the right of the absentee heir to the share of the land left in his charge.

Similarly, the letting out of land was an early established custom. River land being more valuable was rented out on a half and half production basis between the owner and tenant, whilst rain land was let at 25 per cent. of its annual produce. Sometimes cash was paid in lieu of rental in kind, and in the Funǧ days it was usual to pay a *kheirīya*, a small dollar, to the owner for an average *bilād*. A tenant would not be moved from land unless notice was given him by the landlord in good time before the rains in rain land and before the flood in river land, so as to enable the tenant to secure other land for cultivation. Tenants who improved land by cleaning and clearing were given cash compensation on giving up tenancy, but in the case of river land a tenant who cleaned the *dīs* grass was entitled to the ownership of half the area he had cleaned. Even in this case cash compensation was often paid. There were also mortgages, but with the important difference that the mortgagee could never acquire ownership of the land, but could go on cultivating it until the debt was paid up.

Damage to cultivated land by animals, etc., was of course of frequent occurrence, but within these tribes there seems to have been more forbearance in the past than there now is, and it was unusual to take action except in extreme cases.

Disputes as to ownership, etc., were of frequent occurrence and often resulted in fights and sometimes in fatalities. Every owner marked his boundaries with small stones (*raǧim*), and in bad cases the disputes were settled by the chief who generally questioned the neighbours of the disputants. An oath was only demanded from such witnesses on the direct request of one side or the other.

MARRIAGE.

When a man wishes to marry a girl, he sends a deputation (*aǧāwīd*) to her father. The deputation address him *Abū Fulāna* and inform him that they want his daughter as wife for the suitor whom they represent. The father invariably replies to their request by saying : *in sha Allāh kheir*, God willing all will be well, and asks for a period in

which he may consult his relations. A council of the latter is duly held and if none of the girl's cousins want her in marriage, and if there is no objection to the suitor, the girl's father on the date appointed informs the suitor's *aǧāwīd* that he is willing to give his daughter in marriage. They then go to fix the *mahr* (dowry), with the bride's mother. The bride's people try to get as much as they can, while the suitor's *aǧāwīd* try to give as little as possible. Finally, a compromise is reached and the bride's people generally forego part of the agreed sum. This is called *ḍiyāfa*. Nowadays, £E.10–20 is a usual *mahr* among the Awlad Kahil, but of course circumstances vary. After the *mahr* is fixed, the *aǧāwīd* settle the '*adal el beit*', which is the money and property paid to the girl's mother for her trousseau and her marriage expenses. The latter consist mainly of animals to be slaughtered, clothes for her female relations, scent, oil and grease. As in the case of the *mahr*, there is a compromise between the girl's mother and women folk and the suitor's *aǧāwīd*.

All is now ready for the ceremony.

The day before the marriage the bridegroom gives presents all round to the bride's relations, slaughters animals and makes a regular feast. If he is a bachelor his finger nails are stained with henna, and he proceeds to the bride's house and puts some henna in her outstretched hand. On the marriage day the bridegroom (if a bachelor) puts on a *ṭōb*, a *sirwāl* and a *darīra* (marriage cap). On his right wrist is slipped a silver bracelet with a red silk cord and a green bead. Round his neck is also a red cord, a bead with gold at the ends "*sōmīt el ḥabīb wa burbur dahab*." On his right middle finger is a silver ring with a coloured stone. The whole jewellery outfit is called *ǧertig*.

The bride has also a silver bangle on her right wrist with a red cord and a bead, but she wears also a single bangle on her left wrist and two silver anklets. In addition she adorns herself with what is known as *ḥiflat el 'arūs*, and consists of various gold and silver ornaments round her neck and her thighs.

The bride is left in her house and the parties appear before the fiki, who performs the ceremony. The bride is represented by a proxy sometimes her father or uncle. The Fātiḥa is pronounced as a kind of benediction. There is much "luluing." The bridegroom then returns in the evening to the bride's house and "cuts the rahaṭ." The bridal

party, with much "luluing" proceeds to the river bank, and the bridegroom lifts up the bride and dips her feet in the river. This ceremony is called *seira*. They then return to the bridal house, and the bridegroom puts his hand on the bride's head and makes a present (by proxy) to his mother-in-law. This is called *lims el guṣṣa*. The bride and bridegroom live together apart for a period which may extend from 7 to 40 days. The bride after a few days puts on a *sirwāl*, and before the bridegroom can have intercourse again, he has to pay the *ḥall el ḥazāma* due to his mother-in-law (again by proxy) and the girl friends of the bride.

The Awlad Kahil carry out the infibulation of girls after circumcision, and it is generally impossible for the husband to have intercourse with his wife except after an operation by a midwife. This gives the mother-in-law another opportunity to collect money, and the bridegroom pays her (by proxy) a substantial present as well as the fees of the midwife. This is known as *ḥagg el sahūma*, but sometimes a loving wife will allow intercourse without an operation, and so saves her husband the additional payment. If she does this and conceives a child it is said "*ḥamalat fulāna 'aḍrā*.

In good families it is customary to leave the daughter with her parents until she has borne two or three children. While she is with her people, her husband supplies her with clothes, scent and grease only, and he would give his father-in-law great offence if he suggested a contribution of grain or meat. Finally, after the birth of two or three children the wife is moved to her husband's house leaving one or more of her children with her mother.

It is to be noted that neither as suitor nor as bridegroom does the man ever come face to face with the bride's mother. They do everything to avoid each other, and even late in married life shun one another. The father of the bride on the other hand after the marriage has frequent dealings with his son-in-law.

The bride will not converse with her father-in-law until she has had children or has been married some time.

The mother-in-law receives both the *mahr* and the *'adal el beit* of the girl. The father-in-law is precluded from taking the least share.

A young girl has often little say (though her mother generally questions her) as to whom she will marry, but a widow or a *divorcée* has

more freedom. In a good family, however, the request for the girl, even if she is a widow, is made to her father through *aǧāwīd*.

As among other Arabs, the Hassani generally marries as his first wife his paternal cousin. The match has often been settled by the parents when the parties were young children. For his second wife, a man may go further afield, but there is always the knowledge that a "foreign" wife generally costs more to marry, and is not so satisfactory once married. Above all, there is the dread of the property on both sides going out of the family. When a man marries his second wife, he generally propitiates his first choice by a present (*raḍwa*). If his double harness pull together, they live in common, but as generally the wives disagree a separate establishment has to be maintained for each. Hence the expense which precludes most men from having more than one wife. In a double or triple establishment, the senior wife acts as banker for money and food stores, but if she is not reliable, this duty often falls on a faithful slave woman.

Man and wife do not eat together until they have reached a ripe age, and then only on the invitation of the husband to the wife. Sons do not eat with their fathers except on special invitation, and never in the presence of guests. Slaves generally eat with their masters, but the young slaves with the masters' sons.

When a child is born, the happy father makes a gift to the new-born babe. Perhaps it may be a cow, or a camel, or a piece of land. The gift is remembered and claimed by the infant in later years. It is called *ḥagg es surra*.

Women, especially unmarried women, among the Awlad Kahil have almost unlimited freedom. When a girl gets married, she is not supposed to appear so much in public, and never with her head uncovered. A rich man keeps his wife secluded, but the poor Arab sends his woman to fetch and carry.

DIVORCE.

This is very common, and the commonest cause is childlessness. The Hassania women have a great reputation for fertility, so failure to produce a babe is regarded as a strong ground for divorce. A man is loth to divorce his first cousin, and still more loth if she has borne him children.

Once a woman is divorced, the *mahr* and the *'adal el beit* paid for her is left "on her back." That is to say, her husband does not get back his money unless she marries again. In any case he generally forgoes a part of the sum, and never includes coffee and sugar expenses in his bill against the new husband. The latter, before he proposes marriage, sends *aǧâwīd* to the girl's father and to her former husband. From the girl's father he wants a general consent to the marriage, and from the girl's former husband he wants to know how much he has to pay. As usual there is a compromise, and the former husband never demands the full sum unless the new husband fails to consult him. In that case payment in full is demanded.

Alimony (*nafaqa*) is not customary among Awlad Kahil, nor, as far as I know, among other Arabs.

Custody of children, according to strict custom, is the right of the father, but in practice the mother gets the girls. Young children are, of course, left with their mother until they get older.

A divorced woman returns to her father's people. She takes back with her any moveable property she brought from her father's house, and unless she has been guilty of a heinous offence, she is provided with transport. In a case of divorce for adultery, a message is sent to the girl's father to take his daughter away.

Blood Money and Compensation for Serious Injuries Resulting from Violence.

When they first entered the Sudan, the Arabs were not a cattle-breeding people. They owned camels and sheep only. Thus *dīya* or blood money was originally reckoned in camels, which at the time were the token of wealth. Nowadays, however, *dīya* is reckoned in cattle or paid in cash. 100 cattle is strictly the blood money of a free man, but in practice forty to fifty cattle or £E.100 in cash is the usual payment. Cattle paid vary in quality.

Sometimes when feeling has been aroused, the deceased's relatives demand the death penalty and refuse *dīya*. In such cases the offender's relations obtain the intercession of some fiki who persuades the deceased's people to accept blood money. The offender who escapes death is called *'aṭīg el fugarā* (*'aṭīg* is used of an animal recovering from a serious disease and becoming immune; "salted" is the English equivalent).

For the murderer fleeing from the wrath of the deceased's relations there was sanctuary to be found in the house of well-known fikis or of the noted men in the tribe. Under no circumstances would a host deliver his guest to the mercies of the dead man's relations. He would refuse their entrance to his house until *dīya* had been agreed upon.

On other occasions, especially in accidents resulting from petty brawls among friends, the deceased's people forego the blood money, and reserve to themselves the right of balancing the death of their relation against the death of a man on the offender's side if this should in the future occur. This is known as *firāsh*.

Dīya is paid by the whole tribe and not by a particular family or section. Generally, however, the offender's relations pay up to a quarter of the sum involved.

The *dīya* when collected is distributed in three shares among the deceased's tribe: half of the total sum is handed to deceased's near relations, a quarter goes to the head of the tribe, and the remaining quarter among more distant of the deceased's relations and among the tribal fikis.

Severe bodily injuries are compensated according to circumstances. The sum paid for loss of major limbs or an eye extends to half the blood money, injuries to minor limbs is on a similar comparative scale, but in nearly every case there is a compromise, and the offender's *aǧāwīd* persuade the injured party to forego part of his claim. The expense of medical treatment, *ḥagg el kamōda* as it is called, is reckoned additional to the compensation claimed.

Minor injuries are dealt with by the chief who imposes a fine and generally takes the money paid for himself.

ANIMALS.

Camels.

The camel will always be associated with the Arab name. Just as the nomad wears round his neck his praying beads, signifying the ninety and nine attributes of the Deity, so in his heart he keeps the numberless pet names of the camels in his herd. For the camel is not only his horse, but also his cow for milk and his sheep for wool. As the Arab himself says: *semḥa el sōg fi ilbil banāt daborō*, "lucky is the herder of camels,

luckier than the possessor of beauteous maidens." Once long ago I heard an old grey beard chant :—

> " No milk of the bleating goat for me,
> give me milk of the low-voiced *nāga* ;
> When the grass is thinned
> and carried away on the winds
> the *nāga* lifts her head to the high branch
> and eats her fill."

The breeding and herding of camels has become a fine art. In the summer the herd is watered on wells or on the river, and grazes within a radius of about 50 miles of water. The summer camp is within a few miles of the watering-place and is called *damar*. In the heat of the summer the herd is brought to drink every seventh day. It passes through the camp as it goes down to water, and after drinking generally stays the night in the *ferīg* before going off to graze. Camels are not watered in one operation, but after their first long drink are brought back to water (*taḥwīsh*). The health of a beast is often judged by the extent to which he fills himself out with water. Whether on the river or on wells, each camel-owner has his special drinking day. This is called *dimī*. The night before the *ḍimī* his slaves and sons fill the troughs with water so as to be ready for the watering early next morning. An ordinary herd of camels numbers from 40 to 100 beasts. There are generally two stallions which serve the females. These are carefully chosen and are often brought from long distances. Among most Arabs in the Sudan it is the milk and hair which is most necessary for the household, so the tendency has been to breed a heavy type of rather soft baggage camel. Good riding camels west of the Nile are the exception, and these have generally to be procured from Berber, the Red Sea Hills and Kassala.

As soon as the first rain-clouds appear at the end of the summer, the herd moves off southward in the hope of grazing on the new green grass of the early rains. When the herd first moves off, the houses and women of the herdsmen are left behind at the *damar*, and it is not until the rains are well in that the baggage camels are sent back to move the camp. This main movement of Arabs in search of green pasture is called *nushūgh*, and it is the time when the heart of the Arab is light, as

he has not the work of drawing water, and his beasts have their fill of green grass. As the tribes go forward on the *nushūgh* they move in parallel lines so as to avoid cutting across, and so fouling each other's grazing. In the old days when the fear of an armed attack was ever present, each tribe or section of a tribe on the *nushūgh* had its own mek or leader. It was the latter's duty to keep the herds together in case of attack, and to prevent their crossing the grazing line of neighbours or friends. During the *nushūgh* the herds are "salted" at least twice at some water hole or lake where there is natural salt in the earth. If this is not procurable, baggage camels are sent back to buy salt at the nearest market. The Arab encampment is moved approximately every ten days on the *nushūgh*, but of course the exact period depends on circumstances. The moving of camp is called *raḥīl*, and the signal is given by the Sheikh beating the drum (*nuggāra*) in slow beats. When he wishes camp to be made, the drum is beaten faster. The Sheikh pitches his tent on the south side of the camp with its front facing east. Nobody pitches tents south of or in front of the Sheikh's except his own personal slaves. Before camp is moved to a new place, it is usual to send out scouts (*dauwār*) to ascertain where the best grazing lies.

As soon as the rain water dries up the herds return to the wells or river for water, but the permanent summer quarters are not generally chosen until well into winter. This is because so much depends on the grass available round the different watering places, but if there is a sufficiency of grass, the tendency is to return to the same *damar* for a number of years. During the winter, grazing camels are not watered for months on end, and as the nagas are generally full of milk at this period, the women folk often accompany the herds so as to get the benefit of the milk. In the far North-West, the camels go off to what is known as the *ǧizū*. The *ǧizū* is a coarse green grass which comes up in the far north-western deserts after the rains. It is succulent, and while grazing on it, camels require no water except that derived from the bitter water-melon. The conditions on the *ǧizū* grazing are very hard for the herdsmen. There is no water supply, the cold is intense, and there is a marked scarcity of firewood. Further, there is always a chance of attack from the Gur'an, Bedayat, and other western raiders. So it is only the hardiest youths and slaves who are sent out.

The ages of a camel are reckoned by an Arab as follows :—

muḍmūn	...	exempt from infantile diseases, but under one year.
mafrūd	...	weaned; 1 year.
wad lebūn	...	its mother is in milk to a second foal; 2 years.
ḥigg	...	3 years.
ǧada'	...	4 years old. Milk teeth giving place to permanent teeth.
tinī	...	2 permanent lower teeth have appeared. 5 years old.
raba'	...	4 permanent lower teeth. 6 years old.
sidīs	...	6 permanent lower teeth. 7 years old.
ǧamān	...	8 permanent teeth. 8 years old.

Ḥāshī and *ḥuwār* are foals under two years, and a foal up to two years is known as *ga'ūd*. *Ba'īr* and *ilbil* are the collective names for a "camel beast" and herds of camels respectively.

The diseases of camels are legion. The most common are *ghuffār* (trypanosomiasis), *ghudād* (internal hæmorrhage) and *ǧerab* (mange). In the case of *ghuffār*, the experienced herdsman can detect its presence by smelling the camel's urine, and at the beginning of the rains the wise owner goes through his herd testing them. If any are found to be diseased, they are immediately isolated, and often handed over to an expert who proceeds to treat them. The treatment lasts over three years, and, generally, at least fifty per cent. fail to recover. A camel which has recovered from *ghuffār* is exceedingly valuable in the south, where the rains are heavier and consequently fly more prevalent. When a camel has recovered from *ghuffār*, he is called *'aṭīg* (salted).

The best grasses for camels are *saha*, *tabas*, *ḥantūt*, *ḥaskanīt*, *gau*, *saṭeira*. The best tree grazing is from *sayāl*, *hashāb* and *ḥarāz*.

When camp is moved or a journey has to be made, young married or marriageable women ride on camels in an equipage called the *'uṭfa*, which consists of the following :—

(1) *Shalīl*, large squares of plaited leather work embroidered with cowrie shells, and hung on either side of the camel.

(2) *Maṭāri'*, light specially tanned skins covered with bits of lead metal and cowrie shells, and placed behind the saddle seat.

(3) *Lebab bidawāir*, decorated girths for the saddle with leather tassels which swing in the air as the camel moves.

(4) *Gumbūr*, the conical head-piece on the camel decorated with cowrie shells and ostrich feathers.

(5) *Rasan*, the decorated leather head rope.

(6) *Wisāda*, the cushion decorated with lead metal pieces on which the lady sits.

(7) *Keroia*, basket covered with leather for carrying the lady's scent, sugar, etc.

(8) *Durbān* and *ḍabya*, long leather bags specially tanned.

(9) *Ba'asa*, holder for ostrich feathers on top of the *'uṭfa*. This is the flag of the *'uṭfa*.

(10) *Durāsa*, camel bell.

I have already made reference to the Arab tent. Camel's hair enters largely into the material for this, and is also used for the curtain (*kheisha*), shawl (*shamla*) and sheet (*kudān*). Clipping of camel's hair takes place in summer. Camel milk is considered superior to any other, and the butter and fat are extracted as described elsewhere in these notes. The herdsmen in the desert prefer the milk when sour, and to obtain this result quickly, they seldom clean their milk skins, with the effect that the milk is turned almost as soon as they pour it in.

Most nomad camels have their own tribal and family brands. These are of considerable interest and often afford a clue to the origin of a particular section of people. For instance, the Robab or Um Roba section of the Hawawir claim a Fellata ancestor, and this is corroborated by the fact that the Robab to this day use the Lam Alif brand on their camels, which is the ordinary Fellata mark.

AGRICULTURE.

Rain land is usually sown after the soil has been well soaked. The cultivator makes a bank or *teras* where the level of his *bilād* is lowest, to keep the rain water on the land. The land near the *teras* is called *ḥugna*, and the higher, lighter land is called *ḍahar* or *'azāz* or *sigai*.

A poor man who cannot hire labour to sow his soil after it is soaked, sows the seed in the dry soil and waits for the rains. This is called *rameil*. The rain land is sown by the *sellūka* and is hoed twice. The first

weeding is called *murr* (hard or bitter), and the second *kadeib* (make believe or easy). As in the rest of the country, each stage of the crop has its appropriate name, viz., *shōk, aḍān-fār, siwasiw, ǧidāda, ṣugār, ḥimla, sherāya, labana, ferīk.*

River land is sown from fifteen to twenty days after the flood has left it. The implements used in sowing are called *karbōl, ḍorīya* and *muḥfār* (the latter if sowing is delayed). Sandy soil is thrown on top of seed to allow easy germination and growth. The crop need be cleaned only once if the cultivator is energetic, but it is generally cleaned twice. The same names signify the stages of the crop as for rain land. River land is divided into *bugur, fiteib* and *kabad.*

The *bugur* is the high land which the flood reaches seldom but produces a large crop when watered, the *fiteib* is the normal area of the *ṣafrā* crop and the *kabad* is the lower *ṣafrā* level. The bottom level of the river soil is called *fāsda* (worthless), and on it is grown lubia, etc., especially in bad years.

In addition to the above, the Hassania, etc., cultivate shaduf crops on the islands in the river.

HOUSES.

The Awlad Kahil have the following types of dwellings : —

Shugāg. A tent shaped like an upturned boat, composed of four strips of thick stout cloth woven from the hair of camels, sheep, or even goats. Camels' hair is reckoned the highest class, but goats' hair is the most lasting. Every year the " wife of the house " makes a new strip of cloth which is put in the middle to keep off the rain. This displaces the oldest strip on the house and the next oldest is put on the western limit where there is least stress.

Kheisha. Similar to *shugāg* but composed of one piece and made out of goats' hair. It is simply stretched over *shi'ab* (*e.g., shi'ba*) and has no ropes to hold it. Although not so fine as the *shugāg*, it is more lasting.

Abu khisheim. A small edition of the *Kheisha.*

Shukkāba. Constructed of *maḥareib* grass with a convex roof. Most of the Awlad Kahil houses near the river are *shukkāb.*

Ḳuttīya. Ordinary tukl.

Rākūba. As common all over the country.

TAXATION UNDER THE FUNG DYNASTY, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE MAHDIST REGIME.

The Fung.

In all probability the authority exercised over the Northern Arabs, especially those on the West bank, by the Funǧ was merely nominal. As we have seen, Keiwat the founder of the Hassania Nazirate undertook to pay money or its equivalent if he was allowed to keep his dar, but contributions to the Funǧ treasury by the Kawahla tribes must have been in the nature of a fortunate windfall. Nevertheless it is interesting to know something about the taxes, even if the latter were seldom paid. The following are said to have been the chief impositions :—

(1) *Sukhra.*—A general tax supposed to be assessed proportionately according to wealth. The Sultan fixed the total sum for the Kingdom, this was divided up between various "Wazirs," who in turn divided their shares among the *Arābīb* (sg. *arbāb*). The latter split their division among the Sheikhs, and so to the individual.

(2) *Mutra.*—A levy for the Sultan's privy purse.

(3) *Mukhlāya.*—A grain levy for the Sultan's cavalry

(4) *Nuzūl* —A local contribution collected by Sultan as he moved from place to place.

(5) *'Āda.*—A special whip round for a great private occasion such as the marriage of the Sultan.

(6) *Nār.*—Revenue for fines imposed on villages or camps for starting grass fires. In case of doubt the village nearest to fire paid.

(7) *'Āna.* A due on all locally-manufactured cotton-cloth.

Turkish Government.

The main Turkish tax was a poll tax called *dignīa.* It was levied on every able-bodied male, and to begin with, it was very light in incidence. In practice, taxation was farmed out to officials. A Nazir controlled an area as large as two or three modern districts, and under him were a number of "Kashifs" who were rather in the nature of treasury officials. The highest local native authority was generally called "Agha." He corresponded roughly to a modern Nazir. The Agha did the actual work of assessment and collection, and the Kashif

or Nazir did not pay much attention to his methods provided the lump sum demanded was produced. Nominal lists were made out, but most of them were fictitious. Periodically there were gatherings at important centres such as Geteina and Garasa for assessment and collection, and if there was difficulty or opposition, the Kashif or the Nazir would arrive with a force of soldiers.

Gradually, the rates of taxation and the exactions of officials became intolerable, and the Arab discontent was expressed by the saying: *'ashara fī turba wa lā riyāl fi ṭulba*—"better ten in their graves than one dollar paid in taxes."

As demands became heavier, evasions became more frequent, and as we have seen Arabs changed from tribe to tribe to avoid paying. The culmination was the Mahdist revolt.

In addition to a general poll tax, the Turkish Government exacted a heavy license fee from traders which in some cases amounted to as much as 25 per cent. of their total capital. Of course, payment of this could also be avoided by production of a suitable bribe. The trader's license was called *weirko*.

MAHDIA.

Mahdism made a show of returning to the taxation system of early Islam. In practice, especially in its latter phases, this amounted to letting loose at various periods of the year Ta'aisha or other agents with their accompanying hordes of freebooters. In the end the unfortunate population was bled white, and the arrival of Ansar especially if accompanied by Gihadia was a signal for a village "to take to the woods."

The main tax was zakā in its various forms. There was *zakāt el 'eish* or an 'ushur tax on crops, there was *zakāt el māl* or a capital levy on animal wealth at a nominal rate of about 2 per cent. on the total number in the herd, there was *zakāt 'eish el bāb* or a levy for the Khalifa and his numerous supporters and household.

In addition there was *fuṭra* which, although in theory a small grain poll tax on every individual, might in practice be converted into a general confiscation of light movable property. Furthermore, on the East bank there was a large annual contribution of cotton cloth, and the West bank had to support 1,500 or more horses with their attendant horsemen. It is not to be wondered that after the re-occupation the *dar* seemed a veritable wilderness.

The Mahdist taxes were in the hands of an official called *'Āmil*, who generally controlled an area equivalent to a modern district; under him were so many *manādīb*, and under them again were the *mugaddams*. The local Sheikhs were called upon to co-operate with these "carrion" collectors, but in the latter Mahdia these "harrying" expeditions were made direct by the Manādīb supported by Ǧihadia. One last point worth noting is that the Mahdists converted *zakā*, originally a free offering by good Muslims for the support of the poor and needy, into a direct Government tax imposed and exacted by the full authority of the Khalifa.

(2) THE BAGGARA GROUP.

Present Habitat and General Mode of Life.

With the exception of the island of Aba, and the small Shawal 'Omodia adjacent to it, the southern end of the Province from just south of Kawa to Upper Nile boundary is Dār Baggāra. I use the term Baggara in its more general sense denoting semi-nomadic Arabs whose chief business in life is cattle breeding. In the stricter meaning the only Baggara par excellence in this Province are the Seleim and Ta'aisha, but all Arabs regard the Ǧim'a, the Dar Muḥārib and the Aḥamda as Baggara. The Beni Ǧerrar, as I mentioned earlier, are in a slightly different category, but the difference is simply that they have taken on the cattle life later than the Ǧim'a, etc. For to begin with, all Arabs presumably were of one stock, and after their arrival in the Sudan split off into camel owners or cattle owners according as they stuck to camel-breeding or started cattle raising. To the ordinary Arabs, Baggara mean people who breed cattle and ride on bulls.

As in the North it is the ambition of every Arab who has pretensions of birth and position to own one or more herds of camels, so in the South among the Baggara you are not a real gentleman until you have acquired a nice bunch of cattle. Cultivation and even sheep-breeding are a means to that end, so the rich cattle owner lives with his cattle and leaves cultivation to his slaves and other dependents. Even with the extensive sheep owner it will be found that his large flocks are of comparatively recent origin, and that sooner or later he will change them for cattle wealth.

During the rains the Baggara move away from the river and the wells. The extent of their migration is governed by the "fly" and the rains. If the fly is really bad, a tribe like the Ǧim'a will reach Jebel Bachi, and have been known to reach Jebel Arashkol, but ordinarily speaking they seldom move more than a day or two from their summer quarters. The Seleim and Dar Muharib, who graze mostly near the river, have a wider range owing to the greater prevalence of the fly, etc. Moreover in the summer they penetrate far south along the river bank and on the islands in search of the green grass called *firsh*, on which especially their sheep thrive. This grass growing on land flooded by the river is burned and sends up a green aftergrowth.

Practically all Baggara in the White Nile cultivate, but cultivation, as I said, is not their main objective. Dura and dukhn crops provide sufficient grain for family needs, and sesame and ground nuts furnish the wherewithal to buy luxuries and to invest in more cattle.

The tribes known in the White Nile as Baggara are the Ǧim'a, the Aḥamda, the Dār Muḥārib, the Shankhāb, the Seleim and the Ta'āisha.

GENEALOGY.

The Ǧim'a, Aḥamda, Dār Muḥārib and Shankhāb are undoubtedly Ǧa'liyin in origin, whereas the Seleim and Ta'aisha belong to the great Ǧuhayna group of camel-owning and cattle-owning Arabs. Simplified genealogies are attached to illustrate their inter-connections.

It must be remembered that nearly every Arab tribe is more a conglomeration of heterogeneous parts than a single unit. Thus we get the story about the Ahamda being Kawahla, which has an element of truth. For the Dar now occupied by the Ahamda was formerly in the hands of certain Kawahla, and no doubt as usual the conquerors married women of the conquered. Again the Subaha section of the Dar Muharib say they followed the river to their present habitat opposite Kosti, and did not come East with the rest of the tribe from Darfur. The Shankhab sometimes claim a Ǧuhayna origin from 'Amer Dhubyan, and say they joined the Ǧim'a for mutual protection. Lastly among the Ǧim'a proper there are all kinds of diverse tribes which have been and are being welded into a single whole. To quote two well-known instances the Mesadab among the Ǧim'a are really Dar Muharib, and the Dar 'Agīl are Shankhab. All of which goes to show how fortuitous the formation of any particular tribe has been.

The Seleim are said by some to be first cousins of the Ġim'a, and that Seleim, their ancestor, was the son of 'Abd el Bagi who was also the father of Muhammed Munatih the forbear of the Ġim'a. For administrative reasons I should have liked to accept this theory, but after careful consideration I think the weight of evidence is against it, and that there is no good reason for denying that the Seleim are descended from the Beni Sulaym tribe of the Arabian Peninsula, are Ġuhayna in origin and belong to the Heimad section of the Baggara.

The Beni Ġerrar, although they trace their descent to the Ġuhayna, belong to the Fezara. The Fezara and Ġuhayna were neighbours in the Heğaz. I attach a small genealogy and also a family tree of the ruling Nubawi house.

HISTORY.

As with the Awlad Kahil in the North, the history of the Baggara up to the time of the Funğ dynasty is almost a closed book. It is said that they left Egypt during the ascendency of the Mamelukes (13th century, A.D.), when the repression and even massacres of Arab tribes were of almost daily occurrence. As has been mentioned, there is the legend of their migration to the West by the Arba'in road, which we can largely discount, substituting in its place their entry into the Sudan via the Nile Valley, and the gradual following of the rain and grass westwards by the large camel-owning and sheep-breeding tribes. The Ġim'a have the tradition of a quarrel with other Ğa'liyin which accelerated their journeying westward, and the Seleim say they were led West by a worthy named Abu Tamanya who had married a daughter of the "Black Sultan," probably a prince of the Funğ. Similarly the Dar Muharib recount that their chief at the time was Wad el Soda, probably also the issue of a union between Arab and Funğ. How far West these Arabs reached is largely a matter of conjecture. There is the Abu Zeid el Hilali legend concerning exploits and marriages in Tunis and Morocco, and possibly the Baggara vanguard reached those regions. We know they penetrated to Nigeria and French Africa. For there is the story of the flight of the Ġim'a from a Sultan of Dar Bornu in Nigeria, and of the son of the Sultan of Belala and Kodoko in French Africa found murdered with the brands of Kibeishab and Nabaha sections of the Dar Muharib imprinted on his dead body. In the latter case the Arabs did not escape unscathed, as the Sultan in revenge burned to death

a number of their chief men by filling with grass a thorn *zeriba* in which they were confined, and setting it alight.

When we next hear of these Baggara they are settled in Darfur near Ergud, west of Fasher, and the Doma hills, where remnants of them still live. Sultan Husein was then in control of Darfur.

The Ahamda form an exception to the other Baggara in the Province in that, as far as is known, they did not join in the westward march. We have already noticed them as allies of the Hassania and Huseinat in their fight with the Kurtan and Mağdia near Tur'a, and it is probable they pushed southwards and settled in their present Dar from which they drove the Kawahla before the other Baggara started returning eastwards. Before the arrival of the Kawahla, Dar Ahamda is supposed to have been inhabited by 'Anağ called Awlad Tikein. Of them the Ahamda relate in song that "their *fulas* are so deep that the water lasts all the long year, and the crocodiles make them their homes. Their houses are so high that they can be seen from the mountains of Tagali."

To return to the Baggara in Darfur, a sultan or chief called Hineiwa is reputed to have driven them eastwards. Some say Hineiwa was a Fur sultan, others, that he was an Arab belonging to the Sherek section of the Ġim'a. No doubt the latter version seeks to establish the present Ġim'a ruling house on a very old foundation. Other traditions do not assign the Ġim'a a place among the Baggara leaders until after their departure from Darfur. However it be, Hineiwa's stern rule forced the Baggara out of Darfur. The leaders and possessors of royal war drums at the time of their migration were Mereimi Wad Bukr of the Kibeishab section of the Dar Muharib and Tawil Agili of the Dar 'Agil section of the Shankhab. The remainder Seleim, Ğim'a, etc., were known as *Bāgiya* (remnant). Their war lords were Isma'il Bari of the Sherek Ğim'a and 'Arabi Adam Dardo of the Seleim. The Baggara finally settled at Bereisa near Taiara in Kordofan. Mereimi, the Kibeishab leader, died on the eastward march, but his son succeeded him. It was about this time that Bellal Abu Hura of the Sherek Ğim'a and ancestor of the present Nazir began to take a larger share in the counsels of the Baggara. The latter were attacked by the Kababish and other tribes, and their peril seems to have united them temporarily, as we now first hear of the term Ġim'a (meaning a gathering together) applied to large numbers as a tribal name.

Further east of Bereisa, inhabiting the land west of Ġadid, was the powerful tribe of the Mesellemia under their proud chief Hamed el Sa'id. East of the Mesellemia were Huseinat, and on the fringes of the river and among the islands were the Shilluk. The Baggara had prospered at Bereisa, and would not have moved but for superior pressure from the West. Gradually, small parties began to penetrate and settle among the Mesellemia who treated them as strangers, with contempt. It is told that they used Baggara men as tables on which to place their merisa bowls and as stands on which to hang their mutton. Ismail Badi of the Sherek Ġim'a was sent to remonstrate with Hamed el Sa'id. He got little satisfaction out of his visit except a superfluity of the merisa, and the final abuse "*ishrab ya Abu Giṣciṣa lā buā takhrab Um Bereisa*" (Drink, hairy one, to-day, to-morrow you will ruin Um Bereisa); to which he is said to have replied: "*ishrab la taṭrab, Gōz el 'āfiya yakhrab*" (Drink, but the joy of drinking will not last long, as Goz el 'Afiya, your dwelling place, will come to ruin).

War was now inevitable, and once more the discordant Baggara united. Some say that Isma'il Mereimi, the Dar Muharib chief was the leader, others, that Isma'il Badi of the Ġim'a was in command. The Dar 'Agil by this time (when the Baggara attacked the Mesellemia) had lost their outstanding position. The Bagiya, later known as Munatih (descendents of Muhammed el Nattah), had become too numerous and too powerful for them, and Bellal Abu Hura of the Sherek Ġim'a finally appropriated the Dar 'Agil *naḥās* for himself. The Dar 'Agil royal family crossed the river and settled at Disa in the Funǧ Province where they still live. The remainder of the Dar 'Agil became incorporated as part of the Ġim'a.

The Mesellemia were very numerous and possessed many mailed horsemen, so it behoved the Baggara to proceed with caution. They had recourse to stratagem. The Mek of Tagali, Adam, was the fortunate possessor of some flintlocks, so a message was sent to him, purporting to come from Hamed the Mesellemi, and attached to two razors, with one of which the Mek was asked to circumcise himself, and the other to use on his mother. The Mek, furious, demanded an explanation, but the Mesellemia chief was too proud to disown the insult offered, so with the aid of the flintlocks the Baggara utterly routed the Mesellemia at Um Haǧar south-west of Tendelti. They went on to conquer the

Huseinat, and so the Dar stretching from the Kordofan boundary to the river was now in their hands. Most of the Mesellemia and Huseinat retired northwards and eastwards among their own folk, but fragments elected to remain with their conquerors.

South of these Dars lived the Ahamda who, although they had not participated in the Baggara western migration, were related to them. Isma'il Mereimi, the Dar Muharib leader, is said to have cast covetous eyes on the Ahamda country because of its grain-producing qualities. To begin with, he tried peaceful penetration by sending a deputation to propose that his people should be allowed to graze and buy grain in the Ahamda Dar. The latter suspecting his intentions murdered the deputation as they sat in council, and war ensued. The hosts met, and as a preliminary there was a single combat. The Ahamda champion, Abu Sayer, led the girl songstress Ameim bint Abu Ras before him, and challenged all to combat for her. He was killed by a Kibeishabi, and thereafter the conflict becoming general, the Ahamda were routed and fled to the river thus bringing about the prophecy of their Cassandra, Ameim, who had sung : *tōr el kabīr lā tagdaru, is'al el gubbāl ǧarrabu, ḥalaf wa ḥarram 'arūsu, dār el 'aradeib narazzu* (?) "The big bull you cannot conquer. Ask them (the Mesellemia) who tried before you. He has sworn by divorce of his lady that the Dar of the 'Aradeib tree he shall reach to."

The Baggara were supreme in the country west of the Nile to the Kordofan boundary. Once the external danger had passed, internal dissensions broke out afresh resulting in the crossing to the east bank of the river of most of the Dar Muharib tribe. The actual *casus belli* was said to be a cow called Um Bushar which belonged to the Nabaha section of the Dar Muharib, and had been killed by the Seleim. The Nabaha demanded the blood of the cow killer, but the Seleim, though willing to compensate the cow owner, refused to give up to death the man who had killed her. The Ǧim'a supported the Seleim, and together they overwhelmed the Dar Muharib under Isma'il Mereimi and drove them across the river. A small minority of the conquered remained with the Ǧim'a on the west bank, but the great majority migrated. The expulsion of the Dar Muharib by the Ǧim'a and Seleim must have occurred shortly before the Turkish invasion in 1821, as we hear that Isma'il Mereimi, who had commanded the Dar Muharib in their defeat,

was killed by the Turks shortly after their arrival. Thereafter the Dar Muharib were attached to Sennar Province.

On the west bank the supremacy of the Ğim'a and their ruling house the Sherek was now assured. Abu Kalam had succeeded his father, Bellal Abu Hura, and exercised authority over the Seleim, Ahamda and Shankhab as well as over his own Ğim'a. This somewhat loose confederation was known as the Cattle Nazirate (*Niẓārat el bagar*), but each of its tribes managed their own internal affairs independently.

Against the Turks the Cattle Nazirate put up some resistance, but they were unable to stand up against the firearms of the conquerors and soon made their peace. Under the Turks the Cattle Nazirate was attached to Kordofan, and Abu Kalam, with representatives of the sub-tribes, went every year to El Obeid to pay the taxes. Abu Kalam seems to have been rather a stern ruler, and he soon had trouble with the Seleim. The Seleim discontent finally resulted in an appeal to Khartoum by Abu Hawa Hammad of the Nas Ibrahim, and their separation from the Cattle Nazirate and attachment to the newly-constituted Province of Fashoda. This was about 1870, and later a fierce battle was fought at Dabbat el Tor between the two tribes. Abu Kalam died a prisoner in Egypt. The story is that in an affray the Dar 'Agil killed some Lahawin. The Turkish Government demanded their production from Abu Kalam, and on his failure to do so arrested and sent him to Egypt. His son and successor, 'Asakir, showed much more lenience to his Arabs and was famed for his protection of strangers. He was nicknamed *Abū ṣangūr, ǧebel el ǧharīb*—"Nobby head, sanctuary of the stranger." One of the reasons for the considerable migration from tribe to tribe during this period was the increase of taxation and the harshness of Government officials. Rather than pay the excessive demands of the latter, many an Arab would leave his tribe and hide himself among strangers. A typical instance of this is the story of Turki Dugushein, a rich Hamadi, who joined and intermarried with the Kababish to escape the Turkish taxes. His descendants are still part of the Kababish tribe, though in practice they act as hired herdsmen for the western Kawahla.

So when the Mahdi raised the flag of revolt at Aba in 1881 the country was seething with discontent. At first the Baggara showed no enthusiasm for the Mahdist cause. As large animal owners they had too much at stake to join what might become a forlorn hope. A few

religious enthusiasts were all who followed the Mahdi in his migration to Jebel Gadir. Among them were 'Abdullahi Muhammed, the Ta'aishi, later known as the Khalifa. His father, nicknamed Torshein, was really from Darfur, but had taken up his abode with the Ǧim'a near Abu Rukba. His son, 'Abdullahi, had come into contact with the Mahdi, Muhammed Ahmed, at the khalwa of Sheikh Gurashi in the Blue Nile. Other prominent adherents who were afterwards numbered among the so-called Abkār el Mahdi (first supporters) were the Awlad Helu of the Degheim Shankhab and Babikr Amir of the Amarna who was living with Dar Muharib.

Previous to his declaring himself, the Mahdi is said to have had a secret meeting with 'Asakir in which he endeavoured to enlist his support but with mediocre success. 'Asakir, however, took no active part until the march of Hicks' army to the relief of El Obeid. He then joined the hordes of marauding Arabs who harried, and finally annihilated, that unfortunate force. 'Asakir returned to his own Dar, and did not lead his tribe against Khartoum. He sent his son 'Omar who died at Abu Klea.

After the Mahdi's death in 1885, 'Asakir was summoned to Khartoum by the Khalifa to account for the non-appearance of his tribe at Omdurman. He was kept a virtual prisoner there except for one or two visits to Dar Ǧim'a to collect zaka. 'Asakir's brother, called Fiki 'Argub (though he was no fiki) remained with the tribe. He seems to have been a very stong character and never a loyal Mahdist. The Khalifa soon had his suspicions aroused, and sent a letter by the hand of a Ǧim'awi, Taha Mustafa, ordering 'Argub's appearance. 'Argub tore up the letter in the envoy's presence and retired south to the Seleim, his marriage relations. There he was overtaken by Emir Yunis Dikeim and a host of horsemen. As 'Argub was standing outside his tent near Um Sir there was a shout of " the enemy, the enemy." Snatching up a spear he jumped on a mare and galloped off on her bare back. Not being an expert horseman, he was soon thrown, and refusing to surrender was speared to death. Yunis wreaked his vengeance on the Ǧim'a and Seleim. Their property and slaves were confiscated, and males of military age were forcibly enlisted and sent off to Kassala and Gallabat to fight the Abyssinians. This was about 1886-87, and few that went ever returned.

Having finished with the Seleim and Ǧim'a, Yunis crossed to the east bank to deal with the Dar Muharib, who had also been backward in joining the Khalifa. The Subaha section are said to have made their peace, but the remainder fled to the Blue Nile where they were caught and subjected to the same grievous fate at the hands of Ahmed Yunis, the Sha'igi leader of the Mahdist black Ǧehadia and Suleiman Esheiger, the present Wakil Nazir of the Ǧim'a, who had thrown in his lot with the Ta'aisha. As well as losing their property, they were sent as a contingent of the army under Mahmud Ahmed to quell the revolt of Abu Ǧimmeiza in Darfur. Their leader was Sheikh Beshir el Medawi, who is still living as a religious Sheikh at 'Aleiga.

So the re-occupation found the White Nile Baggara broken and impoverished. Most of the tribesmen had died in the wars or were scattered over the country far from their homes, and the few that remained in their Dar were eking out a precarious existence snaring guineafowl and spearing fish. So when the final act of the Mahdist drama was played out at Um Debeikerat, a number of the White Nile Baggara acted as guides and auxiliaries to Sir Reginald Wingate's force.

Since then their story has been one of gradual recuperation, and finally of reunion in 1929 under the descendant of the old Cattle Nazir.

The Ǧim'a, after a brief interlude under Nawai Rayeh, and El Nur Hassan chose 'Asakir's son Ahmed Bedawi as their chief. 'Asakir had refused the Khalifa's order to join the Green Flag of Khalifa 'Ali Helu. He was considered too proud and was sent in chains to Rejaf, whence he escaped about the time of the re-occupation and died fighting in the West under 'Arabi Daf'allah. The Dar Muharib gradually re-populated their Dar, but were unfortunate in their chiefs, mostly drawn from the old ruling Kibeishab house. The Seleim remained south in the Upper Nile for a number of years after the re-occupation breeding sheep. They had been lucky in acquiring most of the animals brought across from Kassala by Ahmed Fadil and his army in their march westwards to join the Khalifa. They were united about 1909 under El Hagga Suleiman, of the Nas Ibrahim, and he was given the title of Nazir. The Ahamda also chose their own chief, Ǧabr el Dar Ǧibrail.

Only the Shankhab of the old amalgamation remained under the Ǧim'a Nazir, and more than half of them were outside the Nazirate.

It was not until 1928 and 1929 that it was possible to set up the Cattle Nazirate with Mekki Ahmed Bedawi as its Nazir. Even then the Seleim stood stubbornly aloof. Though generically they are Heimad Baggara, historically the Seleim are more closely connected with the Ǧim'a than either the Dar Muharib or the Ahamda. They were with the Ǧim'a in the march from Darfur eastwards under the Dar 'Agil *naḥās*, with the Ǧim'a they fought the Mesellemia and expelled the Dar Muharib, and finally in the tragedy of 'Argub Abu Kalam, it was the Seleim who were his refuge, and it was the Seleim who suffered with the Ǧim'a for his refusal to submit. When this is added to the fact that the Seleim Nazirate dates only from 1909, their refusal to join up is the more surprising.

A separate note on the history of the Beni Ǧerrar is necessary, as until recently they had little or no connection with the Baggara. Like other Arabs they came up the Nile Valley and emigrated westward. We hear of them in Darfur living round Fasher and attacking caravans on the Arba'in road. For this they were punished by Sultan Husein and driven into Kordofan where they lived with the Awlad 'Ugba Kababish.

As they grew stronger, they ventured to dispute with their hosts the mastery of the Dar. The tale runs that during a hunting party some Beni Ǧerrar and Kababish boys quarrelled, as a result of which a Nurabi, a close relation of the Kababish ruling Sheikh, was killed. The Kababish demanded the production of his slayer but the Beni Ǧerrar refused. Subsequently a relation of the Beni Ǧerrar legendary hero, Ahmed Hereirin was captured by the Kababish and held in custody. The Kababish Sheikh, not wishing to alienate the Beni Ǧerrar whom he still considered part of his tribe, secretly released the Ǧerrari youth after loading him with presents. The Kababish expressed their disapproval, and one of their songstresses sang *la turabbī el hām, el hām el yildagh warā wa giddām—ba'd el ḥal titgāsim el ashām,—wāḥidīn 'alē Direira, wāḥidīn 'alē Um Kadām.* "Nurture not the serpent, the serpent that stings from front and rear—the day will come when you will divide your substance in shares with him, his people will take Direira, and yours' Um Kadam."

From the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century the struggle for mastery went on, but the Kababish proved

victorious by means, it is said, of large numbers of Kawahla mailed horsemen. The Beni Ğerrar made frantic efforts to retain a footing in Kordofan, and it is related how one of their leaders, Yasin Murdas, burned the camel saddles and tied up the women and children to stiffen his tribesmen in their resistance. All to no purpose, and the Beni Ğerrar retreated and tried to settle in Dar Ğimu'iya near Omdurman. Though they killed a Ğimu'i Mek and won a famous sword, they had to cross the river and settle near Managil at a place called Sayal Galli under the Shukriya. The latter expelled them for their thieving propensities, and after a short sojourn with the Kinana further south they re-crossed to the west bank by the Abu Zeyd ford and settled in their present Dar. The ancestor of their ruling house is said to have been Ahmed Hereirin, who was held captive by one of the Hamağ Meks in the southern Gezira, but was ransomed by the tribe. His son Nubawi (so-called because his mother during one of the wars was left at Jebel Abu Hadid in Kordofan, where she gave birth) is the great name in the tribe; he died before the Mahdia. His son Muhammed joined the Mahdi at El Obeid and proceeded with his tribe to Omdurman where a part of the town, Wad Nubawi, is named after him. During their sojourn in Omdurman their wealth in camels and sheep was largely destroyed, but the Ğubarat and Awlad Rabi' sections escaped more lightly, sheltering themselves under the western Kawahla.

Since the re-occupation various members of the Nubawi family held the Nazirship of the tribe, but in 1919 Muhammed Ahmed Nubawi, the late Nazir, was dismissed by the Government, the Nazirship lapsed and the tribe was split up into a number of 'Omodias. The Beni Ğerrar in Kordofan were detached from the tribe in the White Nile. In 1927 the White Nile Beni Ğerrar were again united under Muhammed Hamed Nubawi, and in 1929 the latter acknowledged the suzerainty of the Cattle Nazir. The tribe in the White Nile Province has ceased to be camel-owning, and has taken to the cattle-breeding life.

CONNECTION WITH OTHER TRIBES.

As is well known, the Baggara Arabs differ from the northern camel-owners more by the effect of their environment than by blood and birth. Thus for example the two main divisions of the Ğim'a are known as *El ba'ağ el aḥmar* and *El ba'ağ el azrag*. Now the *ba'ağ* is a well-known camel brand among the Kababish, Shukriya and other camel-owning

tribes, and the colours *aḥmar* and *azrag* obviously refer to camels and not to cattle. Moreover, among the Dar Muharib we have Kibeishab and Nurab sections, and it is interesting to find the same names among the sections of the Kababish. Possibly when the Arabs reached the great steppe lands of Kordofan, the camel-owners worked north and became amalgamated in a tribal conglomeration known under a generic name such as the Kababish, and the poorer tribesmen going southwards gradually picked up and bred large herds of cattle, and so became Baggara. There are, of course, camel-owning Ǧim'a in Kordofan to-day, namely the 'Ebeisab, who are now listed with the Kawahla, but were until recently a separate 'Omodia in Northern Kordofan. Similarly it is related in legend that the Dar Muharib after the death of Isma'il Mereimi at the hands of the Turks migrated into the Abyssinian mountain where they met with Ǧim'a who owned small camels of the Zubeidi type.

The Ǧawama'a are the cousins of the Ǧim'a, and large numbers of them have incorporated themselves in the Ǧim'a Nazirate.

The Ahamda have numerous relations in different parts of the Sudan. Besides their Kawahla maternal connections, there are Ahamda Isfia (Nas Dugushein) related with the Kababish. The Shaurab Ǧawama'a section emigrated to the Atbara after the Khalifa's defeat at Omdurman, and are under the Shukriya there. There are Ahamda settlements as far north as Tur'a in White Nile Province and Ahamda living in the Gezira (near the Khawalda), and Hamada famed for their sheep in the Funǧ.

Dar Muharib claim connection with the Kababish.

The Seleim alone seem to be without many connections, though the Ta'aisha and the Fayyarin section of the Homr are said to be their relations.

The Ta'aisha are not really a White Nile tribe, but settled round Jebelein after the re-occupation.

SECTIONS OF THE BAGGARA.

Ǧim'a.

The Ǧim'a tribe is divided into three main divisions:

The Munāṭiḥ, the Dār Muḥārib and the Shankhāb or Shamkhāb.

Nowadays the Munāṭiḥ are generally called the Ǧim'a.

El Ba'aǧ el Aḥmar.

1. 'Isheish I.—'Ibbeisab—Kamboiab.
   Mağaberab.
   Scheilab.
   Um Mu'min.
   Bereishab.
   Um Megei.
   Um Fezari.
   Guda.
   Khuluf.
   II.—Gehagha—Awlad 'Ugla
   Awlad Kuku.
   Mashamīr.
   Kenābīt.
   'Ayyal Adam.
   'Ayyal Sarim.

El Ba'aǧ el Azrag.

1. Bōl Muhammed ... I.—Sherek.
   II.—Hababis.
   III.—Awlad Rama.
2. Zeheiu ... ... I.—Bōl Naṣr—Heǧaz.
   Fakhura.
   Um Defei'a.
   El Tina.
   Um Derei'a.
   II.—'Abd el Gawi.
   III.—Naṣrab.
3. Awlad Hasan.
4. Awlad Ḥammād.
5. Awlad Dermut.

The ruling house belongs to the Sherek, Bol Muhammed section.

DAR MUHARIB.

The Dar Muharib is divided into two divisions: The Ḥumur and The Zurug.

(*a*) Ḥumur ... ... 1. Khanfariya.
2. Sabaha.
3. Nezza.

(*b*) Zurug	1.	Kibeishab.
	2.	Tomamab.
	3.	Waghadab.
	4.	Rawashda.
	5.	Mesadab.
	6.	Nurab.
	7.	Bedeiriya.
	8.	Nebaha.

The Dar Muharib ancestor was Ahmed el Muharib. He was nicknamed El Muharib because he was always quarrelling with his brothers.

The Dar Muharib ruling house belonged to the Kibeishab section, but owing to their utter failure since the re-occupation and their connection with the contraband trade, it was decided in 1929 to exclude the Kibeishab from the Sheikhship of the tribe.

SHANKHAB.

(*a*) *Zurug.*

1. Heirat (Awlad Harun)		Hashabat.
		Hawawish.
		Awlad Terga
		Eneimat.
2. Se'idab		Um 'Aradeiba.
		Um Geid Humar.
3. Gedeiat		Um Kenin.
		Um Ashgar.
		Um Gemil.
4. Mashalga		El Muwalid.
		Um Gemeira.
5. Awlad Ḥasaballah		Dushunab.
		Gereinab.
		Masamir.

(*b*) *Ḥumur.*

1. Hedwab		Sururab.
		'Abd el Salam.
		Awlad 'On.
		Um Ugal.
		Abu Khalifa.
		'Ayyal El Dukr.
		Um Sahila.

2. Ganatir	'Ayyad.
	'Ayyal Amer.
	'Ayyal Belila.
	'Ayyal Ismail—El Asfar.
	Um Ayyid. (Dagalsha).
3. Awlad Shen	Um Sereih.
	Abu Hameidi.
	Sawasib.
	Um Fesari.
4. Nas el Hag	Ruba'ab.
	Um Gibbah.
	El 'Iteiman.
	Um Merei.
5. Degheim	El Ganadil.
	El Ibeiab.
	Um Hashaba.
	Um Kafli.

(c) *Dar 'Agīl.*

The Dar 'Agīl were originally a section of the Shankhab but, owing to the contests for the *naḫās* which I have recorded above, became split up and scattered.

Part of this section now resides in the Funǧ Province and the other part has joined the Ǧim'a.

The sub-sections of the Dar 'Agīl are as follows :—

Suba'ab.
Um Hagu.
Abu Gaud.
Muṭārifa.
Abu 'On.
Khanatla.

The Dagalsha are not Shankhab in origin, they were originally Ǧa'liyin, but have practically coalesced with the Ganatir.

The Ganadil sub-section of the Degheim is the one to which the Amir Ali Wad el Helu belonged.

The 'Ayyad sub-section of the Ganatir is the chief sub-division of the Shankhab at present.

SELEIM.

Seleim had three descendants, Da'ud and Ṭarīf from one wife, and Seleim from another. Da'ud and Tarīf are full brothers, and in olden times their descendants paid half the taxes of the tribe and the other half was paid by the Awlad Seleim.

The Awlad Seleim seem to have suffered very much, as there are only two *Khashm Buyut* of them (the Um Kherian and the Um Dakkam). Da'ud had a son Maḥbūb, and the main sub-section of Seleim was called after him (Maḥbūba).

The sub-sections of Maḥbuba are :—

1. Nas Ibrahim (Abul Hag, Fator and 'Abd el Hakim).
2. Nas Surur.
3. El Zueidat (Nas Delil, Dahrug, Yerro, Jok).
4. Nas Abu Diheiba.
5. Nas Seleitin.
6. Awlad Um Kasba (Um Gibla, Nas 'Awad, Nas Musa).
7. Nas 'Abiya (Nas Hamoda, Magadam, Bol Shau).
8. Nas Belal (El Ahmar, El Azrag, El Huseinat).

The Um Ṭarīf sub-sections are :—

1. Hakima (Goda, Gawuda, Osman and Maginda).
2. Nas Idris.
3. Awlad Tayer (Nas Suleiman, Nas 'Abdullah and Nas Isma'il).
4. 'Owada (Gurman, El Feki, Bol Huseini), originally they were Dueih, but became naturalized Um Ṭarīf.
5. Awlad Seleim.

The head chief of the Seleim, as far as there has been one, has generally been in the Nas Ibrahim, but the Hakima and Nas Idris sections have also supplied chiefs.

AḤAMDA.

Ḡawama'a.

(1) Gamazab.
(2) Huseinab.
(3) Awlad Abu 'Ali.
(4) Waslab.
(5) Um Sa'id.
(6) Shawrab.
(7) Ghineimab.
(8) Shireishab.

Isfia.

(1) Diab (now reckoned as separate section).
(2) Muhammedab.
(3) Ma'alla.
(4) Zireigab.
(5) Shakali.
(6) Zumumab.
(7) Khamalab.
(8) Nurab.
(9) Dabakala.

Sahawat.

(1) Kawazba.
(2) Gugugab.
(3) Sheikhab.
(4) Degeilab.
(5) Gadawia.

The ruling family belongs to the Diab section of the tribe.

CUSTOMS OF THE BAGGARA.

LAND.

When the Baggara acquired their present Dar in the White Nile they were nomads. Cultivation was a small consideration entrusted to slaves and poor dependents, and was undertaken simply to provide for household needs. At the time agricultural produce had little or no commercial value, and the ordinary Baggara family lived mainly on meat and milk. Indeed it is said that one ardeb of grain would suffice a small family for the whole year. Probably the old patch of cultivation was laid down by the slaves in the vicinity of the cattle ferik, and to this day the cultivation of the Baggara in Kordofan and Darfur is of trifling extent. Even gum, which long ago had a monetary value, does not seem to have interested the Baggara. The pioneers of gum development in Dar Gim'a, for instance, are said to have been Gawama'a and Mesellemia under 'Id Wad Mekki.

As has been seen, the Mahdia utterly destroyed the animal substance of the Arabs; so the Baggara had to cultivate in order to live and acquire once more their beloved cows. Some of them, for one reason or another, have never returned to their nomadic life, but have remained

as sedentaries in villages. Most of these people are probably immigrant strangers, as it is still the first ambition among the cattle-owning Arabs to be the owner of a herd.

As cultivation became more important in the eyes of the community, so did native custom as to rights in land develop. To begin with, the land of the Dars belonged to the tribes in general, and the head of the tribe was regarded as the trustee for its land. He divided it out among the various sections, and the minor Sheikhs divided among individuals. In the time of 'Asakir Abu Kalam, for instance, we find that each *khashm beit* had its own area of cultivation land, and even some notable families (*e.g.* Awlad Mahmud) were assigned special rights. Nobody in the tribe paid rent, but 'Asakir took a proportion in kind from strangers cultivating in his Dar. This was known as *gīrāṭ 'Asākir* and continued to be collected by the Nazir of the Ǧim'a until quite recent times. Uncultivated land was at the disposal of the Nazir. Of course even the Ǧim'a gave presents of grain and animals to their Nazir. This is a form of self-insurance common to the country.

As has been shown among the Awlad Kahil, native customs as to right in land vary with the quality of the soil. On light *gōz* land, where cultivation is constantly being shifted and where the extent of cultivable land is much in excess of demand, individual *ownership* of land is not admitted. That is to say the individual tribesman cannot sell his land outright, either to a neighbour or to a stranger. Nor can he mortgage the land. On the other hand, very definite rights of usufruct exist. Every tribesman by native custom is entitled to clear and cultivate as much land as he and his family require for their needs and can sow and weed. This is called *kifāyat yadu*. Once the cultivator has been assigned and cleared his *bilād*, it cannot be taken from him ; he can go on cultivating it until it is worked out or until he dies. In the latter case eventually his heirs succeed to it. He can hire out his land to strangers and collect rent (*tugundi*), or if the *bilād* has become fallow and gum trees have sprung up, he can rent the tapping rights (*khashm el fās*). The only circumstance which can deprive him of the use of the land is his continued absence from the Dar. Even in that case should he return within a reasonable period his *bilād* will be probably restored to him or he will receive compensation for his work in clearing it (*ḥagg el naḍāfa*). Uncultivated land is at the discretion of the head of the

tribe, but in practice the minor Sheikhs have generally a certain amount of cultivated land to dispose of which they now hire out to strangers. No rent is charged to fellow tribesmen, but in these days of commercial exploitation, even tribesmen have to pay *tugundi* in the vicinity of towns. In a word, although the rights of real ownership of land are denied to the individual on the *gōz* soil, he has very definite rights of usufruct which in practice amount to full ownership except in the matter of sale and mortgage.

On the heavier cotton soil, individual rights are more emphasised because cotton soil involves more labour in clearance, and once cleaned can be cultivated almost indefinitely. The principle of *kifāyat yadu* has not been applied to cotton soil to the same extent as on *gōz* land. The family or individual among Dar Muharib, for instance, has cleared land wherever it was vacant, and wherever they had the fancy. No permission to develop it was sought from the tribal chief, and the extent of its development was governed solely by the manpower at the disposal of its developer. Undeveloped land, though perhaps in theory supposed to be at the disposal of the tribal chief, is in practice developed fortuitously. To begin with, there are no boundaries between the various sections, and no special land was assigned to them, but in time, as a result of disputes, boundaries were established by compromise. Although a man does not actually sell the land of the *bilād* he has cleared, he *can* sell the value of his labour in cleaning it, and assign it to whomsoever he wishes; he can also hire it out, and the present customary rent for clean land is about 20 P.T. per *ǧad'a*. In *ḥareig* cultivation, which is continually shifting, each section has its own approximate area, but individuals can cultivate anywhere within that area, and often cultivate in areas assigned to sections other than their own. Such individuals are always listed under their own Sheikhs.

On islands in the river each *khashm beit* has established its own area. Musran Island, for example, is mainly assigned to the Subaha section of Dar Muharib, whereas Belli Island is in the hands of the Nezza section. Islands are chiefly used for grazing, and cultivation is of very small extent.

The difference in custom between rights on *gōz* and cotton soil is that on the *gōz* land the individual cannot develop cultivation without permission, he cannot hire without permission, and he cannot, under any circumstances, sell either the land or his cultivation rights therein, whereas

on cotton soil he can develop wherever land is vacant without reference to his chief; the extent of the development is governed only by his man-power, he can hire and even assign the use of his land without permission, but he cannot actually sell the land itself.

MARRIAGE.

As among the Hassania and other northern tribes, when a Baggari wishes to marry he sends his father and other *aǧāwīd* to the father of his intended bride. If the girl's father, after a consultation with his relations and with the mother of the girl, accepts the suitor, the *mahr* is fixed by the parties in the usual manner. Among the Baggara until recently the *mahr* was paid in cattle entirely, but, influenced by the custom of others, the Baggara now pay a certain amount of cash for their bride. Before the *mahr* is fixed the mother of the bride demands what is known as *ḥagg el shuṭūr* (compensation for the milk she gave her daughter), and this generally consists of a good milk cow. This cow, should the girl be divorced, is not returned to the husband. There is no *'adal el beit*. The bridegroom's father produces some clothes for the bride's relations, and in more recent times some scent and grease. He also produces a barren cow and two or three sheep for slaughter. The bride's mother constructs the bridal house of *shukkāb*. It is known as *beit el birza*. When all is ready for the ceremony the father of the bridegroom with two or three supporters visits the father of the bride, who formally signifies his acceptance of the bridegroom. A deputation of the men from both sides then go to the bride's mother and her female relations and finally ask for the girl. As the *mahr* and other gifts have now been handed over, the bride's mother gives her consent. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom then send for a fiki and the marriage ceremony (*'agd el ḥabl*) is gone through. As distinct from the Hassania, it is to be noted that according to old Baggara custom, the bridegroom was represented by his father before the fiki and did not appear in person. However, times have changed and it is said that a Government Ma'zun will not sign a marriage certificate unless the bridegroom appears in person. Before the marriage ceremony the bride is conducted by her girl friends to the bridal house and there awaits her bridegroom. The marriage ceremony generally takes place late at night, and as soon as the Fatiha has been pronounced, a man lulu's three times, and the sound of joy is taken up by the waiting women. The bridegroom is then led to an open space

in the ferik and his men friends sit all around him while a songstress (*ḥakkāma*) from his own people with her attendant women sings his and his family's praises all night long. This is called among the Baggara *leilat el sahr*. When the light of dawn appears, horses are produced for the bridegroom and his companions, and they make pretence of running away, but in reality gallop round the ferik near the bridal house to the accompaniment of drums and the cries of the women. As the sun rises they halt at the bridal house. The trappings of the bridegroom's steed are loosened (*ḥall el ghurḍa*) and he is three times raised up and lowered again on his saddle by his companions. He is then solemnly led to his bride who is awaiting him with her girl friends and he cuts her *rahaṭ*. After a few minutes, the latter take the bride back to her mother's house, but the bridegroom, once inside the *beit el birza*, cannot leave it and sits inside with his friends receiving visits of congratulation. It is not until after the lapse of three days that the bride and bridegroom are left alone, and before this is done the bridal house is brushed out. The bride and bridegroom remain in the *beit el birza* for about fourteen days, and after that the bridegroom removes the girl to his father's house. She is not generally left with her own people as with the northern Arabs. Baggara custom does not admit of the bridegroom wearing special clothes or other adornment for his marriage, but modern Baggara have been influenced by outside custom in this and other respects.

The circumcision of the Baggara girls is not so severe as that of the North, so a bridegroom does not pay dues to midwives, etc., before he has intercourse with his wife. Before marriage the girls in a ferik have every freedom, and there is a regular custom called *ḥaḍāna* by which young girls reaching puberty are made calf love to by youths. It often happens as a result of this that a girl has given her heart to a youth before her marriage, and steadily refuses the husband whom her father has chosen for her. Cases of suicide for this reason are not uncommon, and in cases of girls killing themselves, the reason is generally forced marriage. Often, too, young men are forced into marriage with their cousins, though they have already formed an attachment with an outside girl. In both cases the effects on the marriages are disastrous. A girl forced into a marriage, if she does not kill herself, goes on refusing her husband until he divorces her, and her former lover produces the cattle paid. Very often the incensed husband

demands from the lover more than he has paid to his mother-in-law. In the case of boys being forced into marriages with their cousins, the young husband endures his marriage for a few months and then divorces his cousin wife. If he is asked for an explanation by his father or father-in-law he sometimes tells the truth. Generally if a boy divorces his cousin early in marriage, the father refuses to give him cattle wherewith to marry again. Sometimes, however, the demands of a greedy mother-in-law force a man to divorce even his cousin, and in this case his father is ready to help him to marry again.

As among other Arabs, the Baggara take as first wife their first cousin paternal or maternal, and failing this the first cousin once removed. After that a man can go further afield, but before he marries a second wife he must give a "sweetener" (*raḍwa*) to his first wife or there will be trouble. Two cows is the average *raḍwa* paid among the Ġim'a. Before a marriage ceremony, Baggara boys go round the ferik, forcibly taking from each house chickens which they slaughter and eat. Similarly the girls seize curdled milk.

DIVORCE.

If a man divorces his wife he sometimes makes a reckoning against her.

If she asks him to divorce her, he demands payment of the cows paid as *mahr*. The other expenses are not reckoned. If she cannot pay, the *mahr* is left "on her back" until she marries again, when the new husband pays at least a portion of it.

A woman proved in adultery has to pay her *mahr*.

When a man marries a divorcée, he invariably asks leave of her former husband as well as of her father.

When a girl is divorced she takes back with her to her father's house the household furniture and any property she has brought with her.

The best families do not insist on the repayment of *mahr* except on adultery, even if the wife demands divorce. It is related of the late Nazir, Ahmed Bedawi, that during his absence on tribal work his wife was suspected of relations with a youth in the ferik. He determined to put the matter to the test. Knocking at his wife's door late at night, he was greeted by her voice admonishing her lover, whom she supposed was at her door, not to come to her house when the Nazir was in the

ferik. This was taken as proof positive and the Nazir demanded the *mahr* next morning. It was paid, not by the lover, but by a rich tribesman who had admired the lady. Though she had to marry him, the union was of short duration.

ANIMALS.

CATTLE.

As we have seen, the Baggara when they entered the Sudan had no cattle. They themselves say that they started breeding cattle in Darfur, but it is likely that they picked up their first cattle in the Nile Valley from the Dinka and Shilluk who then inhabitated the country.

Cattle are now their main interest in life, though from time to time, owing to the prevalence of disease and the enhanced prices of sheep, the Baggara take to sheep breeding temporarily. They however nearly all return to their old love and their pride is in cattle, not in sheep.

The quality of the Baggara cattle in the West is generally not so high as that of the riverain tribes, but the White Nile Baggara cattle, especially the Ġim'a, Seleim and Dar Muharib, are superior in every way to those of the Baggara in Kordofan and Darfur.

The favourite colours are white (*abyaḍ*) and grey (*aghbash*). A cow calves in her fourth year, and sometimes produces as many as a dozen calves before she dies or is cast. "Bulling" goes on all through the year, and a bull may serve as many as 100 cows. Bulls are selected with considerable care, and often a cattle owner will give a good price for a bull calf from a herd with a reputation for good milking. A bull will continue serving cows until he becomes aged.

The age of the cows is signified as follows :—

First year	...	...	*mutlaba*.
Second year	...	...	*ḥolīya*.
Third year	...	...	*ǧad'a*.
Fourth year	...	...	*tenīya*.
Fifth year	...	...	*rab'a*.
Aged ...	...	...	*ǧam'īya*.

Similarly a cow's calving is distinguished as follows :—

First calf	...	...	*bakra*.
Second calf	...	...	*um tānī*.
Third calf	...	...	*um tālit*, etc., etc.

Each cow in the herd has its own name, very often given from its colour, and all its descendants are called by the same name. Cows, except in times of stress, are milked in the evening when they come in from pasture. The calves are confined in a thorn zariba, and the milker calls out the name of the cow he wishes to milk and she comes up to be milked of her own accord. After milking the cows lie down round the houses of the ferik, but the stock bull is generally tied up in a zariba as the cows start off to graze again late in the night, and if the bull is not tied up the herdsman may not awake and the cattle may be attacked by hyenas, etc. If the bull is tied up, he begins lowing when the cows start off, the herdsman awakes and follows the cattle. This night-grazing is considered by all Arabs as all important for the welfare of the cattle, and a herd who does more night grazing than usual is referred to as *serrāb*.

The best grasses for cattle are reckoned to be *dumbalāb, um muṣābi', difra, gau, shinglit, ḥaskanīt, ḥamadi, um chirr, tabr* and *bagheil*.

Watering takes place every second day, and on wells there is a special water drawer called *nashshāl*, who, if he is hired, receives about 30 P.T. per month plus his keep and clothes. A hired herdsman (*kārī*) is paid in kind, generally a bull calf and a cow calf for every year he grazes the cattle.

Apart from the milk on which the Baggara so largely live, the coagulated fat (*semin* or *dihn*) from the milk is of considerable value. The milk is " separated " by shaking it in a skin (*si'n*) or rounded vessel (*bukhsa*) suspended to the roof by a rope. The cream or butter is left standing for six or seven days and then is boiled in a *burma* or *kalōl*. It is thence poured into a *gaḍaḥ*, where it cools, and finally stored in a cow skin (*buṭṭa*). The hides of cows or bulls are tanned and made into bags, etc., and the parts remaining are woven into ropes. The hair on cows' tails is used for ropes for tying up calves and cows when being milked.

Bulls in Dar Baggara are the ordinary means of transport. A ferik on the move with its transport bulls and its other cattle is called *ḍa'īna*. A young married woman with children or a marriageable girl are transported as the ferik moves in *'uṭfas*. The framework of the *'uṭfa*, which is constructed by women, consists of *inderāb* tree boughs bound together with *kitr* bark. As a covering from the sun there is the *dardāg*, a kind of matting made with *um sakīna* grass and *kitr* bark. Under the shade of this the mother and as many as three small children can sit on the bull,

and beside her are her most cherished possessions in baskets (*karoia*) or bags (*mukhlāya*). For decoration there are stretched on each side strips of coloured leather with bells attached which tinkle with the progress of the bull. Round the bull's neck is a *gelāda* or leather collar with a larger bell attached, and in his nose is the nose piece (*zimām*).

Diseases among the Baggara cattle are all too rife, but they know few or no remedies, although there are native animal " doctors " who treat cattle by making an incision in the ear and inserting pus or lymph from the lung of a diseased beast.

The most common are the following :—

(1) Rinderpest (*abu damī'a*).
(2) Pleuropneumonia (*abu genīt*).
(3) Foot and mouth disease (*abu lisān*).
(4) Anthrax (*'uwāra*).
(5) Wasting from fly (*abu darāba*).
(6) Blood poisoning (*abu tankal*).

SHEEP.

Of recent years especially the Seleim and Dar Muharib have taken to sheepbreeding. Sheep do extraordinarily well on the lush grass on the river banks, lamb twice a year, and are not so liable to disease as cattle. Moreover, with the development of the Gezira Scheme, there is a growing demand for mutton. With the Seleim and Dar Muḥarib " tupping " takes place throughout the year as " bulling " with cattle, but in the inland dars " tupping " occurs in the early summer, and lambing in the beginning of the rains. To prevent " tupping " at other times, the ram's parts are tied up with a string called *kunān*, and when a sheepowner lets loose his " tups " it is said : *fulān ḥall el kunān*.

Age in sheep is signified in the same way as cattle except that the first year lamb is called *baham*. A ewe lambs in her second year on good grazing, and she generally produces for five or six years.

The Baggara sheep are small and dark and as their houses are not made of hair or wool, they have no use for the latter. What generally happens is that clippers (*ǧazzāz*) from the northern tribes clip the Baggara sheep for their wool. The best sheep are said to be found among the Kababish and round Abu Deleig. The commonest sheep diseases are (1) throat disease (*abu akhḍar*), (2) foot and mouth (*abu lisān*), (3) anthrax (*'uwāra*), (4) liver disease (*abu mareira*).

Sheep are regularly milked and surplus milk is turned into butter and fat. Sheep like cattle are much grazed by night. A hired herdsman generally gets about 8–10 lambs per annum for herding an average flock.

Best grasses for sheep are reckoned to be *baghīl, saha, firsh, sha'ir,* and *tabr.*

HOUSES.

The typical Baggara house is the *beit el shukkāb.* It is highly mobile, waterproof, and cleaner and cooler than the camel-owner's *shugāg.* It is constructed of stout matting made from *kitr* bark and *merhabīb* grass. It is rather cylindrical in shape and is held in place by eight ropes in front and behind like a tent. The lower surround of the house is called the *ḥeyāga.* The matting roof, etc., can be rolled up quickly and put on the bulls when camp is moved. All this work is done by the women.

TAXATION UNDER THE TURKISH AND MAHDIST GOVERNMENTS.

It has been impossible in the short time at my disposal to collect any information as to taxes in Dar Baggara in pre-Turkish days.

UNDER THE TURKS.

During the latter regime the main tax was a form of tribute (*ǵizya*). The Governor of Kordofan fixed with the Cattle Nazir and his subordinates the total amount to be paid. This was distributed as a poll tax throughout the Dar. To begin with it did not exceed a sum of four dollars per householder (*i.e.*, a man who had a wife and family), but gradually it was raised to 20 dollars. This led to the migrations from tribe to tribe which have been noticed, and numbers of 'Ebeisab, Ǵim'a and Shankhab moved to the Atbara and lived with the Daba'ina under Wad Zeid. The trouble led to the temporary dismissal of 'Asakir Abu Kalam, and his successor El Nur Girayb endeavoured to raise more money for the ravenous officials by assessing taxes on mature cattle. The test of cattle maturity was reckoned by the length of the horn and any beast whose horn measured a handspan was considered mature. Thus a year was known as *sanat 'ushūr el garna gabḍa* "the year in which tribute was assessed on cattle with horns of one handspan in length." This measure was most unpopular and caused the return of 'Asakir to the chiefship.

'Asakir used to go up to El Obeid every year for the annual reckoning of taxes and the closing of accounts. The whole tribute was known among the people as *ṭulba*, and after it had been divided among the various sheikhships, the particular part assessed on the latter was called *zumām*. The tribute was collected by four 'Uhad under 'Asakir.

The four of whom we have records were 'Abd el Hamid Kağok for the 'Isheish, Ahmed Ġeifun for the Shankhab, Abu Hawa for the Seleim, and 'Abd el Hadi Yasin for the Manatih. These 'Uhad retained their own local independence and finally Abu Hawa broke away from the Ġim'a altogether. After the fights at Dabbat el Tor and elsewhere, feeling between the Ġim'a and the Seleim became very bitter, and Abu Hawa who belonged to the Nas Ibrahim section went to Khartoum to petition for separation from the Ġim'a. It is related that the Turkish Pasha asked Abu Hawa how many boy slaves (*amrad*) he could produce, and Abu Hawa, not to be beaten, promised to produce 500, which was an astounding number for a small tribe like the Seleim. The Pasha promised him independence from the Ġim'a if the boys were produced, but dismissal and subjection to the Ġim'a in event of failure. Abu Hawa went back to his tribe and they drove huge herds of cattle for sale to Gallabat, and with the proceeds purchased the slave boys who were sent to the Pasha. The latter expressed astonishment at the number, but Abu Hawa answered him "in my country it rains slave boys." He obtained his independence as a result and was attached to Fashoda.

'Asakir's division of the tribute was famed for its fairness and what was due from the poorer members of the community was paid by their more fortunate brethren or sometimes by 'Asakir himself. 'Asakir instituted a fund for such purposes which was known as *wasākh el dār* and consisted of strayed and stolen property brought into Dar Ġim'a. From this he paid taxes for the aged and infirm and also gave presents to his Sheikhs for tax collection, etc. If a Sheikh or section defaulted, a member of the household was produced as bail for payment (*rihāna*) and left in 'Asakir's house as a slave.

Sometimes Government soldiery had to be called in to assist in tax collection. These were called *Ḥawāla* and their remuneration consisted of a special contribution known as *ḥagg el sukhra* and was additional to the tax. If a Sanğak and regular soldiers were required with a clerk, a due called *ḥagg el rug'a* was demanded.

Compared with modern Government methods, Arab assessments were peculiar for the number of persons who obtained remission. No women were taxed, strangers were exempted, and of course all holy men escaped. They were known as *ahl el ğāh*.

Sometimes collection fell short of the total fixed, in which case 'Asakir would arrange for a general contribution of one dollar on every married man. This produced the extra balance required, with a surplus for 'Asakir's own private purse.

Among the Dar Muharib taxation was on the same general lines except that taxes were often paid in cattle instead of cash, the minimum tax being one cow and the maximum four cows. We have seen among the Ǧim'a that tribute amounted to a poll tax on householders, but in Dar Muharib taxation was assessed according to cattle wealth and the unit was ten cattle, which was assessed at four dollars. *Ḥagg el sukhra* was known as *ḍanab el bagara*, and was fixed at 2 PT. The Sheikhs who were with the *ḥawāla* had a right to take a share. Dar Muharib paid at Sennar and not at El Obeid.

UNDER THE MAHDIA.

I have already related the forms of Mahdist taxation in the notes on the Awlad Kahil.

Zakā and *fuṭra* were the two main taxes, but whereas in the North most of the taxes were collected for the private purse of the Khalifa 'Abdullahi, in the South a large number of the Baggara were under Khalifa 'Ali el Helu, and the money from their taxes went to him. In the North, Wad el Sunni collected all over the Gezira for the Khalifa, but in the South, Muhammed Makhawi, a Mermeiri of Dar Hamid, but a Digheimi on his mother's side, was the chief agent for the green flag of Khalifa 'Ali. Here as elsewhere the forms and principles underlying *zakā* and *fuṭra* bore little relation in practice to the methods employed in collection, which amounted to little short of wholesale confiscation and licensed brigandage.

(3) THE REST.

The tribes who do not belong either by blood or tradition to the Kawahla or Baggara groups are the Shenābla, the Dueiḥ, the Northern and Eastern Mesellemia, the 'Arakiyin, the Ṭawāl, the Ǧa'afera, the Shuweiḥāt, the Māğdia and the Kurtān.

As will be seen from the map these tribes occupy positions on the western and eastern flanks in the centre of the Province. None of them are of great importance, and in some cases, like that of the Dueih, Kurtan and Mağdia, they are survivals of a *gloria temporis acti*. Nevertheless they still maintain their tribal identity with a patriotism almost amounting to parochialism in its intensity.

Except for the Shenabla, who have been reunited with their fellow tribesmen in Kordofan, the remainder have joined the Northern Native Administration. I do not propose to deal with them individually in great detail, but would offer a few comments on the more interesting and important features.

THE SHERG EL 'AGABA ADMINISTRATION.

The foundation of the Sherg el 'Agaba dates back to the Funğ dynasty. It is interesting as an example of Arab exploitation at the expense of the Blacks and, later, as a type of administration under Turkish rule. As to its origin the legend is that a Dueihi, Adam Hamed el Dud, migrated from Jebel Guli in the Funğ and established himself and his relations in uninhabited country near Busata south-west of Dueim. There he dug a large *ḥafīr* or waterhole which still bears his name. I suspect Adam had Hamağ blood in his veins, probably on his mother's side. As can be seen from remains on the eastern boundary of this Province and in the Funğ, these Hamağ were great *ḥafīr* diggers which Arabs are certainly not. Moreover there is a distinct tradition among the tribes that the ancestress of the Dueih was a Hamağia. In any case Adam Hamed el Dud established himself as head of a local Arab combination and, after expelling the Shilluk, he obtained the usual *wasīga* (*wathīga*) from the Funğ Sultan. On the advent of the Turks he was confirmed in his position as a Nazir, but was attached to a larger administration controlled by 'Abd el Hadi Sabr, a Dolabi from Khursi near Bara. 'Abd el Hadi was styled Nazir of Khursi, Tayara and Sherg el 'Agaba and Mulahiz of Bara. He controlled the area from the Kheiran just west of Bara to Dueim and Shatt in the east. He was an able and influential native official and, after Fadlallah Bey Salim, the Kababish chief, was the chief power in Northern Kordofan. Adam Hamed el Dud continued in his position until his death, but after that event his clerk Isma'il Gismallah, a Mesellemi, who had also crossed from the Gezira, claimed his master's position. Eventually a division of

territory was made between Adam's son, Isma'il, and Adam's clerk, Isma'il Gismallah, the former living at Um Bathi, and the latter at Shatt. Towards the end of the Turkish regime Muhammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, paid a secret visit to Isma'il Adam at Shatt and married his step-daughter Fatima bint Husein. She accompanied the Mahdi throughout his campaign and was known as Umm el Muminin.

Through her connection and influence, the Dueih and the other Sherg el 'Agaba tribes were secured as supporters of the Mahdist cause, and later Isma'il Adam's sons, Adam and Hamed el Nil, were made Amirs.

Not long before the Mahdist revolt, 'Abd el Hadi Sabr's position at Khursi had been weakened by quarrels and intrigues. Indeed some say that he was actually dismissed and replaced by Muhammed Sheddad, a Bedeiri, whose son Ishag is now 'Omda of Bara. In any case, when the Mahdi proclaimed himself, 'Abd el Hadi offered his services to the Government, and died fighting with Yusif el Shellali near Jebel Gadir.

The Sherg el 'Agaba was really a composite unit consisting of a variety of tribes. In addition the Dueih there were included Ğa'afera, Shenabla, Kurtan, Mağdia, Mesellemia, Ğa'liyin, Shuweihat, and, I believe, some Hassania and Huseinat. Each section was assessed for a lump sum in tribute which was divided by the local Sheikh. The Nazir at Shatt or Um Bathi was responsible for payment of the total to 'Abd el Hadi at Khursi, and the latter paid it into the El Obeid treasury. In a sense it was a system of tax farming, as the Nazir and the various Sheikhs under him recouped themselves from the money they collected, and no questions were asked provided the sum fixed reached the Turks.

NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TRIBES.

The Shenabla.

They are Ğuheina in origin and related to the Dar Hamid tribe in Kordofan. We first hear of them at Daraw in Egypt, and after entering the Sudan they seem to have worked westwards across Kordofan to Jebel Meidob. There they were attacked by the Zaghawa and other Darfur tribes and retreated eastwards. The great majority attached themselves to the Kababish, but the Ğikheisat section went south and joined the Hamar, whereas another remnant, including the Subeihat section, established themselves round Shatt and Zireiga near the White

Nile. The Awlad Fiki 'Isa seems to have constituted themselves a kind of hierarchy in this locality, and obtained rights over the land and wells about 1780 from the Musabba'at Malik, Musellim el Amir, an agent of Sultan Husein in Darfur. Later they were attached to the Sherg el 'Agaba.

The Shenabla in Kordofan remained with the Kababish and Hamar until the outbreak of the Mahdia. They then broke away and were constituted a separate tribe, first under Muhammed el Lebeih and later under Munhil Kheirallah. The latter supervised the Mahdist transport camels west of the Nile and was instrumental in protecting Shenabla and Kawahla herds from confiscation by Mahdists.

Munhil was confirmed in his position as Nazir on the re-occupation, but was ejected from Kordofan about 1913. He continued as " Nazir " in the White Nile until 1923, when he resigned. During the interregnum the Shenabla suffered from a number of unsatisfactory 'Omdas, but have now been re-united under Nazir el Amin el Akam.

The chief sections of the Shenabla are :—

1. Subeihat.
2. Abu 'Imayr.
3. Um Bereish (section of ex-Nazir Munhil Kheirallah).
4. Awlad Khashun.
5. Awlad Dani.
6. Awlad Nasir.
7. Um 'Abdallah.
8. Nas Hadad (Section of present Nasir el Amin el Akam).
9. Nas Hawal.
10. Gikheisat (most of them now incorporated with the Hamar in Western Kordofan).
11. 'Awamira.

They are a camel- and sheep-owning tribe, and their very distinctive brand is the *kurbāǧ* on the near flank.

Owing to their being without a chief of their own prior to the Mahdia, the Shenabla are rather looked down on by other tribes. The Kababish sing of them :—

Ka'b esh Shambalī wālidto man'ūla
Keif far' ez ziggai eḍ ḍullo māhūla
illa 'ūd yishshābikū ma yagīf ṭūla.

" Nasty is the Shambali, his mother is accursed,
like a branch of the Ziggai[1] parasite,
whose shade is not its own,
but tangled branches unable to stand upright."

THE SHUWEIHAT, THE MAĞDIA AND THE KURTAN.

All these three tribes claim descent from the Ğa'liyin. The Shuweihat settled in the vicinity of Jebels Tius and Shuweih. They were attacked there by a Funğ Mek and dispersed. The remnants fled and lived with the Bedeiria round El Obeid, but returned after the Turkish conquest to their old habitations. Fiki Ibrahim Isagha established himself round Jebel Tius and the Homra wells. His son is alleged to have killed one of the Ğawama'a Terayfia who lived round Homra, and as a result the Fiki had to fly to the Mağdia for protection. During the Turkish rule the tribe was attached to the Sherg el 'Agaba and paid taxes to Husein, the Kashif or Sarraf, who acted for 'Abd el Hadi Sabr, the Nazir. During the Mahdia they had two Amirs, Adam Mamus, who had been brought up in Dar Hamar, and El Helu, one of the sons of El Fiki Ibrahim mentioned above.

The main sections of the Shuweihat are the Ma'einab, the Awlad Musa, and the Awlad 'Atig.

The Mağdia and Kurtan, who are closely allied, are also of Ğa'liyin stock. In days gone by they were powerful tribes possessing large numbers of horses and mailed armour. They are said to have fought successful engagements with the powerful Ğeheina in Dongola, and later we find them settled at Tur'a el Khadra, north of Dueim. Thence they were expelled by the Awlad Kahil as has been related, and they finally settled round 'Idd el 'Ud and Shigeig. When the Turks came in, they seemed to have joined them, as we hear of a Kurtani leader, 'Ali Idris, ancestor of the present 'Omda, Fadlallah Muhammed, accompanying the Turkish army to El Obeid. As a reward his son Muhammed Ali was given a *wasīga* for the land round Idd el 'Ud, Um Desis and 'Ideid.

In the Mahdia the two tribes were separated, the Kurtan being attached to the green flag of Khalifa 'Ali el Helu and the Mağdia to the black flag of Ya'gub, Khalifa 'Abdullahi's brother.

[1] Ziggai is *Cocculus Leæba*, a woody climber with red berries. (Broun and Massey, *Flora of the Sudan*, No. 19.)

Both tribes are now very much attenuated, but have retained their patriarchal customs to a greater extent than their neighbours.

The chief sub-sections are :—

KURTAN.

Awlad Masikh.
Awlad el Fiki.
El Korsi.
El Farad.
El Shubutab.
El Hadarib.

MAGDIA.

Abu Rus.
El Dereisat.
Awlad Zeiyad.
El Suler.

THE ĞA'AFERA.

They claim to be Ashraf, but this is probably untrue They settled first round Bamban and Ramadi north of Assuan. They have always been traders and cultivators rather than animal owners. Some of them went west and settled in the Senusist area where their descendants still live.

In the time of the Funğ regime Hasan Abu 'Ali, the great great grandfather of the present Omda of Dueim, Ibrahim Hasan left Egypt and settled at Fageigh in Northern Kordofan. His son moved eastwards and lived at 'Idd el 'Ud. They found the Shilluk living round Dueim and expelled them. Under the Turkish rule they were attached to the Sherg el 'Agaba and Husein 'Abd el Rahim, grandfather of the present 'Omda was an 'Uhda under Nazir 'Abd el Hadi. When the Mahdi rose, Dueim became a Government fort and was reinforced by Gordon with 500 soldiers under Sa'id Bey, a Ġim'iabi. An attack in force by the Mahdists was repulsed with great loss, and later Hicks made Dueim the base of his ill-fated expedition. Many prominent Ğa'afera accompanied him, and practically all of them perished at Sheikan. Husein 'Abd el Rahim died with Gordon at Khartoum.

After the fall of Khartoum, the Ğa'afera captured there were sent with Wad el Neğumi's expedition into Egypt. They deserted him at

Berber and came back to Omdurman where the Khalifa in anger imprisoned Hasan Husein, the father of the present 'Omda. His property was confiscated but the other Ğa'afera were allowed to return to Dueim where they remained until the re-occupation. Ibrahim Hasan, the present 'Omda, was a Mulazim of the Khalifa, and was present at the battles of Kereri and Um Debeikerat. There are Ğa'afera settlements all over the Sudan and especially at Berber, El Obeid, Damer and Roseires.

The chief sub-sections are Hasanab, Huseinab, Meriab, Hasabullab, 'Askerab, Ahmedab, Nasrab and 'Abdullab.

THE 'ARAKIYIN, MESELLEMIA AND TAWAL.

These three tribes live on the east bank near the Province boundary with Managil. We have already noticed the Mesellemia who were defeated by the Baggara in what is now Dar Ğim'a, and the small Mesellemia settlement at Shatt which originated with Adam Hamed el Dud's clerk, Isma'il Gismallah. These were mere outposts as the main body settled in the Gezira. The Mesellemia say they are Ashraf claiming descent from Abu Bakr el Siddiq. Their ancestor Mesellem is said to have been the offspring of the union between one Yusif and a full sister of the celebrated mystic 'Abd el Gadir el Ğeilani. Mesellem lived and died at Mesellemia east of Esna, and his descendant Da'ud el Ğamel entered the Sudan through the Nile Valley. They seem to have been among the first Arabs in the Gezira, and there is definite evidence of their being there in the fifteenth century, A.D. They exerted very considerable religious influence during the Funğ and Turkish Governments and their holy men had a wide reputation. As was natural from their descent, they were strong supporters of the Gadiria Tarika, but their influence vanished in the outbreak of the Mahdia which sought to do away with all Tarikas. Even so the Mesellemia continued in their adherence to the Gadiria sect in secret.

Their chief sections are Geseisab, Habagra, Gamshab, Shalakhia, Eneisab, Defeiab, Musab, Mereirab, Sebeikab, Sheikhab, Hadrab and Hegeilab.

The 'Arakiyin have also a reputation for holiness and call themselves Ashraf through Imam 'Ali. Their ancestor who entered Egypt by the Isthmus of Suez in the Arab invasion was called Muhammed el

Bagir. He is said to have gone west and come east again and settled at Bir Serar North of Bara. There he left his son Ğa'far el Sadik and himself returned to Egypt. The best known ancestor of the 'Arakiyin is Hasan el Ma'arek, so-called because he left the world and its pleasures and devoted himself to God. He is said to have died in the West.

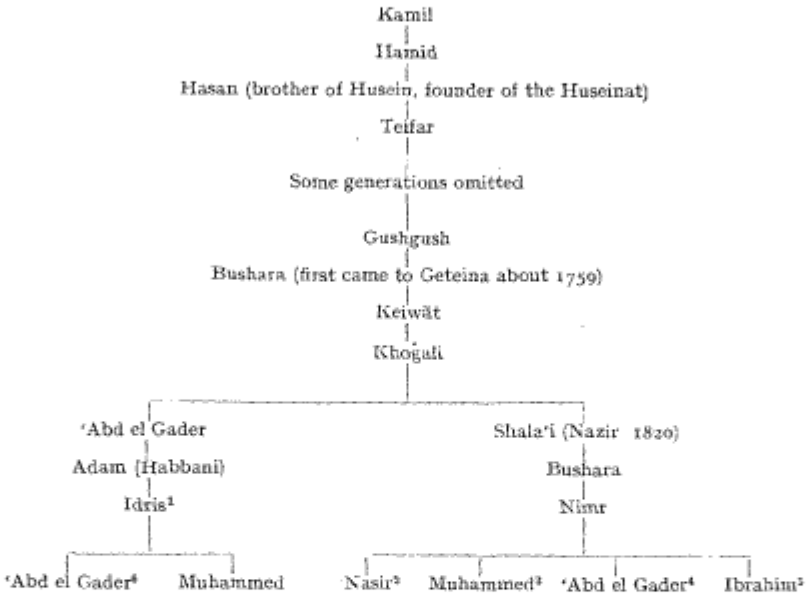
According to their own account the 'Arakiyin were in the Gezira before the establishment of the Funğ dynasty. During the latter they were accorded considerable privileges as is shown by a *wasīga* now in the possession of Sheikh Muhammed Zein el Raiyah which exempts his ancestor from the various Funğ taxes as well us giving him rights in the dar. This *wasīga* was written during the reign of a Sultan Badi in Sennar.

The chief sections of the 'Arakiyin are as follows: Nawaila, Fegeirab, Kambobat, Ğegeilab, Hamadab, Mesei'ab, Haidab, Meseikhab, Ğefeilab, Shegeigin, Ghereimab, Masa'id, Kurdab, Rabhab, Gurbab, Serahna and Huğuz.

The Tawal are allied to the Mesellemia and 'Arakiyin and might be called their "lay brethren" as they have hitherto not produced many well-known fikis. We have already heard of their contest with the Hassania, and they also fought with the 'Arakiyin and were defeated, losing their chief Selugi. They claim to be of Rufa'a stock and settled in the Gezira during the Funğ dynasty. They call themselves Ashraf like the 'Arakiyin through the Imam 'Ali, but I doubt if their claim is so well founded.

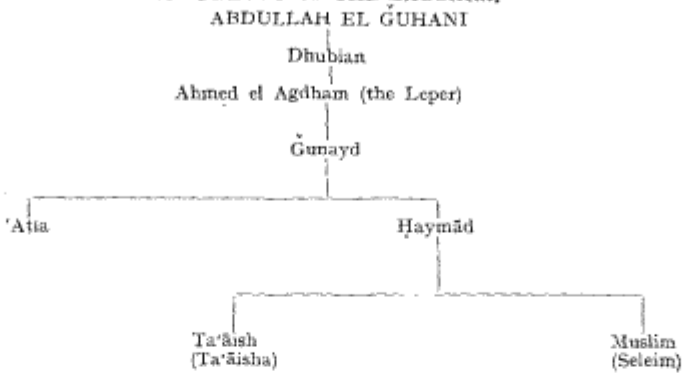
Their chief sections are Neseirat, Dubasiyin and Sawa'ada. They are related to the Tawal Section of the Kababish.

FAMILY TREE OF THE RULING HOUSE OF THE HASSANIA.

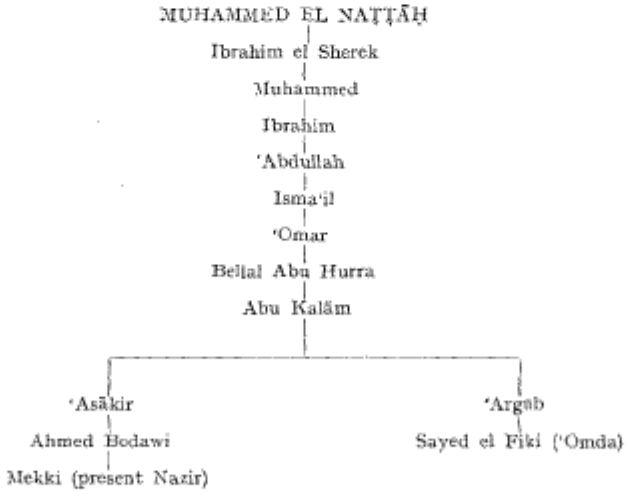


[1] Late Nazir, died 1927.
[2] Was Nazir in the Mahdia, killed by Hawawir at the end of the Mahdia.
[3] Killed during the Mahdia.
[4] Killed at Gallabat in the Mahdia.
[5] Still alive.
[6] Present Nazir.

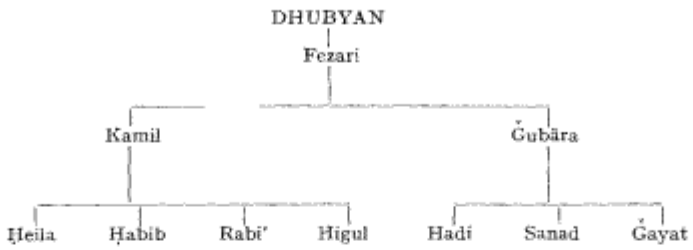
GENEALOGY OF THE BAGGARA.



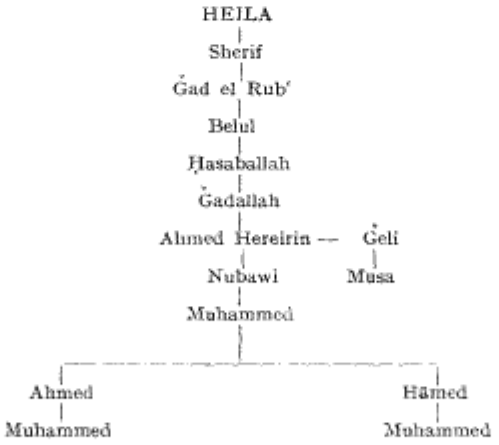
FAMILY TREE OF THE NAZIR EL BAGAR.

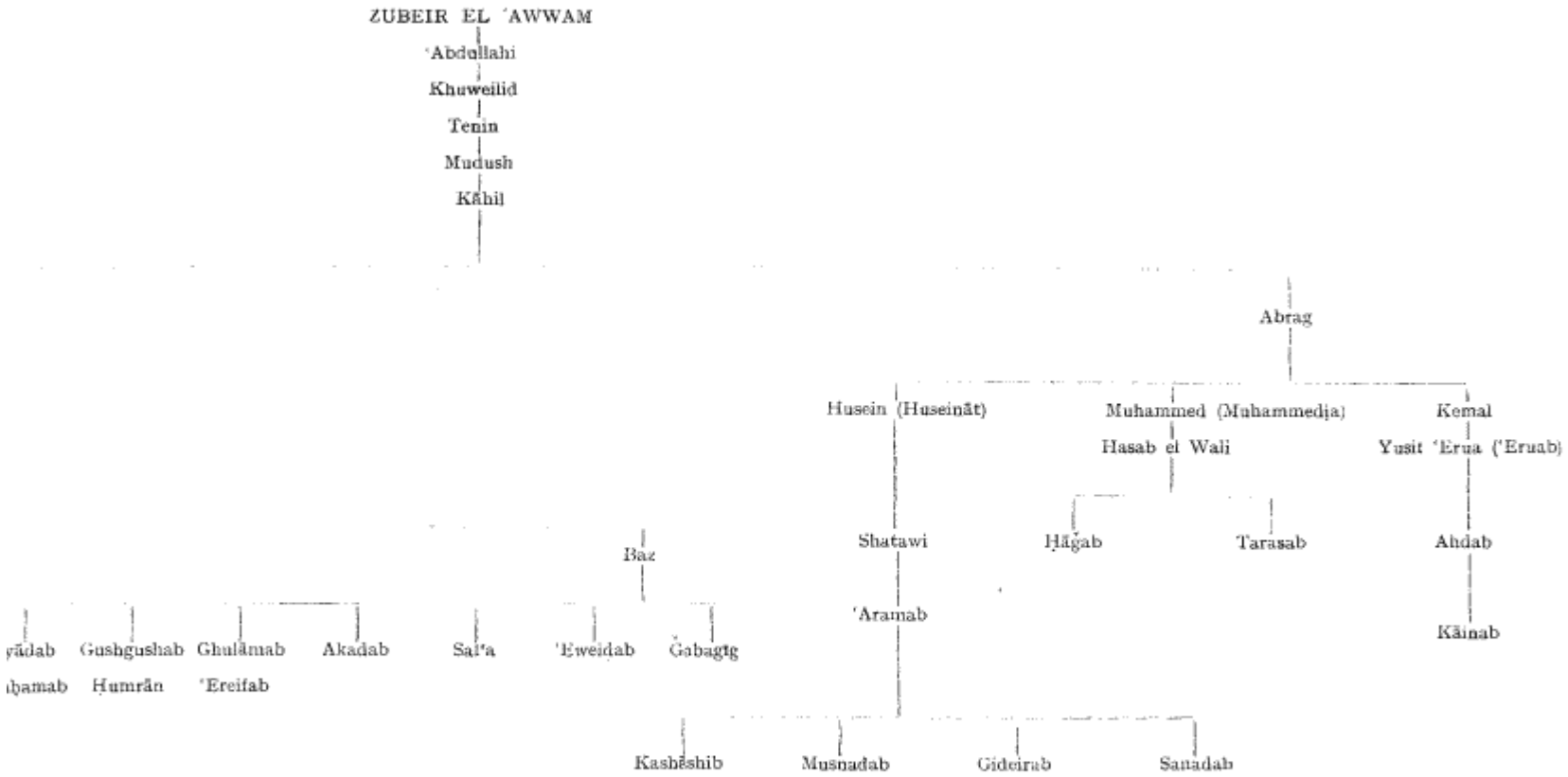


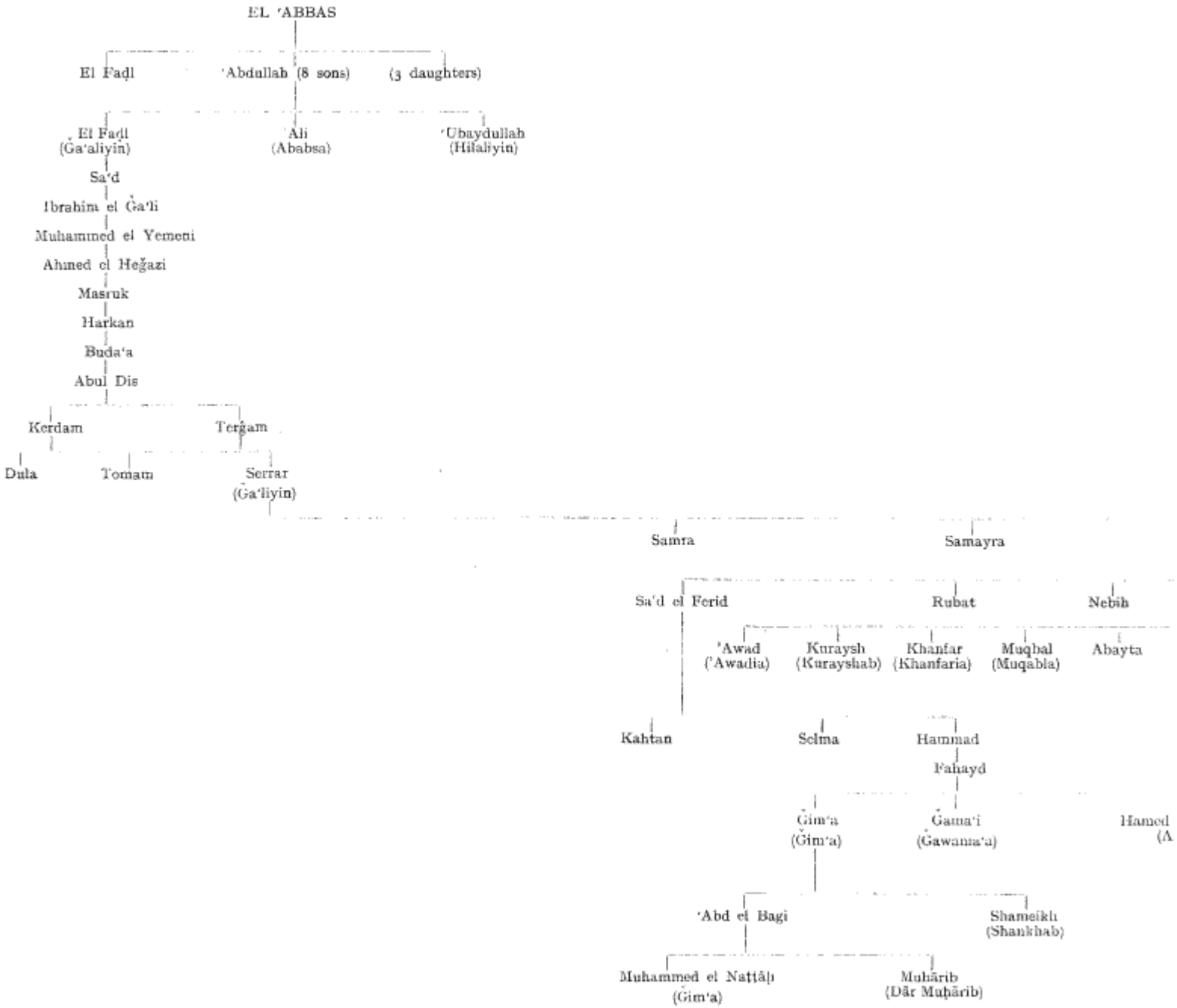
TREE OF BENI ĞERRAR



TREE OF THE AWLAD NUBAWI.




ZUBEIR EL 'AWWAM
'Abdullahi
Khuweilid
Tenin
Mudush
Kāhil
Abrag
Husein (Huseināt)
Muhammed (Muhammedja)
Hasab el Wali
Kemal
Yusit 'Erua ('Eruab)
Shatawi
Ḥāgab
Tarasab
Ahdab
Baz
'Aramab
Kāinab
Gushgushab
Ghulāmab
Akadab
Sal'a
'Eweidab
Gabagig
Humrān
'Ereifab
Kashēshib
Musnadab
Gideirab
Sanadab


EL 'ABBAS
El Faḍl
'Abdullah (8 sons)
(3 daughters)
El Faḍl
(Ga'aliyin)
'Ali
(Ababsa)
'Ubaydullah
(Hilaliyin)
Sa'd
Ibrahim el Ga'li
Muhammed el Yemeni
Ahmed el Heğazi
Masruk
Harkan
Buda'a
Abul Dis
Kerdam
Terğam
Dula
Tomam
Serrar
(Ga'liyin)
Samra
Samayra
Sa'd el Ferid
Rubat
Nebih
'Awad
('Awadia)
Kuraysh
(Kurayshab)
Khanfar
(Khanfaria)
Muqbal
(Muqabla)
Abayta
Kahtan
Selma
Hammad
Fahayd
Gim'a
(Gim'a)
Gama'i
(Gawama'a)
Hamed
(A
'Abd el Bagi
Shameikh
(Shankhab)
Muhammed el Naṭṭāḥ
(Gim'a)
Muḥārib
(Dār Muḥārib)

THE HISTORY OF SLEEPING SICKNESS IN THE SUDAN.

By Major G. K. Maurice, D.S.O., M.C., Royal Army Medical Corps.

(PLATES I—IX.)

This paper is also appearing in the Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps by arrangement with the Editors.

INTRODUCTION.

AFRICA experiences from time to time devastating epidemics of various diseases which depopulate districts and inhibit their economic development. It has been estimated that the population of the lake district of Uganda was reduced in a few years from 250,000 to 50,000 by sleeping sickness and that to save the remnant it was necessary to transfer them elsewhere. The control of epidemics is, therefore, not only a medical problem, but a political one, and in order that those who have no medical knowledge may follow the story of sleeping sickness in the Sudan, it is necessary to describe briefly how the disease is spread.

Sleeping Sickness, or human Trypanosomiasis, is an infection by a protozoal parasite called a Trypanosome, inoculated into the blood stream by a tsetse fly; in the Sudan normally by that species of tsetse known as *Glossina palpalis*. The bite of this fly is only harmful if the fly is infected. Once it is infected, it may remain so for life: throughout which time it may infect human beings when it bites them. Conversely any human being harbouring trypanosomes in his blood may infect any *Glossina palpalis* that may bite him. Certain drugs clear the blood stream of trypanosomes in human beings for a limited period, during which time a biting fly does not become infected. The disease may be, and often is, extremely chronic, and may cause death after ten years or more. It is usually diagnosed by detecting with the fingers enlargement of the glands of the neck, by puncturing these glands with a needle and discovering the trypanosomes microscopically in the fluid from the glands.

Glossina palpalis inhabits the banks of streams, preferably densely wooded ones. It will follow man 300 yards from water, but seldom further, and it will not inhabit that part of a stream where trees, undergrowth and grass have been removed.

There is another type of sleeping sickness found in some districts outside the Sudan which is also carried by a tsetse fly, but of the species known as *Glossina morsitans*. This fly is not confined to streams, but is found scattered through the forest far from water. Except for a few isloated cases, this type has never been found in the Sudan.

There were two distinct epidemics of sleeping sickness in the Sudan ; one in Mongalla Province, the other in Bahr al Ghazal. I have only described in detail the Bahr al Ghazal epidemic ; firstly because it was the more serious, secondly because I was concerned in it and my recollections of it are still vivid. The pioneer work of the control of the disease was done by the medical staff in Mongalla, and we in the Bahr al Ghazal modelled our methods on their experiences.

The medical staff that dealt with sleeping sickness in the Sudan consisted almost entirely of officers attached to the Egyptian Army, the British seconded from the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Syrians commissioned from the University of Beirut.

My acknowledgments are due to Major J. M. Mackinnon, Royal Army Medical Corps, for voluminous notes on the history of sleeping sickness in Africa and the Sudan, and to Major J. R. N. Warburton, M.C., Royal Army Medical Corps, for many of the photographs in this paper.

I. THE SPREAD OF SLEEPING SICKNESS IN AFRICA.

The earliest mention of sleeping sickness is by a naval surgeon, John Atkins, in 1742, who described what he called a Sleeping Distemper among the negroes of the Coast of Guinea. In 1803, Dr. Winterbottom, a Colonial surgeon, published an account of the disease as he saw it along the Bight of Benin. " The Africans," he writes, " are very subject to a species of lethargy which they are much afraid of, as it proves fatal in every instance." He described the somnolent stage of the disease and mentioned the enlarged glands of the neck, but did not consider them of any importance. " Slave traders, however," he writes, " appear to consider these tumours as a symptom indicating a disposition to lethargy, and they either never buy such slaves or get quit of them as soon as they observe any such appearance."

The disease was mentioned again in 1840 by Robert Clark, another naval surgeon, and from then on by many English and French doctors.

Generally speaking, it was considered to be confined to the West Coast of Africa, with little tendency to spread East, though in 1887, Dr. Mense found it as a widely extended epidemic as far up the Congo River as Stanleypool. There is a good deal of evidence suggesting that Stanley's expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha in 1888 was responsible for introducing the disease into Uganda, though the disease was not reported there until 1901. Investigations then showed that the disease had been known to the natives for at least six years, and that many hundreds had died of it.

At this time the cause of the disease was not known, and in July, 1902, a Commission consisting of Doctors Castellani, Christy and Low arrived in Uganda to try to discover it. Dr. Castellani found trypanosomes in a number of cases, but hardly appreciated the value of the discovery. In March, 1903, Lieut.-Col. David Bruce, who had been lent by the War Office to assist in the investigations, arrived at Entebbe where Dr. Castellani was working. In the light of his own previous discoveries of Trypanosomiasis in animals, he at once grasped the importance of Castellani's observation, and the cause of sleeping sickness in man was thus discovered. Lieutenants Gray and Forbes Tulloch were also on this commission; the latter unfortunately contracted and died of the disease. The extirpation of the population of the Lake District was averted by the Uganda Government through the knowledge thus gained, which enabled them to remove the remnant to a safer district.

Reports of the spread of the disease northwards in Uganda towards the Sudan frontier reached those concerned in the Sudan, and there was evidence to support the probability that the disease was epidemic in the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa not far removed from the Sudan frontier. Major Bray, in 1905, reported that he had met at Tembura in Southern Bahr al Ghazal an intelligent Arab who had recently come from Zemio in French Equatorial Africa, close to the Belgian Congo frontier, and that this Arab had stated that there was much sleeping sickness there; that it had been brought there three years before from the Belgian Congo. With his report, Major Bray forwarded to Khartoum specimens of *Glossina palpalis* caught in the Sudan. It became clear to those watching these events from Khartoum that, although the disease had been confined to the West Coast of Africa for many years, the pacification of Africa, the abolition of tribal warfare,

the opening up of trade routes and general freer intercommunication, were causing the disease to spread to the geographical limits of the carrier of the disease.

In May, 1905, therefore, a Commission composed of Medical Officers of the Sudan Government was formed to investigate sleeping sickness in the Sudan. Lieut.-Col. Douglas Hunter, D.S.O., was President, with Dr. Andrew Balfour, Director of the Tropical Research Laboratories in Khartoum, as member; other members were to be appointed later.

Towards the end of 1905, Major Dansey Browning was appointed member of the Commission and left for the Bahr al Ghazal Province. He found that *Glossina morsitans* was common in the west of the Province, and *Glossina palpalis* common throughout the south, but no cases of sleeping sickness were found. Captain Howard Ensor, D.S.O., continued and extended the work begun by Major Dansey Browning. Bahr al Ghazal Province is approximately the same size as Uganda, and many of the chiefs were unfriendly to Government; the investigations, therefore, were carried out under considerable difficulties. He furnished, however, valuable information on the distribution, habits, food supply and conditions influencing the range of both species of *Glossina* found in the Province, and learned from a leading chief that many natives of the Belgian Congo had become infected with the "French Disease." (French and Belgians were not differentiated by natives at that time.) In his report he emphasises the importance of preventing immigration from the Congo, and of taking immediate steps to deal with the disease should it be found later. His report states: "If such immigration takes place on the part of the natives in the hopes of escaping the disease, nothing can prevent sleeping sickness from becoming widespread in the Bahr al Ghazal unless proper steps are taken before and not after the disease has become common among natives living in the Province." Ten years later many thousands of natives immigrated into the Province from the French Congo with results that will be seen later.

The most important preventive measures that Captain Ensor recommended were the abandonment of certain posts; yearly subsidies to chiefs on condition they kept watering places near their villages free from trees and shrubs; the provision of fly-free rest-houses and watering places for persons travelling by carrier transport; and the appointment of a British Medical Officer for Southern Bahr al Ghazal liberally supplied

with apparatus and money to carry out such recommendations as the Commission might make from time to time. Unfortunately at that time the Sudan Government was not in a position to carry out these recommendations. Had it been able to do so in the Southern Bahr al Ghazal, as it was to some extent in the Western Bahr al Ghazal, the serious epidemic that occurred subsequently in the former district might have been prevented.

For the next two years investigations were continued, and the fly areas were mapped both east and west of the Nile. Both species of tsetse were found along a thousand miles of Sudan frontier, from the junction of Bahr al Ghazal and Darfur to Ikotos in Mongalla, but *Glossina palpalis* was nowhere found at a greater distance than two hundred miles due northward from the frontier.

Although Captain Ensor had obtained information from native sources that the disease existed in the Lado, especially near Yei, which was then in Belgian occupation, in 1909 the chief danger seemed to lie in the Western Bahr al Ghazal. Major Carroll, Senior Medical Officer, Bahr al Ghazal, got information from a Greek merchant who had visited the French Congo in 1906, 1907 and 1909, that whereas no sleeping sickness had been observed by him during the earlier visits, he found on the last visit that half the population had died of it at Rafai and Djema, which are not many days from Raga in the Sudan, and that the disease appeared to be spreading rapidly northwards.

Measures accordingly were taken to meet this danger to the Western district. There was at this time considerable trade between French Equatorial Africa and the Western district of the Bahr al Ghazal. Quarantine camps were established at Raga and Dem Zubeir, and examining posts on the three main routes from the French Congo to the Western Bahr al Ghazal.

Porters from the Congo were not allowed to cross the frontier and donkeys were substituted to carry the merchants' goods. Local police were established at the examining posts to see that the regulations were carried out. At the same time watercourses on trade routes were cleared, and an isolation camp was made at Raga for any sleeping sickness cases that might be found. All persons arriving from the Congo were medically examined.

The Syrian Medical Officer at Raga reported that he had detained some suspicious cases at that station, and Captain Drew and Captain Ensor went to Raga to investigate. Two cases of sleeping sickness were found, and it seemed probable that a few others had died of it. All these were French Congo natives detained in quarantine. Since it is only through the co-operation of the chiefs that any anti-sleeping sickness measures can be made effective, all chiefs were warned that any immigrants from the Congo were to be brought to the station immediately for medical examination; for it was early recognised that the examining posts, though excellent for controlling trade routes, were useless against runaway slaves or immigrants determined to change their country.

These were the first two authentic cases found in the Sudan. The segregation camp and quarantine camp at Raga were rendered fly-free by extensive clearing. Immigrants were settled in selected villages on the main road and their watering places kept fly-free. Regular inspections of these people and of the local natives were instituted. As cases occurred they were detained in the segragation camp.

From 1909 to 1929 some seventy cases have been detected in the Western district of the Bahr al Ghazal, but none have been of Sudan origin. Early in 1910, the Sudan could be said to be free from sleeping sickness. The officers engaged on this work had done very valuable service. The various species of tsetse fly were known; the belts they occupied had been mapped out for the greater part of the Bahr al Ghazal, and, to some extent, East of the Nile; the effect of clearing streams of undergrowth had been demonstrated. Definite measures had been drawn up for dealing with an epidemic, and were in operation in the Western district of Bahr al Ghazal. The medical staff of the country was in a good position to cope with the situation shortly to engage their full activities.

II. THE MONGALLA EPIDEMIC.

By the terms of an agreement with the Belgian Government, the Lado Enclave—that is, the area round Yei and Kajo-Kaji—was taken over by the Sudan Government in June, 1910, to be incorporated in Mongalla Province.

It was known that sleeping sickness existed in the Lado, and immediate steps were taken to eradicate it. It is not proposed here to give details of how this was accomplished, since the difficulties encountered and the methods employed are fully described in the Bahr al Ghazal epidemic. The only difference in the two Provinces was that in Mongalla the natives had been more closely administered and normally lived in villages.

By September, 1911, 268 cases had been detected in Yei District, and these were segregated in a sleeping sickness camp at Yei. In 1912, 140 cases, and in 1913, 139 were admitted, but in 1914, as a result of the past three years' work, the admissions fell abruptly to 24, and from 1914 to 1923 never rose above 32. From 1924 to 1928 there were no admissions. The district had been cleared of the disease. Of the 547 cases admitted up to September 30th, 1913, 398 were still living in the camp on that date. The remainder had mostly died and a few had deserted. Unfortunately, in 1914, the adjoining district of Kajo-Kaji was discovered to be infected, and by September, 1915, 187 cases were found in the district, and in the following year 197. Cases were also found east of the Nile. At the same time that this largely-increased area had to come under constant inspection, the medical staff, which in Yei district had consisted of two British and three Syrian medical officers, was of necessity depleted by the War. Instead, therefore, of the epidemic being brought to a speedy conclusion, as had happened at Yei with a sufficient medical staff, the epidemic further east dragged on for another ten years. By the very strenuous efforts of the few medical officers left from the war, the admissions in 1917 for Kajo-Kaji were reduced to 95 and remained well below that figure till 1924, when an adequate staff was provided and the admissions rose to 82, followed by a drop to 3 two years later, and from then on the district was freed from the disease.

In Mongalla Province the patients were segregated in camps, three in all, one at Yei, one at Kajo-Kaji, and one at Nimule. The patients were housed and fed at Government expense, but were made to work for their treatment a certain number of hours a day. Communal cultivations of considerable size were, in course of time, developed; in addition, patients in their spare time made small cultivations of their own. In about seven years, when a number of patients at Yei had been

discharged and others had died, the communal cultivations were large enough to support those remaining.

The yearly admissions for the Mongalla epidemic are shown below :—

	Yei.	Kajo-Kaji.	Nimule.
1911	268	—	—
1912	140	—	—
1913	139	—	—
1914	24	—	—
1915	17	187	6
1916	21	197	14
1917	14	95	4
1918	32	42	2
1919	15	63	8
1920	32	54	2
1921	24	31	12
1922	7	68	35
1923	3	5	4
1924	—	82	9
1925	—	10	9
1926	—	3	—
1927	1	—	18
1928	—	—	—
	737	837	123

Total Mongalla—1,697

It has been impossible to mention the various parts played by individual officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps in controlling the Mongalla Epidemic.

Captain Colin Mackenzie, D.S.O., was the first British Medical Officer sent to the Lado. He was soon joined by Captain R. J. C. Thomson. Colonel Mathias, D.S.O., who was at that time Principal Medical Officer, visited Yei the following year, when he contracted Malignant Malaria, from which he died after his return to Khartoum.

The outbreak in Kajo-Kaji was discovered by Captain H. S. Rankin, but before he could deal with it he returned to Europe for the Great War, where he was quickly awarded the Victoria Cross and shortly afterwards killed. For seven years Captain J. T. Simson was in charge, until he returned to the British Army and handed over the duties of Senior Medical Officer to that very experienced officer Bimbashi Yusif Effendi Dervish, who had found the first case for admission to the camp at Yei.

III. THE TEMBURA EPIDEMIC, SOUTHERN BAHR AL GHAZAL.

Although cases of sleeping sickness continued to be found among emigrants into the Western District of Bahr al Ghazal, cases were not found in the south of the Province until 1918.

In 1914, a medical officer of the Belgian Congo reported that the frontier adjoining the Sudan was free from sleeping sickness, but that there was a heavy infection of the Belgian-French frontier. In the spring of 1916 an expedition left Tembura to assist the French in quelling a rising. Some 800 levies of local chiefs were attached to the force. Captain Clark, who accompanied the force as Senior Medical Officer, reported that the area in which the force operated was heavily infected with sleeping sickness. The 800 levies, who at the conclusion of operations scattered to their homes, were undoubtedly an original source of infection of Tembura District. But the chief source was a great influx of French natives into the district in 1917; thousands immigrated and one party actually appeared at Wau, 200 miles to the north, and eight of them were found to be suffering from sleeping sickness. Of another party that made its way to Raga, thirty-one were found to be infected; the majority, however, settled round Tembura.

Tembura lies twenty-five miles from the French Frontier and about forty from that point where the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and the Sudan all meet. The white population of Tembura consisted of the District Commissioner, the military officer commanding the native company and a Syrian Medical Officer, who had instructions to examine all immigrants for sleeping sickness. The Sudan frontier is geographical and not tribal, and intermarriage between natives of the three countries is a common event; therefore infection of the Sudan

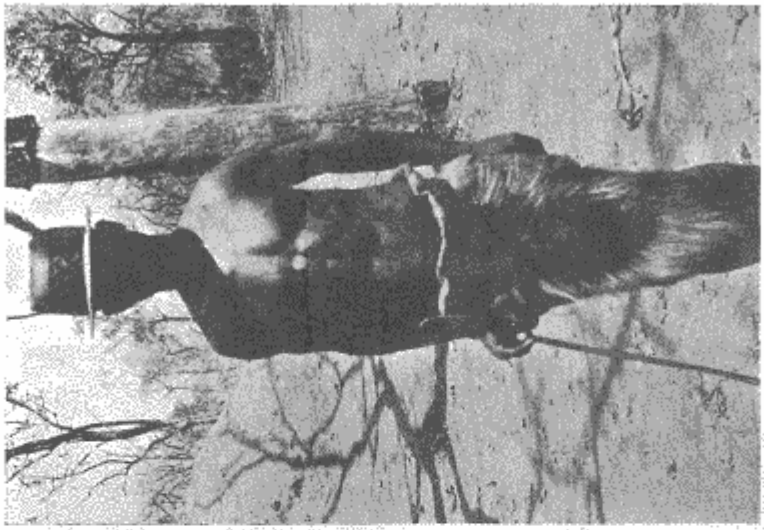
sooner or later was inevitable, but, without the massive immigration, it need not have been on so extensive a scale. It was unfortunate that the Syrian Medical Officer at Tembura in 1917 lacked experience of sleeping sickness and failed to detect a case, and the authorities in Khartoum were naturally startled when El Yusbashi Nesib Effendi Baz, who had had experience of sleeping sickness in Mongalla Province, arrived in Tembura in March, 1918, and discovered sixty cases in the first week and 255 in the first six months without going out of the station. Doubts were even expressed about the correctness of the diagnosis; exchange of telegrams was frequent, but Tembura lies 180 miles from the nearest telegraph at Wau and communication was by runner; to reach Tembura at all in those days, 800 miles must be travelled by steamer and a further 300 on foot. There was a great shortage of British Medical Officers, due to the War, so that for six months Baz had to battle single-handed with his ever growing mass of patients.

By the end of August, 1918, Baz had cleared a site in the forest for a segregation camp, about a mile to the east of what is now old Tembura Station; he had cleared of undergrowth and rendered fly-free for drinking purposes the head of the adjacent stream, Maminza; he had built forty mud and grass huts for patients, two grain stores, four grass huts for officers and four for dispensary, office, store and prison. At this stage, he was joined by Captain B. H. H. Spence, who had worked on sleeping sickness in Mongalla, and for the next fourteen months these two toiled together.

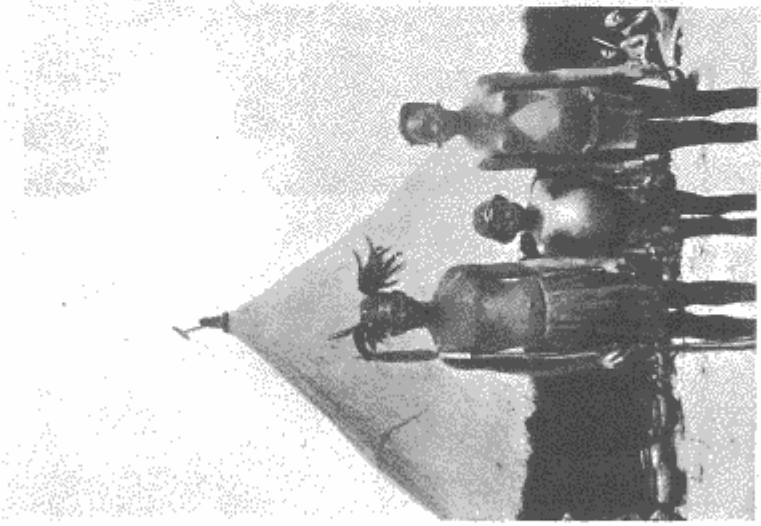
At this period the administration of the Southern Bahr al Ghazal was short of staff. There was only one District Commissioner for the two districts of Yambio and Tembura. The most important native tribe is the Zande, who had spread north-east by conquest and practically absorbed the indigenous tribes. There was at that time no moderately accurate census of the people, no map of any value, no knowledge of the internal tribal organisation, nor any lists of important men. There were only two roads in the district, one north to Wau, one east to Yambio, and these were completely overgrown for half the year. The only rest-houses in the district were on those two roads and were merely grass shelters, built on the banks of streams, which harboured fly. The rains begin early in March, reaching a maximum intensity in July, August and September, and end in the middle of November. By July the grass



TRAVEL. EARLY DAYS.



ZANDE TYPE.



ZANDE TYPES.

is twelve feet high or more. Rivers and streams become raging torrents or flat reedy bogs.

In spite of these obstacles, Captain Spence, assisted by Baz, traversed the greater part of the district several times and discovered that the epidemic was limited to a strip along the frontier about 150 miles long and 50 broad, and that the adjoining district of Yambio was not infected. He detected and segregated 621 new cases, made a census of the people, learnt their tribal organisation, cut roads, built bridges and rest-houses, and with wheel and compass compiled maps of some 5,000 square miles of country, which were found to be remarkably accurate by the surveyors on a Boundary Commission some years later.

In addition to all this, he had to house, feed and treat his patients, who were a very primitive people, many of whom had never seen a white man. Moreover, he was expected to state his budgetary requirements in advance. There was difficulty in procuring hired labour for building huts and grain stores, and the white ants destroyed these almost as soon as they were built. To feed the patients was a problem of much greater difficulty. The biggest tax that has ever been taken out of the district was 60,000 lbs. of grain and ten times this amount was needed. For months the supply of atoxyl, with which the patients were treated, failed, and the patients who had initially experienced the benefit of the drug subsequently became dispirited and many deserted. They were not an easy people to handle. Spence writes of them :—

> " Both sexes thieve and lie with facility. Intimidation, perjury, highway robbery, and adultery are all regarded as venial offences. No man will work for anything he sees a chance of getting by force or cunning. They are foul feeders, inordinately fond of meat, devouring with gusto an animal in the most advanced stages of putrescence and liquefaction. Frogs, rats, snails and snakes are all common articles of diet ; I have even seen a pet chimpanzee, which died of pneumonia, go into the cooking pot . . They are, nevertheless, a very intelligent people, and can, if they see good reason for it, work extremely hard."

He goes on to say that he thinks that, when a practical, civilising influence is brought to bear on them, their pliability and relatively high intelligence will cause them to leave all other tribes in the Southern Sudan far behind.

They were not an aggressive people. Spence travelled always without a police escort. Only once did he meet with the threat of active opposition, and that was from a band of those frontier rovers who belonged neither to the Sudan nor to the Congo, paid no taxes and supplied no labour. They sent a message to Spence that, if he came further on his march, he would be met with poisoned arrows. He promptly re-packed his baggage and marched to the spot; the obstructionists bolted.

In October, 1919, the struggle seemed to be developing favourably. Inspection centres had been formed throughout the district, linked by cleared paths, and some semblance of a chain of responsibility had been established. The rabble in the segragation camp had been converted into an orderly community, organised on tribal lines, but desertions were still common. Communal cultivations had been established to supplement the food supply. A band of permanent employees had been recruited for general labour and the clearing of streams. But the pace had been too hot. Spence writes at this time :—

> "The work at Tembura at present is more than two men can possibly be expected to do and maintain their health in the Tropics. Every day, except for an hour for breakfast and an hour for lunch, work lasts from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., the office work, as often as not, being done in one's house at night at the end of a tiring day. I think it is absolutely essential that at least once a fortnight officers should have one complete day's rest; moreover, it is desirable that every day from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. one should be free. Some prefer to rest, others to read or work at some hobby, but at least everyone should have the opportunity of spending these two hours as he chooses."

He had long been suffering from malaria and was in no fit state to carry on. His services, besides, were required elsewhere. The aftermath of the Great War had left a world shortage of doctors. The British Army still required every British doctor it could get, and the Syrian Universities had turned out no available doctors for five years. Before leaving Tembura Spence uttered a prophecy :—

> "It is a great pity," he writes, "that inspections must cease for want of an officer at the psychological moment when moral supremacy has been established. This is the very time for

redoubled efforts and not for a total abandonment of all work for six months. The people will slip back, and it will all have to be gone through again."

Baz Effendi held the fort in solitary state. No inspections could be carried out; the people reverted to their old habits; the roads became obliterated and the rest-houses fell down.

IV.

So ended 1919. It must have been intensely disheartening to Baz, sitting alone in the camp at Maminza, collecting here and there fresh cases from the station; knowing, however, that outside in the district cases were accumulating fast, and that soon all the efforts of the previous year would be wasted.

However, a British doctor was forthcoming sooner than was expected. On January 15th, 1920, Captain Watson, D.S.O., M.C., arrived at Tembura. But he had sustained a leg injury on the journey down and arrived in poor health and three days later died. Baz was alone again.

Spence had decided before he left Tembura that since the feeding of the patients was so difficult, and desertions so common, it would be better to convert the segregation camp into a Settlement, where patients could have their families and their own private cultivations and become self-supporting. To prevent deserters to the Congo infecting fly *en route*, he thought the Settlement should be established close to the frontier, and suggested the source of the Yubo River as a suitable site. It was known to rise on the Nile Congo Divide, but had never been inspected or surveyed.

On arrival at Khartoum he put his views to the authorities, and permission to abolish the camp at Maminza and create a Settlement at Source Yubo was sent down by Captain Watson. Accordingly on February 20th, 1920, Baz, in rear of his flock of 669 patients, set out for the source of the Yubo. He had sent in advance a working party to build a few huts and clear the head of the stream.

Baz on arrival found that his working party had erected the huts in French territory, and these had to be pulled down. The grass, twelve feet high, had not been burnt off, and was needed for thatching the buildings. It is amusing to hear him describe those first few

weeks: struggling through the long grass trying to map out a Settlement; met at every turn by unexpected fly-infested streams. (An exceptional sense of humour saved him.) Somehow he laid out and cleared a most attractive site for the station headquarters; cut roads and allotted sites along them for the patients. One hundred and fifty thousand pounds of grain had to be brought from Yambio District, 130 miles away, by carriers; there was no other form of transport. Food became short, and numbers of patients deserted, but most of these returned of their own accord when conditions improved.

In May, 1920, El Yuzbashi Abdulla Effendi Mansur arrived and allowed Baz to go on leave. Baz had been over two years in the District, working at high pressure, half of the time single-handed. By tact alone he had transferred 669 primitive savages suffering from sleeping sickness to an unsurveyed, uninhabited patch of virgin forest 25 miles away, and had there created a Settlement, abandoning the old camp he had originally formed near Tembura. And he had done this without a single desertion so long as the food supply held out.

Mansur carried on the work where Baz had left it, extending the cultivations and the buildings. But he could not leave the Settlement, and thus it came about that for a whole year no inspections of the District could be carried out. For the year ending September 30th, 1920, there were 192 admissions, all found among visitors to the Settlement, or among labourers, police or soldiery. It was realised that out in the District the epidemic must be gathering momentum.

In October of that year Captain J. M. Mackinnon arrived. He was agreeably surprised at the state of the Settlement. The rains were nearing their end, and the patients' crops were the best he had seen in the District. The communal cultivations were still small, since the patients were all busy on their homesteads.

As soon as he had got a grasp of the working of the Settlement and conditions prevailing in the District, he re-started the tours of inspection as planned by Spence. Through the lapse of a year the roads cut by Spence were invisible; the rest-houses were in ruins; the bridges had been swept away; the people concealed themselves from inspections.

Mackinnon proceeded to put the District into order again. In parts he was even able to ride a bicycle along the narrow winding paths worn smooth by native feet. But most of the work had to be done on foot,

the bicycle carried, slung on poles. He would sometimes travel between twenty and thirty miles a day. He could get no rest in the Settlement, since to keep the inspections going it was necessary when he returned for Baz to start a tour. There were no clerks to do the office work; there were miles of streams to be cleared in the Settlement, and endless working parties to be watched throughout the day.

Often suffering from malaria, frequently drenched by thunderstorms, or by dew in the long grass, the inevitable happened: Mackinnon, in August, 1921, the heart of the rains, ten months after his arrival, got a bad attack of blackwater fever. Fortunately, when this happened, the officer commanding the company at Tembura had come to stay with Mackinnon to have his own malaria treated, and was able to carry out Mackinnon's nursing instructions. Baz was inspecting at the far end of the District, but returned in record time, travelling day and night carried on a chair slung between poles.

At this time I was at Wau. News of Mackinnon's illness was sent me by runner, but took six days to reach me, and it took me another eight days to cover the 207 miles on foot to Source Yubo. When I arrived I found Mackinnon very weak but convalescent. It was unthinkable to attempt to get him out of the District at that season of the year through the high grass. The road to Wau had been closed for two years for sleeping sickness reasons. After a short stay I returned to Wau. Mackinnon resumed the administration of the Settlement and Baz went on with the inspections. For the year ending September 30th, 1921, 656 fresh cases had been detected and segregated in the Settlement, bringing the total admissions to the Settlement to 1,517.

V.

Mackinnon passed through Wau on his way north for leave early in April, 1922. It had been arranged before I left Khartoum for Wau the previous July that I should relieve Mackinnon early the following year, but a Patrol, which lasted till the end of March, against the Dinkas in the north of the Province, had prevented me from starting for Source Yubo before he left. He had, however, told me very fully the requirements of the situation, when I visited him at the time of his illness, and a few months personal experience of the work confirmed everything that he had said. Briefly the situation was this: Tembura District was about

12,000 square miles in extent. To the east lay Yambio District, and beyond that again Meridi District, both more or less similar in population to Tembura District, and both potentially sleeping sickness areas. To the north was the Central District of Wau, but the fly-belt ended a little south of Wau. To the north-west of Tembura lay the Western District, but isolated from it by 150 miles of uninhabited forest, and by tribes with different customs. To the south and west lay the French and Belgian Congo. The sleeping sickness regulations made it illegal for anyone to enter or leave Tembura District without permission.

The normal life of the tribe occupying the greater part of the three southern Districts was a solitary life in the forest, each family living alone with its own huts, cultivations and watering places, in many cases miles from any other habitation. Nothing in the nature of a village existed. It was obviously impossible to clear and render fly-free individual watering places, and the only alternative was to group the people into villages round cleared watering places. It is true that to some extent the normal isolated life tended to hinder the rapid spread of the disease, but the Zande is an inveterate wanderer ; at the first sign of sickness he consults his oracles and leaves his home in search of change of air. Hence, as the number of infected persons increased, so did the number of infected watering places.

The crux of the situation seemed to lie in concentrating the people into villages. The advantages of such a concentration were obvious. Village watering places could be cleared and maintained fly-free ; roads could be easily kept open throughout the year ; inspections could be carried out more frequently ; immigrants from the Congo could be more easily detected and returned ; chiefs and headmen would have more authority over the people.

But before so radical a change in the habits of a people could receive sanction there was necessarily some conflict of opinions. The question arose whether so much interference with the lives of a people was justifiable, and whether, if left to itself, the epidemic would burn itself out. In any event, could the disease ever be eradicated ? There was also doubt whether the Zande tribe could be made to live in villages. They had not been long or closely administered ; they were wild and timid, and too firm a handling of them might destroy such of their confidence as had so far been gained. The chiefs in the past had

committed abominable atrocities and their power had been deliberately broken, and was the present the time to restore it ?

There were, however, facts which seemed to answer these doubts. The disease had been eradicated from Yei District in Mongalla ; the experience of the lake district of Uganda had proved that the burning-out process was an expensive one. Several thousand Zande were living quite happily in the Settlement, which consisted of a string of straggling villages, and it seemed probable that, under the close supervision to which the District was subjected through our frequent inspections, atrocities could not pass unnoticed, and therefore could be dealt with and suppressed.

VI.

The principle of concentration into villages was accepted by those in authority before the end of 1921. By April, 1922, the District Commissioner had earmarked a number of suitable grassy streams in parts of the District, and had ordered the people to group themselves on these. He was anxious that all villages should be on the open grassy type of stream, rather than on those that were heavily wooded, in order that the initial clearing and maintenance of the watering places should be easy for the people ; the force of such argument was obvious. It looked as if the labours of the last four years were to reach fulfilment.

But I soon found these hopes premature. The people had been ordered to move, but an order to the Zande people, at that time, was quite useless unless backed by close supervision. Those headmen who tried to carry out orders were deserted by half their followers, who joined those headmen who took up an attitude of passive resistance. The bigger chiefs professed ignorance of the sites allocated. The old roads and rest-houses were useless, since the people had nominally moved to sites miles away. Attendances at inspections fell to half what they had been formerly, and the excuse was always that the people had run away. I was out of touch with the District Commissioner, who was detained in Yambio, and did not see him again till July, and shortly after that he went on leave. The situation was chaotic.

I used my summary powers as a first-class magistrate freely to begin with, but I learnt from Baz an even better weapon of offence. The people liked to have the inspections finished as early as possible

in order to get back to their homes. By refusing to finish the inspections till a rest-house was built, one could secure the building of a very good grass hut twenty feet in diameter, sun- and rain-proof, in some four hours. Many hours had necessarily to be spent searching down the microscope for Trypanosomes in suspected cases. This could be done in the shade of a waterproof sheet in the morning, and the hut was ready against the thunderstorms that usually broke in the afternoons.

Similarly, by refusing to move to the next inspection centre till a path had been opened to it, all set to work from one or other end, and in a few hours the path had met in the middle.

But all this was great waste of valuable time, and often one could not afford it, and in desperation set out through the high grass. I had brought down with me some mules and ponies, to try to make trekking less arduous; but they were a great trouble at all the streams and rivers; they were always getting bogged and half-drowned, and where there were native bridges frequently fell through, sometimes ten feet into the stream below. However, they escaped serious injury, and though most of them acquired animal Trypanosomiasis, all recovered with injections of atoxyl and continuous high feeding, and carried on with me there for nearly four years.

For my first six months I wondered how Spence and Mackinnon had survived as long as they had. I spent the fall of the year inspecting the more accessible parts of Yambio and Meridi without finding cases. Mackinnon had found that the disease had spread north and east considerably since Spence's time, and, though for the year ending September 30th, 1922, the admissions had been only 434, this, I was convinced, was not due to any real improvement in the situation, but rather to the fact that latterly both Mackinnon and I had discarded the attempt to deal with the centre of the epidemic, in favour of controlling its spread east and north.

In the Annual Report, at the end of September, 1922, I put my views of the situation to the Principal Medical Officer. They did not materially differ from those expressed by my predecessors, although I stressed particularly the necessity of an extra Commissioner for Tembura District, who could be in closer touch with us than could one with two districts to supervise. The Principal Medical Officer in his Annual Report expressed his views strongly. In effect he said that,

although he knew the medical staff was inadequate, he felt that until more active administrative support was forthcoming, not only would he not reinforce the medical staff, but rather contemplated its withdrawal.

VII.

As a result of all this, Spence was ordered South by the Sirdar to investigate and report. He reached Source Yubo in February, 1923, and shortly after his arrival a conference of the Governor, District Commissioner Spence and myself, was held at my house. The administrative details in dispute were discussed, and agreement reached on all important points :—

(1.) The people were to be grouped on the existing roads, or roads cut for the purpose. That seemed to us the only rapid way of concentrating the people.

(2.) They were to be grouped round their headmen on these roads, and were to remain followers of these, and might not change allegiance to either headman or chief without permission from the District Commissioner and Senior Medical Officer jointly.

(3.) The authority of the chiefs was to be supported, and the sleeping sickness requirements carried out as far as possible through the chiefs.

(4.) The chiefs were to be responsible for the clearing of watering places and road crossings over streams and the building and maintenance of roads, bridges and rest-houses in their respective countries.

Although these were very minor administrative details they made the difference between success and failure. Above all we insisted on the necessity for an extra District Commissioner for Tembura.

I was sure, if these provisions were enforced and an adequate medical staff provided, the epidemic could be controlled by the end of 1925. Spence wired this view to Khartoum. In March, Mr. A. C. Walker arrived and took over the duties of District Commissioner, Tembura ; financial approval was obtained by the Principal Medical Officer for an increase of medical staff, which, allowing for leave, would maintain five permanently at work. It was arranged that Bimbashi Derwish, who was Senior Medical Officer engaged on sleeping sickness

in Mongalla, and who had had great experience of sleeping sickness in that Province, should relieve me when I went on leave. By June, 1923, the medical staff had been increased to seven, all of them, including Derwish, Syrian medical officers of the Egyptian Army.

It was suggested at this time that much of the trouble of the past had been due to "continual change of Senior Medical Officers." This was not, in fact, the case, since each succeeding S.M.O. had worked exactly on the principles laid down by Spence originally. Spence's report in 1923 says :—

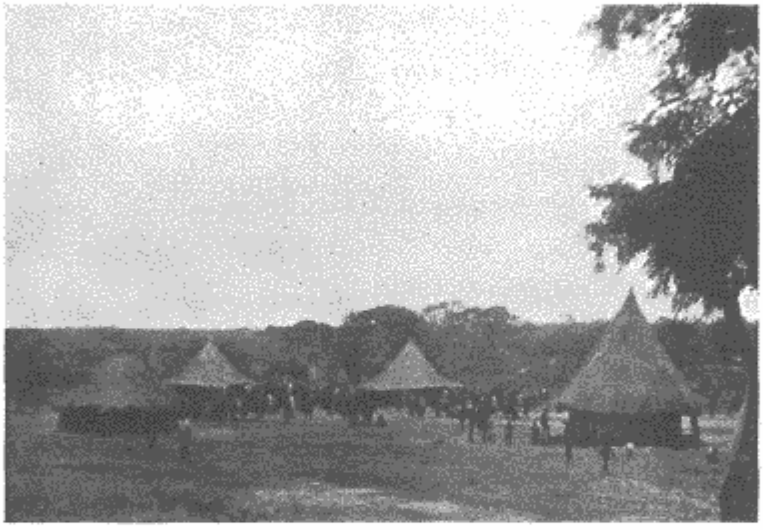
> "The words 'continual change in the medical staff' should have been qualified by the statement that the first Senior Medical Officer left the District, worn out in mind and body, and quite unfit to return; the second died three days after reaching Tembura; the third had his health permanently impaired through an attack of blackwater fever, and the fourth left the District suffering from repeated attacks of malaria at short intervals."

Twenty-two months of almost continuous trekking, frequently saturated with quinine, made me feel that leave was imperative. Yet it had all been so interesting that it was almost with reluctance that in May, 1923, I headed north.

VIII.

When I returned to Tembura in December I found a most amazing change in the District. Derwish met me and told me the happenings of the last six months. The new District Commissioner had trekked all over the District with him, and had quickly dispelled the people's illusion that they could continue to play off the medical and administrative staff, the one against the other. At first considerable firmness was necessary, but when the people found that the Government really meant business, roads were kept clear, the rivers were bridged, good solid rest-houses sprang up like mushrooms, the census of the people increased by 15,000. The admissions for the year ending September 30th, 1923, jumped to 839.

Derwish with his increased staff had been able to inspect the more heavily infected parts of the District monthly, and the rest in alternate months. He had also been able to inspect the people along the Yambio



AN INSPECTION CENTRE.

Congo frontier, and had found eleven cases of sleeping sickness among them. For years we had feared infection of Yambio District and had been mystified by its prolonged immunity. It was clear now that something must be done. The only other task of any magnitude was the completion of the concentration of the people in Tembura District on the roads. Owing to the lateness of the season when the new District Commissioner arrived, it had been only possible to concentrate those living in the heavily infected area round Tembura Station. The rest of the District had to be left. Apart from that, everything was running smoothly. The admission rate was already falling and it was clear that, unlike the previous falls in the admission rate, this was due to a real diminution in the incidence of the disease, since the people no longer hid from inspections which were carried out regularly throughout the District.

From now on inspections were, by comparison, easy. Instead of rising before the dawn in order to be on the road at the first light, or starting still earlier using the light of the waning moon, one rose leisurely at six on the first appearance of the sun; instead of mounting a mule and pushing through high grass, often missing the path, sometimes dragged off over the mule's tail by the ripe grass fallen across the path; instead of being hindered by rivers and hampered by swamps; instead of arriving at a hovel exhausted from having kicked along a tired mule under a hot sun; one mounted a bicycle, pedalled leisurely along a well-cleared track for an hour or two to enter a cool rest-house with breakfast, which had been sent on in the early hours, already set.

The people would be found ready waiting in their places, arranged under their headmen; men, women, male and female children grouped separately. The numbers would be found correct or any absentees satisfactorily explained. The counting and examination of 1,000 people for enlarged glands could be completed in about two hours while the morning was yet cool, and after breakfast one sat down comfortably to the microscope to search for Trypanosomes among the suspects.

None of us minded the discomforts of travel in unopened Africa, but they and the job we were trying to do were incompatible. In the early days we arrived at our inspection centre so late that the sun was already fiercely hot. By the time we had counted the people, argued

over the missing, and examined the necks of all, it would be noon or later. The people themselves standing in the sun sweated profusely, and the slipperiness of the skin of the necks often masked an enlarged gland. And it was then, though one had been active since before the dawn, that the search for the Trypanosomes from the gland fluid of, perhaps, twenty or thirty people began, each examination requiring twenty minutes before it could be pronounced negative, though admittedly, many were found positive at a glance. But we must have missed cases through sheer weariness, though we knew that each case missed would prolong the epidemic.

This rapid progress in Tembura District and its striking results modified previous opinions, and at the end of the year a decision was reached to concentrate the people in that part of Yambio adjacent to the Congo frontier where cases had been found, and also, as a preventive measure, the people of Meridi, although that district was up to then uninfected. The rest of Yambio District would be dealt with similarly the following year. Events were indeed moving rapidly.

Unfortunately Mr. Walker had to go on leave in the early spring; the final concentration of the people on to the roads in Tembura District therefore fell on us. But we were now adequately staffed; the people had seen we meant business; we were now able to act through the chiefs. We gave them till June 1st to move, and by June 1st they had moved. There was really no opposition; a few of the older men contended that the move was a preliminary to an extensive slave raid, but no one took any notice. The roads became everywhere lined with houses and gardens; everywhere were cheerful greetings from the people; children played in the streets and thronged about one's bicycle; instead of marching between two walls of grass one passed through a land of smiling crops and smiling people. For the year ending September 30th, 1924, the admissions had fallen from 839 to 276.

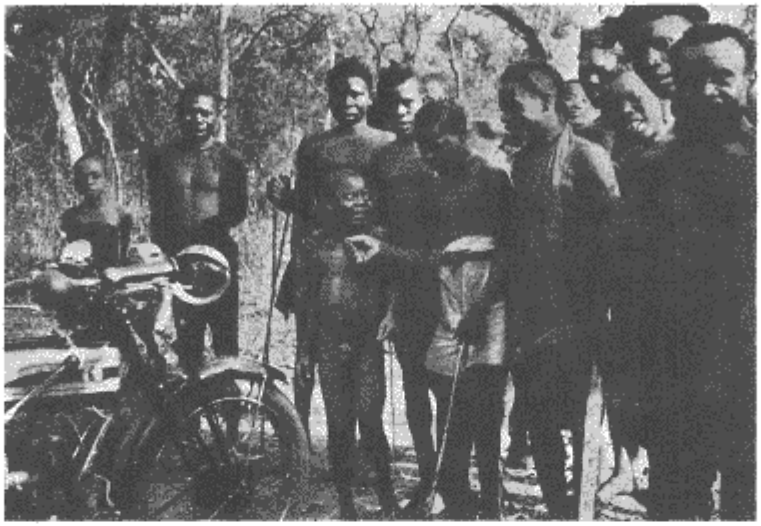
By this time the staff had been reduced to four. Derwish had returned in June to Mongalla, where the disease was still smouldering in Kajo-Kaji District. His stupendous energy, great experience and unfailing optimism had been of incalculable value; it was he who had found the first cases in Yei District, and he had contributed largely to the successful ending of the epidemic there; and though he went back to



A MODERN ROAD.



AN EARLY ROAD.



FIRST MOTOR BICYCLE.



FIRST MOTOR BICYCLE.

Mongalla a very tired and rather sick man, he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had broken the back of a second and larger epidemic. Baz had gone on a well-earned leave. El Yuzbashi Ragheb Effenni Atia filled the position of father of the Settlement as I thought no one but Baz could fill it.

All the following year we kept finding cases and small local outbreaks, and our time was taken up adjusting roads where these ran parallel to watercourses; shifting people from where infection persisted; and trying to trace the cause of local outbreaks. An enormous number of infected fly, of course, necessarily still persisted in the District, especially round the old homesteads and fishing pools, and these we found were being commonly re-visited by the people. Gradually defects were remedied, but the admissions for the year ending September 30th, 1925, kept up to 203.

In July I was joined by Major J. R. N. Warburton, M.C., who was to take over the District from me. For two months we toured the District together. He was quick to see that a motor bicycle could replace the bicycle, which I had regarded as the height of luxury. During my last 13 months in the District I had a cyclometer, which, when I left, registered 3,500 miles. In addition I had travelled some 1,000 miles on a donkey in parts of the Western District, Yambio and Meridi Districts. The Western Districts and Meridi were still free from sleeping sickness, and the slight infection of Yambio was diminishing.

Major Warburton was soon touring the District on a motor bicycle. With the advent of Captain Burgess Watson as District Commissioner, roads rapidly improved, and before long the motor bicycle was replaced by a motor car. The astonished natives were thrilled and delighted with these innovations; inspections became almost popular. In time there was a nominal roll of all the heads of families, and any man whose name was read out would produce his wives and children as entered in the book. This had the advantage of fixing responsibility for absence on the individual instead of on the headman, as had been the case in our more rough-and-ready methods. 1925 was the culminating year of the epidemic. Thereafter the admissions fell rapidly: 79 in 1926, 49 in 1927, and 26 in 1928.

The admissions and the factors bearing on them are shown on the accompanying table and chart :—

Date.	No. of Cases Detected.	Medical Staff.
1918 ...	255	One Syrian Medical Officer unable to leave the station.
1919 ...	621	One British and one Syrian Medical Officer touring the District alternately.
1920 ...	192	One Syrian Medical Officer unable to leave the station.
1921 ...	656	One British and one Syrian Medical Officer touring the District alternately.
1922 ...	434	One British and one Syrian Medical Officer touring the District alternately.
1923 ...	839	One British and six Syrian Medical Officers touring and concentrating natives into villages.
1924 ...	276	One British and four Syrian Medical Officers ; concentration into villages complete.
1925 ...	203	One British and four Syrian Medical Officers.
1926 ...	79	One British and three Syrian Medical Officers.
1927 ...	49	One British and three Syrian Medical Officers.
1928 ...	26	One British and three Syrian Medical Officers.
	3,630	

IX.

The administrative advantages of a population concentrated on to roads became so evident that in time it was adopted in many parts of Mongalla and Bahr al Ghazal outside the sleeping sickness areas, and the system has also been adopted in parts of the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa.

Two different methods of concentration were evolved. In Tembura District, with the epidemic blazing, time was all-important ; it was quicker to move the people on to the existing roads, or roads cut for the purpose of accommodating them, than to survey sites for villages and see that the people moved to them. The chief merit of the plan was its simplicity.

Most of the existing roads had come into being as improvements on the native paths linking headman to headman and chief to chief. There were, besides, three roads from Tembura: one north to Wau, one east to Yambio, and one to Source Yubo; and a boundary road, cut by Mackinnon, which ran parallel to, and some three miles from, the Congo frontier. The area between this road and the frontier was left uninhabited and people were even forbidden to cross it. This rule, of course, was regularly broken, but the unoccupied area was useful to this extent, that the paths leading to the Congo indicated very accurately where Congo traffic was greatest. None of the existing roads had been cut with a view to concentrating people on them, nor had they been surveyed with a view to permanency. It was natural, therefore, that in many places they were unsuitable both for residence and upkeep. Often the road ran parallel and close to streams, and the people would drink from these streams in preference to the clearings on the road; sometimes the road would cross the streams so frequently that the intervening spaces were useless for fly-free dwellings, and sometimes the streams were at such rare intervals that the people living on the roads would have to travel far for water. Often it was found that a road crossed a stream at a point where it was densely wooded and required great labour to maintain it clean, though half a mile away there might be a rocky patch with scanty undergrowth, needing little clearing. The roadside, too, was not always fertile. A good deal of adjustment had to be made; so far as possible this was done before the move, but two years elapsed before the adjustments were complete.

The existing roads were not enough to take the whole population and new ones had to be cut. We found that by far the best plan was, when possible, to make the roads follow the local watersheds. By doing so the road cut no streams and required no bridging, yet there were plentiful springs from which the people could drink at the sources of the streams rising on either side of the watershed, and round these the road was made to wind. Moreover, with the absence of bridges, the streams had only to be cleared 60 yards from their source, instead of 60 yards on either side of a bridge; it was always easier to clear a stream at its head than elsewhere in its course.

Some of the roads, before the people settled on them, swarmed with *Glossina morsitans* and made travel a misery, but once they became

populated, *Glossina morsitans* completely disappeared. I have travelled the length of Tembura District and not seen a "fly"; entered the uninhabited seven-mile belt between Yambio and Tembura Districts and found tsetse swarming; similarly, travelling north to Wau, I have met no "fly" on the inhabited roads, but as the population petered out and the road became uninhabited so the "fly" increased proportionately. The reason for this is not quite clear, but it appeared that the "fly" was more intolerant of cultivations than the withdrawal of the game from the populated areas. Although *Glossina morsitans* was not the cause of sleeping sickness in the Sudan, its withdrawal before a concentrated population is of interest, when the introduction of cattle is contemplated, and in those countries where it conveys the disease to man.

In Yambio District, owing to the small degree of infection, rapidity of concentration was not so important as in Tembura District. Major Larken, the District Commissioner, put the people into villages, each holding about 1,000 people. He planned his villages on grassy streams, where labour in clearing was least; the villages being linked by uninhabited roads. The system is efficient in the control of sleeping sickness, but the people do not like it so well as the Tembura plan. The ground round the villages becomes fouled and, consequently, flies are abundant and the uninhabited roads require more upkeep. But the maintenance of clearing and bridging is undoubtedly reduced.

For sleeping sickness purposes it is immaterial by what method the people are concentrated, so long as they are concentrated, and in such fashion that they can be inspected frequently and at any season of the year by the medical staff, and can keep their drinking places cleared.

X.

THE SOURCE YUBO SETTLEMENT.

The source of the Yubo rises twenty-five miles south-west of Tembura as a spring of limpid water bubbling out of the grey granite, whence it flows north-east to the White Nile to reach finally the Mediterranean. Two hundred yards south-west of this spring rises another, flowing south-westward into the Congo River. In the Southern Bahr al Ghazal the watershed forms the international frontier of the Sudan, and along it,



SOURCE OF YUBO CLEARED. VEGETABLE GARDEN IN BED.



SOURCE OF SOUI IN FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA,
200 YARDS FROM SOURCE YUBO.

at intervals, often of not more than half a mile, rise similar springs, swelling the Nile and Congo rivers.

It was at the source of the Yubo that in February, 1920, Baz laid out the headquarters of the Settlement and made provision for his 669 patients.

It was eighteen months later when I first saw the Settlement, when I visited Mackinnon in his attack of blackwater fever. By that time the number of patients had doubled, and there were many healthy relatives living with the sick.

I well remember my first impression of the Settlement. One travelled from Tembura along a fairly well-cleared path, passing through granite hills and mounting steadily all the time. For twenty miles one saw no human life nor habitation, except two empty rest-houses, and then quite suddenly the path broadened into a well-kept road lined on both sides with crops and native huts. For the next five miles one was surrounded by a chattering, laughing, inquisitive crowd of all ages and both sexes; gradually the roads became lined with banana trees and bordered with citronella grass, and then abruptly one turned at right angles on to a small cleared plateau, on which were four large mud and grass buildings. These were the office, store, Baz's house and finally Mackinnon's, the last human habitation this side of the frontier.

The road along the front of these buildings was lined with young Mango trees, and in front of the two doctors' houses were flower-beds surrounding two lawns of a grass somewhat resembling English couch grass, but of a finer texture and more closely woven (Cynodon transvaalensis). These lawns of grass eventually came to play a part in the campaign against sleeping sickness. The forest at this time grew to within a hundred yards of the back of the houses, but in front were some hundred and fifty acres of cultivation, mostly manioc, and a grove of a few thousand banana trees. From Mackinnon's house the road continued towards the frontier, sloping gently downwards and ending at the source of the Yubo, some four hundred yards away. The spring and the stream for about two hundred yards had been cleared, and only a number of tall mahogany trees were left. Above the spring was an excellent vegetable garden, young mango trees, pawpaw trees, and one young mulberry tree. This mulberry tree, though subsequently destroyed by a forest fire, also played its part.

The organisation of the Settlement was based on tribal lines. The patients were divided into five Divisions, each with a headman in charge. (These were afterwards increased to seven.) These groups were subdivided into sections, the men, women and boys separately; female children were classified as women. Each section of a Division had its own headman, headwoman or headboy. An area of ground with roads was allotted to each Division.

It was necessary to insist that patients should live on a road in order to keep them under observation. To economise space a main road would be cut parallel to a cleared stream, and five or six others, ending blindly, were cut at right angles to it each to accommodate a section. In course of time there were some fifty miles of roads in the Settlement. New patients were given their choice of section and Division, since nearly everyone had a friend or relative already in the Settlement, and if an uninfected husband wished to settle with his infected wife, he was allowed to do so and bring his other wives with him, and a special section in each Division was created for such cases. Eventually as the Settlement achieved popularity there were more healthy relatives than patients living in the Settlement, and we were put to great trouble in keeping out people with no claim to live there.

For the privilege of treatment every patient had to work for the Settlement half a day a week, and for the privilege of living in the Settlement every uninfected relative had to work ten days a year. Each Division had its own day of work—No. 1 Monday, No. 2 Tuesday, and so on. There was no work on Saturdays, Medicine Day, and none on Sunday. It was found, however, that domestic arrangements were interfered with if the men and women of the same Division worked on the same day, and this had to be altered accordingly.

The function of the Divisional headman was to be the first link of responsibility between the medical staff and the patients; he was usually a big man in his own country. The duties of the heads of Sections were more arduous. They were responsible under the supervision of the headman of the Division for parading their sections in the early morning for work. Every day at one o'clock they had to come to the office to report deaths, desertions, absentees, and to take any orders there might be. One would have thought that an unpaid post entailing a walk of several miles daily to the office, often being kept waiting, and finally

paraded in front of the S.M.O. and often abused for inaccurate information, would have been unpopular. But the reverse was the case. So much does the Zande love authority that a threat to dismiss him from the post of headman was enough to ensure the most meticulous behaviour. Even the boys were the same.

Subsequently, as the novelty wore off, heads of Sections would often send a deputy to the 1 o'clock office parade, and the privilege of so deputising was much sought after. By this very simple means we kept ourselves perfectly informed about the most intimate details of the twenty square miles of the Settlement.

On Saturdays all the patients paraded by Divisions and sections and received an intramuscular injection of atoxyl, each appearing in his proper place, answering his name and receiving the weekly ration of salt as he got his injection of medicine.

Work in the Settlement began early. At the first sign of the dawn, before the sun was up, an enormous drum, hollowed out from the trunk of a tree, which could be heard all over the Settlement, was beaten. By about 6.30 a.m. the patients for work that day had collected outside the office; they were then distributed to the various jobs. Some worked on cultivations; some on clearing streams; some sawed planks; some made charcoal for the blacksmith; some fetched grass or timber for buildings; others built. Food had to be collected for the newcomers and the helpless. There was always so much work to be done that we became very ingenious in labour-saving devices. When pushed, we would send out word that every patient coming for medicine on the Saturday must bring a bundle of grass; and two thousand bundles of grass go far to thatching a house. Once a month we inspected all the healthy relatives, sometimes making them bring forest rope or banana trees from deserted homesteads. On Sundays there was no work for the patients, and the staff did such of those things that there was no time for during the week; operations, when there were two of us in the Settlement; investigations on inoculated rats; belated replies to official letters. We had 140 permanent employees, called Terebai, a corruption of the Congo word Travailleur, and these had to be clothed and paid. And also Sunday was the day when we allowed the French natives to enter the Settlement and barter wares with the patients.

This market on the boundary was the first of its kind, but now it has been copied in other parts of Bahr al Ghazal and in Mongalla. It was started originally in order to allow Sudan subjects to meet their relatives across the border, and prevent the crossing of the frontier by stealth ; and also to allow exchange of goods between the two countries. There are many commodities used by Sudan natives which are only obtainable in the Congo—dyes, poisons, mats and so on—and when the market began there was more food in the Congo than on our side. French subjects were induced to bring goods to the Settlement in order to get money with which to pay taxes, and salt, of which all natives of those parts are physiologically starved. The ration of salt our patients received was more than their actual need, but it was and is a most important factor in the maintenance of good order in the Settlement. The patients were seldom able to earn money, but with their surplus salt they could buy those little luxuries that are almost necessities. It was the salt much more than the medicine that induced so punctilious an attendance on Saturdays, and backsliding in any direction could usually be corrected by the mere threat of cutting the salt ration of the person concerned.

Originally the market was held on Saturdays, after the medicine had been given, and sometimes along with the vendors of goods as many as two hundred French natives suffering from sleeping sickness would stagger over to get medicine from us. But in time the market became too unwieldy for a Saturday, and we had to change the day to allow greater supervision. There was no meat in the country other than the wild game, and though at intervals we shot buffalo and antelope and occasionally hippopotami ; and though occasionally the patients themselves speared game, they were always craving meat; so that when the French natives, who had more rifles than our people, brought in dried meat, there was great competition. The patients acquired the habit of slipping away without paying, or would pay in what appeared to be salt carefully wrapped up in leaves, but which, when opened, was found to contain only small stones. For long, therefore, free fights were common.

In the course of time markets were established at other points on the frontier of the Belgian Congo and Uganda, and District Commissioners of the countries concerned met by appointment and settled cases.



SOURCE YUBO STATION.



CLEARING A STREAM IN THE SETTLEMENT.

The greatest difficulty we experienced in the Settlement was in clearing the streams and maintaining them fly-free. The Settlement was a network of streams, and altogether ten miles of them had to be cleared. These streams start as springs bubbling out, as it were, from a blind end of a narrow ravine which quickly opens out to a swampy bed, a hundred to two hundred yards across. The sloping banks are some 15 feet high, and all along their base rise little springs, whose waters, hemmed back by vegetation and roots of trees, render the intervening space a bog, before they eventually struggle to the main channel winding along the bed. Over all tower the giant trees, while dense vegetation and creepers completely shut out the sun and make the passage of a man impossible without the use of tools. When the clearing began, chimpanzees were found in occupation of the trees. The initial clearing of these streams was a heartbreaking task, but their upkeep was worse. In three months after clearing, the rank vegetation would have sprung up 8 feet high, and after clearing afresh, again and again this would happen. In 1924 we decided to deal with the situation once for all if we could.

The lawn of grass in front of Mackinnon's house had originated from a bundle of grass dug up from the Mission lawn at Yambio, 140 miles away; the Mission lawn had grown from a packet of seeds. By 1923 we had planted all the ground surrounding the headquarters of the Settlement—some twelve acres—with this grass. We had noticed how easily it grew and how quickly it spread, and how it destroyed other grasses and plants. Moreover, its roots penetrated the ground so deeply that when it was dug up it almost immediately grew again. The method of planting it was to dig up long strips with a spade, about an inch below ground level, and then to tear off patches the size of a man's hand, and to plant them about two feet apart. In a month each piece was sending out runners, and in about two months all had joined together. In 1923 we experimented with this grass on the Yubo, near its source, and so successfully did it grow and keep down other vegetation, that in 1924 we planted every stream in the Settlement. Hired labourers dug up all the vegetation by the roots except the big trees. The vegetation so dug up had to be carried sometimes as much as a hundred yards through mud and water up to a man's waist, to the top of the banks where it was allowed to rot.

We mobilised every able-bodied patient; the boys dug up the grass of the lawns, the women carried it to the streams, the men planted behind the hired labourers. The work was not unpopular; one of the medical staff was always in supervision; snakes of all colours and sizes would bolt like rabbits in harvest time coming out of corn, together with rats, and other articles of native diet.

We drained the boggy beds, cut channels, removed obstructing tree trunks. In about six months the grass was established throughout the streams of the Settlement.

At first, an immense amount of weeding was necessary to prevent the young grass being choked, but in time both bed and banks were carpeted with couch grass, and the streams so treated looked beautiful after the fierce tropical vegetation to which we had grown accustomed.

Left to itself in time the grass is swamped by other vegetation, and periodic clearing of the streams is necessary; but the work now is nothing in comparison with that of clearing the luxuriant vegetation of other days. We not only planted the Settlement streams, but we sent out orders that all clearings in the District were to be treated in the same way. Chiefs and headmen sent up parties to collect the grass from the Settlement. All our lawns were dug up about thirty times that wet weather, and yet they grew again: before the dry weather the grass was established all over the District. Finally it was planted on bridges and certain roads to bind the surface and minimise the effects of rain.

The chief crop we grew was manioc, as yielding the greatest return for the labour. It takes two years to mature. In May, 1922, we substituted the issue of manioc for the ordinary grain ration to those newcomers without cultivations of their own and thereafter issued no other ration than the salt, except to the comparatively few helpless cases unsupported by relatives and living in hospital. Manioc is not a complete diet, but we issued a surplus, and this surplus the recipients bartered away for other forms of food. The Settlement had become self-supporting. In 1928, the reserve food supply in the ground from this source only was estimated at 450 tons. The total communal cultivations finally reached 1,000 acres, about four-fifths manioc, the rest such foods as ground-nuts, simsim and maize, which were used as food for the helpless and as seed for the other patients in the spring.



THE STREAM CLEARED, BRIDGED AND PLANTED WITH SHORT GRASS.



ZANDE ART. PAINTING ON TUKL.

In the early days of the Settlement, elephant invaded the plantations; man-eating lion and leopard were occasionally killed by the patients; in office hours I have seen more than once a herd of hartebeest come wandering through the cultivations, and every native within sight of them discard his occupation of the moment, and set out in pursuit. From the doors of my house I have seen buffalo, waterbuck, roan antelope, hartebeest and many other forms of game, not four hundred yards away, and at one time while I was out on inspection a herd of waterbuck grazed my garden regularly at night and took shelter from rain in the verandah of my house. Quite recently Major Warburton shot two troublesome leopards close to his house. But for the most part now, the game avoids the Settlement itself but is plentiful on the outskirts.

The Settlement itself is a really charming station. Comfortable brick buildings have replaced the mud and grass barns. The mango trees are all bearing. Oil palms planted from Congo seed are just coming into fruit. There is a good vegetable garden in the bed of the Yubo near its source; even watercress is established; the solitary mulberry tree planted by Mackinnon has given rise to mulberry groves and avenues.

I observed one day when pruning the mulberry tree that a branch carelessly pushed into the ground not only grew but fruited in about three months. I therefore planted a number of them. When I was leaving I happened to remark, chiefly in jest, that the only economic salvation of the District, situated as it is 400 miles from the Nile, was the production of silk by means of the mulberries. An enterprising Syrian, hearing this, and having a brother in the silk-growing industry in Syria, brought back silk-worm eggs after his leave. Since then, silk has been grown to the full extent of the available mulberry trees, and many more mulberry trees have been planted.

The natives themselves have changed out of all recognition with the civilising influence that has been brought to bear on them. They are happy and friendly, and give no trouble, and have become anxious to get work.

The present District Commissioner, Captain Burgess Watson, has done much for the development of native industry. Besides taking an active interest in the growing of silk, he started at Tembura an industrial school which, some two years ago, was transferred to Source Yubo. Excellent cane chairs are turned out, which find a ready market in

private houses, clubs, and on the Sudan steamers. The houses and offices of the Settlement are now furnished with well-finished mahogany furniture, locally grown and made. Major Warburton installed a water ram and tower to supply the headquarters with water and save the tedious carriage from the spring.

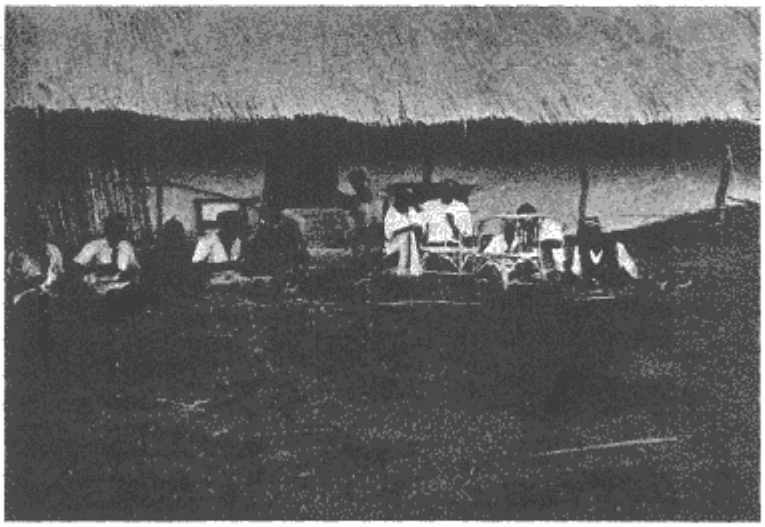
In the early days there was the greatest difficulty in finding enough food to eat. There were no domestic animals except fowls and dogs, and even fowls were hard to come by. Mackinnon introduced goats from the Congo, and I added considerably to the herd by sheep and goats from Wau, and at our request the Government imported 200 sheep and goats for distribution in the District. Since my time cattle have been introduced into the Settlement. The difficulty was to get them there uninfected by "fly" on the road, but with the population on the roads and the consequent disappearance of most of the "fly," some cattle reached the Settlement uninfected, while by special arrangement those infected produced calves before the disease destroyed them. Young bulls are now being trained to draw a plough to work the cultivations.

Much of the superstition of the people has left them. In the old days the patients were continually consulting their oracles, and when these proved unfavourable, were never happy until they had changed their residence. This was a great trouble to us and to them. Moreover, the consultation with the oracle commonly took the form of giving a lethal, or nearly lethal dose of poison to a chicken; hence the shortage. Now people seldom want to move on account of omens, and chickens and eggs are abundant and the people anxious to sell them.

Apart from sleeping sickness, an enormous amount of medical work is done among the population. Syphilis, Yaws and Tropical Ulcer, which at one time were playing havoc, are now being brought under control. The people appreciate and understand segregation, and we are at present engaged in bringing 5,000 lepers in the Southern Sudan under segregation and treatment, on the lines adopted for sleeping sickness. There are already 1,000 lepers in a part of the Yubo Settlement, and a similar Settlement is being created at Yambio. It is not the treatment of lepers, but the feeding of them that is so costly; and these leper colonies will, we hope, be self-supporting in two years.



BRICK MAKING.



INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL. CHAIR MAKING.

I have not touched in this article on the clinical aspect of sleeping sickness. There were, however, some useful records kept. In the Sudan there have been 5,429 cases of sleeping sickness treated to the end of 1928. In Mongalla Province from 1911 to 1928, 1,697 came under treatment. Of these 990 died and 546 were discharged as cured, and only 23 have had to be re-admitted with signs of the disease.

In the Southern Bahr al Ghazal the largest number ever undergoing treatment at one time at Source Yubo was 1,837 in March, 1925. Of the total 3,630 cases admitted to Source Yubo from 1918 to 1928, 1,661 died and 928 were discharged as cured, but 152 of these had to be re-admitted with signs of the disease. From Tembura District 284 patients deserted permanently, and from Mongalla Province 23.

Some useful experimental treatment has been carried out in both Provinces, but it will be realised that accurate clinical observation on a big scale was impossible, since apart from our efforts to eradicate the disease we had to be our own architects, builders, road constructors, bridge builders, agriculturists, magistrates, blacksmiths, indeed, everything.

As I have shown, or tried to show, measures taken in time had shut out infection from a district five times as large as Wales; where it had gained a footing a considerable epidemic was brought under control within the space of two years. It lingered only where the medical and administrative staff was inadequate.

In the course of the campaign against sleeping sickness the habits of the natives were transformed; they were no longer afraid of the white man, some had come out of the forest to become craftsmen, carpenters, builders and blacksmiths, all had learnt to obey laws. Superstition waned, agriculture prospered. The task of extirpating a disease had profoundly affected the life of a people.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE FUNG.

By J. D. P. Chataway.

The following Notes are the result of a few investigations made into local customs, traditions, and remains, coupled with a little reading on the subject. Though they include some facts recorded, I believe, for the first time, there are also tentative suggestions which are made only in the hope that they may be of value to future enquirers. Needless to say, the two most valuable sources of information are MacMichael's "History of the Arabs in the Sudan," and Jackson's "Tooth of Fire." Rey's "The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia" gives an excellent summary of the events in Abyssinia at that period, though there is no mention made in it of the Fung or their country. The bibliography appended may be of some value however.

LITTLE is known of the early history of the country which later became the kingdoms of the Fung, but the probability that it was closely linked to the Meroitic, and later to the Soba kingdoms, is confirmed by the meagre evidence which is available.

The sites of some old villages are strewn with beads and ornaments identical with those found in Meroitic graves, and with them lie bones washed bare of earth by the rains of three thousand years. Such finds were to be expected. The wealth of Meroë was founded on gold and slaves, and the trade route, lined with temples, leading southwards suggests that not all the gold can have come from the Red Sea hills. This trade route probably led to the mountains of Western Abyssinia which still produce a little gold, and have been a plentiful source of slaves up to quite recent years.

There is no reason to suppose that this link between the North and Abyssinia was subsequently broken by an irruption of savage tribes. There is evidence of the link of a common religion up the Blue Nile at the time of the Christian kingdom of Soba, and that the country was subject to Soba.

Traces, which it is true are faint, of Christian beliefs can be found among the Hameg of the Roseires district. (See appended Notes on the Hameg of Roseires).

Almost invariably old "Anag" village sites are known locally as Soba. The "Soba," to the Hameg, has come to mean some old village site at which the tribal rites are performed, possibly round a sacred tree which grows there. All knowledge of a greater Soba has disappeared. At the coming of the Fung it therefore seems likely that the sedentary riverain population generally professed Christianity, and had had an age-long connection with Abyssinia. (This connection is asserted in a letter by an Abyssinian king a hundred years later.)

From time immemorial the country had also supported a population of nomads drifting back and forth on the grazing grounds off the river—Blemmyes, Beja, or Arabs. Eventually, it was the powerful Gawasma Arabs who held sway between Gerri and Fazoghli (or El Geri near by), their Chief. Abdullah Guma', raising tribute from the herds as they passed northwards on their yearly trek before the on-coming rains.

Then the Fung came. Why they came, where they came from, and who they were, is still, and perhaps always will be, a moot question.

The Fung naturally claim an Arab descent, their enemies suggest that they were originally pagans.

Of those pointing to pagan origin, the theory most widely held is that they were Shilluk.

Bruce, who visited Sennar in 1772, provides the evidence, which perhaps is considered the most weighty in the eyes of the anthropologists.

Having definitely stated that a black nation called "Shillook," inhabiting the western bank of the Bahr el Abiad, defeated Wad Agib (the Gawasma), founded Sennar, and left the Arabs to enjoy their former possessions in return for an annual tribute, he describes a "singularity which obtains amongst this brutish people, that the king ascends the throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers."

This is clearly the "king killing" custom well known to anthropologists; and the best known exponents of the custom in the Sudan are the Shilluk. Bruce could not have fabricated this supporting

evidence, because he knew nothing about the Shilluk, besides, he was a careful observer, and the attempts to discredit him during his lifetime failed.

It almost seems proof positive; yet there is, if required, further evidence. The Fung are black and so are the Shilluk. PA, FA, FAN and PAN are prefixes to place names in the Shilluk country with the meaning "country," and may easily be connected with the name of "Fung."

Nevertheless, without doubting Bruce's sincerity and care, it would seem that the information he received should be accepted with caution.

Bruce visited Sennar when the Fung kingdom had degenerated. Intrigue and murder were rife; the king, a figurehead puppet, was virtually a prisoner helpless in the hands of Mohammed Abu Likeilik, the Ga'ali-Hameg usurper of his power.

Bruce himself was in a precarious position, and could not freely seek the truth, which, anyway, would have been difficult to find in such an atmosphere of intrigue and propaganda, and nearly all his information seems to have come from one source—Ahmed Sid el Qom.

Now Ahmed Sid el Qom was, according to Bruce, born at Fazoghli (a semi-independent Fung kingdom), the "present licensed regicide," one of the gentlest spirits, little attached to or convinced of the truth of the Mohammedan religion, "and as little zealous or instructed in his own," and an epileptic. "This extraordinary officer was one of the very few that shewed me any attention or civility at Sennar." The poor fellow was eternally grateful for the soap pills which Bruce had given him for gravel, and in return tried his best, no doubt, to give Bruce the information he desired.

He was a strange man to be Sid el Qom—the king's right-hand man He was not even a man of Sennar, and although born at Fazoghli he did not know much about it, because he told Bruce that the kingdom of Fazoghli was "bounded by the river El Aice (White Nile) on the East and the Nile on the West," whereas it is known that westward of Fazoghli came the kingdom of Keili, and the independent Ingassena, while west again came a tract of land which was not conquered by the Fung till after Bruce's time.

Perhaps he or his mother was a Shilluk slave, and he was chosen by Mohammed Abu Likeilik as a suitable right-hand man for a king

who was to be no king—"one of the gentlest spirits"—"little attached" —"little zealous."

When Mek Nasr was (let us note) deposed and exiled, and subsequently tried to raise a revolt, Mohammed Abu Likeilik sent a force to kill him. Bruce refers to this as the most recent instance of "king killing," and says that Ahmed Sid el Qom did the deed—hence the "present licensed regicide." No doubt Ahmed claimed that title, but so would any simple Shilluk raised to high position, knowing the customs of his people, and being employed in such a manner.

Outside Bruce there is, I believe, no mention or trace of this Fung "king-killing" custom, and anthropologists have sought survivals of it without success, even in the Ingassena and Barun hills which were never ruled by the Fung. All knowledge of it is denied locally; it is admitted that kings were killed, there seems no particular desire to deny it and no attempt to explain it away, it is looked upon as the sort of thing that happens quite normally to rulers in general.

Ahmed Sid el Qom also told Bruce that "Upon the death of a King of Sennar his eldest son succeeds by right, and immediately afterwards as many of the brothers of the reigning prince as can be apprehended are put to death by the Sid el Coom in the manner already described."

Not so much notice, I believe, has been taken of this statement, and the lists of Fung kings, showing an unusual number of brothers succeeding to the throne, seem to afford sufficient reason for disbelieving it.

That the Fung are black is not surprising. Suliman, from whom according to its traditions the family descends, married the daughter of a king of Dongola or Abyssinia, and his descendants have been marrying women of local tribes ever since. (The king of Keili took a wife from each of the different tribes under his rule in turn, as the result of a definite policy to link himself with his people.)

Finally, the name "Fung" can be traced to a local source. (Incidentally, Fung is not the name of a tribe so much as of a ruling family. There is no trace of a Fung language as such, but all Fung are bilingual, speaking Arabic and the language of the people they rule.)

FA is not only Shilluk, but is also a prefix to place names in the Southern Fung kingdoms (there are reputed to be ninety-nine Jebels whose names begin with Fa). In the language of the Berta who inhabit the

district, fa means "men," being used as the plural of ide, meaning "man." Furthermore, it has the meaning of "stranger" or "strangers."

In the word "Fung," as pronounced by the people of the Fung, the sound of the "ng" approximates to that of the Spanish "ñ," there is only a trace of the "g" or a "d" found in the middle of it. In Berta this "ng" sound appears in the fairly regularly formed plural of "tang" a cow, which we may spell as "tañ" It also appears in the Berta word for many—"eñ" (or "enye").

Now "many men" or "many strangers" in Berta is "fa enye." The diphthong "ae" in this is not far in sound from the "u" in Fung, and the rest is identical. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that "Fung" is derived from "many men" or "many strangers."

If the theory of a Shilluk origin is doubtful, there is always the written history and verbal traditions of the Fung themselves to fall back on.

They start with Suliman ibn Khalid or Ibn Abd el Malek ibn Merwan of the Beni Umaiya, who, according to one version, fled to Abyssinia and married the king's daughter, after which, the Abbasides complaining to the Negus that Abyssinia was harbouring refugees, he was asked to leave, and settled in the hill country of the subsequent Fung kingdoms. Another version says he married the daughter of the king of Dongola, and succeeded to the throne. According to both versions a descendant of his, 'Amāra Dunkas, made an alliance with Abdullah Gumā' of the Gawasma Arabs, attacked the Soba kingdom, and, after a victory at Arbagi, founded Sennar and became the first Fung king, though Abdullah Gumā' retained a position of almost equal importance and power. (Compare this to Bruce's Amru Wad Adelan who defeated the Gawasma at Herbagi, and subsequently reinstated the Gawasma chief.)

The Fung story sounds more probable, and it is possible to imagine political reasons for these happenings.

In the first place, too much emphasis must not be put on religious differences in this part of the world before the sixteenth century. Soba and Abyssinia were Christian under the spiritual authority of Alexandria, but, as in Egypt before the coming of Selim, there must have been

considerable religious tolerance. Christian Soba and the Mohammedan Gawasma existed together in the same country presumably in comparative peace, and in Abyssinia there were several Moslem Governors and tributary sovereigns under the Christian king. It was not until the sixteenth century that fanaticism appeared, and then it scarcely cloaks what seems to have really been lust and greed for power and loot.

In support of this view may be mentioned the remarkably wise and able woman, Queen Helena of Abyssinia. Daughter of a Moslem Governor of Donaro, and then wife and widow of Emperor Baeda Maryam (1468 to 1478); she became regent in 1508 when the eleven-year-old Lebna Dengel came to the throne. In 1510 she appealed to Portugal to save her kingdom menaced from all sides by fanatical Mohammedans. (Incidentally, Mohammedanism was not the only religion which endangered Abyssinia during the next century. Portuguese priests of the Church of Rome " under the cloak of religion they came to subdue them, and to take that crown from the infidel for themselves.")

But let us return to the Fung.

At the time of their coming, communication between the Abyssinian Church and that of Alexandria was, we read, becoming more and more difficult, and was finally cut in the reign of King Lebna Dengel when Selim conquered Egypt (1517).

It is possible that, up to the time of Selim, these difficulties were encountered not in Egypt, but in the Sudan.

Here let us quote Bruce, this time as a witness for the defence. ". . . from the twelfth to the sixteenth century the Arabs in Nubia and Beja . . . had been incorporated with the old indigenous inhabitants of those territories . . . the Arabs continued their old life in tents while the indigenous inhabitants lived in huts mostly by the side of rivers." ". . . this does not hold without exception . . . Arabs of Mahomet's own family, the Beni Koreish, mostly lived in towns . . . Many also of these who came over to Beja and the eastern part of Nubia, continued their practice of living in small towns or villages, and were distinguished by the name of Jahleen." "Though they live in villages they are the most dangerous and most fanatic wretches a traveller can meet."

Is it not possible that these "fanatic wretches" first interfered with messengers to Abyssinia, and then, becoming more truculent, seized the power of the degenerate Soba kingdom, threw off the yoke of Abyssinia, and threatened some of the traditional privileges of the Gawasma ?

The Gawasma and Abyssinia would combine, being mutually interested.

The choice of king of Abyssinia, or possibly of Queen Helena, because she appears to have been a power behind the throne, in looking for a suitable man to co-operate with the Gawasma and to recover the Soba kingdom, might easily fall upon a descendant of Suliman, who perhaps was one of the petty Moslem rulers in Abyssinia.

'Amāra would raise a force among his subjects, or be provided with one by the king of Abyssinia, and in 1504 this new power passing through the Berta country would pick up the name of Fung—the "many strangers." Joining up with the Gawasma and defeating the fanatical upstarts at Arbagi (Arbagi, according to Jackson, had been founded about A.D. 1470, by Hegazi Ibn Naim) the Gawasma would retain their former rights, while 'Amāra would found a new kingdom to take the place of Soba.

In 1520 we find the Fung attacking Arabs of the Quraish supported by Bosnian troops in Northern Nubia, and being defeated at Hannek. This fits into the picture.

The whole story of the Fung is, however, by no means clear. Suliman, we are told, had two sons, Daud and Anas, who, according to Jackson, changed their names to Awdun and Ounssa and founded, one the Awdunab tribe, and the other the Ounssab tribe of Kassala. Possibly, it was merely a member of the Ounssab tribe who got help from the Abyssinian king, and so brought him into the story.

That this line of enquiry is worth while following up seems to be shown by the fact that, in the history of the Fung, Anas (or Ounssa) III *circa* 1720, is regretfully spoken of as being the last of the true royal line of Ounssa.

One suspects however that there was an earlier break in the line of succession. Anyway, there seems to have been a change of policy, if not of dynasty.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Abyssinian king had his hands full with the turmoil created by the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, Abd el Gadir, king of the Fung, was deposed (not ceremonially killed, let us note by the way), and fled to Abyssinia for protection. He was succeeded by Adlan Wad Ayah. The Wad Ayah is significant, also the fact that he fought and killed El Agib Wad Manguluk, the successor of the Gawasma ally, and that he introduced sheikhs and learned men from Cairo.

His brother Badi Sid el Qom (also significant) who succeeded him, we find quarrelling with the Abyssinian king Susenyos, not only on the subject of the protection which Abd el Gadir was receiving, but also on the question of the political relationship between the two kingdoms. He appears to be throwing off a vassalage.

It ends in war, and the country is ravaged.

At this point the history of the Keili kingdom is interesting.

The present Keili kingdom was originally founded at Disa on the Blue Nile, north of Roseires.

(An interruption must be permitted to remark that, though it would be gratifying to trace the name Roseires to a Portuguese who might have been struck by its beauty, it regrettably appears to be a diminutive of Ras ras, a name given to old Roseires on account of the nature of the rocky river-bed at that spot.)

The kingdom at Disa was founded by Maias; it moved to Ragreig or Dandira in the reign of Dowra, his successor. The site and remains of a village, which must have been the former capital as it has the traditional name of Maias, shows signs of having been destroyed by fire.

Now there are two coincidences here. The main force of the Abyssinian punitive expedition mentioned above was assisted by a body of cavalry called Maia; and according to the length of the reigns given by the present Mek Nail, of Keili, Dowra succeeded Maias at about the time of the Abyssinian invasion. (Incidentally, Dowra is very similar to the name of the doubtful king of 30 years earlier in the list of the kings of Sennar.)

Is it possible that Maias threw in his weight on the side of the old regime, and that his son was subsequently, when the Abyssinians

retired, driven to seek refuge further south ? Or was Dowra driven out by the Abyssinians ?

There is, it must be admitted, another quite likely explanation for the move. The Ingassena may have dominated the district and made life impossible at Disa. (The district was uninhabited after Dowra left. The Ingassena were fine fighters, so much so that they gave Ismail Pasha a surprise, and, after nearly killing him twice, turned him aside. Even during the Turkia they made the building of villages between Abu Sheneina and well north of Disa impossible, and drove the traders to moving along this stretch in caravans with armed guards.)

The events of this period seem to have led to an extension of the Fung dominions ; whether this was the result of gifts by Abyssinia to loyalists, seizure from Abyssinia by the Fung, or merely occupation of hitherto unadministered territories, is uncertain.

Anyway, the move from Disa is said to have resulted in the foundation of at least two new Fung kingdoms. A sister of Dowra founded that of Beni Shangul, and Gabir, who is said to have founded the Fazoghli kingdom, is also said to have lived with Dowra at Disa, though his relationship is uncertain. (Caillaud, however, gives the names of three Fazoghli Meks prior to Gabir).

Let us see what Bruce's delightful but unfortunate friend Ahmed Sid el Qom has to say on the subject.

" The person that commands it [*i.e.* Fazoghli] is not a Funge, but the same native prince from whom the army of Sennar conquered it."

It is strange Bruce did not notice that this statement, if true, would cast doubt on Ahmed Sid el Qom's claim to be a Fung or to know their customs. He only remarks : " This seems to be a very remarkable piece of policy in this barbarous nation, which must have succeeded, as they constantly adhere to it, of making the prince of the State they have conquered their lieutenant in the Government of his own country afterwards."

It is true the Fung did do this in the case of petty rulers of villages, hills and districts (they would not, however, in the case of one of the five main semi-independent kingdoms), but perhaps the real Fung were not as barbarous as he thought, and then, again, perhaps he never met any.

NOTE ON THE HAMEĞ OF ROSEIRES.

PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO EVIDENCE OF CONNECTION WITH THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM OF SOBA.

Soba is said to be fairly common as a place name. There is a Soba at Mazmum. There are two sites known as Soba near Roseires, where "'Anağ" pottery and beads can be picked up. They are reputed to be "'Anağ" village sites. An oath which the Hameg use and dare not break runs as follows :—

> "I swear by Soba the home of my grandfathers and grandmothers which can make the stone float and the cotton boll sink." (Ahalif be Sōba dār el ğid wal ḥabbōba el biṭâffiḥ el ḥağar wa taġattis el karka'ōba.)

There is a christening ceremony at which the child has a cross marked on its forehead with charcoal. A youth, if he becomes very breathless when playing, will mark his chest with a cross (using earth) in order to recover. A sick person will wear a coin which has a head and a cross on it (*e.g.* an English florin or Abyssinian Tamuna) on his wrist. Or one may be worn round the neck as a prophylactic. I am told by 'Abdulla Eff. Wagi'allah that all customs in this paragraph also occur in the Gezira, particularly among women.

Another form of oath among the Hameg is to stand on a heap of burnt rubbish facing east, with some powder made of seven grains of powdered dura, some salt and some ashes. They put some of the powder on their tongue, then touch their forehead and their chest (sign of the cross ?), then pick up a piece of wood and break it over their head, and swear.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE KEILI KINGDOM.

The account of the origin of the Fung dynasty and a list of the kings of Keili, as given by the present Mek Nail, may be of interest. Unfortunately, they have only been handed down orally, as all the documents were destroyed in the Mahdia. The story is hazy, and both it and the list may be incomplete and inaccurate.

It starts off with an obvious reminiscence of the romance of the conquest of Bahnasa in Egypt by the army of the Prophet, and then continues :—

" Later, one Suliman Ibn Khalid, a poor fiki of the Fung, travelled alone from Mecca to Dongola[1] where, finding favour in the king's eyes, he married the royal daughter. The king's name was Teoghawal; he died without issue except the daughter, and the " Anag " chose her son 'Umara, the son of Suliman, to be king.

Soon afterwards, in 899 of the Mohammedan era, the Fung came with an army from Mecca and defeated the 'Anag at Dongola. The 'Anag army fled to Sennar, but the Fung followed, and inflicted another defeat upon them from which the 'Anag fled to Jebel Tornasi. But the Fung did not let them rest, and beat them once more at Tornasi. The 'Anag then surrendered, and the Fung took control of the country[2].

Though the Fung were greatly outnumbered, they inspired the 'Anag with fear by virtue of their metal body-armour and the horses which they rode.

The Fung then divided up the country. There was a king at Dongola. 'Umara the son of Suliman who had refused to be king at Dongola was made king of Sennar, where he chose to live. Gabir became king of Fazoghli; Daoud of Fadasi; Tagali of Tagali, which was named after him. Maias who was Suliman's younger brother, founded the Keili kingdom at Disa. His boundary with Sennar was at Abu Kuk, but the only village outside the present Keili district was at Disa. His son Dowra moved the seat of government to Jebel Ragreig. His son Maias moved to Keili, where the kings of Keili have lived ever since.

The Fung when they arrived in the Sudan were as white as Englishmen, but by intermarrying with the natives became black. The Fung kings of Keili married women from the Berta, Hameg, Ingassena, etc., so that the people should look upon their children as one of themselves.

[1] If we assume that the king's daughter was an Abyssinian, then Dongola must have been brought into the story to link up the family with the traditional rulers of the country, or it may be a corruption of Dongolo or Dangila in Abyssinia.

[2] I believe there is no other record of this conquest of Dongola, and it is not clear why 'Umara (apparently) resisted his fellow Fung, nor why he afterwards was leading the Fung army. It looks as if the events described in this paragraph are largely invented, with a little local colour thrown in, to bring Mecca a little closer in the history of the Fung.

LIST OF THE KINGS OF KEILI.

Maias	reigned	100 years (Mohammedan) at Disa.
Dowra Maias	,,	80 years moved to Ragreig.
Maias Dowra	,,	90 years ,, Keili.
Gum'a Maias	,,	20 years.
Umara Maias	,,	4 years.
Badi Maias	,,	30 years, of which 20 were before the coming of the Turks.
Dowra Maias	,,	10 years.
Mohammed Gum'a ...	,,	4 years.
Beshir Gum'a	,,	36 years.
Hamdan Beshir' ...	,,	41 years.
Nail Hamdan	succeeded in 1920.	

The length of time which each of the earlier generations survived suggests descent from the long-lived Ethiopians!

Two of the Keili kings met their death at the hands of their subjects. If I remember correctly (I have lost the notes) they were Umara and Mohammed. It was anyway late in the history of the dynasty, and done, apparently, quite unceremoniously.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

I.—SOME ANCIENT SITES NEAR ROSEIRES.

By J. D. P. Chataway.

(PLATES I—V.)

THE following are some notes on old village or burial sites near Roseires :—

SITE 1.—This site is the knoll 100 yards N.E. of the school, about the highest spot in Roseires.

Along the West side of it, running N. and E., are recent Mohammedan graves. In the hill itself are buried 'Anağ. I am not sure if it is a proper burial ground or a heap of corpses (perhaps the result of some battle). Anyway, in several places skeletons appear on the surface.

From facts and evidence one would say that it was :—

(1) An 'Anağ burial ground and village (?).
(2) A Hameğ village (?).
(3) Abandoned.
(4) Police lines (1910 ?).

My attention was first attracted by a skeleton on N.E. side. This was clearly outlined with head to west, knees brought up at right angles and lower leg going away to N.E. In the angle of the legs and body was the top of an inverted *burma*. I dug and found another small bowl E. of the ankles. I thought they were part of an old system of burial, but I have since come to the conclusion they were not.

All over the hill one can find these *burmas*, and an " oldest inhabitant " says it was the habit of the Hameğ women to let them into the ground to smoke themselves, and there were certainly traces of burnt material in them.

Though there are other skeletons head to west, none show whether the legs are bent up. I have not attempted to dig round these to find out. Most are in an advanced state of decomposition; and are worn almost through by people walking over them. I am told the Police, when they were camped there, found skeletons of three or four people buried together " anyhow." This may only mean they were not buried according to Moslem custom, and I doubt if they took much interest in how they were buried.

The ground is richly strewn with broken earthenware, a great deal of which is quite unlike anything made locally now. Two pieces I picked up appear to my not very experienced eye to be extremely old. There are also flat beads made of oyster shell (?) and of stone, and pointed stones (tapered). It is difficult to decide what object these stones served; most of the points are badly worn, which seems to indicate that they were used as tools. On the other hand, they may have been ornaments.

SITE II.—Known as Soba, some two miles North of Roseires. A hill about a mile from the river, level with the old irrigation houses; about the highest hill in the locality.

It is said that anyway for a hundred years there has been no village here, but there is a large tebeldi tree near by at which the Hameğ hold their harvest festival, and which plays a part in other customs. The site is thus frequented, and one cannot be sure that anything found on the ground is necessarily old; in fact, some beads picked up were, one would think, of quite recent origin. The finds were similar to those on Site 1. Bones were present (again I did not dig), and burial so far as one could gather was head to west.

A particularly good specimen of tapered stone was found. It was larger than usual, of excellent workmanship, there was no sign of wear, and round the thick end was cut a groove. In fact, one would say it was used as an ornament. Three ornamented baked mud (?) beads were found (as well as the small flat stone ones), the largest being nearly an inch in diameter (they were globular). There was a good deal of broken pottery, and a flint knife (?).

A strange feature of the site is a hole at the top of the hill some four or five feet in diameter and four feet deep. Out of this there is a tunnel going downwards in a westerly direction; on the side of the hill there are several deep holes which seem to break into this tunnel. The people suggested that the hole and tunnel were made by porcupines, but they seem much too big, and there is no sign of the earth dug out of them, which must have been of considerable quantity. They might possibly be due to rain action, but if so the position is strange. A few hundred yards south of the site is another hill. A few minutes search revealed bones, beads and tapered stones.

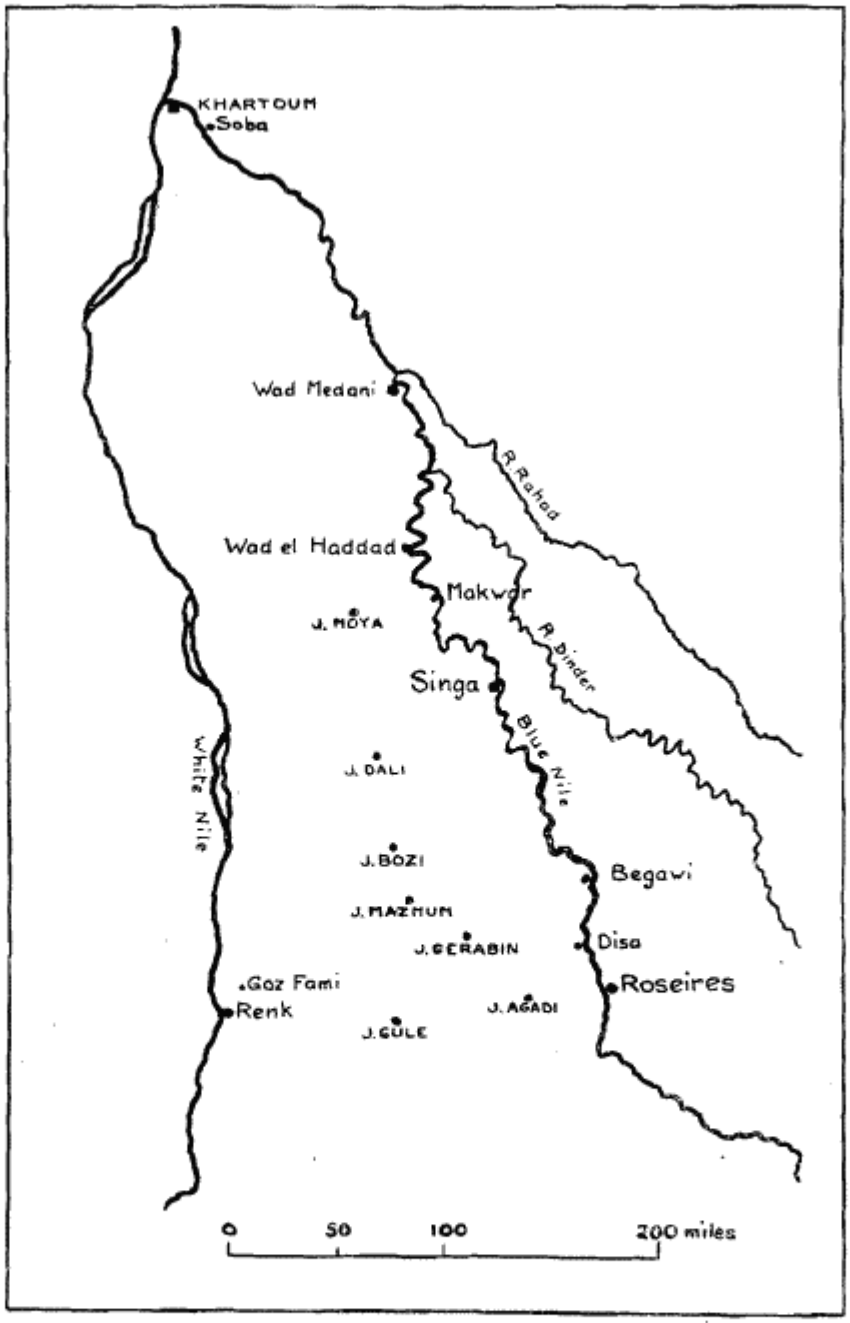


FIG. 1.

MAP SHOWING ANCIENT SITES IN THE ROSEIRES DISTRICT.

SITE III.—A few hundred yards south of 'Omda Abu Shotāl's village, which is a mile south-east of Roseires, and on a ridge perhaps two hundred feet higher than the river.

This is visited by the women of the village who collect the broken pottery for grinding and mixing with the clay out of which they make their earthenware. (They have found several whole bowls which have been treated in this way.) Broken pottery is scarcer here for the above reason.

At one place on the side of the hill were found a lot of flat stone beads in a line. On investigation and by carefully scraping away the earth there was found a necklace held by the earth as if strung. It followed a curve as if encircling a neck. It was a triple string. Across it in one place was lying a tapered stone with the point slightly worn. Fragments of ribs were found a few inches from the eastern edge of the necklace, but they were very much decomposed. Their position and the way they were lying suggested burial with head to west.

No other bones could be found. Hasty digging in an area which should have covered the position of the head and chest revealed nothing except some oval pieces of mother of pearl or oyster shell, and at a depth of a foot a quantity of ashes.

Amongst the objects found on the site was a piece of, what I take it to be, iron slag, and if I am correct it seems to indicate that the people had a knowledge of smelting iron which the present inhabitants have not. Other objects were part of an iron or copper ring, a piece of worked horn or wood, and two strips of oyster shell (?) with tapered holes at each end, which might have been made by the tapered stones.

SITE IV.—A hill standing behind Hillet el Talib (or Hillet el Haǧar) some five miles north of Roseires on the river.

The Sheikh, a very old man, who came here with his people early in the " Turkia," states that it was known as Soba, and that there had been no village on the site within living memory even at that time. People do not visit it for any reason.

The site is particularly rich in pottery (all broken). There are the usual bones, beads, and tapered stones. The only other thing of interest picked up was a broken piece of cowrie shell.

SITE V.—The hill upon which the Merkaz and Barracks are built. There are quantities of bones in the ground (particularly near the

Hospital), but no beads have been found, and only one broken tapered stone, which may have been brought up with gravel from the river. There has, naturally, been a lot of interference with the site.

All the above sites are on high ground and *'azāza* (old river bed) ﻷﻯ. Two are called Soba. On none of them has more than a couple of hours search been made. The pottery is of great variety, from crude thick earthenware to semi-glazed pottery of much better quality than can be obtained locally at the present time.

SITE VI.—At Disa, less than half a mile west of the present village, a hill similar to those on which other "'Anağ" remains have been found.

I find that all down the river the "'Anağ" sites are known as Soba, and this is no exception; but when I mentioned that Myass, the founder of the Keili dynasty, had his capital at Disa, I was told that the site was also called Myass. One does not know why the son of Myass moved to Ragreig near Keili, but one knows that the West bank of the Nile from Bario (which was somewhere near the present Abu Sheneina) to an uncertain distance north of Disa, was uninhabited during the "Turkia," owing to the warlike activities of the Ingessana. It therefore seems quite likely that there has been no village near the site till recently for some 300 years, and as the present village is inhabited by Berta from Dul, Haneğ traditions would not even draw people to visit the site.

The site is more thickly strewn with pottery than any other I have seen, but there do not appear to be any bones. Flat beads are common. Other beads were found which elsewhere I should have thought were modern. There were not many tapered stones, but a number of spherical mud beads (*hagu* or *fum*) were found. Amongst other things of interest were fused material which does not seem to be slag, as it is too light, brick-like substance made of red earth and straw, what may be fossils, material which is probably conglomerate but may be a form of concrete. There are what appear to be floors of houses made of red brick material, but I did no clearing or digging.

SITE VII.—On the west bank north of Hillet Abu Rammad (I have not visited this site). There has been no village there within the knowledge of the present inhabitants. Pottery, *hagu*, tapered stones, a piece of iron, and beads have been brought in to me from there.

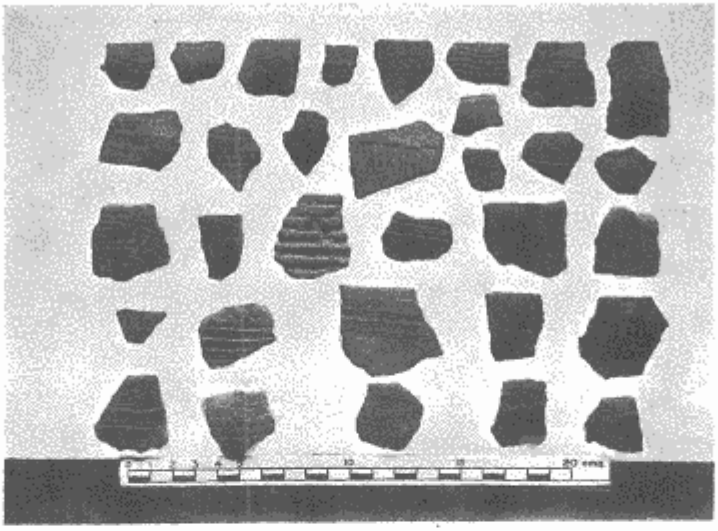


FIG. 2.
FRAGMENTS OF FINE POTTERY FROM SITES I TO VI.

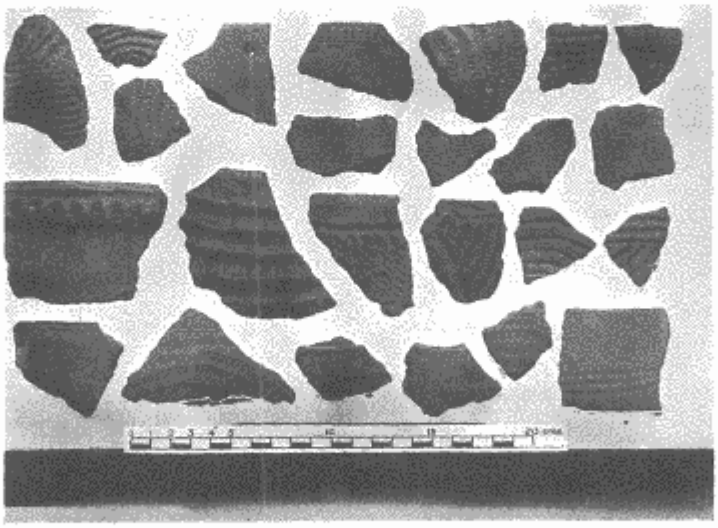


FIG. 3.
FRAGMENTS OF COARSE POTTERY FROM SITES I TO IV.

SITE VIII.—A hillock and a strip of *'azāza* on the eastern side of the village of Begawi.

The name of the village is said to date back to the " 'Anağ," but the name of Soba is not used in connection with this site. An hour was spent searching the surface with the aid of a dozen villagers. Brick material and conglomerate (or cement) of the kind found at Disa was also found here. Human bones and pottery were also found. But the site was particularly rich in ornaments—*hagu*, beads, cowrie and other shells, and flat river bed stones drilled for threading.

The beads were of considerable variety, some admittedly of modern manufacture, as is to be expected on a site which has been continuously inhabited, but others, particularly a number of cornelian beads, are old. The " pointed stone " variety of ornament or tool of the Roseires sites was only represented by one cylindrical stone, but the flat stone or shell type of bead was common.

SITE IX.—Abu Khallag, an *'azāza* patch north of the modern Fellata village.

It is said that a single pole of ebony, reputed to be part of the mosque or house of El 'Ağib Wad Manğuluk, still stood on this site six years ago, when, according to my informant, an Agricultural Inspector took it away because of its remarkable size as a piece of ebony. It was credited with miraculous powers ; a tired man had but to rub his back against it to become refreshed.

An hour's search was made on this site. Human bones, brick and " conglomerate " of the Disa type, and pottery were found, but nothing in the way of ornaments except part of a broken cornelian bead.

NOTE ON ALL THE SITES.

It seems probable, in view of the human bones on all the sites, that the ornaments found were originally buried with the dead, and that the heavy rainfall in this district has, in the course of centuries, washed away the overlying earth.

All the sites examined were mounds of *'Azāza* soil. There must be many others both in the Roseires and Singa districts. (During a stop for lunch between Shameia Omer and Abu Na'ama I noticed typical pottery, brick, and conglomerate on an *'azāza* mound.)

Though any classification on so little material is impossible, one might express a tentative opinion that there are two distinct cultures: (1) That of the Roseires neighbourhood where all sites are known as "Soba," and pointed stones and flat beads are the typical ornaments found. (2) That of the other sites where brick and conglomerate seem to have been used for building materials, and the ornaments are of greater variety.

NOTES ON FUNG ARCHÆOLOGY.

Not sufficient interest seems to have been taken in Funğ Archæology.

The Kurmuk District seems fairly bare except for stone implements and tools, and these are probably of recent date. There may be something to be found in the caves of Tornasi, but I could get no information about other likely spots, and history so far as it is known does not encourage hopes. Once the Roseires District is entered, however, history and information are more encouraging.

At Dali, Bozi, Mazmum and Abu Garrad, in the Singa District, there are definitely rock carvings of high quality. I am told there are also some at J. Okalma. Jebels Agadi, Garabin and Gule have little hollow troughs ground in the rock which have not been satisfactorily accounted for. There is said to be a round stone at Agadi which is described as having lines cut in it, like lines of longitude on a globe. There may be other things.

My cook was cook to an officer of the Slavery Department twenty odd years ago. He tells me that his master picked up a stone vessel at Gerri which he said was a four-wicked oil lamp and a bowl with writing on the bottom which could be translated by people in his country. I picked up some pottery in Roseires which he says is similar to the bowl. Elsewhere he is said to have picked up a small statue.

There are said to be the remains of a number of old villages on the Khor el 'Agalin where bricks of old houses, beads, pottery with writing, etc., are said to be found. There are also said to be rock carvings on J. Fazogli.

2—NOTE BY F. ADDISON.

The sites referred to by Mr. Chataway will be found on the map, fig. 1, and a selection of the pottery and small objects he sent to the

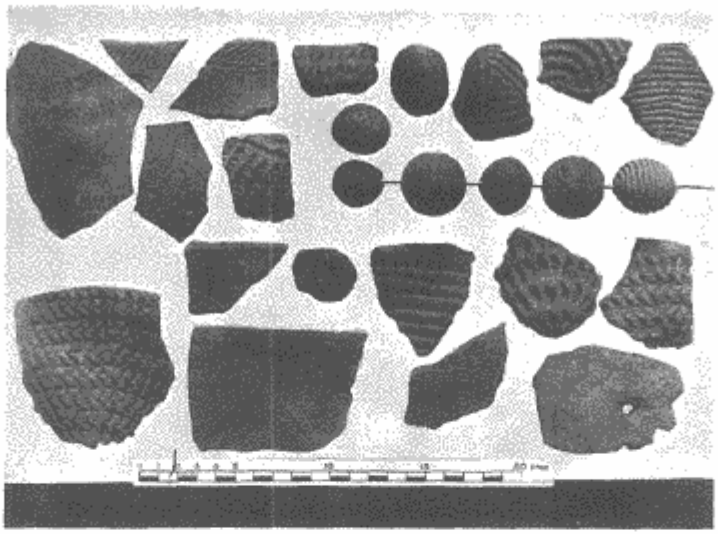


FIG. 4.
FRAGMENTS OF COARSE POTTERY FROM SITES VI AND VII.

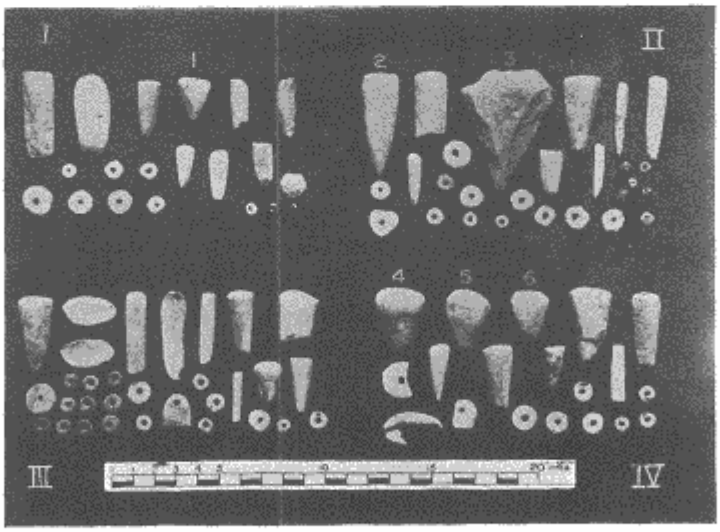


FIG. 5.
STONE OBJECTS AND BEADS FROM SITES I TO IV.

Antiquities Museum are shown in the photographs, figs. 2 to 6. The fragments of the finer pottery are shown in fig. 2, and the coarser wares in figs. 3 and 4. This pottery is nearly all well made and well fired, and suggests a Meroitic influence.

The stone objects in fig. 5 are unusual and are not, as far as I know, found on any ancient sites in the Northern Sudan. Some of them are made of calcite, and others of a whiter material, which Mr. G. W. Grabham informs me is zeolite. The disc beads shown in this photograph are mostly of ostrich egg shell, but some are of zeolite and others of a pearly marine shell. The stone (2) is that specially remarked on by Mr. Chataway in his notes on Site II, and (3) is the object he doubtfully suggests is a flint knife. It seems probable that most of these stones were cult objects. Some of them may perhaps have been used as tools or ornaments, but stones such as those marked 1, 4, 5 and 6 can have been used for neither, and they must have had a religious significance of some kind.

The beads, etc., from Begawi, shown in fig. 6, are indeed a mixed bag. The shells, pierced for stringing in rows 14 and 15 are exactly similar to those in necklaces found by Prof. Griffith in the middle Meroitic cemetery at Faras. The beads or spindle-whorls, 1, 2 and 3, are similar to those from many Meroitic sites. The cornelian ball beads in row 6 *may* be old, as may also the barrel beads of the same material (20) and (21), but it is impossible definitely to assign them to any particular period. The same remark applies to the cornelian beads in row 13. The barrel beads (16) and (17) are of agate, probably imported from India in pre-Mahdist times, while most of the remainder are modern glass trade beads. The small flat "palettes," numbered 8 and 10, are of a fine-grained red stone, and the fragment (9) is of a greyish green stone.

The slag which Mr. Chataway refers to in his note on Site III has been submitted to Mr. Grabham, whose pronouncement is that the material is not iron slag, but clinker from a brick-kiln, while the "light fused material" from Site VI is volcanic lava brought down by the river from Abyssinia.

In his concluding note Mr. Chataway makes reference to rock carvings at various places, and to "little hollows ground in the rock"

at Gebels Gule, Garabin and Agadi. These grooves, according to Prof. Seligman[1], who visited Gebel Gule some twenty years ago, are traces of Neolithic occupation, and are caused by the grinding of stone implements.

The rock carvings have been noted by previous observers. For instance, Major D. S. B. Thomson, in 1920, sent photographs of well-executed rock carvings on Gebel Agadi which included representations of a giraffe, a waterbuck, an elephant, and the head of a female gazelle or bush-buck. A glance at the map will show that all the places from which these rock carvings have been reported are on the line of the road down the middle of the Gezira, which was probably more used in ancient times than it is to-day.

I agree with Mr. Chataway that two distinct cultures are represented in the sites he describes. It seems evident that a middle Meroitic settlement existed at Begawai about two thousand years ago, and the rock carvings on the gebels along the ancient road no doubt belong to the same period. But the sites near Roseires characterised by stone objects and the name Soba are, on the evidence of the pottery, later, and represent a local culture superimposed on the Meroitic. I find in my files a private note by Prof. Seligman which reads: "On Gebel Gule Soba is said to be the name of a great queen, the ancestress of the community, still worshipped in the ordinary African ancestor manner, and very decidedly mixed up with a stone cult." The connection between these Roseires sites and the stone cult referred to by Prof. Seligman is evident, but no evidence of the origin and nature of the cult is forthcoming. Nor is the connection between the local use of the name Soba, and the name of the capital of the kingdom of Aloa, any less obscure. As I have already indicated, the pottery from these sites suggests a previous Meroitic influence, and I do not think they can be much earlier than the sixth century A.D.

Another site which may appropriately be mentioned in connection with the foregoing is Goz Fami, near Renk (*see* map). Old pottery was found here in March, 1928, and the discovery was communicated to me by Mr. G. M. Hancock, the Assistant District Commissioner. The

[1] "A Neolithic Site in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XL, 1910.

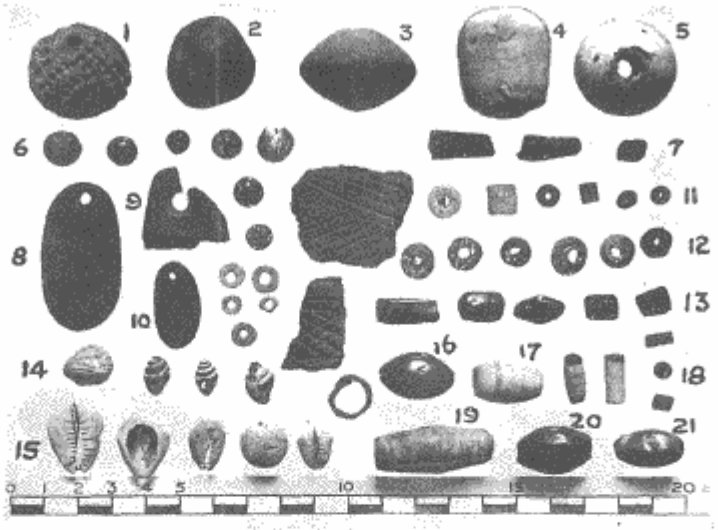


FIG. 6.
BEADS, ETC., FROM BEGAWI.

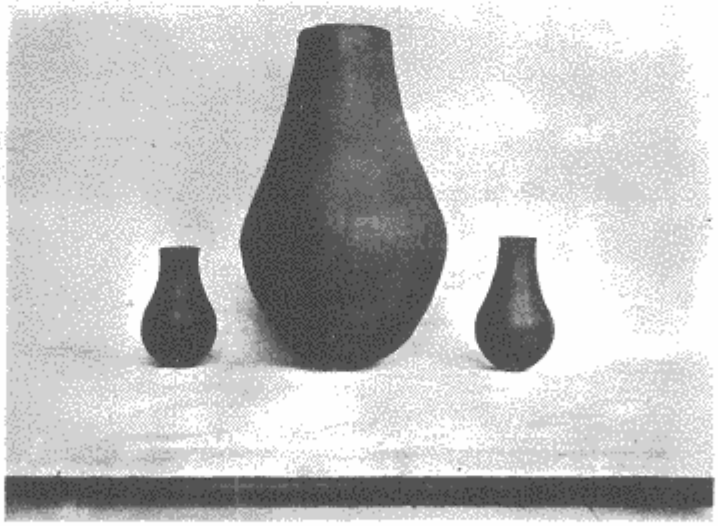


FIG. 7.
POTS FROM GOZ FAMI.

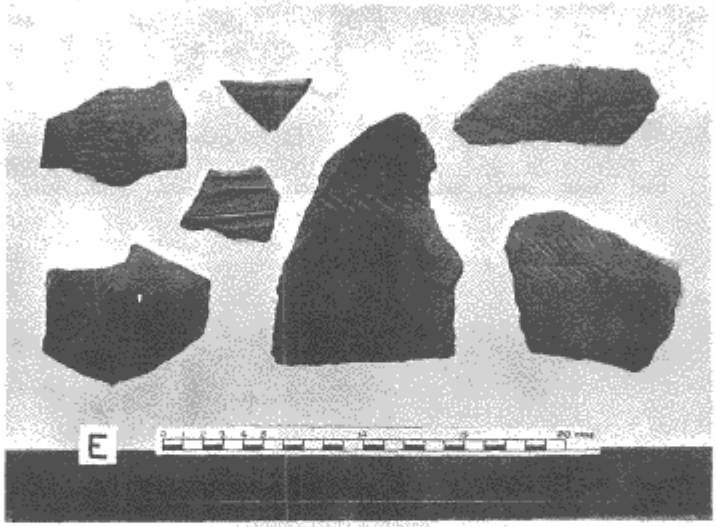


FIG. 8.
FRAGMENTS FROM GOZ FAMI.

following are extracts from his letters and those of his successor in the district, Mr. A. P. Cullen :—

> " While digging *matmūras* at Goz Fami three black roughly glazed earthenware pots were found. The pots were found at a depth of about three feet inside a large jar of rougher workmanship (like a zeer). The soil was light and sandy on top of the *Gōz*, and was mixed with a very large proportion of broken pottery. The pottery was said by the local Arabs to be of 'Anaǧ origin . . . I find traces of red in the design of the big jar, and I am assured by the Sheikh of the village that this too is old. The burial of pottery follows no existing custom, and there is nothing like the jars to be found anywhere in use."

The whole pots are shown in fig. 7 and the pottery fragments in fig. 8. The large jar is 70 cm. high and 42 cm. in diameter, and the smaller vessels are respectively 28 and 24 cm. high. All are black polished, and the incised design on the large pot was originally filled in with a red pigment.

I do not know of any vessels of this shape from ancient sites in the Sudan, and they seem most akin to certain of the present day Nuba types. The affinities which exist between the Meroitic and the modern Nuba pottery have already been pointed out by Mr. Crowfoot[1], and the idea suggests itself that the pots under discussion show an intermediate stage of the transition from the one type to the other. In any case I consider they belong to a comparatively late period, though the material is inadequate for any precise dating. The pottery fragments submitted are unfortunately too few in number to support any reliable evidence of age, but I should say they are earlier than the whole pots, and later than the fragments from the Roseires sites.

[1] " Nuba Pots in the Gordon College," S.N. & R., Vol. VII, Part 2, p. 18, also " Further Notes on Pottery," S.N. & R., Vol. VIII, p. 125.

BY MOTOR CAR FROM WADI HALFA TO CAIRO.

By Count L. E. de Almašy.

SINCE Major Court Treatt's famous Cape to Cairo trip, several attempts have been made to reach Egypt from the Sudan by car. Looking at the map it appears to be logical to follow the railway from Khartoum to Wadi Halfa, and then the Nile Valley to Assuan. This is quite correct so far as the Khartoum-Halfa part of the trip is concerned, but the experience of several parties has shown that the course of the river should not be followed in Lower Nubia. The rocky hills on either bank of the Nile, with their numerous wadis and ridges are, as yet, a real bane for motoring and the difficulties Major Court Treatt experienced were, according to him, greater than any encountered on his pioneer trip.

Mr. Le Blanc, another expert in desert motoring, has done this trip on Renault six-wheelers, and his excellent route report proves that no ordinary touring car should attempt it.

On my first motor journey from Cairo to Khartoum (February, 1926), I understood, from the reports of the Court Treatt expedition which had just reached Cairo, that it was quite hopeless for me to attempt the Assuan-Wadi Halfa part of the trip with the heavy Steyr touring car I was using. As a matter of fact I had great difficulties in reaching Assuan from Esna, there being no road at all. I thought already of turning West into the Libyan desert where conditions appeared to be better, but the attempt I made from Edfu fortunately failed 100 kms. West of that town, owing to my inexperience in desert driving. Shipping the car from Shellal to Wadi Halfa I completed the journey thence to Khartoum and further up the Blue Nile, gaining much valuable experience.

As it was my wish ever since to make a "clean run" by car from Khartoum to Cairo, I tried to get as much information as possible on the Darb el Arbain slave route across the Libyan desert, which I understood was the obvious route to follow. Of course I could gain very little information as to the character of the desert there, as the old caravan route has been abandoned since the coming of steamers and the railway.

With Prince F. A. of Liechtenstein, on our 1929 motor trip from Mombassa to Alexandria, I was lucky enough to meet Mr. N. D. Simpson,

of the Egyptian Irrigation Department, in Khartoum, who the year before had been out with Mr. Le Blanc's six-wheelers from Kharga Oasis to El Sheb well on the Darb el Arbain. On his valuable information we decided to try our two-litre Steyr touring cars on this route.

The Khartoum-Wadi Halfa part of the journey was covered in four days without difficulty. In fact, if a track were to be cleared on the whole distance between Berber and Abu Hamed, as it is in some parts, motoring from Khartoum to Halfa would be a pleasure. There are only a few stretches between Gananita, Karraba, and further on from Shereik to Abu Hamed, where some cars may be forced to do some emergency gymnastics.

With the assistance of the local authorities there was no difficulty in putting our cars across the river at Wadi Halfa on to a big sandbank on the opposite side. The plateau above this bank was reached with some difficulty with the help of a dozen natives and the expanded iron grills we obtained from the Mechanical Transport Department in Khartoum.

We drove the cars to the "garage"—used by Jennings-Bramly in 1923—close to the ancient fort on the West bank, opposite the Wadi Halfa dockyards. There we camped for the night and started on June the 3rd at 6.30 a.m. for our first destination point—Selima Oasis.

The members of our party were: Prince F. A. of Liechtenstein, with Muhammed Osman Hassan, a guide from Halfa, and myself with Salim Fadlallah, an askari, both natives having been to Selima Oasis some years before. A native mechanic we had engaged in Khartoum proved to be inefficient and was later dismissed.

The route to Selima has been well marked with stone cairns and petrol tins by Jennings-Bramly, whose car tracks are still visible for almost the entire distance. They run up the sandhills to West and, reaching the top, to due North for about five kms. Going is fairly easy on undulating ground. The tracks then turn 25 degrees from East, the true course to Selima. Some pointed hills are passed and there is a very conspicuous one to the near right, after 60 kms. Here the track turns sharp to South and then descends into a rocky valley. There is a steep descent to be negotiated through a mountain pass 80 kms. from Wadi Halfa. This proved to be particularly difficult on the return journey.

At km. 90 the plain (open *Zerira*) is reached, and the course altered to the original 25 degrees again. For some distance the going is bad owing to the deep waves in the sand. A very conspicuous stone hill, with a wind-blown hole right through, is reached at km. 120. This the natives called Jebel el Magdud, and from here on the track is marked with tin barrels. Leaving the hill to the right, going is very good from here onwards; occasional hills can be seen on either side.

A big isolated hill, El Barga, is left to the near right at km. 180, and two more hills are seen far away to South-West.

The desert is quite flat with hard yellow sand, and except for the barrels and petrol tins, there is not even a stone to be seen for miles around.

At 9 a.m. a strong North wind rose, blowing the sand with considerable speed in low waves across the Zerira. This gave us an impression as though the ground were moving sideways underneath the cars. Having covered 220 kms., the engine of my car suddenly "tired" out, and, as the temperature of the radiator did not exceed 90 degrees C., I anticipated serious trouble. On closer inspection I found that sand had penetrated into one of the camshaft bearings and caused it to seize. This was indeed a serious warning, confirming that given us by several Sudan officials who considered our trip to be very risky.

My friend, however, did not lose heart, and we decided to carry on after the necessary repair. We left my car, with the guide and the mechanic, where it had broken down and continued our journey, with the object of securing first of all an ample supply of water from Selima.

At km. 240 many hills became visible ahead and the askari pointed out that Selima is situated behind these. Approaching the Oasis one should not keep close to the first hills on the right as the going is very bad there. There are no petrol tins marking the last few miles, they have probably been collected by the Dongola people who occasionally visit Selima for salt. Turning South, we had to keep well away from the hills, and circling round found our way from South to North into the Oasis.

Here we crossed some camel tracks and found that they were quite fresh. Shortly after, the palm trees of Selima, with a group of camels underneath, came into sight. We found a party of fifteen Dongolawis at the well who had come from Abri to collect salt in the Oasis. This enabled us to arrange with them that they should carry our spare petrol

two days journey North, accompanied by our askari. I was to return to my car, dismantle the engine, and have the camshaft bearing repaired at Halfa, while my friend decided to await my return in Selima.

Next morning we carried our total supplies to Selima and I returned to my car, dismantled the engine and drove back on our tracks to Wadi Halfa, where I arrived in the evening. On the fifth I was lucky enough to be able to carry out the necessary repairs at the Halfa Dockyards and left Halfa early in the morning of the 6th to assemble my car, which I reached at noon. After one hour's work I found that the Khartoum mechanic had left several parts of my engine behind at Wadi Halfa and there was nothing else to do but return there once more. This time I covered the 220 kms. in five hours, experiencing some difficulty in climbing the mountain pass. Having engaged another native mechanic at Wadi Halfa, who later proved to be excellent, I returned to my car the same night, and finished assembling the engine by eleven a.m. on the eighth. We drove the two cars into Selima, where we were enthusiastically received by Prince Liechtenstein.

After a short rest we continued our trip North, keeping to the course (20 degrees) of the Darb el Arbain, which was clearly visible, and only disappeared close to Sheb, where signs of vegetation were already to be seen.

The water in Selima is abundant and good. The depth of the well to water surface is about a yard and the depth under water about one and a half yards. A watering place for animals directly above the well may foul the place. Vegetation is quite rich. (No ripe dates were found.) There was plenty of firewood. Shelter against wind seemed poor. The size of the Oasis is about one square kilometre.

The Darb el Arbain is plainly visible close to Selima. It leaves, climbing the mountain ridge directly above Selima, through a gap to the left of a very conspicuous pinnacle, and passes two plateaux with ridges until the plain is reached where the tracks disappear into sand. A lone pyramid about one km. out, North-East in the plain, should be taken as the marking point. From there, another hill, about 25 km. North-East (forebearing 36 degrees), can be seen in clear weather and should be left well to the right. Looking back from or near this hill to Selima, three pinnacles mark the position of the Oasis.

It is quite impossible for cars to leave Selima in any direction from North-West to North-East, owing to very soft sand and steep hills. Cars have to return again, circling well away from the hills from West to South and East-North-East until after about eleven km. it is possible to turn to North-East and very soon to North, then circling round the hills above Selima to West until the point is reached where the Darb el Arbain joins the plain (*see* Pyramid described above), and a course of fifteen degrees is followed which leads to West of the far hill mentioned above. While a group of hills running from North-West to South-East are left well to West, some lone hills will be passed on either side ahead. A steady course of 20 degrees must be kept.

Seventy kms. from Selima (in bee-line hardly more than 55 kms.), a hill, about 150 feet high, with a big yellow sand-ridge running right down from its top, is reached and left to near West. On this hill we found two very conspicuous cairns, probably very ancient, and when seen in line they give the direction of the Darb el Arbain route. Here we found our petrol brought out by the Dongola people.

Hills surround Sheb Oasis on every side except West. Keep well to West and do not make for the first big patches of vegetation as going becomes very bad and soft for about seven kms. Several sand-hills, covered with tamarisks, are now seen to East. Pass at least three kms. to West of the Oasis and enter its Northern side, where the well and the police blockhouse are, from West or possibly West-North-West. The blockhouse is well visible on a rocky hill. The well, hidden by a patch of vegetation and a sand mound about thirty feet deep which is the end of the canyon coming from West, is about 200 yards from the blockhouse. The water is bitter and rather smelly, but drinkable. Gazelle tracks were found.

Leaving Sheb on a course 15 degrees (after two kms. due West), the tracks of the Darb el Arbain are well visible, running over three or four rocky ridges. Vegetation can be seen on either side for about 15 kms. from Sheb Northwards. After 20 kms. the plain is reached where tracks disappear very quickly. A long rocky ridge, which should be kept to near West, runs practically North-South. We kept too much to East where going was very heavy. Forty kms. beyond Sheb a very conspicuous rock hill, visible for some distance and giving the false impression of carrying an old fort, was reached. Another high hill was seen to the

right. As the first mentioned hill (about 90 ft. high) is very conspicuous indeed, and not marked on the map, we called it Djebel Andy.

From the top of this watch-tower-like hill we took a fore. of 196 degrees (back 17 degrees) to the hills above El Sheb.

The Oasis of Kassaba, four kms. West from Djebel Andy, lies along the scarp to West. From the Kassaba Well (in the North-Eastern part of the Oasis), marked by the broken stump of a Dome-palm, we took the following bearings : to the summit of Djebel Andy : fore. 184 degrees, back 5 degrees ; to the other high hill, about six kms. away, at the end of the mountain scarp running behind Kassaba (North-East and East) : fore. 61 degrees, back 240 degrees.

The Well of Kassaba can easily be found by the broken palm stump. The mound is rather high. The well, practically filled up with sand and rotted palm leaves, could be cleared speedily by digging. By this method we obtained water at about the rate of ten litres per five minutes. We did not ascertain whether this is a continuous supply. We found the water brackish, but it tasted better than that which we had tried in Sheb Oasis. Ripe dates were found. (Total distance from Sheb, 50 kms., in bee line probably 42 kms.).

On June 9th we started from Kassaba at 7.40 a.m., after having spent two hours in clearing the well and taking bearings. Leaving Kassaba the scarp should not be followed to East, but must be climbed. Passing perhaps 100 yards West of the well, through the Oasis and then due North, the tracks of the Darb el Arbain become clearly visible once more. The entrance to the ascent of the scarp is marked by a big yellow stone, six feet high. (Keep the stone close to the left.) Except for a forced steep climb of perhaps 30 yards, the ascent looks more difficult than it really is. Having climbed the ridge the plain is reached where tracks disappear, but camel bones and skeletons abound. The correct course is 15 degrees. We went too much East, steering 35 degrees, to follow Simpson's car tracks until turning due West and driving through hilly country, a plateau 35 kms. from Kassaba was reached, where marking cairns and the tracks of the Arbain were again plainly visible. The track remains quite distinct for another 10 kms. (45 kms. from Kassaba), until another sand-plain is reached where all tracks disappear completely. After 30 kms. without any tracks, undulating ground is reached and 75 kms. from Kassaba a prominent patch of blue rocks, with cairns on

some of them, should be left close to West. Both car and Arbain tracks will be found again East of blue patch. Here we went three kms. West to look for tracks. (These, our tracks, running again due West, should not be followed.)

The Arbain tracks lead into a gap between several low ("Tukul"-shaped) hills about 83 kms. from Kassaba. From here we went on too far East, trying to follow Simpson's car tracks, which soon disappeared over a sand-ridge. It is better to keep on due North in the plain for about 6 kms., since tracks of the Arbain, covered by sand for one or two kms., will be soon visible again, and should be followed on their Eastern side until a valley opens to East with plenty of car tracks leading at right angles from and into the Darb el Arbain. Following these, first going East then back South, we arrived at Bir Murr at 7.30 a.m. (Distance from Kassaba, 94 kms.)

This well is marked by cairns on the surrounding hills to South and East and with three earth mounds. There is no vegetation whatsoever. The distance covered from Kassaba to Bir Murr was 94 kms. and should be less if the course indicated above is followed. The distance from the Darb el Arbain to Bir Murr is 3-5 kms. The water, of which there is not a plentiful supply, is warm and has a slightly bitter taste, but is better than the water in Sheb.

From Bir Murr the same way should be followed, now of course first North, then West, until the Arbain is reached again. Both our car tracks and those of Simpson should be visible. Do not follow Simpson's (double-tyred) tracks going North over a bad and very steep scarp.

The Arbain continues to be well visible for a considerable distance, tracks and skeletons being abundant. The way leads past a few conical hills with camel bones on top, possibly dropped by birds. 20 kms. beyond Bir Murr the going over a rocky pass becomes very bad, but tracks remain well marked. Cairns on top of small elevations and a large group of skeletons (probably remains of some tragedy) clearly indicate the Arbain. 20 kms. beyond this place (40 kms. from Bir Murr) the sand-plain is reached once more and a fair-sized mountain, Djebel Um Shersher, is left to near East.

Ninety kms. beyond Bir Murr, visible for a distance of about 14 kms., an unmistakable pyramid, alone in the middle of the plain, is reached. This is Djebel Wagif. Hill chains run far away to East and West. All

car tracks run close to the East face of this pyramid. Following the car tracks from Djebel Wagif (25 degrees), the going for about 25 kms. is very good. But then (150 kms. from Bir Murr), sand-dunes run over the route from North-West to South-East and West to East. From now onwards it is quite impossible to find any route, even remains of camels become rarer and then disappear completely. If the dunes are carefully avoided, the going will remain good. It is essential to keep well to East. The Southern Abu Bayan, a big mountain to the West, most of the time invisible owing to sand-dunes, should be left to far West. Keeping a course of North-North-East to North-East one must find one's way by zig-zags, often even steering South through the massed dunes. A mountain chain to the East which becomes higher the nearer Kharga is approached, runs practically North and prevents one going too far East. We kept from three to five kms. to West of this mountain chain and experienced very bad going indeed, undoubtedly the worst since Wadi Halfa. Going is probably very much better close to the high mountain ridge. Abu Bayan II and Abu Bayan III (if recognised as such) should be left to middle West and near West.

We had hoped to reach Kharga Oasis on this day, but were forced to pitch camp close to Abu Bayan II (Wastowi) between sand-dunes, having covered 154 kms. since leaving Bir Murr.

On June 10th before sunrise, I climbed one of the dunes and could soon see through my field glasses the palm trees of Kharga, some 20 kms. to North. We reached first vegetation at 6.45 a.m. and were heartily welcomed by the inhabitants of Ain el Uah, who would hardly believe that we had come from Wadi Halfa. A local guide soon took us to motor car tracks leading to Kharga Station. Going through the Oasis was very bad indeed, and especially past Beris village we found some very heavy sand. Kharga Station was reached (117 kms. from Ain el Uah) at 11.0 a.m. It seemed to be a somewhat difficult problem to climb the Egyptian-desert plateau from Kharga Oasis, a difference in height of about 400 metres. We understood from Mr. Simpson and from natives at Kharga, that the ascent was very difficult indeed for motor cars. We decided to use the railway dam, which is very narrow and in parts, owing to its height, very exposed and certainly quite impossible for big motor cars. However, leaving Kharga Station at 4.20 p.m., we reached the plateau above Kharga depression at 8.10 p.m.,

and camped at a small railway station called " Kilo 145." 57 kms. from Kharga Station. On June 11th we started at 7.0 a.m. and, always following the narrow gauge railway, reached Farshut in the Nile Valley at 1.30 p.m. (146 kms. from Station Kilo 145). The distance from there to Assiut is 240 kms. of bad road, thence another 400 kms. of excellent road to Cairo, where we arrived on June 13th at 11.0 a.m. The total distance from Wadi Halfa to Cairo was 17,000 kms.

The Darb el Arbain stands out distinctly from rocky and stony country. One sees many furrows worn by caravans in the course of centuries. From a distance these look like tracks of giant fingers pulled over the ground. Scattered bones and whole skeletons of camels are reliable indications of the route. These may at times even be found in trackless sand. Of such remains we certainly counted well over a thousand. In difficult hilly country, where the true direction cannot be followed for some distance, as for instance over passes, the route is sometimes also marked with cairns and stones. It may be very difficult for the European to find these landmarks, but natives locate them very quickly. At rare intervals cairns can also be found on the long stretches of yellow sand plain where both car tracks and every trace of the route may completely disappear for distances up to 40 kms. The fact that the Darb el Arbain always indicates the correct bee-line, should facilitate finding the tracks again.

The direction of the Darb el Arbain from Selima to Sheb is 15 degrees, from Sheb to Kassaba 10 degrees, from Kassaba to Djebel Wagif 22 degrees, from Djebel Wagif to the South-Eastern point of Kharga Oasis about North-East, then due West to the South-Western point where the first habitations will be found, and practically North to Kharga Station.

The width of the Darb el Arbain varies greatly. At some places we found that the width of the track actually exceeded 10 kms., but in rocky country the width may be anything from between 50 and a maximum of 400 yards. The map used (Egyptian I : 1,000,000) was inaccurate and of little help. Both Sheb and Kassaba are about 10 kms. further West than given on the map, but the bearings are correct. The true geographical positions of these two oases and of Bir Murr has been given to us by Mr. N. D. Simpson of the Egyptian Irrigation Dept.

The map becomes once more correct from Djebel Wagif (65 kms. South of the Southern point of Kharga Oasis) Northwards. No difficulties

of terrain were encountered that could not be overcome by the cars with their own power, in conjunction with careful driving. Provided that one or two reliable guides are taken (we can safely recommend the two men who were with us), the route should, in our opinion, be quite feasible for expert motorists, with sound mechanical knowledge, using light reliable cars. Full safety should be secured with a minimum of four cars (one of them without any, or with little load); four or five men are essential in order to move one car if stuck in the sand. It is of greatest importance to find the following points :—

SELIMA OASIS, last good water striking off the Darb el Arbain.

KASSABA OASIS, route climbs scarp due North, plain continues to North-East and East.

DJEBEL WAGIF, unmistakable in the pyramidical shape.

This latter point is of vital importance, since the distance between Kassaba Oasis and this point is very considerable (about 160 kms. in bee-line) and there is no landmark in between which can be identified with absolute certainty and since further 25 kms. farther to the North of Djebel Wagif all tracks disappear completely under sand-dunes. It is therefore necessary to reach the South end of Kharga Oasis by compass bearings alone from Djebel Wagif. The distance from Djebel Wagif to the South end of Kharga Oasis in bee-line is about 65 kms.

The going on the Egyptian plateau to the Nile Valley, though possible, is bad and will be a heavy strain on the tyres owing to the rocky formation of the plateau.

After consideration of the topography of the greatest part of the route, as a former army air pilot, I am quite positive that it would be practically impossible to find a lost party by aircraft. I think that neither the tracks of the Darb el Arbain, and very possibly not even the small Oasis Kassaba, would be visible from any reasonable height. If a party travelling this route leaves notes at conspicuous places, at the different wells, a rescue party following their old tracks should have no difficulty in finding their whereabouts. It should be kept in mind that car tracks may be, within two or three days, obliterated for short distances by drifting sand.

THE BANDALA METHOD OF HUNTING ELEPHANT ON FOOT.

By J. G. S. Macphail.

THE Bandala of the Western Bahr el Ghazal have been described in an interesting article by Captain G. K. C. Hebbert in Volume VIII (1925) of SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS. A summary was there given of their methods of elephant hunting. I have gone into the question in more detail, as I fear that it is an art or sport that will rapidly die out, owing to the absence of elephant. Even in the last four years there has been a considerable decrease. Many hunting parties returned last year empty-handed; while hunters from Darfur, who generally enter the Western District during the dry weather to hunt elephant, did not come this year in their usual numbers, presumably because they did not consider it worth while.

It is proposed that in the near future that a motor road will be made from Kafia Kingi to Kapaluzu, the headquarters of the Feroghi Bandala. Later it may be continued another 60 miles to join up with Kossinga. Instead of being scattered in small communities over an area of about 5,000 square miles, the Bandala will be concentrated along this road, for whose upkeep they will be partially responsible.

As a result of economic pressure, owing to the gradual decrease of their former source of wealth which was ivory, it appears that the whole structure of Bandala society in the Bahr el Ghazal will undergo a radical change; and the system described by Captain Hebbert, which has existed for about the last hundred years, will in time become a thing of the past. The opening-up of this district to motor transport will no doubt accelerate the change.

I shall now return to a description of the Bandala method of hunting elephants on foot with spears. My first informant was Shitai Rai, a Bandala of Chief Amin Jufal in the Kapaluzu area. This man was gored by an elephant which broke his left arm; it also killed his brother at the same time, by piercing him between the eyes with its tusk.

The hunting parties consist of about six men, the leader of the party is called the *'agid*, while the rest of the party are called the *gura*.

The *'agid* is chosen by his comrades as being a particularly successful huntsman. He is responsible to maintain discipline when the party is in the *'agaba;* he cooks the dura in the pot; and when they return, having killed an elephant, he gets an extra share of the ivory.

When a hunting party sets out, they take with them a supply of dura. When this is finished they live on wild honey and the meat of the elephants they kill. Wild honey alone is quite sufficient for a man's sustenance, so even if they do not kill an elephant, they need never starve. The honey is found by following the honey bird, which leads a man to the bees' nest by fluttering from tree to tree about 20 or 30 yards in front of a person, at the same time making excited cries. The huntsmen carry with them dura grain and flour, and also sesame. These supplies last them for 25 days: after that they rely on getting honey. From the grubs in the honeycomb, the hunters can make a fermented liquor called *duma*, so they need never lack strong drink if they want it. When they kill an elephant they take the fat out from beside its eyes, the heart and the fat in the feet. There is more in the hind feet than in the fore. They also take some of the ordinary meat, but not much, presumably because they cannot carry it.

The actual killing of the elephants is done as follows: When they come across tracks, two men go on ahead, one in front of the other. When the one in front sees the bull he signals to the man behind who signals to the rest of the party, who advance rapidly. They then all go for the bull, which makes off. It is impossible to attack a bull standing still as it will never let a man get near enough to stab him while standing motionless. The moment the elephant sees, smells or hears the hunters, it is off. An elephant never attacks until wounded, but is only too anxious to move away.

When the elephants make off the bull remains at the back of the herd. If they have smelt the huntsmen some way off, it means a long chase, perhaps 6 hours. When following a herd like this the Bandala go at a jog trot. When they get close to the herd, they throw out two scouts as described before. When the signal comes to advance, the men behind come running up, and the whole party make a rush at the bull. When they make this charge the Bandala go full tilt. It is remarkable at what a pace they can go over broken ground. Their object is to get near enough to hamstring the bull, which is running

away from them. The first man to get within striking distance lunges rapidly at the animal's hind leg. The moment he has done so, the man jumps backwards and starts running in the direction of his friends. Usually the elephant, if it has not been hamstrung right away, turns round and comes charging after the man who has stabbed it behind. As the first man comes running past them, the other hunters divide and let the elephant pass between them. While he is careering past them they try to stab him in the stomach or to hamstring him. It was when running away from the elephant that my informant, Shitai, met with his accident. He tripped and fell when the elephant was running after him.

The brute picked him up with his trunk and threw him on the ground and thrust at him with its tusk. Luckily it only smashed his left arm. His brother then came up, so the bull left Shitai and turned his attention to the other, It killed his brother by stabbing him between the eyes with its tusk. Another of the party then came and carried off Shitai in his arms, while the others finished off the elephant.

If the elephant does not turn on the stabber, the whole party run behind trying to bring it down with their spears. When the elephant is dying it gives a high-pitched piercing cry. If you are being chased by an elephant, you should not throw away your spear, because if you do the beast is certain to catch you. If you are running away, you keep your spear on your shoulder. The elephant either sees or feels the point so will not catch you with his trunk. This remark presumably applies to the other members of the party who have not yet had a chance of stabbing the beast, because when one stabs an elephant properly the spear head remains in the body of the animal.

One of the main tasks of the *'agid* is to procure the proper charms for his hunting party. He goes and gets from the forest roots which will prevent the elephant attacking him or his men. These roots are tied to the head, waist or fore-arm of the men.

The *'agid* may also go to a fiki for a charm (*waraga, i.e.*, paper). This *waraga* probably contains a verse or two of the Koran. (Note : The Bandala being illiterate attach great importance to a paper with writing.) The charms which the fiki gives them is to help them to find elephants quickly. If the party kills an elephant the fiki gets a share of the ivory, equal to that of one of the huntsmen. Although the Bandala

call themselves Mohammedans, some of them go to a *Kujur* to get charms to assist them in hunting. A Kujur is a pagan spirit; most Kujurs have a human attendant. It is this attendant who supplies the charms. One of these who is patronized by the Bandala is a man called Dandake, whose mother was a Kreich woman.

Another form of ritual which is undergone to ensure a successful hunt is as follows. The *'agid* brings some roots and makes a hole in the ground. He burns the roots so that they make a smoke. The *gura* kneel down in front of the hole in an attitude of prayer, holding their spear heads in front of their faces. The rising smoke covers themselves and the spear head. This ensures that the elephant will not smell them.

After an elephant has been killed, the *'agid* gets some roots. After the fat has been taken out of the feet of the elephant, the *'agid* rubs the roots on the near fore and off hind feet. This ensures that the party will soon catch up with another elephant of this herd and kill it.

They do not fear the spirit of the dead elephant, nor make any magic to propitiate it.

After many months of danger and hardship the rewards are very small. The Sultan gets half the ivory by native custom, while fikis and the like who have helped with their magic all have to get their share. Shitai said that although he got a double share for being the first to stab the elephant, and also received an extra allowance for being badly injured, he only got £E.2 as a result of all his labour.

I have compared this account with that of other Bandala hunters, and it appears to be true in the general outline. I shall, however, give some of the remarks of an *'agid* called Burma, as they throw further light on their hunting superstitions.

This *'agid* said he had been told about a root by a man living at Aish Bura, which made the spearmen safe from the attacks of elephant, or at least prevented the elephant from killing them. This was the root of the " Abu Suf " tree, and should be worn on the right fore-arm.

He also took the root of another tree and, having put it in a box, poured water on it. The spearmen were then given this water to drink. This charm helped the spearmen to find the elephants and prevented the latter killing the *gura*.

I asked how it was that Bandala got killed hunting if they had these potent roots. Burma's proof of the value of these roots was his

own brother's escape from death. This fortunate individual had a root, and when he was caught by an elephant, which picked him up with its trunk and threw him to the ground, it did nothing more than break his collar-bone.

Burma had not yet learnt the magic of the smoke, which I described previously.

With regard to Fikis he said a paper from one of them would bring the elephants near to where the hunters were sleeping, and also enable the spearmen to catch up with the herd. Another method adopted by fikis was for them to write verses (of the Koran) on a piece of wood like those used in a khalwa, the verses were then washed off with water. This water is taken by the hunters who drink it, so that the hostile magic of other hunters will not prevail against them.

If an elephant is killed the fiki gets the same share as a *gure*. But if one of the party has been killed the fiki should return the money to make a *karama* (funeral feast); that is if the fiki is an honourable man.

Burma said he had never heard of an elephant being killed in its sleep, though sometimes they were stabbed when standing still. On stabbing an elephant he would leave the spear in the animal and retire. If the elephant came for him he would run off, while his comrades would clap their hands and shout "Chai, Chai," to distract the elephant's attention. These cries I believe are meant to resemble the cries of a monkey. The elephants are said to be very afraid of monkeys, because they sit on the elephants' backs and pull out their hairs.

Before finishing I should like to say a word about the spears with which the Bandala do their hunting. They are called *shelakhai*, and are the same as those used by the Baggara and the Shatt. The shaft is made of strong bamboo, about 10 feet in length. A spare shaft is generally carried when out hunting. The head is of iron and pear-shaped. The iron being soft, a very keen edge can be made to the spear head. When not in use the spear heads are often covered in a slip-over leather case, while the base of the shaft is sometimes ornamented with a piece of the elephant's tail. The Bandala do not make the spear heads themselves, but get them from the Arabs. Buffalo and giant eland are also hunted and killed with the *shelakhai*.

NOTES.

A Christian Site Near Khartoum.

By F. Addison.

PLATES I and II.

THE existence of an ancient site on the outskirts of Khartoum was revealed in June, 1929, by a native of Burri who brought in to me some small pottery dishes which he said he had found when digging for old bricks. I found on enquiry that the area immediately west of Burri Village, and south of the Power Station enclosure, is known by the inhabitants of the village to contain numbers of buried walls of burnt brick which they dig up from time to time for the sake of the bricks. Further out, on the higher desert to the south-west, human bones are to be found not far below the existing surface of the ground. The site thus appears to be that of a small town which had a settled existence of some duration.

The limited area actually examined, from which the fragments described in this Note were obtained, is about 100 metres south-west of the outermost of the deep wells sunk by the Public Works Department many years ago, and now disused.

The brickwork remaining in situ consisted of part of the walls of a small chamber. These walls were one brick thick, and were built of alternate courses of headers and stretchers which appear to have been laid in mud mortar. At all events, such mortar as adhered to the bricks was easily detachable and crumbled readily. The bricks themselves were of unusual size even for Meroitic bricks, and measured on the average 40 × 20 × 7 centimetres. They were rather roughly made, but well burnt and of a brighter red colour when broken than modern bricks.

The pottery and fragments were found at a depth of roughly a metre and a-half below the present ground level, and a selection of these is shown in Figs. 1 to 4. The whole vessels originally brought in are those numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8 in fig. 1 and the stand *b*, in fig. 2. Those numbered 5 and 9 in fig. 1, with the fragments in fig. 3, were found next day. The bowl No. 7 is not from this particular excavation, but was found in the same locality some time ago. It is shown again at (*a*) in fig. 2.

No. 1 (fig. 1) is of rough but fairly thin red ware. (2) is of coarse red ware and bears traces of a red slip. (3) and (4) are small black-polished dishes of a type common in late Meroitic or *post*-Meroitic sites. The lamp (5) is perhaps the most interesting find, and it is unfortunate that the handle was broken by the pick of the excavator. It is wheel-made of red ware and is blackened by use. The dishes (6) and (8) are of red ware of medium thickness and were originally covered with a red slip. There are scratchings inside (6) which are reproduced in fig. 4 (*e*). All the foregoing are wheel-made, except the small black-polished dishes (3) and (4), which are moulded by hand. (9) is evidently the neck of a large-bodied narrow-necked vessel of the type usually found in late Meroitic sites. The bowl No. 7 is of coarse red ware, fairly smooth inside, and with a coarse mat-marking outside. It does not appear ever to have been used, but the rim is discoloured in one place as though by contact with organic matter, and it seems probable that it was part of a burial equipment. It also has markings inside it, as shown in fig. 4 (*f*) and (*g*). There are two arrow heads as (*f*) on opposite sides of the bowl pointing downwards from just inside the rim, and two "squiggles" as (*g*), symmetrically disposed between the arrows and opposite each other. These may be seen in the photograph at (*a*) fig. 2. The object in fig. 2 (*b*), which is of hard wheel-made red pottery, may perhaps have been a stand for a large water pot.

Turning now to the fragments illustrated in fig. 3, the most interesting are those numbered 3, 4, 5 and 9 which are of *painted* pottery. Of the remainder (1) is a fragment of very fine hard ware, red-brown outside and buff inside; (2) is the neck of a small bottle or oinochoe; (6) and (11) are highly polished black pottery; (8) is thick hard ware, black inside and greyish brown, polished, outside; (10) is hard black ware; (12) is of fine hard red brown ware; (13) is a fragment of a stand similar to that shown in fig. 2 (*b*) and attention is called to the marking on it. (14) is the rim piece of a large bowl of hard polished red ware; (15) is a fragment of a coarse black pot with mat-marking on the outside, and (16) is part of the flaring neck shown in fig. 4 (*a*). All the red ware fragments are wheel-made except (16) which is hand made and has a red slip.

There are various other fragments, not photographed, amongst them one chipped to a roughly circular shape which bears the design

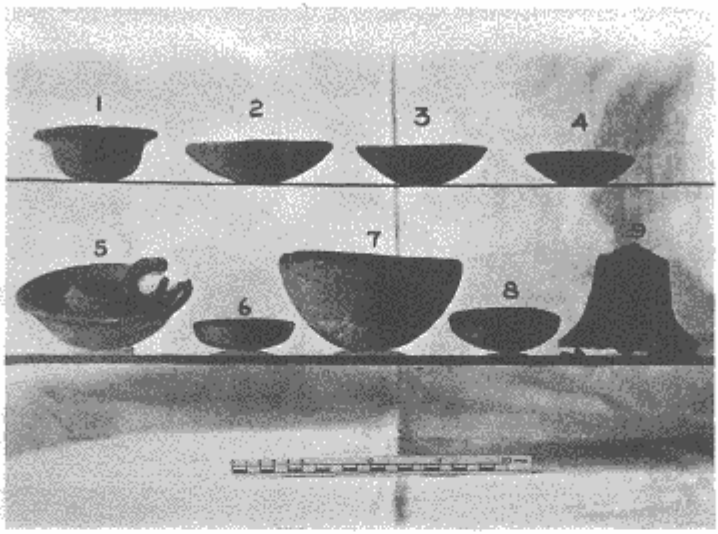


FIG. 1.

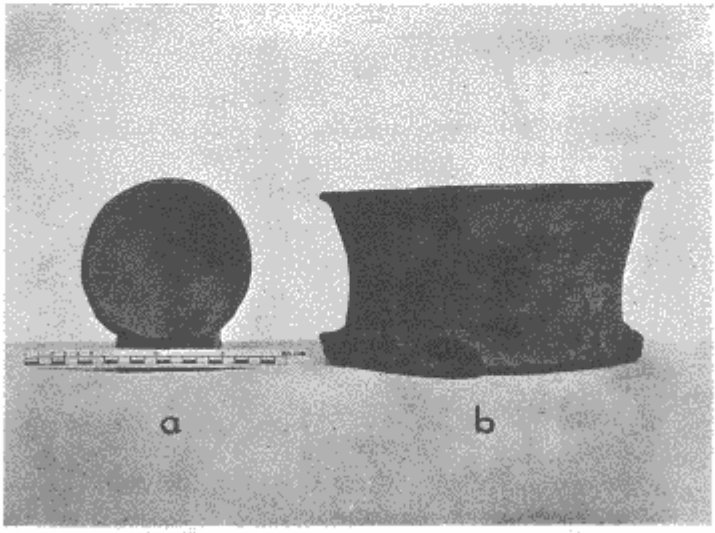


FIG. 2.
CHRISTIAN POTTERY FROM BURRI.

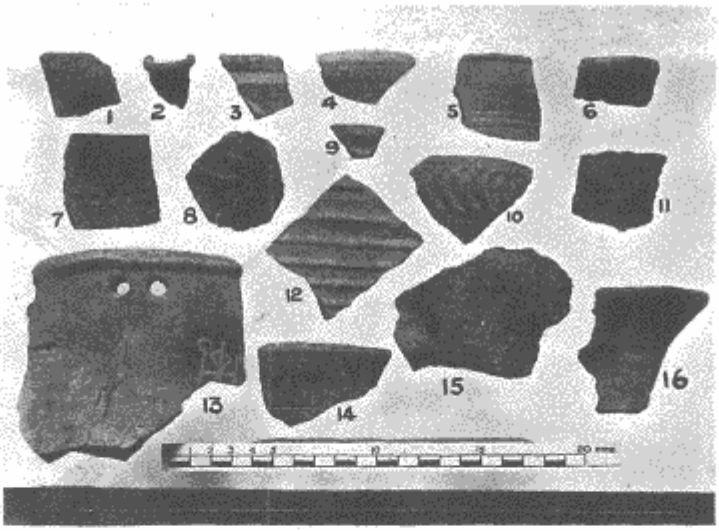


FIG. 3.
POTTERY FRAGMENTS.

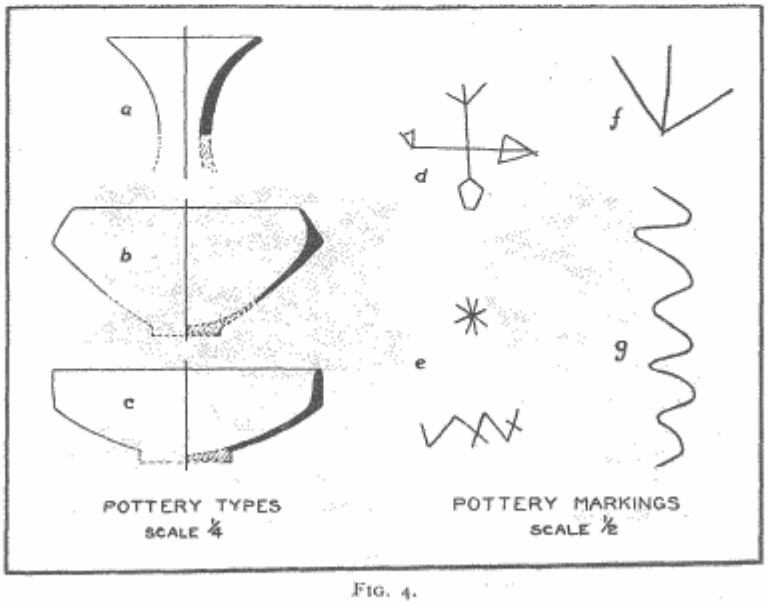


FIG. 4.

shown in fig. 4 (*d*). There are also fragments of bowls which I have reconstructed as shown in fig. 4 (*b*) and (*c*). (*b*) is of thin red ware with a thick and very highly polished red slip, while (*c*) is a thin wheel-made vessel of hard red ware, of a type which has been found on Christian sites in Halfa Province.

I do not know the significance, if any, of the markings on the pottery, and they are reproduced in case they may be of interest. That on the fragment (13) in fig. 3 is of a type not uncommon on Meroitic pottery.

All this pottery is, archæologically speaking, late. Some of it has Meroitic and some Christian affinities. Of the former are the black polished dishes (3) and (4) and the neck piece (9) in fig. 1, and the fragments (6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 15) in fig. 3. It is to be noted, however, that these types are usually found in *late* sites, which might more appropriately be called *post*-Meroitic.

Of the pottery which suggests Christian affinities, the most obvious example is the lamp. Next comes the shallow bowl fig. 4 (*c*) and the fragments of painted pottery. I do not know of any painted pottery which has been found south of Meroë itself, and these fragments do not resemble the known Meroitic painted pottery either in colours or fabric. The thickened rim in fragment (3) and the beaded rim in (5) do not occur in the Meroitic painted wares, but *are* found in the Christian pottery of Dongola Province, though the colour and glaze of this latter is quite different and distinct from that of the Burri fragments.

The fragments of red pottery are in general similar to those found by Mr. Jackson on certain sites in Berber Province, and in particular at Gandeisi, Kuddik and Artul[1]. Ribbed pottery such as that of fragment (12) has been found at Artul which is definitely established as a Christian site, and I have already tentatively suggested that Gandeisi and Kuddik are Christian also[2].

Another object found at Burri and not hitherto mentioned is a stone of a rounded flattened barrel shape, similar to those which have been found on Meroë town site and elsewhere. As stones of this shape and size have been found at Soba the presence of this one at Burri supports the combination of late Meroitic and Christian culture already observed.

[1] "A Trek in Abu Hamed District," S.N. & R., Vol. IX, No. 2.
[2] *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

There is, indeed, nothing improbable in this combination, for manifestly there must have been a time when the remnants of the dying Meroitic arts, and those which followed on the introduction of Christianity, existed side by side. The indications are that this site at Burri belonged to this period, and I am inclined to date it to the seventh century A.D.

If this conclusion is accepted, some of the late pottery which has hitherto been called "Aloa" ware may now be shown to be Christian. For example, about 20 years ago a number of rather crude pots with globular bodies and long narrow necks with flaring rims were found at Wad el Haddad (South of Wad Medani on the Blue Nile), and with them were shallow black polished bowls and small dishes, such as those in fig. 1 (3) and (4). The rim piece shown in fig. 3 (16) and fig. 4 (*a*) appears to be part of a pot similar to those from Wad el Haddad. It seems probable, then, that this site, and various others in the Blue Nile, Khartoum, and Berber provinces, are relics of the Christian kingdom of Aloa.

Four Arabic Inscriptions from the Red Sea.

(PLATES I–IV.)

IN 1907, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, now Director of the British School of Archæology, Jerusalem, made a journey along the Red Sea coast, south of Tokar. He published the results of his investigations in a very interesting paper entitled "Some Red Sea Ports in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," in the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXXVII, 5th May, 1911, pp. 523-550 (with figures and photos.).

It is not my purpose to study the identifications proposed by the author for the ancient place-names of that coast; I refer the reader to that paper, which contains every historical reference to the Græco-Roman, the Arabic or the modern authors. Many old settlements are preserved on the mainland, as well as in the little islands in Ptolemais-Akik on the coast, or in the island "Airi, Er-Rih," which seems to be the Bâḍ' of the Arabic geographers. In that island Mr. Crowfoot found several Arabic tombstones of grey felsite, with inscriptions, of which four are now preserved in the museum of Khartum.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Crowfoot and of Mr. Addison, Director of Antiquities, Sudan Government, I am able to publish those texts

(1)

بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيم قل هو الله
أحد الله الصمد لم
يلد ولم يولد ولم
يكن له كفوا أحد هذا قبر
الوليد بن احمد بن الوليد بن
ابان توفى يوم الجمعة ليومين
مضيا من المحرم سنة سبع
وثمانين ومائتين

(1)

١٠

(1) بسكه
(2–4) قرآن سورة الإخلاص
(5) هذا قبر محمد بن مبو
ن بن احمد بن الوليد يوم
الاثنين لنصف من شعبان
سنة خمس واربعماية

with a short commentary. I am glad to thank them for their kindness in having provided me with photographic prints of the inscriptions. I have not seen the originals.

Every stone is made of a block roughly carved, used without having received the form of a quadrangular stela. Other examples in basalt are known, likewise from the Red Sea, as Dahlak or Zomorrod ; they form a special group with quite similar particularities.

I have drawn some letters of each of them, so as to give an exact idea of the characters used.

I.

Nine lines, in cufic characters, engraved. Height, 23 cm. ; width, 24 cm. Dated 387H.

" (1) In the name of Allah, the Merciful, (2) the Compassionate. Say : He, Allah, (3) is one, Allah eternal. He (4) begetteth not, neither is he begotten. There is not (5) anyone equal to him. This is the tomb (6) of Al-Walîd ibn Aḥmad ibn Al-Walîd ibn (7) Âbân. He died on Friday, two days (8) past of Muḥarram, year seven (9) and eighty and three hundred."

Lines 2-5 : Sentence from *Qur'ân*, CXII (sourat al-ikhlâṣ).

Line 7 : The name Âbân, although known, is not common.

Line 8 : The name of the month of Muḥarram is frequently written with the article as here, but that is not a general rule.

The date is Friday, 2nd Muḥarram, 387 H., *i.e.*, January 15th, A.D. 997.

The inscription is in cufic letters, engraved in hollow, with cuneiform-shaped shafts. The engraver seems to have tried to distinguish between the *dâl* and the *kâf*, the first having but in *hadhâ* an oblique shaft. The *ṣâd* are rectangular, the *'ain* triangular : the median *ḥâ* and *jîm* have a curved shaft under the bottom line (plate 1).

II.

Eight lines, in cufic characters, worked in relief. Height, 20 cm. ; width, 26 cm. Dated 405 H.

" (1) In the name of Allah (2-4) *Qur'ân*, CXII—(5) This is the tomb of Muḥammad ibn Maimoû (6) n ibn Aḥmad ibn Al-Walîd. Day (7) the second, in the middle of Sha'bân, (8) year five and four hundred."

Lines 2-4, same sentence as before.

Lines 5-6 : The deceased may be of the same family as that one of No. 1. The word " he died " has been omitted by the engraver, the two groups توفى and يوم being very similar. The date, however, is vague ; it is known that the dates inscribed on such stones, as on historical monuments, indicate often the finishing of the work.

The date is the middle (15) of Sha'bân, 405 H., *i.e.*, February 8th, A.D. 1015.

The letters are worked out in a very thin relief, the surface of the stone being struck with a pointed tool, so as to show off the letters. The stones of basalt are commonly worked in the same technique. Here we have a very fine workmanship. The *dâl* and the *kâf* have the same form, the second being merely a little longer. The *'ain* is triangular, but its height is increased above the bottom line. The final shaft of the *mîm* is adorned with a half palm-leaf (plate 2).

III.

The left part wanting ; nine lines preserved, in cufic characters, worked in relief. Height, 40 cm. Dated 427 H.

" (1) In the name of Allah (2) Every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall (3) have your reward on the day of resurrection. Thus he, (4) who shall be far removed from hell-fire, and shall be admitted into Paradise, shall therefore be happy. (5) But the present life is only a deceitful enjoyment. (6) This is the tomb of Ka'ab ibn Khalîfa ibn (7) 'Abdallah ibn Muḥammad Al-Qaisî. He died (8) in the night of Saturday, eight days past, (9) of Rajab, year seven (10) and twenty and four hundred."

Line 1 : It is possible to see the inferior part of the word *bism*, thus one line only wanting, with the *bismillah*.

Lines 2-5 : *Qur'ân*, III, 182.

Line 6 : The name Khalîfa seems quite clear to me, although the end is somewhat erased.

Line 7 : The reading Al-Qaisî is certain (not Al-Mansi, as in G. J. May, 1911, p. 545), the deceased belonging to the well-known tribe of Qais.

The date is Saturday, 8th Rajab, 427 H., *i.e.*, May 7th, A.D. 1036.

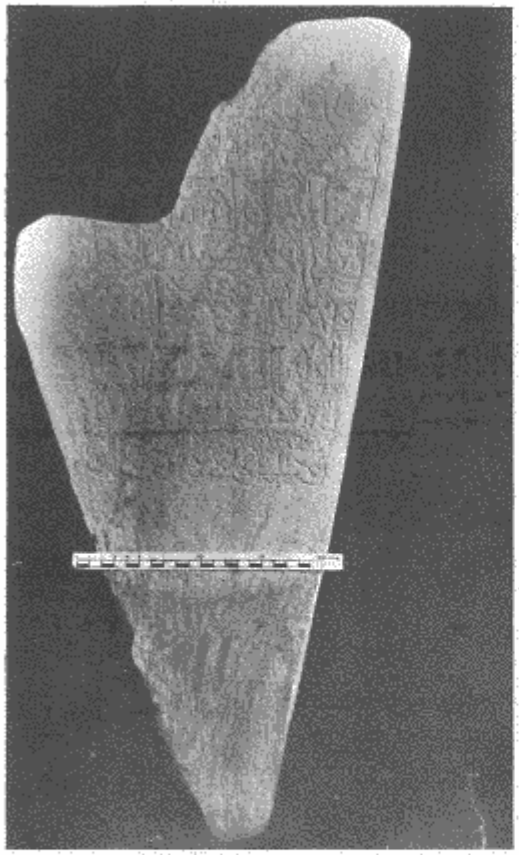
We have here the same technique as in the precedent inscription, but the letters have a different aspect ; the workmanship is not as

(1) بسمله
قل هو الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد ولم
يولد ولم يكن له كفو
(5) احد هذا قبر الحسين
بن عبد الله بن مسعود
بن الفضل الحوفى رحمه
الله

(4)

(1) [بسمه]
كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَ[آئِقَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ وَإِنَّمَا تُو]
فَّوْنَ أُجُورَكُمْ [يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَٰمَةِ فَمَن]
زُحْزِحَ عَنِ النَّارِ [وَأُدْخِلَ الْجَنَّةَ فَقَدْ فَازَ]
(5) وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا [إِلَّا مَتَاعُ الْغُرُورِ]
هذا قبر كعب بن خليفة [بن]
عبد الله بن محمد القيسى تو[فى]
لليلة السبت لثمان خلت (؟)
من رجب سنة سبع
وعشرين واربع ماية (3)

3.





good as before, or we have rather the beginning of a new style. The letters are indeed elongated, the *noûn* of *touwaffauna* and the *râ* of *oujoûrakoum* rise above the bottom line. The *dâl* has a triangular form, and in 'Abdallah we find twice a lengthening curl. The shaft of some letters terminates in a half palm-leaf, and we have a long ornament in the line (7), (plate 3).

IV.

Eight lines, in cufic characters, worked in relief. Height, 24 cm.; width, 23 cm. No date.

" (1) In the name of Allah (2-5)—*Qur'ân*, CXII. This is the tomb of Al-Ḥusain (6) ibn 'Abdallah ibn Mas'oûd, (7) ibn Al-Faḍl Al-Ḥaufî. Compassion for him may have (8) God."

Lines 1-5 : Same sentence as in Nos. I-II.

Line 7 : Al-Ḥaufî, *i.e.*, coming from Al-Ḥauf, a part of the Delta of the Nile ; on the sense of that topographical term, see *Matériaux pour servir à la Géographie de l'Egypte*, par J. MASPERO et G. WIET, pp. 75-77 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Vol. 36, 1919).

The inscription bears no date ; as the style of the characters is very similar to that of No. II, I think that this tombstone belongs to the same period, the end of the IVth century H. or the beginning of the Vth H., *i.e.*, about the beginning of the XIth century A.D. (plate 4).

E. T. COMBE.

REVIEW.

SYSTEMA AVIUM ÆTHIOPICARUM.

A Systematic List of the Birds of the Ethiopian Region.

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THE second part of Mr. Sclater's "Systema Avium Æthiopicarum" has recently been issued under the auspices of the British Ornithologists' Union. The whole is now complete and runs to nearly a thousand pages, comprising no less than 2,281 distinct species and 4,439 forms (*i.e.* sub-species and species not divisible into sub-species) of birds.

It is not easy to criticise a work of this nature, which is bound to become a classic so far as African ornithology is concerned; and the fact that six years have elapsed between the publications of Parts I and II is sufficient indication of the enormous labour involved in the production of the book. It is of course in no way a work descriptive of individual species, but it does aim at the systematic listing of every African form, with an indication of the geographical distribution of each, and a note, where required, on the nomenclature. The hope is expressed in the Preface that "the present List will be used by systematic writers, and will tend to the fixation of nomenclature"; and, apart from its other merits, the work, if so used, will prove a real boon to the ornithologist of the Ethiopian region.

It is a pity, however, that Mr. Sclater has thought it necessary to attempt to give "appropriate English names" (*vide* Preface—) to all the forms of birds. "Grey-backed Glass-Eye" for *Camaroptera brevicandata* and "Striped-backed Longtail" for *Prixia gracilis*, are not very happy choices; and a hybrid production such as "Mouse-coloured Caffoc-vogel" (*Anthoscopus musculus*), though perhaps appropriately indicating the colour, could hardly be described as English at all.

Of the species listed, some 750 are known to be represented in the Sudan. Some of these (*e.g.* Redstarts, Spotted Flycatchers and many Warblers) are palæarctic-breeding migrants which only pass through this country on their way to or from their more southerly winter quarters. In this connection it might be interesting to record that both the European Song Thrush (*Turdus ph. philomelus*) and the White-winged Redstart (*Phœnicurus ph. samamiscus, = mesoleuca*) regularly visit Port Sudan on migration. This is not mentioned by Mr. Sclater, nor, to come to resident birds, does he record the interesting fact that the Violet-backed Starling (*Cinnyricinclus l. leucogaster*) is found at Erkowit, with a gap of nearly 500 miles between it and its nearest relatives on the Abyssinian border.

But the criticism of a work like Mr. Sclater's on the grounds of detailed omissions in the distribution lists is of course out of place. A vast amount of work remains to be done in the field of African ornithology, and the great value of the " Systema " lies in the fact that it provides a reliable framework upon which all future research may be based. The whole is completed by a supplement to Part I, bringing together all the additional information available up to the end of 1928, and by a very adequate index.

J. F. M.